

Wojciech Tygielski

Italians in Early Modern Poland

The Lost Opportunity for Modernization?

**Polish Studies -
Transdisciplinary Perspectives**

Edited by Krzysztof Zajas / Jarosław Fazan



PETER LANG
EDITION

The book provides a panorama of Italian migrants' activities in Polish economy, political life and, above all, culture. The motivations of Italians who decided to travel to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and quite often settled there permanently, the reasons which made this migration possible and approved by the Polish and Lithuanian hosts are described in detail. Various categories of Italian migrants are considered as well as the potential and growing difficulties in their adaptation. These premises serve as proof of social and cultural distances between the Italians and the Poles and underline the tensions between the Italians' cultural background and the one which they had to cope with. The hypothesis of the lost historical opportunity made possible by numerous arrivals of migrants from more culturally advanced areas is highlighted through the debate on the efficiency of Italian influences upon Polish-Lithuanian realities, and by the catalogue of the causes which effectively hindered Italian impulse for modernity.

Wojciech Tygielski is a professor of Early Modern European History at the University of Warsaw. His field of study includes social and cultural history, Polish-Italian relations and history of papal diplomacy. Currently he works on the early modern European travel reports and their impact on cultural and social changes across the continent.

Italians in Early Modern Poland

Polish Studies

Transdisciplinary Perspectives

Edited by Krzysztof Zajas/Jarosław Fazan

Volume 11

Wojciech Tygielski

Italians in Early Modern Poland

The Lost Opportunity for Modernization?

Translated by Katarzyna Popowicz

Bibliographic Information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data is available in the internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Tygielski, Wojciech.

[Włosi w Polsce XVI-XVII wieku. English]

Italians in early modern Poland : the lost opportunity for modernization? / Wojciech Tygielski ; translated by Katarzyna Popowicz.

pages cm. (Polish studies--transdisciplinary perspectives ; volume 11)

ISBN 978-3-631-64134-7

1. Italians--Poland--History--16th century. 2. Italians--Poland--History--17th century. 3. Poland--Civilization--Italian influences. 4. Italy--Civilization. I. Title.

DK4121.5.I8T9413 2015

943.8'00451009031--dc23

2014043319

The Publication is founded by Ministry of Science and Higher Education of the Republic of Poland as a part of the National Program for the Development of the Humanities.

This publication reflects the views only of the authors, and the Ministry cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.



**NARODOWY PROGRAM
ROZWOJU HUMANISTYKI**

Editorial work by Mateusz Plaza

Typesetting and formatting by Studio 27, Warsaw

ISSN 2191-3293

ISBN 978-3-631-64134-7 (Print)

ISBN 978-3-653-03090-7 (E-Book)

DOI 10.3726/978-3-653-03090-7

© Wojciech Tygielski, 2015

Peter Lang Edition is an Imprint of Peter Lang GmbH.

Peter Lang – Frankfurt am Main · Berlin · Bruxelles · New York ·
Oxford · Warszawa · Wien

PETER LANG



Open Access: This work is licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution Non Commercial No Derivatives 4.0 unported license. To view a copy of this license, visit <https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>

This publication has been peer reviewed.

www.peterlang.com

Table of Contents

Preface.....	9
Introduction.....	11
Theme.....	13
The Title, Timeframes, Terminology.....	14
The Aim and Concept of the Study.....	24
The Sources.....	26
Construction.....	29
Literature.....	32
Chapter I. Evidence of Presence: On the Pages of Narrative Sources.....	43
An Attempt to Order.....	50
On the Pages of Narrative Sources.....	51
Marcin Kromer.....	52
Szymon Starowolski.....	53
Maciej Strykowski.....	55
Krzysztof and Łukasz Opaliński.....	59
Sebastiano and Valerio Montelupi, Niccolò Siri.....	65
Paweł Piasecki.....	68
Father Jan Piotrowski.....	70
Zbigniew and Jerzy Ossoliński.....	71
The Kraków Burgher.....	72
Jan Markowicz.....	76
Chapter II. The Coming: From the Italian Perspective.....	79
Emigration and Its Causes.....	81
From Italy to the Commonwealth—Motivations.....	87
Knowledge about Poland.....	87
Nunciature and Jesuits.....	105
“Pro-Polish Lobby”.....	116
The Motives for Setting Out on a Journey.....	120
“Curiosity”.....	120
“Business”.....	121
“The Call of Duty”.....	127
“Refugium”—defectors.....	131
Decision-making Mechanism.....	132
Personnel Recruitment.....	136
Variants and Strategies.....	140
Hardship and Risk.....	140

For the Short Term	141
“For Good”	143
Ties with Italy	144
Chapter III. The Stay: Italians in the Commonwealth	147
From Early Contacts to the Early Modern Period	149
Spheres of Activity and Typology of Figures	159
The Economic Sphere.....	160
Merchants and Entrepreneurs	160
Politics, Religion, and Intellectual Pursuits.....	171
Bona and Her Circle.....	171
Politicians and Royal Advisers; Diplomats and Secretaries	175
Diplomacy	178
Secretaries.....	184
Scholars, Intellectuals...Globetrotters	186
Religious Dissenters.....	191
The Artistic Sphere	197
Architects and Builders	197
Vilnius and Other Places	201
Builders, Sculptors, and Stuccoists	204
Longhi—an artist’s life.....	207
Plastic Arts	212
Painters	212
Chalcographers and Goldsmiths.....	213
Musicians and People of Theatre	216
The Sphere of Services and Professional Specialisations	231
Doctors and Apothecaries	231
Military and Engineers.....	236
Active in Many Fields... ..	240
Tito Livio Burattini	240
Girolamo Pinocci	248
Paolo Del Buono	253
Group Portrait	254
The Scale of the Phenomenon—Possibilities of Quantitative Presentations.....	256
Geography of the Italian Presence.....	260
Municipal Area.....	261
Kraków	261
Lviv.....	262
Vilnius.....	262
Gdańsk.....	263

Royal Court.....	265
Magnate Courts.....	270
Chapter IV. Interaction: A Friendly Confrontation.....	275
In New Realities.....	277
Ties and Conflicts within the Italian Community.....	277
The Art of Adaptation.....	290
What and Who Did they Find?	290
Difficulties in Adaptation.....	297
Successes and Failures	302
Could Italians Enter Old Polish Elites?	306
Various Directions of Influences.....	308
Similarities and Differences	308
Relations with Polish Surroundings	312
Polonisation.....	312
<i>Indygenat</i> and Ennoblements	318
Italianisation.....	325
The Knowledge of Italian.....	325
Italianisms in Polish	333
The Most Important Spheres of Italian Interaction.....	335
Intellectual Sphere.....	335
Humanist Culture—Literary Influences—Translations	336
Italianism, Italianisation, Interaction.....	336
Literary Influences.....	337
Translations	340
The World of Ideas.....	343
Callimachus	343
Machiavelli	345
Castiglione, that is Górnicki.....	351
Artistic Inspirations.....	358
Architecture and Construction.....	358
Architectural Treatises.....	363
Ceremonies	366
Music and Theatre	367
Civilisational Sphere	368
Innovations.....	368
Political Culture	371
Models of Political System Solutions—Venice	373
Role Models—models of norms and behaviours.....	375
Effectiveness of Influence.....	379

Chapter V. Reaction: To Italian Emigrants	383
Attitude to Foreigners	386
“Italophilia” and its Practitioners	395
Mikołaj Wolski	399
Zygmunt Myszkowski	402
Pacowie—Pazzi	405
Towards Italophobia	407
The Queen and Her Compatriots—In a Different Light	407
Under Jan Kazimierz Vasa	412
Burgher Literature	417
Attitudes to Foreign Education	420
Instead of a Conclusion—Gabriel Krasiński	421
In the Circle of Stereotypes	424
The Stereotype of an Italian	425
An Italian in Italy	426
An Italian in Poland-Lithuania	429
Sagacious, Learned, and Prudent	432
Artful, Cunning, Devious, and Insincere	432
Greedy and Covetous	433
Sensual, Artist, Shallow Religiosity	434
<i>Italia</i> —“Italian delicacies”	436
Chapter VI. Consequences and Contexts: The Lost Chance for Modernization	445
<i>L’Italianità</i> —Model of Italian Influence	449
Roman Pollak	450
Arturo Stanghellini and Enrico Damiani	452
The Essence of Mutual Relations	455
Lack of Worthy Progeny	466
Temporary and Long-Lasting Consequences	467
Comparative Views	471
Italians in France, Russia, and England	471
Italians and Other Groups of Foreigners	482
Final Remarks	489
Italians in Modern Europe	489
Mutual Relations, Their Tradition and Perspectives	491
Afterword	497
Bibliography	499
Primary Sources	499
Secondary Sources	509

Preface

Over twenty years ago, in the late spring of 1993, I was crossing the Italian border near Tarvisio. I was heading for Rome to take office as director of the Institute of Polish Culture there. Since I was an employee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Poland, I used a diplomatic passport, a fact of great importance for the further part of the story. The border crossing was crowded, mainly due to three Polish coaches, and it was inspected scrupulously by Italian customs officers. As it turned out, the reasons for this thoroughness were because some passengers had too many packets of Marlboro, bottles of vodka and other delicacies, as well as some visa-passport irregularities. Let us recall that these were the times when those who worked illegally in Western European countries were, if caught and convicted, given special stamps and annotations in their passports, which limited their right to return. Holders of passports with such annotations were turned away at the border.

The atmosphere of nervousness also affected my border experience. The Italian customs officer, casting somewhat distasteful glances at my Skoda Favorit (it was packed up to the roof because my term in Rome was to last four years, and the whole family was moving), took my brand new diplomatic passport into his hands with certain surprise. After relevant explanations, he realised that he was looking not only at a compatriot of those passengers halted in the adjacent lane for coaches, but also at an official representative of the country they come from, who, in addition, could communicate in the Italian language.

My customs officer decided to take advantage of this. He delivered a very emotional and dramatic speech, from which it followed that he greatly lamented on the present state of Polish-Italian relations, or at least that part of them that he, as an Italian customs officer, observed and participated in daily. I heard that, by breaching the laws of the country they were travelling to (and still worse, often presenting themselves as pilgrims), the co-travellers I met coincidentally at the border crossing gave of themselves the worst opinion, and they simultaneously brought shame to the whole Polish nation. The customs officer said that Poland was worthy of the highest esteem and had always been respected in Italy for its steadfastness, bravery, and many other qualities; that our two nations' centuries long cultural ties, our brotherhood in the fight for national independence, the awe inspired by Polish personages such as Copernicus, Mickiewicz, and, at that time, the Pope, all were soiled in effect. In a word, that all the fine values and mutual friendship were threatened by such illegal doings.

While listening to this tirade I had mixed feelings. I did not feel oneness with my compatriots at odds with Italian regulations, but I did not distance myself from them ostentatiously, and this was not only because of my diplomatic passport. The only sensible arguments I had at hand were historical, and thus I said that I understood his exasperation, but as far as I knew there was a time when it was Italians who were coming to Poland in search of work and better living conditions, that Italian architects and artists erected Polish palaces and churches, and Italian merchants were vending their merchandise there and made quite a profit in doing so. Hence what we were witnessing then was another scene from this story, one of many phases in long, complicated, but very valuable mutual relations.

I do not think my interlocutor was convinced, but I think that it was then, at borderland Tarvisio, that I decided to take a closer look at Italian emigration to Poland, to furnish myself with new arguments in this (now only symbolic) discussion. Much time has passed since that journey, and I could devote only part of that time to fulfilling this aim, but the present book seems to be in some sense a continuation of that conversation with the Italian customs officer.

The list of people who contributed to the creation of this book and provided the author with help during writing is very long and only a fraction of their number may be included here.

I dedicate this book to the late Professor Antoni Mączak. He was my excellent master, a superb historian, of whose memory I would like to be a custodian.

Professors Jerzy Axer, Juliusz A. Chrościcki, Piotr Salwa, and Lech Szczucki kindly agreed to read the typed copy, now called a printout, and to express their opinions before submission to the publisher, Paweł Kądziera. Alina Żórawska-Witkowska was an insightful reader of fragments on music and theatre. Not all advice and critical remarks could be applied here; some suggestions I will try to consider in the future. I greatly appreciate this help and give thanks for it heartily.¹

To all others, please accept my gratitude privately, whether already expressed, or at the earliest opportunity.

1 Having said this, I allow myself a short digression. One of those friendly suggestions pertained to a more extensive use of *Początki humanizmu* by Juliusz Domański. When I took this advice, I encountered a very elegant expression of thanks to reviewers, which I would like to cite here, with my signature and with full conviction: "I hope they will not resent that I have not included some remarks, more rarely because I was not agreeing with them, more frequently because I saw no chance to make use of them within the modest frames of my thematic objectives and scholarly resources. Though they did not take seed in the book, I feel that, to most of the remarks, I could refer the sententia of the famous Epicurus, about those defeated in discussion, who gained more because they learnt something."

Introduction

In the last years of the 16th century, the work *Relation of the State of Polonia and the United Provinces of that Crown*, was written, extending the collection of descriptions of foreign countries (a type of work created often and eagerly during this period in Europe). Texts of this kind were prepared (typically on the basis of personal contacts and experiences) by ambitious diplomats and travellers, who wanted to attract attention, gain recognition, and show competence that could prove useful in their further careers. *Relation of the State of Polonia* surely was to be delivered to the English monarch Elizabeth I.

The author, whose identity we may only speculate on, begins his copious study in a manner most typical of this genre, namely with elementary issues such as the origin of Poles, and the genesis of the very term *Polonia*. One would further expect, as in many similar texts, a disquisition on the geographical location of the country, its neighbours and natural resources, and a description of the inhabitants, binding laws, and political system. However, in this case, this rhythm is disturbed. By the second chapter, just after the etymological elucidations, the author enumerates the characteristic traits of Poles, who, in comparison to other nations, are friendly, polite, and appreciative of pleasures of the table, as well as smart, tolerant, and not overly attentive to material goods. According to the author of the *Relation of the State of Polonia*, exactly these—let us add, agreeable—national features of Poles, which were well known to Italians, encouraged a high number of them to travel to Poland (“Theire nature being suche, and so well knowne to the Italians, hath drawne greate numbers of them into Polonia, whoe partly followe greate men, and partly trade, both working uppon the magnificency of the Poles”).¹

The reader of the account learned, from the very beginning, not only about the mass arrival of Italians in *Rzeczpospolita* [the Commonwealth] but also about the main occupations of the immigrants, who either held positions in aristocratic courts (“followe greate men”), or were engaged in trade. In both cases they contributed to the prosperity of the new homeland (“the magnificency of the Poles”). The genesis of this phenomenon was explained too. It was precisely the positive traits of Poles that attracted the Italian immigrants; these traits served as a group invitation for them. Interestingly, the threads of Polish-Italian relations are not broken here. There follows a digression on the perception of Poles in Italy at the time. Their artlessness and disposition to give, conspicuous also in trade, was observed in Italy, and it pushed into the background the once-popular

1 [Anon. 1598], *Relation of the State of Polonia...*, p. 3.

saying “feather-brained as a German” and replaced it with the riposte “I’m not a Pole” meaning ‘I’m not that stupid. You won’t fool me’. This dubious privilege of Poles, unbeaten in this category of artlessness verging on naivety, has come to an end. For, as we learn from the account, a result of the Poles’ educational travels to those foreign countries popular amongst them (“for knowledge of state and languages”), they “now begynn to looke better to their purses, in so much that the Italians in Polonia begynn to complayne, that they are growne wiser, synce that somme having ben overtaken in their cuppes, recall afterwarde their overlavishe guistes.”²

The cited sentences, the presence of which at the beginning of the *Relation of the State of Polonia* may be a little astonishing, also surprise us with the richness of their content. To paraphrase, they suggest that, apart from the Italian emigration eastwards, Polish educational travel in the opposite direction, mainly to Italy, was also of cultural significance. It also included a description of Polish national traits, which initially had to facilitate Polish-Italian contacts (with the clear suggestion that the Italians were the party that drew more benefits from them), and information that these traits were at that time undergoing an evolution that had the potential to bring about a conflict between the Italian immigrants and their Polish hosts.

The discussion on the author of *Relation of the State of Polonia*, whose preserved manuscript is unfinished (which fact may indirectly explain the emphasis on the Italian theme) has not yet reached an unequivocal conclusion. Two people known from their names and surnames are considered: a Scott named William Bruce, who spent many years in the milieu of Chancellor Jan Zamoyski and lectured at the Zamość Academy; and an exquisite English diplomat named Sir George Carew, who in 1598 completed a diplomatic mission in Poland and is more widely known from his later account of France. It is possible that the text was the result of collaboration between these two men, or that there was some other author, but it was certainly a person functioning in the environment of one of these two aforementioned men.³

2 “In Italy, their carelesnesse, and symplicity in gyving, and bargayning, hath almost silenced the proverbe of *Fresco Tudesco*, and brought in use *Non sono Polacco*. Their travailing into foraigne contreys (to which they are much given) for knowledge of state and languages, makes them now begynn to looke better to their purses, in so much that the Italians in Polonia begynn to complayne, that they are growne wiser, synce that somme having ben overtaken in their cuppes, recall afterwarde their overlavishe guistes” – *ibidem*.

3 See Antoni Mączak, *Klientela...*, p. 150, with the summary of this discussion and the conclusion that certainly “Carew or someone from his group of envoys was aided by Bruce, and on the basis of his information prepared this compendium of knowledge on Poland.” According to the opinion of Dr Anna Kalinowska, it was John Peyton Jr.

Finding the author and the context of the creation of the account would be of key importance here. Indicating Bruce assumes a decidedly greater contribution of the Polish group in formulating the opinions included in the account, whereas in the case of Carew, such influence would be far less evident and the account would be more external and foreign in character (which does not preclude the existence within its pages of content and opinions of very diversified, also native, provenance). Moreover, the contribution of Chancellor Zamoyski's milieu in formulating the above opinions seems highly probable. The presence of the Italians was certainly perceived in Zamość, the construction of which, under the supervision of Italian architect Bernardo Morando, was about to be completed; the presence was undoubtedly conspicuous in nearby Lviv (one of the most important centres of Italian trade) and in the capital Kraków (where the chancellor and hetman and his associates were frequent guests). However, if Italian activity was perceived by the foreign observer independently, then the issue requires a more profound reflection.

Regardless, one encounters here a competent, foreign account of Poland, which is confirmed by a comprehensive reading; the account, in its initial parts, contains a surprising emphasis on the Italian emigration to Polish territory, together with a synthetic attempt to explain the genesis of the phenomenon and its essential social and economic consequences. The suggestion of the English-speaking author will be treated here most seriously when we examine this so prominent phenomenon.

Theme

The theme of this study is the role played by the Italian immigrants—seen in the context of other groups of foreigners—in the Early Modern Polish-Lithuanian state and society, taking into consideration (though only to a scant degree and purely for the purposes of comparison) Italian emigration to other countries—especially to France. Our scope of study will include the consequences of the long-lasting presence of the Italian representatives on their Polish-Lithuanian hosts; the broadly perceived influence of the Italian immigrants on the form of the Commonwealth; and the participation of Italians in creating the Polish image in Western Europe i.e., the long-term effects of information and propaganda activity led by some of them). We would like to answer some principal questions about the Italian immigrants: What are the motives that guided them both in their decision to head for the north and in their settling for a time, sometimes for many generations in the Commonwealth? What were their life successes and failures in Poland, including information about barriers that hindered their possible assimilation? Finally, and most importantly, what are the consequences of their presence on

the structures of the authorities, cultural landscape, and functioning of the Polish-Lithuanian state's government and economy.

The topic is not new; it has been studied intensively by representatives of various disciplines, though fragmentarily. The Renaissance period is relatively best analysed from the perspective of Polish-Italian contacts and mutual references, especially as regards humanist inspirations and architecture. The researchers were naturally interested in the appearance of Queen Bona, whose person and political activity had serious consequences on the intensification of Polish-Italian contacts and consolidation of the Italian presence upon Vistula River, and also on the acceleration of the process of the creation of the Polish diplomatic service.

However, sources referring to later times show that the Italian presence in Poland appeared to be a lasting, maybe even increasing (if we were to discuss it in quantitative terms), and certainly evolving phenomenon. An important development was the establishment and stabilisation of nunciature, which was the only diplomatic permanent representation in the Republic. Venice and Florence both declared a desire to be represented in the Polish court, and to this end, these two centres took political and diplomatic action, albeit only partially successfully, around the mid-17th century (the mission of Venetian Giovanni Tiepolo lasted over two years—1645–1647).

The Italians, as it is well known, stayed in Poland not only as diplomats, though this occupation is that which is best-confirmed in sources. They leased mints and Royal Mail; they were occupied on a large scale with trade of a stable and institutionalised character; they worked as craftsmen, artists and architects, and appeared in the royal court as trusted secretaries, on whom Polish rulers would confer diplomatic missions.⁴ Therefore, there arises a need for ordering this image and proposing, at least in hypothetical form, a general interpretation of this phenomenon and its consequences.

The Title, Timeframes, Terminology

Italians in Early Modern Poland is the title. Yet, should we rather say *Italians in the Republic*? Should we also replace the term “Italians” (*Włosi* in Polish) with “the immigrants from Italy”? Is such precision really necessary when formulating a book title? A negative answer to this question means accepting that a shorter and succinct title is better than an elaborate but more precise one. However, such a title also requires some explanation in relation to timeframes. The phenomenon of the Italian presence on the territories of the Polish-Lithuanian state reached its apogee

4 See Andrzej Pośpiech, *W służbie króla czy Rzeczypospolitej?...*, p. 156-165.

in the 16th century, and—though in slightly changed forms—it continued to be a crucial element in the social landscape. Nevertheless, it has to be emphasised that Italian activity in Poland, especially in the areas of trade and economy, was distinct in 15th century, and economic relationships, mainly commercial, were established much earlier, which will be further examined.

When discussing the issues of culture and ideology, the beginning of the period that is of interest would also be much earlier (thus we may speak of a ‘long’ 16th century). The primary reason for this is the cultural openness of the royal court and intensive contacts with Italian centres. If this was not already happening in the times of Władysław II Jagiełło, then it certainly was during the reign of Casimir IV. It is sufficient to say that the first exquisite Polish humanist of Italian provenance was Filippo Buonaccorsi, called Callimachus (in Polish: Kallimach). A teacher and tutor of royal sons, he was an intellectual who cannot be passed over in our reflections. He died in Kraków in the 15th century (17 Nov. 1496), after nearly 30 years at the Polish court.

The caesura closing the period we are interested in is and will remain all the more arbitrary, since it is difficult to apply events from political history for the purposes of establishing the line of division (from this position the most distinct is the caesura of the mid-17th century—the Cossack Wars and the Swedish Deluge—but this cannot be applied in this context). The 18th century deserves distinction and separate investigation, though on a different occasion. This century brought changes that should be regarded as crucial for the theme of our discussion. First, under Wettins, Poland was in a personal union with Saxony. Within this unity, one could observe the weakness and economic crisis of the Polish state, as well as the change in the composition of elite circles (concentrated around the royal court, accepting its German character, and resulting in certain cultural consequences); moreover, it was also apparent that there was intellectual stagnation concerning vast social circles, which in turn must have resulted in a deterioration of the relationship with and attitude towards the Italian immigrants.

In addition, however, the immigrants from Saxony must have been a new and certainly irritating phenomenon to local people. Later, under Stanisław August, when civilisational and cultural transformations of an Enlightenment nature came to the fore, the realities of the functioning of the discussed group would change (this time for the better). One of the social consequences of the Enlightenment was a change of attitude towards foreigners, whose presence had by then lost a little of its novel charm, whereas, it seems, the role of Italians in comparison to other social groups was smaller. Thus, the 18th century, bearing in mind the difference in historical realities, will not be totally disregarded in our discussion, both for the sake of comparison and due to the important continuation of some themes discussed in this work.

Summing up, the 16th and the 17th centuries mark the most important period in our considerations (however, if we wanted to seek references to political history, these would be the times of the last Jagiellonians and the reigns of the elective kings, including Jan III Sobieski),⁵ but chronological caesuras must remain—for the reasons indicated above—flexible.

‘Poland’ in the title is, naturally, the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. At the beginning, the state organism functioned as a union of two entities, the Polish Crown and Lithuania; the two later became formally homogeneous. However, geographical frames will not be the most important in the discussion since it will not always be possible to identify the places of stay or activity of Italian newcomers with enough precision, and disproportions in the source basis in any case preclude a precise portrayal of Italian activity on the territory of the Polish-Lithuanian state from the geographical perspective. The most outstanding example of difficulties in this field is the problem of our disproportionate knowledge of Kraków, compared to the rest of the country. Kraków was undoubtedly the most significant and the biggest Italian centre in Poland. Nevertheless, the disproportion of preserved sources has exaggerated this role on the pages of the existing studies. The mechanisms that led Italians to Kraków must have functioned also in the everyday life of Lviv, Poznań and Vilnius, and in smaller centres too; however, the preserved primary sources of the Italian presence in these cities are far less abundant.

Terminological difficulties also concern the term “Italians,” though this expression occurs quite often in the sources (*Włosi*, *Włoszy*, and *Italicci*). Italians, or rather *Italia*, is, in regard to the period in question, primarily a geographical concept and, to some extent, a cultural one. One of the effects of the political history of the Apennine Peninsula in the Middle Ages and modern times was a multitude of state organisms with loose, often antagonistic, ties to one another. Therefore, it is worth consulting a map with a proper textbook in hand.

Since the mid-15th century, the Kingdom of Naples and the Kingdom of Sicily had been under Spanish reign. In the middle of the Peninsula lay the Papal States, which was the state organism underpinning Papal Rome; moreover, it was totally subordinated to the Papacy.

To the north-west was the territory of Florence (a republic since 1434), which was under Medicis rule in the subsequent three centuries. The republic was transformed into a duchy, which in 1569 (the time of the absorption of the nearby independent Duchy of Siena) was to gain the rank and the name of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany. The Medici lands and the territories of the Papal States in the north bordered the relatively small duchies of Modena, Ferrara and Lucca. In the northern part, two coastal republics, whose power was established and

5 In other words: the last two Jagiellonians, the Vasa and the “compatriot kings”—Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki and Jan III Sobieski.

consolidated during the Middle Ages primarily due to far-reaching trade, were of greatest prominence. These were Genoa, on the Ligurian Sea, and Venice, properly called the Republic of Venice (*Serenissima*)—on the Adriatic Sea. Aside from international trade, these republics stood out because of their form of government: both were under the oligarchical rule of collective bodies consisting of the representatives of a few aristocratic families (the Doge of Venice could not accomplish much without senate approval, a fact which encourages analogies with the Polish kings of the elective period). A strong Duchy of Milan lay between the republics. The Duchy was ruled first by the Visconti family representatives, and then by Sforza. In the first half of the 16th century, it surrendered to Spain. To the north-west lay the Duchy of Savoy, comprising also Piedmont with Turin.

These were the most important political organisms on the Peninsula, yet were by no means the only ones; there were many others, especially in the central part of Italy; this included the north of the Papal States and the south of Venice and Milan (apart from the already-mentioned Duchies of Modena, Ferrara, and Lucca, one should also acknowledge Parma, Urbino, and Mantua). Their roles, or rather the prestige of the local courts, were not at all marginal, and still less insignificant were their achievements in material and spiritual culture.

Interestingly, it was exactly in a so politically fragmented Italy that the most favourable conditions for the development of humanism occurred. They comprised, among other factors, the consolidation and enrichment of the bourgeoisie. Economic prosperity laid the foundations for the development of culture but also encouraged and facilitated further expansion. The modernity of social and economic structures, at least up to a point, made up for weaknesses due to the lack of a homogeneous state. Let us cite a beautiful sentence by Ludwik Bazyłow: “The nation divided into duchies and aristocratic republics, often harassed with external aggressions, with some parts of the country under foreign rule, has always shown resilience, sharpness of thought and readiness for action.”⁶ Admittedly, using the word “nation” in this context—in relation to times preceding Garibaldi, King Victor Emmanuel II and the Count of Cavour by several centuries—may be regarded only as figurative; however, this does not diminish the accuracy of the expression. Travel to Poland was undoubtedly such an “act” because it required competence, initiative, courage, mettle, and imagination.

Questions about the correct usage of the term “Italians” and its connotations persist. It is difficult to be precise here since there is no coherence in the sources (even in those preserved on Polish territory). Here are several thought-provoking examples as far as terminology is concerned.

6 Ludwik Bazyłow, *Historia powszechna...*, p. 12.

In 1595, an anonymous author travelled around Spain and created one of the most interesting Polish peregrine texts. He was a worldly man that was acquainted with Italy. When describing his stay in Barcelona, he mentioned Christopher Columbus, who a hundred years earlier had paid a visit to Ferdinand II of Aragon there. The discoverer of the New World was named “*Christopherus Columbus*, a Genoese, an Italian” (as if the first term was not unequivocal and sufficient).⁷

When mason Giovanni Baretto (Bratto) became a citizen of Kraków in 1633, the genealogies of the two Italian builders’ families were written in the municipal records as “*Carbonarii et Baretto muratorum.*” Giovanni Trevano, a royal architect, acting as a witness to this case stated as follows: “I knew well Hieronim Carbonari and Zofia Milanese [*Medyolańczyków*], also Jan Baretto and Gertruda the *Italians* [*Włochów*], parents of these . . . , who moved here already in the holy matrimonial state, . . . begot these sons, Hieronim Carbonari and Jan Bratto (sic).”⁸

Written in Polish, the testimony of the architect, well-known in Kraków and Warsaw, contains a distinction that is significant for our discussion of the Milanese and Italians. We do not intend to suggest on this basis that these groups should be treated separately. To the author of the record, it must have been obvious that the Milanese of that time belonged to the broader group of Italians. The genesis of this distinction is more likely to be explained by the fact that the information provided by the witnesses was simply more precise regarding one of the couples mentioned.

However, this example may be treated primarily as an occasion to emphasise the already noted lack of terminological precision. This deficiency is all the more puzzling because it was still recorded in the Kraków municipal records in the fourth decade of the 17th century.

The situation was similar before this time. The sources referring to the royal court and the municipal records mention many newcomers referred to as *Italus* or *Wloch*.⁹ From the Latin inscription on the epitaph of Callimachus (the aforementioned Italian exile who was an outstanding humanist and influential secretary of Jan I Albert), which may be seen in the Dominican Church in Kraków, we learn that the deceased (*vir doctissimus* and *omnis virtutis cultor*)—coming from Florence, born in San Gimignano—was *natione Tuscus*, which is simply a Tuscan.¹⁰ One may assume that the author of the inscription was close enough to the deceased to be acquainted with his national self-identification and that the term *Italus*—widely known in Kraków then—was regarded too general. Certainly, and

7 See [Anon. 1595], *Anonima diariusz peregrynacji włoskiej*..., p. 64.

8 Stanisław Tomkowicz, *Przyczynki do historii kultury*..., p. 40.

9 “*Petrus murator Italus*”, “*Joannes Wloch*” etc. – see Tadeusz Mańkowski, *Pochodzenie osiadłych we Lwowie*..., p. 133-134.

10 See Bronisław Biliński, *Tradizioni italiane all’Università Jagellonica*..., p. 9-10.

in accordance with the deceased man's intention, his small homeland of Tuscany was given prominence over the broader Italian community. Simultaneously, this term must have been understandable for Polish readers.

The latter seems highly probable. It was said in the Commonwealth "Gente Ruthenus, natione Polonus" ("Born a Ruthenian, of Polish nation"), in order to describe concisely the national awareness of a borderland nobleman; he primarily identified himself with his small homeland, and secondarily with the national community.

In considering Italy of the time, we are probably dealing with such a situation, which—as far as regional differentiation is concerned—was exceptionally lasting.

Still, we must bear in mind that geographical horizons were spreading fast then, while geographical categories in use were far from precise. When we read in Alessandro Guagnin's *Opisanie W. Ks. Litewskiego* [*The Description of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania*] about Palemon, the legendary founder of Lithuania, "the quality of whose name reveals him to be of the Roman culture [*Łacinnik*] or an Italian,"¹¹ we do not treat this to be a distinction between clear, consciously used options. Gwagnin (this is how his name was rendered in Polish) wrote about events distant in time and tried—despite obvious difficulties—to keep his reasoning precise. "*Łacinnik*" is evidently a broader term here, in which "the Italian" is comprised; the term "*Łacinnik*" may be used when referring to very ancient times, while "the Italian" is comprehensible to the contemporary person. It also indicates more precisely the region of Europe from which came the founder of Lithuania.

Even on the pages of the *Pamiętnik Historyczno-Polityczny*, published in Warsaw from 1782–1792 (with a then considerable circulation of 500 copies), in which a bulky series of articles under the general title "The news about the present situation of the Italian states" appeared, the reader could find an extremely surprising sentence: "What a great difference between a Venetian and a Roman, between a Genoese and a Milanese, between a Florentine and a Neapolitan!" This differentiation between inhabitants of the most important regions was clearly visible, though, according to the same author, in the whole of Italy "the climate, religion and language are the same."¹²

Without undermining the thesis about religious homogeneity, let us remark that the observation referring to the unification of the other elements seems doubtful. In any case, linguistic diversity (which may be seen in certain regions of Italy even now, a century after state unification) must have been far greater 200 years ago, and all the more so 400 years past.

11 [Gwagnin], *Z Kroniki Sarmacyi Europejskiej...*, p. 51.

12 See Zdzisław Libera, *Obraz Włoch w oczach "Pamiętnika Historyczno-Politycznego"...*, p. 229.

Another issue is whether—on foreign soil, for example in Poland—this differentiation may be regarded as an obstacle to the mutual communication between the Italian immigrants. This question will have to be examined more closely.

There will also arise a problem about whether those arriving from various regions of Italy can be treated as a nationally homogeneous group, or—more mildly—as a community on Polish soil sharing the consciousness of common provenance and, possibly, the feeling of solidarity that may arise from this. This second question will be resolved in the affirmative overall, even though examples of conflicts within the analysed community will be shown on many occasions. In making this judgment, it is significant that the Italians were usually treated by their Polish hosts in precisely this way, specifically as a rather homogeneous and nationally defined community. These arrivals were described similarly in the correspondence of apostolic nuncios residing in Poland and in the reports of other Italian observers, all figures undoubtedly competent in this regard.¹³

Yet even if we accept the term as relatively easy to define, clear and unequivocal enough, this does not solve our problems with identifying and determining who in our discussion is treated as an Italian. It seems that there would be a simplest answer to this dilemma: all those who were referred to as such. However, even though it is unnecessary to deliberate over the use the term *Italus* found in the sources, and also when used in reference to recent arrivals with explicit Italian geographic assignment (such as Antonio da Fiesole or Francesco Fiorentino), one must still be more aware of the different uses of the term *Włoch*. The latter may be (and most often is) a translation of a Latin expression, but it may also appear as a sobriquet referring to physical traits of people coming from the South (dark complexion, dusky skin etc.). *Ordinatio Posthae* (a document that entered the municipal records of Lviv in 1629 and which minutely described the rules of the functioning of the local mail office that was owned by Roberto Bandinelli) also contained a list of over twenty “cursors to deliver mail,” that is couriers who provided the service. In this company, after all representing low-life, we find a certain “Jan Włoch from Podgórze,” who had nothing to do with Italy. This is a good example of such a semantic trap.¹⁴

Moreover, if the term *Włoch* was to signal provenance, it did not always refer to a newcomer from Italy but could also stand for “a European,” and thus

13 See for example the letter of the Holy See Secretariat of State to Caligari, nuncio, dated 2nd August 1578, on the dissenters residing in Poland and the nuncio’s entitlement to their absolvment (“facoltà d’assolvere gli heretici”). The powers conferred to Caligari were broad and concerned all national groups (“tutte le nationi”), but as far as Italians were concerned, he was advised highest restraint in this respect (“Ma però con li Italiani N. S.re dice che V. S. vada riservata...”) – *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol IV, p. 38.

14 See Władysław Łoziński, *Patrycyat i mieszczactwo lwowskie...*, Lviv 1892, p. 181.

“a person from the West.” Additionally, as shown years ago by Jan Ptaśnik, the Italian newcomers were still described as *Gallicus* in the 14th century (the term “*Italicus*” began to be more widely used only in the 15th century), indicating all the more that the divisions, to which we became accustomed over subsequent centuries, were then not that sharp.¹⁵

Thus, if we identify the Italians with the arrivals from Italy, it will be necessary to paint the concept with a broad territorial brush. There is no reason to eliminate from this group of Italians those who come from the border-territory of Tyrol, or the islands on the Mediterranean Sea (and such people also appeared in Poland), or Ragusa (now Dubrovnik). It would be absurd to argue about the ‘Italianness’ of a whole train of architects and builders coming from the region of the Alps, from the now Swiss Lugano region and Lake Como (including amongst them the famous *comacini*—creators of, among other things, Poznań town hall).

Acceptance of this broad definition of the borders of Italy should be accompanied by a flexible approach to people coming from Italy but not necessarily born there, and to figures of other than Italian origin but evidently Italianised. An illustration of the kind of doubts that may arise about the correct understanding of this concept of ‘Italianness’ may come from Francisco Suñyer (1532–1580), a Spanish Jesuit who studied in Perugia and Rome. During this time, he entered the monastery and then first went to Vienna and, from 1566 onwards, acted in the Commonwealth. Suñyer, in the *Informatio*, which was sent to Rome several weeks after the creation of the collegium in Vilnius, included a description of the city as the capital of the Grand Duchy. In the document, Lithuania’s size is compared to Italy (which is surpassed in size by the former), and not to his native Spain.¹⁶ Clearly, Suñyer had been mentally Italianised; simultaneously, he represented an Italian monastic formation and acted on its behalf in the Commonwealth. We are ready to open the category of Italian provenance also to this type of figure.

Michael Gittich is, however, a figure whom it is difficult to treat as an Italian. He was an Arian minister and a religious writer whose father, Marcin, was a protestant and a German by origin, and was a doctor in Venice. But, he left because of his religious belief and settled in Lithuania, where he got married. Michael, the result of this union, was born and raised in the Commonwealth, later spent some

15 Lengthy discussions the Polish historians held on the origin of Gallus Anonymus, the first major chronicler of Polish history, have not reached a positive conclusion in this regard, which fact does not diminish the significance of the *Chronicles* and the possibilities of their interpretation. See Henryk Barycz, *Italofile i italofofi...*, p. 48, Jan Ptaśnik, *Kultura włoska...*, p. 8; Stanisław Kutrzeba, Jan Ptaśnik, *Dzieje handlu...*, p. 96-97.

16 The original of *Informatio de novo collegio Vilnensi, facta mense septembri 1570* is in Rome (ARSI, Pol. 75, k. 316r-319r) – see: Paulius Rabikauskas, *Italia-Lituania nei secoli XV-XVI...*, p. 308-309.

time in Transylvania and Western Europe, but lived his life as a Polish Protestant with a clearly German name. Thus, he belongs to a different social category but still should not be wholly omitted since he consistently described himself as a Venetian. This may signify that the provenance of his father must have appealed to him particularly, and maybe it even impressed him, or perhaps he thought this description / territorial assignment to be well thought of in the Polish-Lithuanian state (which, from the perspective of an Arian living in the seventeenth-century Commonwealth, may have been fully justified).

In the context of the Italian presence and influences, we would sooner consider the activity of Charles de la Haye (Delahaye) at the end of the 17th century in Gdańsk and Warsaw (in the environment of King Jan III Sobieski). A French engraver, Delahaye, was born in Fontainebleau but was educated and artistically schooled in Italy, in Rome, and in Florence. In such cases, formal criteria must yield to the *de facto* ones; in this case, the character of the culture represented by a given person.

We are also inclined to admit as a representative of the Italian world Francesco Lismanin, the exquisite proponent of reformation, even though he was born on the island Corfu, to a Greek family. His inclusion is not only because he arrived in Poland from Italy (certainly in the train of Queen Bona) but primarily due to the Italian environment in the Franciscan monastery, which he entered in Kraków. He is important also because of his many visits to Italy during which, as Henryk Barycz expressed it, he was finally “soaked with the Italian culture and spirit.”¹⁷ It is worth adding that Lismanin wrote in Italian and belonged to the undisputed leaders of the Italian community in Kraków in about the mid-16th century. Probably, although it gives rise to fundamental doubts, we should also include in the Italian group Alfonso Pisanus, a Jesuit, a theologian, and a polemicist. He was born and first educated in Toledo, then studied in Alcalá and in Salamanca. When he returned to Toledo, he subsequently lectured philosophy and practised as a physician. In this case, the Jesuit background would be decisive (he worked in Poland as a preacher and he was an ardent and active supporter of the Counter-Reformation). He chiefly obtained his formation in Rome (at Collegium Romanum), from where, through Jesuit colleges in Ingolstadt, Dillingen, and Hall in Tirol, where he lectured, he arrived in Poland. He had been strongly encouraged towards this latter step by the Provincial Superior of Polish Jesuits, Francesco Suñyer, and by Jakub Wujek, rector of the Jesuit College in Poznań.

However, extending the scope of the studied concept must have its limits. For if we viewed the issue from the perspective of cultural inspiration, then even the most famous Netherlandish architect working in the 17th century on the Vistula,

17 *PSB* XVII, p. 465.

Tylman van Gameren, who directly before his departure for Poland stayed at least five years, and thus certainly also studied in Italy, could be seen as a representative of Italian art and so of Italian inspiration (but this we do not intend to suggest).¹⁸ It is worth adding that, in autumn 1648, the commission for the foundation of a desired Italian garden in Krzysztof Opaliński's manor in Sieraków went to a French gardener who was sent by Łukasz Opaliński to his brother. Due to this fact, the information about the commission appeared in correspondence between the two.¹⁹ Native Italians did not have a monopoly on spreading Italian influences in culture, especially in architecture or engineering arts in their broad sense.

In our considerations, there should appear an organ master named Casparini, born in Silesian Żary, who in his youth went to Venice (he spent some time—and maybe studied—in Padua). It is here where he adopted citizenship and converted to Catholicism and, only from there, migrated to Poland in order, among other things, to construct the organ in Święta Lipka. Giovanni Battista Fantonini may also be included in the group. He was recorded in the 16th-century sources as a Kraków merchant and councillor (*rajca*); there was also a note that he was a Jew from Venice. Let us simultaneously add that this category, national rather than religious, will not be the subject of our inquiry. It must have constituted a certain part of the Italian community coming to Poland, but it remains—apart from single and quite incidental annotations—intangible in sources since here we are tackling culturally assimilated Jews.

It should be also mentioned that—especially in the early stage of contacts within the sphere of our study—of great importance were territories which intermediated in them so to say naturally. The Italians migrating to Poland (or simply to the east) did not usually reach their destinations immediately since they fared variously in journey. There were stopovers and even longer stays that lasted for generations. Typically, this was due to intensive commercial and productive activity or—as was mainly the case with artists and intellectuals—residing at a court on the route. These regions relatively frequently intermediated in Polish-Italian contacts for chiefly geographical reasons. They included the territories of Bohemia and Silesia; the Habsburg territories of Austria, Styria, and Carinthia. It was also true that the Hungarian mediation was important. If we take into account the mutual connections and political relations, this mediation was already of a significant scale by the 14th century (when Elizabeth of Poland was married to Charles I Robert, king of Hungary

18 See Konrad Ottenheim, “Tylman z Gameren w Holandii...”, p. 8. In the first, English edition, the fragment concerning this sounds even more suggestively: “Tilman van Gameren left Venice for Poland in 1660” (Konrad Ottenheim, *Tilman van Gameren in Holland*, in: *Tilman van Gameren (1632-1706). A Dutch Architect to the Polish Court*, Amsterdam Royal Palace Foundation 2002, p. 24).

19 See. [Opaliński], *Listy Krzysztofa Opalińskiego do brata Łukasza...*, p. XXIX, 411, 430.

of the Angevins dynasty, and their son inherited the Throne of Kraków from his uncle Kazimierz II the Great, as Louis I of Hungary).²⁰ However, even this direction of influence was a consequence of geographical location rather than of the political history of the two neighbouring state entities.

Thus, the Italians appearing in Poland did not always come directly from Italy, which may have had significant influence on their consciousness and attitudes. However, this factor was crucial mainly in the early phase of contacts and from the 16th and the 17th centuries—through gradual accustomisation with Polish realities—direct contacts became predominant.

But let us not complicate the issue too much. Despite justified doubts that refer to particular persons and cases, our guide should be elementary intuition. It allows us to define the cohort concerning us as inhabitants of Italy who, in modern times were driven by various motives, travelled to the Commonwealth to spend some time there or to settle for good.

Recapitulating the remarks on the lack of terminological precision in primary sources, and the explaining reasons for the applied terminological flexibility, we declare the further use of the definition of an Italian in Poland as an arrival from Italy who was formed within the Italian culture (the territorial scope of the latter is treated fairly widely), with the inclusion of any possible intermediary stages of the migration.

The Aim and Concept of the Study

After terminological explanations, we can now present the aims and concept of the study. The most important goal we set was the analysis—conducted in the realities of a feudal state in the Early Modern Era—of the mutual interaction between the immigrating national group and the hosting (accepting or repulsing) society, the latter being, in our case, the Old Polish society, dominated by the nobility. This is, in its design, a study of European integration processes, observed in the early phase of the modern era. Such a study will also be, simultaneously, a litmus test for the most influential and persuasively representative section of Polish-Lithuanian society, mainly the nobility, as well as for the bourgeois elites. The test is not only for openness and—so often discussed in historical literature—“the attitude to foreigners” but primarily for one’s ability to assimilate and accept, maybe

20 See Jan Ślaski, *Literatura staropolska a literatura starowęgierska...*, p. 174. Let us add that the exceptional, crowning achievement of the previous dynastic contacts was the election of Stephen Báthory for the Polish king, though the reign of this ruler rather did not have positive impact in this respect since it was relatively short and resulted in many conflicts of local inhabitants with the Hungarian circle of the king.

permanently, the cultural and civilisational novelties around him/her. It should also be added that the objective attractiveness of these models seems undeniable; thus, one may assume that the test will be of an evaluating nature, promoting cultural openness.

The author's choice of the Italians as a national group, whose representatives visited the Commonwealth and sometimes settled in it, was not accidental. Besides the author's interests, the following regards supported the choice:

- a. The relatively large scale of Italian migration, and simultaneously—in opposition to, for instance, the immigration from Germany—the possibility to indicate fairly precisely that the 16th and the 17th centuries were the apogee of the studied phenomenon, and to subject this period to thorough observation;
- b. The origin of the migrants, from regions both relatively advanced economically, and traditionally setting the pace and pattern in European culture, while at the same time very different as far as the structure and indicators of social position were concerned;
- c. Variety of strategies and multitude of life scenario variants, which were considered and realised by the inhabitants of Italy arriving in Poland;
- d. Distinctness of this group and its separateness in relation to the rest of the Old Polish society, and thus its relatively easy perceptibility allowing a fairly precise identification and definition of the main subject of our study, which is the relation of that time between the Italians staying on the Polish state territory and their local environment.

Thus, the defined subject describes only a part of Italy's influence on Polish reality (and of this we are fully aware). This has special bearing on the cultural sphere, which operates not only through people shaped within its circle but also through personal contacts. Nevertheless, we cannot extend the scope of our reflections too much, since the study of the Italian influences in Poland in the Early Modern Era basically means studying Polish culture of that time with all its complexity. We do not have such great ambitions here. Our attention is concentrated on the direct impacts and influences of the Italians who physically stayed in the Commonwealth. The whole enormous sphere of indirect impacts—through all kinds of works reaching Poland and also examples and models encountered by numerous Poles visiting Italy—remains within the scope of our interest; although, we do not have the ambition to analyse it in detail or to exhaust the subject.

The study of Polish-Italian contacts in general, in the modern era especially, is a great pleasure and simultaneously a serious undertaking. When the results of studies and reflections are about to be published, it is also considerably risky. The reasons for this lie in the multiple threads that run through such studies and at the same time in the exceptional diversity and richness of the achievements of precursors. First, the subject of Polish-Italian contacts in the Renaissance and

Baroque periods has been studied by many generations of scholars and humanists. This topic was always important and fascinating, even if chronologically distant. Second, representatives of various, though related, disciplines have been active in this field: economic, political and social history researchers, art historians, literary scholars, science historians, musicologists, and theatrical historians. The progress in research and the related increase in the number of studies occurred within particular disciplines, usually integrated in name only. Third, the existing literature on the subject is abundant with studies of contributory character, often written on occasion, published in random places and by non-professional publishing houses. Such dispersion also characterises the editions of sources and information in the archival resources. Fourth, Polish and Italian historiographies, both of key interest regarding the subject, developed in parallel for a long time. This resulted in an unsatisfactory coherence, especially in the sphere of biographical writing. Ambroise Jobert remarked on this when he regretted that the 15 years that Capuchin Valeriano Magni (he was an exquisite seventeenth-century intellectual, scholar, and diplomat) spent in Poland was wholly disregarded by fundamental biographical-encyclopaedical compendia published in Western Europe.²¹ The disproportions mentioned by Jobert are evident. It is enough to consult the *Polish Biographical Dictionary* and read, for instance, the entry on Morando Bernardo. Here, one will see that the biography of this outstanding architect—close associate of Chancellor Zamoyski and co-creator of Zamość—contains information chiefly concerning his stay in Poland, whereas the information on the Italian part of his life is disproportionately scant. For Polish historiography, Morando, as a creator of Zamość, is a crucial figure; from the Italian historiography perspective, he remains a second or third-rank architect, and as such, he did not arouse much interest. Besides, this remark concerns many Italian artists working in Poland. For Poles, this was an important issue; but, for Italians, this was not so.

The Sources

The sources that served as research material for this dissertation were highly varied: the reports of nuncios and their correspondence (both printed and handwritten); the opinions of other foreign observers, noblemen's diaries, and polemic and propaganda texts, official parliamentary papers are paid special attention to, because they are viewed here both as a record of the reactions to the Italian presence and a source of information on steps and decisions taken in relation to this group (conferring the *indygenat* and nobility together with the

21 Ambroise Jobert, *De Luther a Mohila...*, p. 430.

applied arguments). It is very rich material; thus, its selection and ordering creates fundamental problems.

The problem is not the excess of source records but rather their multifariousness. The right choice is, then, obstructed by the dispersion of the sources, which increases the probability that something crucial for the topic will be disregarded.

It has been known for a long time that progress in the historical disciplines relies mainly not on finding new, unknown sources, but on posing new research questions in relation to source texts that are already known and have been interpreted by precursors. For our topic, this rule may also be applicable. The fundamental core of literary and humanist texts, on the basis of which one may draw conclusions on the Italian presence and the Italian intellectual influences in Poland of the Renaissance and Baroque periods, is long-known and has been interpreted many times.

However, the narrative and descriptive sources are a different case. The collection of published Italian accounts about Poland (including travel diaries and correspondence) are constantly growing, thanks to the systematic exploration of Italian archives and library collections of manuscripts. This concerns especially the correspondence and accounts of papal nuncios, who were the only diplomatic representatives permanently resident at the Polish court in the 16th and 17th centuries. It will soon be possible to analyse the issue of the Italians' reaction to Polish-Lithuanian realities on the basis of a wider source base, which is important from our perspective. The Italian historical-geographical compendia, by design comprising the whole knowledge on the surrounding world accessible to the author, remain a big unknown but also an opportunity for scholars. This kind of work was published, reissued, corrected and supplemented quite frequently. Their exploration, in terms of orientation in Polish realities, was undertaken by Pietro Marchesani. The interesting results of his study encourage further research, as they herald a broadening of our knowledge of the perception of the Polish-Lithuanian state among the Italian elite and opinion-forming circles.

Though it is difficult to characterise the sources as a whole, there are several traits that may be generalised. As always, the outstanding individuals win: those who got rich, purchased properties, or obtained positions (thanks to which they ceased to be anonymous). The people who travelled to Poland unsuccessfully are naturally less perceivable in sources. This is a serious hindrance to those who are interested in the long-term phenomenon of a migration type because they pose questions about the profit and loss account of the whole group, about particular representatives of the Italian community who set off to Poland, about particular individuals' chances of success, about the effectiveness of life strategies, and about limitations and barriers. Another feature of the preserved sources is the exposure of conflicts. This especially concerns municipal records that, as a matter

of course, registered various conflicts, mutual accusations, and summonings of witnesses, along with inventories and bills of sale, financial standings and changes to last wills, and the processes of succession (especially when the latter did not run amicably). Owing to this kind of material, a significant group of Italians came out from the shadow of full anonymity, but on this basis one may—rather unjustifiably—conclude that the representatives of the Italian community in Poland were particularly inclined to conflict.

The third obstacle is the considerable number of anti-Italian elements. These typically appeared during political polemics as one of many controversial topics and points for discussion, and it also appeared as a stable component of anti-foreign postulates. Isolation and consolidation of these voices, according to the thematic formula of the Italian themes and motives in the Old Polish political commentary, could easily result in a tainted image of the attitude of the Commonwealth citizens towards the Italian immigrants. While elaborating on the subject, it is also worth noting that widely-known flaws and imperfections of the source base for the modern era, and disproportions in this respect, made their presence felt. Most generally speaking, it is easier to confirm an Italian's presence at the royal court than at many magnate ones. This is because the sources for the latter were preserved in a decent state for only a few of them (the Radziwiłł family, the Zamoyski family—correspondence and lists of servants, the Lubomirski family—detailed description by Stanisław Czerniecki; fragmentary materials from the courts of the Ostrogski, Zasławski and Sapieha families). It is also easier to find documentation on Kraków and Lviv (also thanks to old studies) than on Poznań or Lublin. We know more about the noblemen's views and attitudes (because there are diaries, quite rich commentaries, and many letters) than about those of the bourgeois, from whose history incomparably fewer sources of that type have been preserved. Disparities also appear within the privileged estate. It is easier to know the opinions and attitudes of the nobility of Kraków and Poznań districts, or Ruthenia, thanks to the records of the regional *sejmiki*, which were preserved and published in print. It is difficult to get so many sources for the other regions of the Commonwealth.

Taking the existing limitations into account—that is, the multifariousness of sources and the dispersion of subject literature—the decision on the research strategy was of key importance.

The initial efforts were aimed at producing a compendious overview. The basis for a systematic review of the most important spheres of Italian activity and for the creation of a typology of the Italian immigrants' careers was to be the accessible biographical data referring to all representatives of the social category in question who were confirmed in sources. Over the last half century, it has become widely accepted that, in a situation when the study subject is a social, national, or any other possibly well-defined group, the optimal formula

for its description and analysis is the so-called prosopography. This is a collective biography constructed on the basis of a sum of data—necessarily compiled and ordered according to a comparable questionnaire—on particular representatives of the investigated group.²²

“A condition for a study of a human group are [the existence of] at least elementary biographies of its members,” wrote Andrzej Wyczański in his major book about the secretaries of Zygmunt I the Old²³ (whose statement we may successfully apply to our Italian characters). For a few of them, separate monographs have been written. A considerable number (but how many?) have their biographs in the *Polish Biographical Dictionary*, dictionaries of artists working in Poland, and in Italian encyclopaedical-biographical compendia. The rest, whether because of the banality of their lives and life achievements; the non-involvement in spectacular conflicts and disputes resulting in source documentation; or the shortness of stay and the failure of endeavours and initiatives that they undertook in Poland, do not leave satisfying records, though they have to be included in a general image.

But one has to “cut one’s coat according to one’s cloth.” It seems to be still too early for a biographical compendium. What remains is an attempt to reconstruct—on the basis of selected figures and their activity—the mechanisms of the Italian immigrants’ influences on Polish-Lithuanian reality. Thus, the study aspires to synthesise only as far as the presentation of a possibly comprehensive set of spheres of activity of Italians in Poland and the reflection on various effects of these spheres are concerned. By no means does it make claims to the completeness of the biographical data.

Construction

The construction of the present work has been designed as follows:

Chapter one, entitled “Evidence of Presence,” functions as a comprehensive introduction, in which the most crucial of the problems analysed are indicated through comparison of various sources confirming and characterising the presence of Italians in modern Poland, and of notes and opinions that may be found on the pages of the most significant narrative sources from or about Poland.

Chapter two, entitled “The Coming: From the Italian Perspective,” covers the Italian perspective; it is an attempt to see the phenomenon from the side of Italy through reconstructing the process of the increase of knowledge about Poland in opinion-forming Italian circles and the mechanism of decision-making on heading

22 See Lawrence Stone, *Prosopography...*, p. 46-57.

23 Andrzej Wyczański, *Między kulturą a polityką...*, p. 7.

for the north-east. We will analyse the motives and factors inclining Italians to emigrate, and their expectations in respect of the stay in the Commonwealth (also in relation to other countries). We will also systematise the life strategies of the emigrants to Poland, as well as the chances for the successful realisation of particular options.

Chapter three, entitled “The Stay: The Italians in the Commonwealth,” attempts to present a synthetic analysis of the migration of Italians to Poland in the 16–17th centuries. We will show the specificity of the modern era in regards to the previous political, economic, and cultural contacts. This part, written mainly on the basis of the subject literature, comprises a rather complete catalogue of Italian spheres of activity. Profiles of the Italians active in Poland in different periods and fields will be used for preparation of this catalogue; these will be, in some sense, model profiles, sometimes constructed on the basis of data on several people. We will present the image of the Italian artist, Italian merchant, banker and financier. We will also feature the Italian politician and diplomat, both clerical (nuncio) and lay. The Italian resident and informer; the Italian royal and noblemen’s servant; and finally the Italian scholar, erudite, counsellor, book collector, and court historian will also appear. The categorisation applied aims at increasing the image clarity, while making clear that all divisions like this are a kind of simplification. This is because the selected traits and professional qualifications were quite frequently embodied in one person.

Chapter four is the longest chapter and is entitled “Interaction: A Friendly Confrontation.” Its first part (“In New Realities”) is devoted to an attempt to trace how particular categories of the Italian arrivals adapted to their new reality, and in which spheres of activity they were the most successful. Part two (“Various Directions of Influences”) is a study of mutual influence of the Italian arrivals and their Polish hosts. This part also investigates the processes of the Polishness of the former, and the Italianisation of the latter. Several drafts of exquisite or significant figures showed some, in our view, underestimated aspects and consequences of the Italian presence in Poland. We ask the question about how far, in geographical and social terms, Italian colonisation took place, and to what extent this phenomenon was related—if at all—with technological progress. We ask other questions such as whether this group produced leading entrepreneurs, or whether their activity can be seen as organisationally innovative. This section also explores the role that was played by the Italian residents at magnate courts and at the side of the subsequent sovereigns.

To conclude this part of the discussion, we try to reconstruct the model of Italian influence in the intellectual sphere as well as in the sphere of the most widely accepted standards of civilisation. We also investigate both the immediate effects of this phenomenon and its long-lasting consequences.

Chapter five is entitled “Reaction: To Italian Immigrants.” It focuses on the attitude of the Old Polish society towards the Italians. We analyse the Polish attitudes towards foreigners in general, and also the changes that occur due to these perspectives. A stereotype of an Italian will be presented as well as its evolution. We will discuss Italophilia, together with the characteristics of some outstanding figures manifesting this position (this is a perspective that is regarded as an extremely positive attitude to the Italians and everything that is Italian). Likewise, we will also analyse Italophobia (this is defined as reluctance towards the Italians). We will do so not by looking at the opinions of particular individuals, but rather of whole communities; this scope includes the viewpoints of the authors who expressed them in literary texts and commentaries. We will also have a brief discussion of the consequences of the Poles’ stay in Italy and of some reactions written down by, mainly noble, citizens of the Commonwealth who happened to visit Italy. This is only seemingly off topic, for the way that Poles reacted to Italian realities appears to provide indirect information on the reception of the Polish-Lithuanian reality by the Italian migrants, and simultaneously on their chances of assimilation. The cultural distance will be presented from a different perspective.

The subtitle of chapter six, “Consequences and Contexts,” is entitled “The Lost Chance for Modernization.” It contains a thesis that we will have to justify exhaustively, namely that the Old Polish society (specifically its most important, noble part) proved surprisingly resilient to the models and inspirations transferred to the Commonwealth directly from Italy. Thus, we will pose a question that will encompass the reasons for this resilience to the external influence (the ideology of Sarmatism?), and the grounds for general aversion to changes and innovations (national megalomania?). Apart from the well-known and often discussed features of noble culture, which may be verified on this occasion, there must have been some additional, specific reasons why the Italian influence was relatively weak and lacked clear consequences. We will find these reasons, among other places, in the class inferiority of most migrants who typically descended from the bourgeois circles. This must have blocked their careers and access to the elite circles in Poland and, in consequence, barred their full assimilation. Although coming from positions of influence, these Italians would be considered second-rate in relation to the dominant Polish nobility. The Commonwealth also widely regarded the new arrivals’ professions as useful and practicable but not prestigious. Nevertheless, we must keep such studies in the sphere of hypotheses: the part-verification of which was carried out by comparing the Italians with other national minorities functioning in the Commonwealth (“The Italians and other Foreign Groups”), and investigating, for comparative reasons, the status and role of the Italians in other European countries (“Italians in France, Russia, and England”). This chapter also covers an attempt to sum up the long-term Italian civilisational and cultural

influence on Polish reality (“*L’italianità* – The Model of Italian Influence”), with regard to a specific asymmetry of centuries-old Polish-Italian contacts (“Italians in Poland – Poles in Italy”)

“Final Remarks” contain some reflections on the Italians’ role in modern era Europe, and on the essence and prospects for Polish-Italian relationships in various areas of culture (including historical research) and social life.

Literature

An introduction to the topic, namely outlining the state of our knowledge about the Italian presence in the Commonwealth, reveals itself to be difficult because of the sheer number and variety of existing studies on this subject.

The multifaceted nature of the phenomenon is a natural consequence of the multitude of studies done by academics; moreover, although the representatives of various disciplines are not always adequately cooperating, they are interested in the topic. Literary historians analyse the influence of particular authors whose works were translated or, in their original version, were treated as a model and source of inspiration. Art historians investigate the achievements of specific artists coming from Italy, show interest in their previous experiences and accomplishments, and analyse stylistic filiations.

In the strictest sense, historians also fall short of the mark because of their obligation to present synthetic views; they either deal with the history of trade (in terms of the substantial role of the Italian merchants), or study the history of production (from small crafts to the mining industry, which was in hands of the Italian arrivals throughout a significant part of the modern era), or conduct analyses of the court structures and functions performed within them by Italians. In all, historians tend to not analyse the topic systematically but as a fragment of a bigger whole.

Despite the poor compatibility of the threads presented, and also the above-mentioned scale and complexity of the issue of Polish-Italian relations, we feel obliged to draft a panorama of the phenomenon in question at the beginning of our discussion. By doing this, we hope to indirectly present the current state of research and its shortfalls.

When we try to discuss the research synthetically, we encounter serious difficulty with the noted richness of subject literature and the very diverse character of the existing publications (in the interests of the reader, we do not want to harp on about the subject).

We also straightforwardly announce that the present state of research, or rather, the works most important for the subject, will be indicated when discussing particular topics, while here we draft only the main currents of the previous studies.

The presence of Italians in Poland and the spheres of their activity have for a long time interested researchers, especially literary, art and economic historians. Thus, an impressive amount of literature has been created. It combines disparate achievements as far as character (from synthetic and compendious views to monographic and exiguous studies) and their scientific value is concerned. The discussion of literature would result in a dissertation within the scope of the history of historiography, which certainly exceeds our current plans. Those previous positions that most contributed to the reconstruction of the phenomenon in question, and all the studies quoted in footnotes, are listed in the bibliography. In this place, we decided to offer a brief characterisation of the output of previous workers.

It is not only enormously copious and varied in terms of form but also touches upon several thematic levels, since nearly all studies on the culture of the Polish Renaissance (especially on literature and plastic arts) include content on the Italian presence in Poland or on the Italian influence on particular segments of the Old Polish culture. Kraków has always been the main centre of such research because it is there that the Italian influences are most conspicuous and the source documentation has been best preserved. Kraków historians, since the 1880s and 1890s and in isolated cases even earlier, have conducted wide ranging research on artists working in Poland. The findings revolved around architects and builders, thus documenting a particular category of artistic accomplishments while also noting the most important elements of these artists' lives. In the consecutive volumes of *Rocznik Krakowski* [*Kraków Annual*] and also in serial publications of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences²⁴ are dissertations by Julian Pagaczewski on Baltazaro Fontana (1909), by Mieczysław Skrudlik on Tommaso Dolabella (1914), by Stanisław Cercha and Feliks Kopera on Giovanni Cini from Siena (1916), by Jan Bołoz Antoniewicz on Giovanni Maria Padovano and Giovanni Piacentini (1922), by Stanisław Tomkowicz on Bernardo Morando and Santi Gucci, and, fundamental for our topic, works by Jan Ptaśnik – *Z Dziejów kultury włoskiego Krakowa* [From the Culture History of the Italian Kraków] (1906), *Gli italiani a Cracovia dal XVI secolo al XVIII* (1909), *Włoski Kraków za Kazimierza Wielkiego i Władysława Jagiełły* [The Italian Kraków Under Casimir III the Great and Władysław II Jagiełło] (1910).

Works on source publications were conducted in parallel. Adam Chmiel published, among other things, *Album Studiosorum Universitatis Cracoviensis*

24 This concerns especially the series – *Prace Komisji Historii Sztuki*, published 1919-1952, which was the continuation of *Sprawozdania Komisji do Badania Historji Sztuki w Polsce, 1879-1915*.

(1892) and *Rachunki dworu królewskiego* [The Receipts of the Royal Court] from times of Zygmunt II August (1911). Jan Ptaśnik published *Cracoviae artificum*, which included invaluable excerpts concerning the history of Kraków art and crafts in 1501–1550 (1937).

In the longer term, art historians proved to be more consistent for the reason that the topic was of highest importance to the discipline (the same is true regarding the historians of musicology). Already before World War II, the works by Stefan Komornicki on Francesco Fiorentino (1929), by Witold Kieszkowski on Carlo Scampani (1933), by Zygmunt Hornung on Bernardo Merettini (1934) and Giovanni Maria Padovano (1938), by Witold Dalbor on Pompeo Ferrari (1938), and by Piotr Bohdziewicz on Francesco Placidi (1938–39) were published. After the war, the studies on the artists working in Poland were intensively continued in the significant monographs on Giacopo Fontana (1970, Aldona Bartczakowa) and Santi Gucci (1969, Andrzej Fischinger). Adam Bochnak wrote, among others, about Bartolomeo Berrecci, Geronimo Canavesi, and Padovano (1960). Above all, however, Bochnak wrote about Giovanni Trevano (1948). Józef Lepiarczyk wrote about Francesco Placidi (1948, 1950). Bolesław Przybyszewski (1951, 1955, 1986), Karol Estreicher (1972), Lech Kalinowski (1960, 1979), and primarily Stanisław Mossakowski (1978, 1988) produced works on Bartolomeo Berrecci. Anna Misiąg-Bocheńska wrote about Bernardino Zanobi de Gianotis (1949, 1960). Maria Lewicka (1952, 1957) and Jerzy Kowalczyk (1967, 1986) wrote about Bernardo Morando. The list has been expanded quite recently by the monograph of Agostino Locci, who was a scenographer and architect at the court of the House of Vasa; this work was published by Hanna Osiecka-Samsonowicz.

We should mention separately the achievements of researchers of Polish Renaissance and Baroque architecture, such as Helena and Stefan Kozakiewicz, Witold Maisel, Adam Miłobędzki, Jerzy Paszenda, and Robert Kunkel. Mariusz Karpowicz occupies an important position in this field, having devoted a serious part of his many years of research to the activity of artists from the northern highland and poor regions of Italy (geographically, this location is at the Italian-Swiss borderland, or specifically, the Como and Ticino regions) in the Commonwealth. He also is the author of bold, synthetic observations on the Italian artistic avant-garde in the Baroque era and a proponent of the thesis about the especially fast and easy reception of these models in Poland. The social and artistic aspects of the Italian artists and activity of craftsmen have long interested Juliusz A. Chrościcki.

A systematic elaboration on the profiles of the most outstanding Italians working in Poland had already been planned in the beginning of the previous century. Even a literary series named *Italians in Poland* was designed, though only one volume was released; it was a little work by Antoni Hniłko about Tito Livio Burattini (Kraków 1922–1923). The reader who expected the publication of

the following volumes, and, in consequence, to be presented with a panorama of the phenomenon, was disappointed (and this is not the only case).

The book by Zdzisław Jachimecki, *Wpływy włoskie w muzyce polskiej* [The Italian Influences on Polish Music], or rather its first and only part, concerning the period of 1540–1640, published before World War I, astonishes a non-specialist with its content. It is a collection of separate studies, referring to: “the most important of the extant musical monuments of the period.” It starts with the *Tabulatura* by Jan of Lublin from 1540, which contains many Italian pieces and far more numerous stylistic borrowings. It ends with the output of Polish composers of the first half of the 17th century (Mikołaj Zieleński, Adam Jarzębski, and Bartłomiej Pękiel), wherein the Italian influences are less evident. However, this position is for specialists, who will easily comprehend the authors’ conclusions;²⁵ a historian—more interested in the musicians’ lives than in the history of music—will have to confine themselves to become acquainted with Jachimecki’s conclusions on Italian musical primacy in the modern era and acknowledge the argument on borrowings, which came *en masse* to Poland from there.²⁶ Yet, the author does not provide any proposal of a synthesis of the whole phenomenon. Rather, he tries to emphasise its complex structure. Major progress in the scope of the Italian influence in the musical sphere, and primarily, the ordering of factual material and multiple new biographical findings, were brought about with works of Adolf Chybiński, Hieronim Feicht, Anna and Zygmunt Szweykowski, Mirosław Perz, Alina Żurawska-Witkowska, and Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska.

In parallel to the research of art historians and musicologists, studies have been carried out (mainly on the basis of the municipal records) on the Italian community living and working in Kraków in various periods (also in other cities, though this phenomenon occurred in other places on a smaller scale and even fewer sources on this have been preserved) and specialising in trade and some branches of craft (such as goldsmithery and pharmacy).

25 For example, dances in *Tabulatura* by Jan of Lublin, signed by monogramist N. C. “especially by the nature of their proportions are an echo of the then contemporary method of the Italian composers: transforming a pavana into a galliard (Zdzisław Jachimecki, *Wpływy włoskie w muzyce polskiej...*, p. 41); or, “that the Italian way of singing various compositions must have been applied in the Rorantist College [by the Sigismund Chapel of Wawel Cathedral]” (p. 44);

26 “The country, in which in the 18th century, music, especially opera, was to enter the reign of almost absolute coloratura, proved in the 16th century to be the most favorable ground for ornaments in singing... in the 16th century Italy was supplied with Netherlandish musicians, who immigrated here in hordes... However, soon the Italians themselves became general music providers for the whole Europe, in the 17th and 18th centuries. They work everywhere as instrumentalists, singers or composers...” – *ibidem*, p. 44-45.

The major credit in this regard should be ascribed to Adam Chmiel, and especially to Jan Ptaśnik, whose work is continued today by Danuta Quirini-Popławska. Kazimierz Kaczmarczyk was interested in the Italians in Poznań, while in Lviv it was Władysław Łoziński, and Tadeusz Mańkowski. The presence of the Italian artists and scholars and their status in court structures under Sobieski was investigated by Juliusz Starzyński. Under the Vasa reign, they were studied by Karolina Targosz, the author of the best monograph of Girolamo Pinocci. The figure of Queen Bona fascinated many researchers, foremost Władysław Pocięcha; several dissertations were devoted to the Italian queen by Maria Bogucka. The economic aspect of the Italian activity was of interest to Roman Rybarski, Ludwik Boratyński, Ludwik Birkenmajer, Antoni Hniłko, Władysław Łoziński, Leon Babiński, Juliusz Mękicki, and relatively recently Maria Taszycka, and Adam Manikowski have written amply on the subject. Maurycy Horn should also be included in this group. He is the author of a series of articles on Jews connected with the court of the last two Jagiellonians (suppliers, bankers and creditors, medics, craftsmen, and even people providing diplomatic and customs services), since in this company there were many figures of the Italian origin.

A vast literature on the subject of Papal diplomats active in the Commonwealth has been gathered and summarised by Father Henryk Damian Wojtyska, when he prepared the edition of the nunciature acts. His work was supplemented by the editors of the subsequent volumes of *Acta Nuntiaturae Polonae*. Ludwik Boratyński and Józef Garbacik have written on the activity of the Italian diplomatic representations the most extensively.

A separate current was constituted by research on the Italian influences in the sphere of intellectual culture, on the Italian model's role and possible acceptance, and also on Polish travels of an educational-intellectual nature (the main destination of which was Italy).

Not leaving the 20th century, we have to mention here the achievements of distinct philologists and literary historians Roman Pollak, Mieczysław Brahmer, and Ignacy Zarębski. We should also mention the vast output of the exquisite culture historian Henryk Barycz. Synthetic views of Polish-Italian contacts and the Italian—chiefly cultural—influences have been delivered on many occasions by such remarkable scholars as Claude Backvis, Oskar Halecki, Lech Szczucki, and Janusz Tazbir. This group should also include *Iter Romano-Italicum Polonorum* by Tadeusz Ulewicz (1999), though it is difficult to avoid passing critical comment on this long-awaited study. Erudite overcharge and lack of clear structure of presentation, as well as complicated style, were the reasons why the work of this distinguished scholar, designed to be a synthesis of the phenomenon, did not meet expectations nor played a commanding role. From many philologists dealing with the Old Polish era, and thus also with the Italian influences, the works by Jan Ślaski, Julian Lewański, Alina

Nowicka-Jezowa, Jadwiga Miszalska, and Andrzej Litwornia have proved of the greatest use for our needs.

Let us make a further comment that, despite the copiousness of the available studies, it seems too early for the creation of a work of a prosopographic character. This is due not only to enormous problems with justifying the representativeness of the group (in relation to which a sufficient source material would have to be gathered in order to enable a comprehensive analysis), but primarily due to the fact that studies in the area in question are presently being carried out, and in many fields significant progress is being observed.

This concerns first of all the studies by art historians (Juliusz A. Chrościcki, Mariusz Karpowicz, Jerzy Kowalczyk, Stanisław Mossakowski, and Jerzy Wojciechowski) and musicologists (Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, Anna and Zygmunt Szweykowski, Alina Żórawska-Witkowska). Within these studies one can realise many achievements: novelties referring to Polish-Italian diplomatic contacts appear quite systematically (editions of nuncios' correspondence and texts written on the occasion of singular lay diplomatic missions to Poland—by Giovanni Tiepolo, Luigi Bevilacqua, and Niccolò Siri); progress is also noted in the identification of the court environment and of some professional groups related to the royal court (Marek Ferenc wrote about Sigismund II Augustus' court; Andrzej Wyczański, about the secretaries of Sigismund I the Old); and a synthetic list of *indigenats* and ennoblements has been completed (Barbara Trelińska). However, no progress is seen in research on Italian trade history and the Italian manufacturing, or mint and publishing activity in the Commonwealth.

This would suffice to briefly discuss Polish historiography. The Italian seems far less abundant, which is the effect of a specific asymmetry in which the Polish theme seems marginal (does it really?) for Italian history, while from the perspective of Polish history it is of key importance. However, the Italian output cannot be disregarded here. The author of the first and simultaneously one of the major studies, Sebastiano Ciampi, could also be a fully-fledged character in our work (save for the fact that he was active in the 19th century). This intellectual and researcher of antiquity originated from Lucca. In 1817, he found—as one of the first foreigners—a post in the University of Warsaw.²⁷ He started to collect source materials illustrating Polish-Italian contacts in the modern era, and the main result of this search was the fundamental *Bibliografia critica*. This was a three-volume collection of invaluable source excerpts on Italian figures related to Poland. Although the work was published in Florence in the 1830s and 1840s, scholars still use this work today.²⁸

27 See Bronisław Biliński, *Sebastiano Ciampi...*, where basic literature about him is presented.

28 Silvano De Fanti's index, prepared over twenty years ago (*Per leggere Ciampi...*) with the readers of Ciampi's compendium in mind, is highly useful.

Ciampi's *Bibliografia* is the first elaboration of our subject, which may be described as compendious with alphabetical-encyclopaedical order. Therefore, the particular volumes show great disproportions in terms of the content and size of entries; the collection is naturally far from complete (the author himself used the term *Bibliografia*, which sounds very modest in this context). The materials gathered by Ciampi are fundamentally incomparable, but they also do not impose any holistic view. The analysis of a group of characters which the scholar included—aiming at obtaining figures—would be pointless. However, it is worth underlining that, for Ciampi's followers, the main result of his studies has proven lastingly useful while simultaneously avoiding major problems with interpretation.

All this cannot be said of one of his chief followers. In 1906, in Crema, F. F. De Daugnon published a two-volume, lavish study, entitled *Gli italiani in Polonia dal IX secolo al XVIII* (The Italians in Poland from the 9th to the 18th Century). The author (as mentioned in the introduction), guided by ardent feelings towards the Polish homeland (which—noteworthy—did not at that time exist on the political map of Europe), decided to pay homage to the country that centuries ago had hosted so many of his countrymen. Therefore, he prepared a dictionary of the Italian families, whose representatives visited or settled in Poland during these ten centuries. De Daugnon divided his work into four parts. The first contained Italian families “*naturalizzate polacche*,” namely those whose representatives were granted Polish *indigenat*. The second covered the Italian families “*create nobili dalla Polonia*,” those honoured with nobility. The third denoted those who obtained the titles of counts, grafs, or barons of the Kingdom of Poland (“*decorate di titoli di nobiltà usati in Europa*”), these were granted only to foreigners of uniquely prestigious value. The last, fourth part, included the rest of the Italians whose stay in Poland was recorded by the author. This time he grouped them according to class and profession (clergymen, diplomats, military men, scholars, doctors, artists, etc.). Unfortunately, this painstaking work was not accompanied by scientific precision or respect for the historian's technique. In this elaboration, facts confirmed in sources mingle with literary fiction and legends. We deal with very lavish, but unreliable material and this fact cannot be revised.

In older Italian literature, there are numerous studies too, typically of purely biographical or exiguous character, focusing on particular figures active in Poland.²⁹ These texts, generally, do not bring anything new in relation to the later biographs, published in *Polish Biographical Dictionary* and *Dizionario biografico*

29 Sebastiano Ciampi has been written about by, among others: Giuseppe Gazzeri and Maria Luisa Panicoli; military engineers: Simone Genga – Carlo Promis, Domenico Ridolfino – Milziade Santoni; the writer Alessandro Guagnini – Carlo Cipolla; the influential secretary of Stanisław August, Scipione Piattoli – Giorgio Ferrari Moreni, Alessandro D'Ancona, Vittorio Cian.

degli italiani. Therefore, we omit them in farther bibliography. This refers the potentially interested readers to a thoroughly prepared biographical study by Marina Bersano Begey.³⁰

However, it is appropriate to mention, in this short review, the works of Italians professionally engaged in rapprochement between the two nations, who produced casual historical studies on this subject. The most precious were created by Fortunato Giannini, a lecturer of Italian at the Jagiellonian University, and also Arturo Stanghellini and Enrico Damiani; this group also comprises texts by Alfons Bronarski.

Thus, Italian studies of most importance for our topic (Sebastiano Ciampi, F. F. De Daugnon, and Fortunato Giannini) were created in the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century. The content needs to be, on the one hand, verified and supplemented, and on the other hand, reinterpreted.

Also, the works that were written in Mussolini's times, indirectly becoming part of the Great Power ideology of that period, should be treated with the highest caution. These are, primarily, the works by Ettore Lo Gatto, who dealt with Italian cultural influence in Bohemia, Moravia, and Slovakia. He also prepared a monumental, three-volume elaboration on the activity of Italian artists in Russia.³¹ Just before World War II, Lo Gatto initiated a publishing series under a very telling title *L'opera del genio italiano all'estero* [The Works of the Italian Genius Abroad]. In this series—as far as we know—only one title was published: a study by Emilio Lavagnino on the Italian artists working in Portugal.

After the war and on a smaller scale, researchers continued studying Italian artists that created beyond Italy. The result was a work on Florentine sculptors in Spain (by Jesús Hernández Perera) and, most importantly, Luigi Ferrarino's dictionary of Italian artists working there from the 12th to the 19th centuries. Unfortunately, the biographical dictionary of Italians active in the Ukraine, prepared by Mikola M. Varvartsev, covers only the 19th century.

To conclude the theme of the Italian subject literature, we also want to mention works that were created quite recently and to which we owe especially much. Rita Mazzei has already devoted two books on the Italian merchants in Poland and the Italian activity in the whole Central European region, and evidently the issue is still of interest to her.³² Domenico Caccamo—author of a dissertation on dissenters

30 Marina Bersano Begey, *La Polonia in Italia...*, p. 191et seq.

31 Though Roman Pollak in the end of the 1920s. deplored the Italian lack of interest in the Italian culture outside Italy, including Poland (Romano Pollak, *Pagine di cultura e di letteratura polacca...*, p. 209), he could not have been satisfied with a series of publications glorifying the Italian greatness and influences in the fascist spirit.

32 In 2003 she has devoted a comprehensive study on Lodovico Monti, a diplomat and royal secretary in times of Queen Bona and Sigismund II Augustus – see Rita Mazzei, *Quasi un paradigma...*, p. 5-55.

in Moravia, Poland, and Transylvania—has prepared a valuable edition of the correspondence of a Venetian, Giovanni Tiepolo. He also carried out a study on Italian relations in Poland in the mid-17th century. Gaetano Platania consistently investigates Polish-Italian contacts, especially political-diplomatic. In the second half of the 17th century, he focuses on the reign of Jan III Sobieski. Pietro Marchesani published a precursory study on the state of knowledge about the Commonwealth present in Italy. Also, the works by other contemporary Italian Polonists, particularly by Sante Graciotti and Luigi Marinelli, are of vital interest for our topic.

There also remains the difficult task of discussing literature not necessarily created in Italy, which undertakes the issue of the broad view of Italian emigration. Classical Italian studies mainly concerned the Italian travellers and discoverers. Pietro Amat di San Filippo has prepared a comprehensive list of them (from Piano dei Carpini and Marco Polo up to the missionaries of the 18th century), as well as an anthology of texts created during journeys, typically over great distances. These texts also include relations and commentaries on Poland and bordering countries. When characterising Italian mobility, the author related this to the political and economic history of the Peninsula. An elaborate biographical-bibliographical study by Pietro Donazzolo on Venetian travellers was a supplement to Amat's work.³³

Later works on the Italians' activity beyond Italy show great thematic diversity; most of them refer to more contemporary times, and the authors unwillingly use the term emigration in reference to times before the 19th century. Thus, for example, there are works devoted to the Italian presence in Peru (Bruno Bellone) and also in Mexico (Mario Marini); to the exploration of foreign lands, such as Egypt (Roberto Almagià), Australia and Brazil (Ulderico Berardi); and finally, to 19th–20th century emigration to France (Pierre Milza, Edmond Galasso), Switzerland (Giuseppe Martinola), Canada and the United States (Robert F. Harney, Bruno Ramirez), and Germany (Angelo Ara, Rudolf Lill). In addition, the research covers the stereotypes arising on that occasion.³⁴ Extraordinarily numerous

33 On Pietro Amat's list – in the total number of 242 Italian travellers – there were 105 Venetians; Donazzolo added another 392.

34 Not treating these positions as elements of the bibliography, we only cite them in the footnote, selecting the ones which – in our view – illustrate the progress of research on the history of the Italian emigration: *Presencia italiana en el Perú*, compilador Bruno Bellone, Instituto italiano de cultura, Lima 1984; Mario Marini, *Missionari italiani in Messico*, Dehoniane, Roma 1991; *L'opera degli italiani per la conoscenza dell'Egitto e per il suo risorgimento civile ed economico*, a cura di Roberto Almagià, Provveditorato generale dello Stato, Roma 1926; Ulderico Berardi, *A catâr fortuna: storie venete d'Australia e del Brasile*, Neri Pozza, Vicenza 1994; *Les Italiens en France de 1914 à 1940*, sous la direction de Pierre Milza, École française de Rome, Roma 1986; Edmond Galasso, *Italiens d'hier et d'aujourd'hui: l'histoire d'un peuple d'émigrants: une communauté, une culture, une tradition*, Presses Universitaires, Lyon 1986; Giuseppe Martinola, *Gli esuli*

studies have appeared on Italian activity in Spain and Andalusia. In addition, there is material that reviews the Italians presence, on the one hand, in the court of Emperor Sigismund (1410–1437), and on the other hand, in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy.³⁵ We discuss the subject literature on the Italian emigration to France, England, and Russia in a chapter dedicated to these issues.

Studies that were so varied in content and form did not favour theoretical reflection on migration mechanisms of the modern era.

The tendency to treat emigration as a mass phenomenon and as related to problems in the labour markets was prevalent, which resulted in a complete domination of dissertations covering the last two centuries.

Only recently, the term emigration began to be more broadly applied to the previous period. A Dutch historian, Jan Lucassen, has taken up the migration of labour forces in modern Europe. He drew attention to the fact that, whereas in the 19th century migration processes resulted in lasting displacements of people, in the previous period temporary dislocations were typical (of one or several years, possibly repeated).

Meanwhile, the German researcher Dirk Hoerder indicated the mid-17th century as a turning point. According to him, in the period from the 13th century to the end of The Thirty Years' War, the phenomenon of mobility within the European continent began between particular regions. In 1650–1800, when there occurred departures to America, Europe was dominated by migration from countryside to

-
- italiani nel Ticino*, vol. 1: 1791-1847, Comitato italiano nel Ticino per la celebrazione centenaria dell'unità d'Italia, Fondazione Ticino Nostro, Lugano 1980; Robert F. Harney, *Italophobia: An English-Speaking Malady?*, Studi di Emigrazione XII, n. 77, Centro Studi di Emigrazione, Roma 1985, p. 6-44; Robert F. Harney, *From the Shores of Hardship: Italians in Canada*, ed. by Nicholas De Maria Harney, Soleil, Welland (Ontario) 1993; Bruno Ramirez, *The Italians in Canada*, Canadian Historical Association, Ottawa 1989; *Immagini a confronto: Italia e Germania. Deutsche Italienbilder und italienische Deutschlandbilder*, a cura di/hrsrg. von Angelo Ara, Rudolf Lill, Il Mulino – Bologna, Duncker und Humblot – Berlin 1991.
- 35 Federigo Melis, *Mercaderes italianos en España: siglos XIV-XVI (investigaciones sobre su correspondencia y su contabilidad)*, Sevilla 1976; Anna Unali, *Mercanti e artigiani italiani a Cordova nella seconda metà del Quattrocento*, Cappelli, Bologna 1984; proceedings of the international conference: *Españoles en Italia e italianos en España: IV encuentro de investigadores de las universidades de Alicante y Macerata* (mayo 1995), comp. Enrique Giménez López, Miguel Angel Lozano Marco, Juan Antonio Ríos Carratolá; proceedings of the Spanish-Italian conference organised in Seville, 1983, continued in Santa María de La Rábida, 1986: *Presencia italiana en Andalucía, siglos XIV-XVII*, Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, Sevilla 1985; Gisela Beinhoff, *Die Italiener am Hof Kaiser Sigismunds (1410-1437)*, Lang, Frankfurt a. M. 1995; Theodor Veiter, *Die Italiener in der Österreichisch-Ungarischen Monarchie. Eine Volkspolitische und nationalitätenrechtliche Studie*, R. Oldenbourg, München 1965.

towns, from rural regions to industrialised regions. Other grounds for migration occurred simultaneously, including religious and political ones.

It is worth adding that in 1993 the prestigious Francesco Datini International Institute of Economic History in Prato, traditionally inspiring research on the Middle Ages and the early-modern era, dedicated its annual session to the issues of European migrations. Among the papers delivered there, the most useful for our purposes were the presentations of Jerzy Wyrozumski, who showed Central-European realities as favouring migration, and of Heinz Schilling, who investigated religiously motivated migrations.³⁶ Demographic studies by Athos Bellettini and Danile Baratti, indirectly explaining the mechanisms of the Italian emigration, proved valuable for reflection on its genesis. Simonetta Adorni-Braccesi focused on the European migrations of the inhabitants of Lucca. Raul Merzario and André Schluchter focused on the migrations of the inhabitants of the Swiss-Italian borderland in search of work. Robert Cohen presented his work on the displacement of Italian merchants from Livorno to Amsterdam. Also, there was intensive progress in the research on the unique phenomenon of the emigration of Italian architects and builders from mountainous regions on lakes Como and Lugano, who searched for occupation to the south and north from the Alps. Tangible proof of this are the conferences' proceedings, organised in 1988 in Bellinzona (*Col bastone e la bisaccia per le strade d'Europa*) and in 1996 in Como (*Magistri d'Europa*). Besides particular research results, the academic conference included the attempts by Lucio Gambi and Stefano Della Torre to describe the phenomenon synthetically.³⁷

Italian emigration has recently become a topic of promising studies by Giovanni Pizzorusso and Matteo Sanfilippo. The article dedicated by the authors to this phenomenon in the modern era, with special regard to East-Central Europe, is of a reconnaissance nature and announces further investigations; it is also a helpful guide to the existing works.³⁸

36 The presentations and proceedings of the discussion were published in the volume *Le migrazioni in Europa, secc. XIII-XVIII*, a cura di Simonetta Cavaciocchi, Le Monnier, Prato 1994.

37 Lucio Gambi, *Popolazione, risorse e fenomeni migratori nell'arco alpino*, in: *Col bastone e la bisaccia...*, p. 5-11, Stefano Della Torre, *L'emigrazione degli artisti: tradizioni, nuove questioni storiografiche e sentimento del luogo nella "regione dei laghi"*, in: *Magistri d'Europa...*, p. 11-16.

38 See Giovanni Pizzorusso, Matteo Sanfilippo, *Prime approssimazioni per lo studio dell'emigrazione italiana...*, p. 261-274. The presented compilation of the subject literature clearly shows that the output of medievalists in this subject is much more comprehensive.

Chapter I
Evidence Of Presence
On the Pages of Narrative Sources

We can easily identify the Italian presence in modern era Poland in the world of literature and art, in popular culture (proverbs and sayings), in court culture, and in material culture such as clothes, dances, and cooking. The genesis and various consequences of this Italian presence will be the main subject of our investigation.

The Italian traces may be seen in the historical landscape. This is not only in terminology, which, it should be noted, provides some of the most unequivocal associations. For example, the origin of the place name Bar in Podolia, obviously derived from the Italian Bari, was explained by Tadeusz Ulewicz as arising from Queen Bona's bestowal.¹ Thus, this would not only be fully conscious Italianisation but also be top-down in nature, beginning as an instruction from the royal court. The genesis of names that appear profusely in the Commonwealth, the Romes and Venices [Rzym, Wenecja], as well as names such as Alwernia (Alvernia is the Latin name deriving from La Verna, a mountain in Tuscany related to St Francis), and Padew [Padova], must have been different, though not in all cases clear. It is not certain whether all these names evoked explicit Italian associations.

On the visit of the French envoy, Claude de Mesmes, count d'Avaux, to the Holy Trinity Church in Gdańsk in June, 1636, Karol Ogier noted: "there is a beautiful tombstone of marquis d'Oria, who was born in Rome [in fact, in Naples] in 1517 not without a prophecy foretelling his fate, and having travelled the whole world, hath stayed in Gdańsk and died there."² Giambernardino Bonifacio marquis d'Oria, a proponent of Protestant reformation and religious exile, died in 1597; he spent the last years of his eventful life in Gdańsk. The plaque commemorating the donor of a book collection that became the foundation for the resources at the future Gdańsk Senate Library, despite the passage of almost four decades, constituted—as we can see—one of the tourist attractions of Gdańsk. How numerous were places like this on the most popular routes, and were they definitely associated with Italian provenance?

From our contemporary perspective, the most crucial, or at least the most apparent, evidence of Italians in modern Poland seems to be the series of architectural associations. These are typically connected with single buildings (such as Poznań's town hall, 1550–1560; Giovanni Battista Quadro), or whole complexes (Zamość, after 1580; Giovanni Morando), or even the more broadly perceived architectural-artistic landscape. In Kraków, this phenomenon exists in its most condensed form with Wawel, Sukiennice, Baroque style churches, headed by Saint Peter and Saint Paul (the Jesuit church). But this is also found, perhaps to an even greater degree, in Kraków's outlying residences, which are inspired by and modelled on Italian fashion. The most famous buildings include the villas of

1 Tadeusz Ulewicz, *Iter Romano-Italicum Polonorum...*, p. 170. The place was purchased around 1540 from Stanisław Odrowąż and soon was fortified because of the Tatar threat.

2 Karol Ogier, *Dziennik podróży do Polski...*, part. II, p. 209.

Justus Ludwik Decjusz in Wola Justowska, and of Bishop Samuel Maciejowski in Prądnik Biały; unfortunately, only the former survived. The latter was probably designed by Padovano. It was captured by Łukasz Górnicki, who used it for the plot of *Dworzanin polski*.

Thus, Kraków was especially marked by the Italians, who created the Renaissance and Baroque style buildings in the city. In addition, the Italian community left behind traces of their presence in such areas as the Italian Chapel in the Franciscan church, as well as in the rich content included in toponymy. Tadeusz Ulewicz has recently recalled that the Kleparz [Clepardia] district in Kraków was not always named as such. The name “Kleparz” became widespread in the 15th–16th centuries; before this time, this suburb was called Florencja [Florence]. Presumably, the area took its name from the church and Saint Florian’s relics, although this does not preclude other associations.³

Zamość is another example often invoked in the Italian-Polish connection; it is hard to omit. This “ideal city”—*città ideale*—was created at the end of the 16th century by Chancellor Jan Zamoyski, who was a first rank politician. He was a man of broad horizons who was thoroughly educated, partly in Italy. It had to serve as a capital city of the great latifundium, which he consistently built using his political position and all other available means.

The copious literature on the pearl of the Polish Renaissance, as Zamość is sometimes described, remarks unanimously that this is a practical, and moreover a complete, realisation of theoretical assumptions.

This was possible because of the founder’s enormous influences and financial means. Zamość joined many other cities with the specific status of a private city. They were quite numerous erected in the noblemen’s Commonwealth and totally dependent on their armigerous founders.

It is notable that Zamość—this was not a rule—was erected from scratch. This gave the city’s designer, Bernardo Morando, great licence. The Italian architect, complying with the chancellor’s wishes and instructions, could make proper use of this fact. Thus, a city designed in the minutest detail, in the architectural and functional senses, was created. The layout was a slightly elongated oval. A regular arrangement of streets surrounded the main market place. The town hall, however, was not centrally location, but it was rather closer to the northern frontage. On both sides of the main market, there were two smaller ones, salt and water markets. The west part of the market square contained the Entailers Palace, with its facade facing the city; there were three streets that connected the palace with the main market. Opposite the palace, stood a higher education facility consciously modelled on the Parisian Collège Royal. It was named the Zamość Academy with its ancillary

3 See Tadeusz Ulewicz, *La “via romana” dei polacchi...*, p. 112.

print works. The collegiate was in close vicinity to the academy; the synagogue and Basilian Orthodox chapel stood opposite to this. Finally, the whole town was surrounded by fortifications of modern, bastion construction.

The *Księga cechowa złotników krakowskich* [The Guild Register of Kraków Goldsmiths], 1462–1566, covers only the first part of the period in question; within this work, the Italian presence is distinctly marked.⁴ In the 16th-century records, we encounter both people described as “Italians” and also a more populous group of those whose provenance is ascertained by names and surnames or, alternatively, the names of their homes. The first group contains eleven people, the second over four times more. Since we deal here with a Kraków guild of high level of specialisation, the records—besides anonymous figures—include people known from their activity in the Renaissance capital. Apart from the Royal Goldsmith Gian Giacomo Caraglio, they were primarily architects and builders: Bartolomeo Berecci, Bernardo Zenobi de Gianotis, Filippo da Fiesole, Giovanni Cini da Siena, Giovanni Maria Padovano, Niccolò da Castiglione and his Polonised son, Kasper (Gaspare) de Castiglione-Suski, and also Santi Gucci; there were also famous merchants: Fabiano and Giulio Baldi, Gianbattista da Firenze, Sebastiano Montelupi, and Ottaviano Gucci da Firenze (who was a salt-mine administrator); there were representatives of medical professions: Court Doctor Giovanni Andrea de Valentinis and surgeon Giacomo Montanianus (from Mantua), also apothecary Giovanni Alantsee and his relatives, and also the barber of Bishop Piotr Tomicki, Galeazzo da Montagna; there also appeared a humanist Lactanzio Thedaldi and the first sixteenth-century nuncio Zaccaria Ferreri. There were also lesser known people of famous names such as Gonzaga and Medici. The representation is expressive and varied; however, let us remark that we quantitatively cover only several percent of the characters presented there.

In certain contexts, the Italian presence and role seems crucial, especially in events in which a major role was played by their artistic setting. One of the examples may be the arrival in Poland of Cecilia Renata, wife of Władysław IV Vasa. This fact resulted in a sequence of celebrations connected with the entry, coronation and reception, which occurred in Warsaw in 1637. His course is known particularly well thanks to a study by Alicja Faleniowska-Gradowska.⁵ The Italians seem to be omnipresent here, and as more than only creators of the spectacle. It is worth looking closely at the celebrations in the capital, concentrating on the names of the chief organisers. While the queen’s train was nearing majestically from the direction of Kraków, Warsaw was preparing exhaustively. Occasional

4 *Złotnicy krakowscy XIV-XVI wieku i ich księga cechowa*, vol. I-II, ed. Jerzy Pietrusiński, Instytut Sztuki PAN, Warsaw 2000.

5 See *Wjazd, koronacja, wesele Najjaśniejszej Królowej...*, passim, especially p. 22, 24, 32, 35, 37-39.

buildings—gates and triumphal arches—were erected and ornamented. This was supervised by Giovanni Battista Gisleni himself, a versatile artist (he was an architect, scenographer, painter, and sculptor, and he strongly connected with the Vasas' court).⁶ Simultaneously, the court—by deciding to renew the royal apparel at least partially—made intensive purchases of great amounts of cloth, linen, Florentine and Genoese velvets, satins and damasks for the royal guards, courtiers, and servants. We know that one of the key suppliers of the court was then Vincenzo Barsotti,⁷ permanently residing in Kraków. But, this could not have been the only merchant benefiting from this short-term opportunity.

The crowning festivities, which began on Sunday September 13, 1637, were accompanied by a group of royal musicians and singers (divided into 20 choirs). They were conducted by composer Marco Scacchi, who—like Gisleni—was permanently employed at the Polish court. The reception continued with a ballet performance, *La prigion d'Amore*, presented in the dining room of the Royal Castle. The spectacle was formally an opus by Princess Anna Catherine Constance and her maids, but it was clear to all the viewers that the refined scenery—including a massive tower—was created by Agostino Locci; moreover, the acting troupe was supported by prima donna Margherita Catanei, and a composer and a singer named Virgilio Puccitelli. All three were counted among the most exquisite artists of the court theatre, whose splendour was inseparably connected with the person of the groom. And finally, the *pièce de résistance*, a tragicomedy *La Santa Cecilia*, inaugurated the activity of the first opera house in Poland; the performers staged the performance in a new spacious theatrical hall (this was presumably the most significant achievement in culture under the reign of Władysław IV). Among the creators of this undoubted success and first-rank artistic event are the same names: the prime singer and the libretto author was Virgilio Puccitelli and the music was composed by Marco Scacchi himself. The sets, and surely also costumes, were designed by Agostino Locci, while Margherita Catanei starred in the title role. Indeed, it is difficult to find a more vivid example of the Italian presence, and even monopolisation of an important sphere of courtly life.

6 His tombstone in the Santa Maria del Popolo church is one of the most famous Polish monuments in Rome. The long-term connections of the artist with the Polish Vasa court are demonstrated upon it. How many visitors to this important church have remarked, and even read this inscription and drawn positive associations with the Polish court? If that would be the case, Gisleni continued to be a proponent of Poland even after his death.

7 This is the uncle and protector of the young Girolamo Pinocci—royal secretary, scholar, and diplomat, a very colourful and important figure as regards our discussion. This is mentioned not to multiply details but to draw attention to the significance of the relations inside the Italian circle.

The Italian influences are noted also in the colloquial language. Jan Stanisław Bystron enumerated the words “*Palace, dziardyny, balety, karoce, szpady, padwany* and *galardy* (dances), *karnawały, kredensy, kapelusze*.” He indicated that the lexical borrowings refer to a concrete semantic field that is connected with courtly life.⁸ This is not entirely true. There are examples allowing for an expansion of the field; they are presented in the chapter on Italianisation and treated as a part of mutual Polish-Italian interaction. Also, Italian-sounding names have survived in Polish. This will be discussed when analysing the “Polonisation” of the Italian immigrants. Here, we only remark that there are people who would include Archbishop Mikołaj Trąba (Trąba – Tromba), head of the Polish delegation to the Council of Constance and a close associate of Władysław II Jagiello, as one with a Polonised Italian name.

The Italian presence also manifested in the multitude of motifs and associations, which we encounter in literary and chronicle creations. “At this time there were great wars in Italy because the Spaniards with the French constantly fought for the Kingdom of Naples, and Maximilian with Helvetians, also the pope with the Florentines, and so Venetians with the Genoese, and then the Milanese with their lord, Ludovico Forcya [Sforza], Queen Bona’s grandfather” may be read on the pages of *The Chronicle of the European Sarmatia* by Alessandro Guagnin, in the section entitled *Description of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania*. Here the author included a quite detailed historical narration, subjected to chronology of the reigns of particular princes’ (in this case, concerning the times of Alexander the Great). Guagnin thought it necessary to mention the most important European events (in this case, Italian) that were happening in parallel. These were also to play the role of a background and reference point for the Lithuanian history. In the later parts of *The Chronicle*, the Italian threads also appear and serve a similar function (the Italian Wars in the times of Francis I of France); however, we find numerous signals that emphasised close ties between Poland and Rome and the Papacy. First, we learn that Pope Clement VII gave King Sigismund, via his envoy, “a costly hat and a blessed sword.” Then, we encounter precisely dated information from 14 August 1605, on the recognition of Stanislaus Kostka as blessed, which was supposedly due to the efforts of Andrzej Opaliński, Sigismund III’s envoy to Pope Paul V. This record is complemented with details of the blessed Jesuit’s holy life and his death at the age of 18.⁹

Similar mentions of analogous function are also found among those writers who—like Łukasz Opaliński—were not under explicit and direct Italian influence. In *Coś nowego* in 1652, this author writes: “As I hear, the Venetians now care less/

8 Jan Stanisław Bystron, *Dzieje obyczajów...*, 1960, vol. I, p. 92.

9 Aleksander Gwagnin, *Z Kroniki Sarmacyi Europejskiej...*, p. 116, 152, 311.

about *Kandyja* [Crete], though there is a different reign and council.”¹⁰ The Italian interjection was not necessary here. It may be regarded as an erudite ornament or a signal of interest and respect.

An Attempt to Order

Is it possible, somehow, to bring order to these miscellaneous themes? We will attempt to do this, assuming that this arrangement and the order of appearance of particular themes will not be an element of assessment and valuation.

The Italian presence brings, primarily, associations with the sphere of culture, especially courtly. In every study of Renaissance history in Poland, there must appear the names of the Italian masters. They were numerous and their presence was very vivid. They were connected with most prestigious investments: the double rebuilding of Wawel and later the Royal Castle in Warsaw, and designing and erecting the highest-rank Baroque style temples and aristocratic residences. The architects and builders were followed by the Italian musicians and people of theatre, most perceivably in the 17th century. In the next century, the less famous predecessors would be followed by painters of such rank as Bernardo Bellotto, called Canaletto, and Marcello Bacciarelli. The intellectuals would be less conspicuous, though Italian names were considerably numerous in the circle of professors of the Kraków Academy and in the courts of Polish rulers (beginning with the famous Callimachus, tutor to the sons of Casimir IV Jagiellon, and ending with, as a point of reference, a historian and erudite from the milieu of Stanisław August Poniatowski, Giovanni [Jan] Albertrandi).

The second would be the economic-trade sphere of activity. On the modern era Polish scene, and in our historical awareness, there is an Italian merchant offering wine, various spices (*korzenie*), and most prominently, attractive textiles. The activity of the Italian entrepreneurs was less spectacular, though no less important from the economic perspective. They initially took Polish salt and lead mines and customs houses on lease, and then, quite controversially, engaging in national minting (which, in the second half of the 17th century, considerably worsened the image of Italian arrivals in Polish opinion).

The third sphere of Italian activity was diplomacy, with which we tend to associate the secretarial-office activity of the Italian residing for a longer period at Polish courts; this was the environment of the king and the most influential noblemen. In size, this group certainly yielded to the preceding two. Even so, this group fulfilled two important roles that defined its particular status in the

¹⁰ Łukasz Opaliński, *Wybór pism...*, p. 278.

Commonwealth's society (besides just educating Polish youths in Italy). Firstly, the Italians helped create an efficient information system that resulted in (as we understand it) the rapprochement of Polish-Italian partners. Secondly, the Italians worked to adapt, with difficulty, significant bureaucratic standards to Polish realities.

The fourth group will be shown as the least homogeneous because the various professional qualifications form the basis for its distinction. Particular immigrants possessed these qualities, proving to be attractive to the Polish hosts. Thus, during our whole period of study, we deal with Italian doctors and apothecaries, goldsmiths, chefs (though not until the 19th century, confectioners), horse breakers, and fencing masters. The competences of scholars will also be appreciated (at the royal court), as will those of engineers (first mining, and later, notably, the military). The range of specialisations is very wide, yet their high level of professionalism is easily recognisable. Besides, none of these specialisations had an Italian monopoly.

On the Pages of Narrative Sources

Old Polish writers described their country sneeringly as "*aurifodina advenarum*," that is "a gold mine for incomers." What they meant was that Poland was a place especially (and also, in some sense, unjustly) attractive to foreigners. This slogan was rather popular in the second half of the 17th century, when the initially friendly and open attitude of the Polish nobility to foreigners gradually receded, and when the spheres of their possible activity in the declining Commonwealth shrank. Before this, no one noted examples of this characteristic irritation on a greater scale; therefore, if one were to extrapolate such reluctance to the whole of the period in question, then it would be inappropriate.

In the insight into the Italian presence in social landscape of the modern era Commonwealth, we will first refer to a few selected texts. These are narrative sources that are generally well-known and relatively easily available and often quoted; a historian of that era would encounter them almost daily. We are looking for information of interest, pondering on the proportions of particular themes, and hoping for some notion of the phenomenon's scale will emerge (for example, the internal proportions and the structure of the Italian immigrants' community).

Here is a review of the chronicle and correspondence sources, which are, in our opinion, the most important in terms of extensive discussion of the subject, as well as—in some cases—its meaningful omission.

Marcin Kromer

”Almost in our times,” Marcin Kromer (1512–1589) wrote, “Italian merchants and craftsmen reached major Polish towns; furthermore, the Italian language is heard from the mouths of some more educated Poles because they eagerly travel to Italy.” The showcase of the state is naturally the Polish capital, Kraków, which “may well compete with famous cities of Germany and Italy,” and “there have been lots of German merchants for long, and also there are Italian ones too.”¹¹ Straightaway we get three basic elements that characterise the essence of the Polish-Italian contacts: Italian merchants and craftsmen come to Poland; Poles go to study in Italy; in cities, the Italian element coexists with the German one (and maybe even replaces and ousts it).

Although Marcin Kromer’s *Polonia* uses the terms “Italy” and “Italians” in contexts in which they are devoid of specific meaning (as one of European peoples or regions with which the inhabitants of the Commonwealth maintain commercial relations—p. 88–89), the Italian associations and comparisons to Italians found in the text are of very positive value. The Polish orchards, stretching on the outskirts of major cities, provide a great abundance of fruit, whose “exquisite quality and variety... may easily compete with the fruit of Hungary and Italy.” The Polish soil allows for ornamental trees, bushes, herbs, and flowers to be cultivated, “together with all that constitutes the allure of the Italian gardens and the elegance of its palace parks” (p. 28–29).

A partner comparative reference, devoid of complexes, to the Italian realities is to Kromer a compliment of the highest order. This stylistic figure is used by the Warmian bishop when advertising to a foreign reader the Commonwealth inhabitants’ level of education. Everyone here, “the poor and the rich,” try to send their offspring to schools and familiarise them with Latin, and many keep home teachers. “Thus,” *Polonia*’s author claims, “even in the very core of Italy it would be hard to find such a multitude of people as here with whom one could communicate in Latin” (p. 61–62). This was an obvious compliment that was difficult to define; such language ability, at that time, functioned as a rather precise measure of the advancement of civilisation.

Knowledge of Latin was objectively indispensable in relations with the external world. This was a strong argument to the promoters of the Polish civilisational sphere. While in Western Europe national languages had effectively supplanted Latin, in the Commonwealth it remained a key to education and all external contacts. A good knowledge of Latin distinguished the Polish nobility and bourgeois elites from their Western European partners. Hence, for example,

11 Marcin Kromer, *Polska...*, p. 50.

the admiration of the French courtiers for Latin qualifications of the Polish envoys, who in 1573 arrived in Paris to collect Henry of Valois.

But this is a digression. We are mainly interested in the Italian context of Kromer's disquisitions, and the fact that reference to the relationships "in the very core of Italy" undoubtedly functions as a superlative. The Italian associations, and also those stemming from other languages (like German), may be the explanation, embedding the applied terminology in a wider context. It concerns, for example, the enumeration of kinds and species of fish, of which some (*cyrty*, that is zarte) "received their name from the Germans for their delicious taste," the other (carp) "the Italians call royal" (p. 39–40). Remarks of this kind not only serve as etymological explanations but primarily emphasise the comparability of Polish and European realities.

From our position, other Italian associations are rather scant and disappointing. Rome appears several times in the text but always in reference to antiquity, while Venice—which, for the Poles, was the second and great important centre in Italy—is mentioned only as structural comparison ("The Polish Republic is not very different from the old Spartan state or our contemporary Republic of Venice," p. 93). But, presumably, we deal here with a narrowing of this concept and limiting of its semantic field. The role of Venice, in the consciousness of the Polish nobility, was indeed special. This was chiefly due to the possibility of seeing the structural analogies, which often applied in the Commonwealth. But Venetian associations do not end here. Venice was also a symbol of political and commercial power. To Poles travelling to Italy, the city was their first destination, thus providing them with a fundamental first impression.

Szymon Starowolski

Szymon Starowolski (1588–1656), who wrote several decades later, treats Italian models and origins as a measure of culture and civilization (he does so unequivocally). He also uses them as a benchmark against which a society could compare itself with the leading centres in Europe. Starowolski knew Europe, thanks to several travels as a tutor to young noblemen going abroad to study, and polemicised with opinions unfavourable to Poland, the number of which—alongside the general increase of knowledge—had soared. To Kromer, the primary challenge was that the West was generally unacquainted with Polish matters, and, perhaps, he desired to rectify the not very competent and dated study by Enea Silvio Piccolomini, which was for a long time a symbol of Western Europe's derisive attitude towards the eastern parts of the continent.¹² Starowolski, however, tried to

12 See chapter. II, p. 44.

fight some general opinions, which he must have heard himself during his travels. He presented them as unjustified because they denigrated native accomplishments. Anyway, in Starowolski's text, far shorter than Kromer's *Polonia*, such mentions (which may be referred to as polemic-evaluative) are far more frequent.

Let us begin with comparisons. Among the cities, Kraków, gradually and slowly losing its status as capital city, still seems most appropriate for this purpose. It is "a capital of province and metropolis of the whole kingdom [...] with the magnificence and defensive power of its buildings, private and public, as well as with its resources of all things concerning the way of life and external Polish, and also with bounty of foreign goods and the number likewise kindness of inhabitants it may easily compare to famous cities of Germany and Italy."¹³ Those "German and Italian cities," it should be noted as an aside, are simply the European cities; their Italian character in this context is not highlighted. The following reference should be treated similarly: an Italian accent occurs but—accordingly—is not emphasised. It states that most fertile regions spreading in the south-east of the country, notably Podolia, "certainly do not envy neither Italy nor Hungary their soils, fecundity and resources" (p. 95). Italy, mentioned here alongside and equal with Hungary, purely symbolises territories that are generally well-stocked.

The Italian presence, particularly in building activity, is regarded as proof of the European character of the Polish-Lithuanian scene and society. On the outskirts of Warsaw, there are "numerous noblemen's palaces, artfully and ingeniously built by the Italian artists" (p. 115). Near Kraków, one may admire "Wola [Justowska] – a very elegant villa, built with the skill of Italian masters" (p. 77); in the whole Kraków voivodship there "always stay a great number of Italian merchants and craftsmen, whose work and expertise in building is made use of" (p. 79). Employing Italians is thus something to be proud of, and the effects of their work embellish the country thanks to which it is equal to western partners. This line of reasoning reaches almost perfect form in the fragment on the achievements of Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł (aka "The Orphan"). This Lithuanian noble, known for his piety, went on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. He had many achievements; one of them was that he had "a princely palace in Nieśwież [...] with contemporary architecture hath built; likewise a town hall and a castle called Mir, four miles from the city outlying; in estate and villages, gardens, orchards, fishponds and roads over an area of several miles, as if with a line most evenly hath demarcated, moats on both sides and fruit trees hath attached to them, in one word – in the middle of Sarmatia, Italy hath here established" (p. 102). He deserved this metaphor, for he erected a modern residence, invested in public buildings of the city (belonging to the family and serving as capital of a private latifundium), and

13 Szymon Starowolski, *Polska...*, p. 70.

carefully planned a substantial infrastructure. As a side note, in anticipation of a discussion of stereotypes, the term Italy had always had a positive connotation. This is unlike the Italians, who, as a nation, had been often daubed with traits from an unflattering brush.

Let us also remark, as a formality, on the references to Italian authorities and outstanding artists. We learn that the Jesuits of Toruń, in their gymnasium, “usually comment upon the issues of cardinal [Robert] Bellarmine” (p. 108); in another place—when presenting the nature of Poles—the author cites Giovanni Botero, treated as an authority even in this context (p. 121). Apart from this, the Italians are mentioned as “taking part in very famous fairs,” which are held in Lublin thrice a year. But, they occur here as one of seven nations mentioned (p. 84). As regards foreign craftsmen and merchants, which according to Starowolski may be met in Vilnius, there are no Italians; however, there are Germans, Scots and English (p. 87). This must be a coincidence, an unjust omission to which we do not attach much importance.

But a fragment on brotherhoods in Kraków calls for particular attention; it mentions “a brotherhood of Italians,” whose members—as we learn—wear snow-white garments during procession. It is conspicuous that this is the sole brotherhood in the name of which there is a reference to nationality and not a patron saint or some element of religious symbolism (p. 73).

Maciej Strykowski

Maciej Strykowski (c. 1547–after 1582) was until recently known primarily as the author of *Kronika polska, litewska, żmudzka i wszystkiej Rusi*¹⁴ [The Chronicle of Poland, Lithuania, Samogitia and all of Ruthenia]. This was a work that seriously influenced historiography of the eastern territories of the Commonwealth, but which brings nothing to the theme of the Italian presence in Poland. Far more significant in this context is another work by Strykowski: *Opoczątkach, wywodach, dzielnościach... sławnego narodu litewskiego* [On the Beginnings, Accounts, Virtues... of the Famed Nation of Lithuania]. He completed this work several years before the publication of the Chronicle and contains the most extensive version of the legend of the Italian, or rather the Roman, origin of Lithuania and Lithuanians.¹⁵

The section of interest here covers 25 pages in modern print. It presents a great confusion of subjects indeed; ancient and biblical themes, generally historically identifiable, appear alongside completely fantastic motifs of a genesis that is difficult

14 First released in print in 1582 in Königsberg.

15 See Maciej Strykowski, *Opoczątkach... sławnego narodu litewskiego...*, p. 56-90.

to determine. The whole construct is united and given dignity by testimonies by learned men: from ancient writers and historians (Livy, Pliny the Elder, Suetonius, Lucius Annaeus Florus) through to Enea Silvio Piccolomini. The work ends with the author's contemporary Polish chroniclers (the list opens with Jan Długosz, and also features Maciej Miechowita, Marcin Kromer, and Marcin Bielski).

In an attempt to bring order to this highly complicated issue, the author enumerates six reasons for the arrival of ancient inhabitants of Italy on the territories of contemporary Lithuania, and the subsequent sub-chapters were titled accordingly. Let us now summarise these accounts because we treat them as a crucial fragment of Old Polish awareness directly connected with the Italians, albeit a fragment limited to elite circles. We will use, on this occasion, some of the clearest of Strykowski's expressions. In one of the introductory chapters of the discourse, *On the Beginnings*, it reads as follows:

Palemon, called Publius, Prince of Rome /
 In western lands was struck by dearth's deep gloam, /
 And seeking saviour for his gods and nation /
 Was forced to travel further, to flee this execration (p. 57)

Thus, the first reason why those Romans "wandered, seeking comfort with no limits" (p. 56) was "the gloom of dearth" in the west: "in Italy, in Sicily, in the kingdom of Spain," duke Palemon, "with five hundred Italians, a noble people" (p. 57), sailed to the north. The wanderers, whom the "domestic gods" helped survive storms and squalls and promised to show land "with charming fields adorned" (p. 60), went past the shores of the Duchy of Holstein (Dithmarschen) and the Danish straits, before finally "having seen the Neman River mouth" (p. 61) going upstream. There, they found "empty forests" and scant representatives of Gepids tribe, which people "scared, flew from the Italians" (p. 62).

After some time, the travellers had to tie up to the bank "since further shallow Nemen could not lead them" (p. 62). Now they could admire the beauty and richness of the new land ("Italians wander, for the Latin landscapes / Offer not these goods, but only grapes," p. 63) and befriend its inhabitants. The travellers, full of admiration ("seeing that, they think they are in heaven" – s. 63), decided to call the new land "La Italija, Litalija"; such is the genesis of the term Lithuania.

And as their nation here not easy came /
 Their heirs must guard this new domain (p. 63–64)

We have said enough on this matter. From the author's position, the motif of searching for new life perspectives, and subsequently finding them in Lithuanian territory (or within the borders of the Commonwealth), would seem to not need further explanations (this is wholly justified due to material problems and limited possibilities of subsistence in the homeland).

Such a view could be, and surely was, easily understandable to readers because they could refer to a situation they knew from their own observations. Simultaneously, they felt better, thus providing for their high-minded needs (this was also certainly intended). However, the author, not sufficiently content with this, elaborated intensively on the subject, consequentially straining the structure and clarity of his arguments.

According to Strykowski, the second reason for Palemon and his companions' travel were persecutions, from Emperor Nero, that threatened them in Rome. The third reason, as an alternative to the preceding one, was the devastation in Western Europe wrought by Attila, the ruler of the Huns. In 454, he supposedly reached Italy and ravaged subsequent cities, heading from the north in the direction of Rome. Not waiting for the possible fall of the city, Palemon stated: "Could also in this northern land alight, / Road-weary Italian nobles fleeing fright" (p. 67). The fourth specified reason—ornamented with references to ancient writers and Polish authorities citing them—is in the same convention. Pompey the Great's wars with Julius Caesar wreaked havoc in "Roman tenancies" and forced inhabitants of Italy to emigrate.

For this discord and homeland strife, /
 Many fled, defending dear life, /
 From Italy to northern forest lands /
 Where now are Vlachs and Prussians, where Samogitia, Latvia and Lithuania stand.
 (p. 70)

New, quasi-factual, elements appearing at this point are: *Romowe* or *Romnowe* (from "*Roma nova*"). This is the allegedly capital city of the Prussians in the pre-Teutonic period, and a different name of the Roman exiles' leader; in this version it was *Libon*, from which the names *Livonia* (known in Poland as Inflanty) and *Litwania* (Lithuania) could be derived. New elements were accompanied by 'corroboration'—quoting the authority of Maciej Miechowita—of the original version that "folk wisdom tells that some Italians, having left the Italian land to Lithuanian lands have entered, and then called Lithuania Italia after their homeland, and the Lithuanian nation Itali, which two names their descendants—calling the land Litalia and themselves Litaliani—hath changed over time. Then [...] Russians and Poles, neighbouring them, hath done greater change and their lands «Litwanija», and people «Litwany» named, and they call them thus also today." (p. 72). In this context, Strykowski, evidently proud of his linguistic skills and familiarity with Italian prefixes, adds his own interpretation and indicates a simple way of phonetic evolution from *la Italia* through *Litalia* to *Litwania*. Further on—this time citing Decjusz—he includes yet another version, according to which "Litalanus, prince, with his people" after a long journey "to original, native lands hath returned and called this country Litalania after himself" (p. 79).

In contrast, the opinion of Marcin Bielski, excluding “the advent of Italians in these lands,” was simply disregarded by Starowolski, who responded with an allegation that the mentioned author “hath not read this to the end” (p. 87). He then started to present the fifth reason, which referred to the punishment of expulsion that was applied on a mass scale in ancient Rome (“for offences to foreign lands dispatchment”). Thus, settling in the north would be as punishment, or in other words, a result of such punishment.

The unpleasant overtone of this conclusion was to be moderated with a statement that the exiles in Lithuanian lands were so much at home that, after serving their sentences, they did not want to return whence they came (“And others to return did hasten not, / since more in exile than in Italy had they got” – p. 87).

The sixth and the last reason on this list was contrary to the previous one; in this account the Romans, having conquered the entire known world, named the particular provinces after distinguished commanders:

Since then the world entire in Romans’ grasp has lain. /
They granted to their hetmans provinces of this domain /
Where, with legions’ aid, did Roman dominions stand unbowed, /
And so, with Lithuania was Palomon endowed (p. 88).

Any and almost every of the above reasons could be sufficient. Certainly their sum had to be even more convincing, and surely was; though a modern reader—seeing contradictions and inconsistencies in the whole text—would remain more sceptical about the entirety. However, let us adopt the view that the multitude of arguments effectively intensified their power, namely that the literary formula used was appropriate for that time.

Alessandro Guagnin, a “Polonised” Italian from Verona and a famous chronicler, also supported this conception. In his description of Lithuania’s earliest beginnings, Guagnin adopts a view similar to Strykowski’s, quoting Miechowita and Długosz. In this variant “some Italians with their Prince Palemon” had to leave their homeland due to “Nero’s tyranny” or “fleeing cruelties by that Attila, king of Hungary”; after a long journey, they came to the Lithuanian lands.¹⁶ Palemon and accompanying representatives of “worthy houses”¹⁷ bestowed coats of arms “upon more worthy Lithuanian families [...] from which nobility sprang.”

The adoption of the country’s name after Italia, the place of its founders’ origin, was aligned (at least in this account it is specially exposed) with a gradual adaptation to simple and severe customs of local people; after some time, local

16 See [Guagnin], *Z Kroniki Sarmacyi Europejskiej...*, p. 50-52.

17 The chronicler enumerates among them “Ursyny, Kolumny, Juliany, Cesaryny, Gastoldy” – p. 51.

language acquisition also occurred.¹⁸ Thus, the meaning of this fragment may be interpreted as a long-lasting cultural regress; only after this did Lithuanian history come out of the shadow at the threshold of the modern era.

Moreover, the myth of the Roman (Italian) origin of the Lithuanians must have played a substantial role in Old Polish society. It was a supplement and, undoubtedly, opposite to the Sarmatian myth, according to which the Polish nation (the Polish nobility) descended directly from ancient Sarmatians: a valiant people who showed their valour in battles with Julius Caesar and Alexander the Great. In a gradually uniting Polish-Lithuanian state, specific inferiority in age of Lithuanian culture—in any case dominated by *Koroniarze* (the inhabitants of the Polish part of the Commonwealth, the Crown)—must have been a keenly felt prick that instigated the construction of their own, no lesser, ideology.

However, rivalry of Poles and Lithuanians in the Commonwealth is not important here; rather, we are interested in the attempt at boosting the confidence of the weaker, Lithuanian party. With the use of skilful philological arguments, Roman genesis seems convincing and unsurprising (as an answer to Sarmatian genesis). However, one should note that here the Romans are identified with Italians, which was not at all a rule.

Krzysztof and Łukasz Opaliński

In the reflection on the Italian presence in the Commonwealth, the letters of the Opaliński family are impossible to ignore (seen from the point of view of those source records that are most crucial for the modern era or in some way characteristic or unique). For over half a century, we have had access to the edition of a body of 145 letters from the Voivode of Poznań, Krzysztof Opaliński (1609–1655), to his brother Łukasz (1612–1662), from the years 1641–1653.¹⁹ Although, admittedly, this is a one-sided epistolography because we do not know the replies written by Łukasz Opaliński. Even so, this source is of the highest rank, for we can learn much about the environment of magnates to which the two correspondents belonged. The time is interesting too because it covers a period just before and during the great crisis of the noblemen's state in the mid-17th century.

18 “This Palemon thus, due to his smartness, in an uncouth nation as a prince is held, this land hath named after his homeland Italy, first named this land Litalija, which later for a considerable time kept Italian customs but changed into crude, and is called Litwania.” After a while, “the Italians... also having learnt the foreign language, difficult and unuseful, of these citizens, have adopted it as theirs and shared the way of living with those crude people” – *ibidem*.

19 [Opaliński], *Listy Krzysztofa Opalińskiego do brata Łukasza, 1641-1653*, ed. Roman Pollak, compiled by Marian Pełczyński and Alojzy Sajkowski, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1957.

So what was the place of Italy and the Italians in around the middle of, not a golden, but a silver age of the Commonwealth? What were the manifestations of the Italian influence in the world of Greater Poland magnates?

Before we answer this question, let us add that our characters²⁰ were part of the national elite, both financially and intellectually (they write not only letters but also specialised treatises, and participate actively in public debate).²¹ In youth, they were educated in Poland, and they also made educational trips abroad; they read a lot, traces of which may be found in their output. They were interested in European politics, identified with its parties, and equally devoted considerable attention to Italian matters (especially to subsequent phases of the struggle for primacy on the Peninsula).²²

The presence of Italian culture and civilisation in the world of our correspondents is very significant. In one letter, Krzysztof refers to *Orlando Furioso* by Lodovico Ariosto, and to the *Decameron* of Boccaccio, regarding it as a given that the excerpts would be understandable to the addressee; in another, he asks his brother to send a composition by Francesco Gigli, Wawel kapellmeister, and demands the return of the book described as *Fabrice di Domenico Fontana*, “in which [he] treats of erecting the pyramids *tempore Sixti Papae*,” surely meaning an oeuvre by the famous architect, who edified the Vatican Library and the Lateran and Quirinal palaces for Sixtus V.²³

The author often refers to Italy. Mentioned alongside with France, he refers to Italy as a proper and most important destination of educational peregrinations. Italian references are thus a specific measure of things, a feature deserving highest recognition. Opaliński, when praising the cordiality and elaborate ceremony with which he was accommodated during his visit to Oldenburg, compares his stay to reception given to “Sir Chancellor in Florence.” As we may be seen, the illustrious diplomatic mission of Jerzy Ossoliński to Rome, as well as particular episodes of this Italian trip, were still (after twelve years) the subject of comparisons and symbols of diplomatic accomplishments of the highest rank and of equally magnificent ceremonial setting.²⁴ Respect for manners and style is accompanied by

20 Further we write in plural about the Opaliński brothers for we assume that the raised subjects and most of the commentaries are representative for both correspondents.

21 “I ask you for the discourse of His Grace on the quarter army” – Krzysztof wrote from Sieraków, 8 Sep. 1642; see [Opaliński], *Listy Krzysztofa Opalińskiego do brata Łukasza...*, p. 89.

22 Ibidem, p. 99, 107, 171, 202, 220, 364, 463.

23 Domenico Fontana, *Del modo tenuto nel trasportare l'obelisco vaticano e delle fabbriche fatte da N. S. Sisto V*, Roma 1589; see [Opaliński], *Listy Krzysztofa Opalińskiego do brata Łukasza...*, p. 89, 259.

24 Ibidem, p. 295, 410.

praise of intellect. Krzysztof Opaliński, when citing some sentence belonging to thoughts that fall in the category of universal wisdom, likes to add: “as the Italians say,” as if to certify its wisdom. In another place, with analogical annotation, he quotes—rather unexpectedly in Italian—a proverb about a raven that, if it could mill and not caw, would have more bread, and feel less jealous.²⁵

This Italian sentence, as a major element of the Italian stereotype, may be complemented with remarks on the scrupulousness and avarice of Venetians,²⁶ and the fact that the term Rome was used to refer to a very distant place.²⁷

Furthermore, Italian words and phrases occur sporadically (irrespective of the far greater number of interspersed Latin terms, which was typical of Old Polish).

There are some notable examples: Krzysztof Opaliński calls intensive travelling along trade routes, “*trafico*”; incomes from selling crops, “*altro tanto*” (meaning ‘same amount’). He expected great “*contentezza*” (in Old Polish “*ukontentowanie*”) from construction and finalisation of investments on the Sieraków estate, since he viewed himself as a person who likes “*bene habitare*,” which is to live well. He renounced the option of buying an existing manor because—as he wrote—“someone else’s manor” would not be “*al mio gusto*.” The taste of the founder primarily influenced his investment decisions.²⁸ In another place, he described the way senators debated, resulting in neither clarity of stances nor clear conclusions, as “*sfaciato vel’inanzi*” [*sfacciato vel innanzi*], which was translated by the publisher as “behind the backs and straight into one’s eyes.”²⁹

These small examples prove an evident influence of the Italian language on Krzysztof Opaliński’s mode of expression. There is yet another piece, more vivid and even better illustrating these influences. It was 1650; the struggle with the Khmelnytsky Uprising had entered a new phase. Opaliński, when analysing the political situation, in one letter indicated quarrels between Jan II Casimir and Chancellor Jerzy Ossoliński, whom he describes as “*Granduka*,” a term obviously derived from the Italian “*Granduca*” and only barely modified.³⁰ It is striking since, as it is known, in Italian it means “great prince,” while it is also

25 “Se il corvo sapesse mugniare e non graciare [gracchiare], haverebbe più cibo e manco invidia” – *ibidem*, p. 82; see also p. 363.

26 “...because Venetians do not count money *hactenus* [to this extent]” – *ibidem*, p. 352.

27 “Lord, Old Marshal [Łukasz Opaliński] said, that it’s worth going to Rome even for a thousand [złoty]...” – *ibidem*, p. 83.

28 “*Il mio gusto* I put before other considerations” – wrote Krzysztof from Obory, 24 March 1646.

29 See [Opaliński], *Listy Krzysztofa Opalińskiego do brata Łukasza...*, p. 22, 182, 329-330, 383.

30 “Lord [Jan III Casimir] has so extreme *aversus* towards this lord, *alias Granduka*, that he openly speaks it out” – *ibidem*, p. 471.

a direct reference to the title held by the grand dukes of Tuscany, the Florentine Medicis, who were the most splendid rulers of Italy—apart from the popes.

Granduca Ossoliński would therefore be understood as a great compliment to an outstanding senator and minister, co-author of the foreign policy of the Commonwealth at that time, and a man who had memorable missions to Rome—and moreover to Florence (1633)—in his portfolio.

That we could be dealing instead with irony is not excluded here. Ossoliński, posing as a grand lord, could irritate Opaliński, who did not lack any signs of prestige and was by all means the equal of Ossoliński. In any case, because mutual relations within these ruling elites are not of interest now, we encounter an Italian term having a clear and extremely Italian undertone, which must have been clear to both correspondents. But the Italianness or rather the Italianisation of our characters manifests not only in language. Let us look into other contexts illustrating this phenomenon. Krzysztof, admirer of residences, sees his estates as equipped not only with elegant buildings, ornamented with “haberdashery, tapestries from France, and pictures” but also with gardens furnished “in Italian fashion.” He wants to place there various *raritates*. He likes a white vase in Łukasz’s garden, made by an Italian master (“which hath been made to your Lordship’s garden, it seems to me, by an Italian”), so much that he asks to borrow it in order to commission a copy.³¹

That would suffice as regards Italian cultural influence. Actual Italians staying in Poland, who appear on the pages of the discussed collection of letters, provide services to the Opaliński family; in other words, they serve both correspondents in various spheres.

In letters, we find two court architects. The more important, Sebastiano Sala (from Lugano), stayed in Poland for a long time (in 1630, he became a citizen of Kraków). He was employed at the royal court as a court (“castle”) architect, in which position he superseded Giovanni Trevano. He designed Piotr Opaliński’s tombstone in Sieraków, but created other works too (for example, the altar project for a church in Włoszakowice). Krzysztof was somewhat disappointed with these works and therefore, fortunately for historians, devoted some place to the designer and contractor in his letters.³² The other architect, Cristoforo Panodur, was also

31 *Ibidem*, p. 181, 329, 497.

32 “Sala, non-virtuously and not according the contract completed my commission in Szubin. I know that the same will be with the tombstone. I ask you, Your Grace, Brother, to withhold the remuneration to him because I cannot *pro mea parte* receive the work at the price I had agreed to. He is a great fraud.” – wrote from Tuliszkowo, 8 Nov. 1641; *ibidem*, p. 11, 34-35.

Italian; he was “an architect of Sieraków”³³ who supervised the construction of the palace there.

A larger group of Italians provides services to the court from behind the scenes. A Venetian merchant called Uberti (“Uberty, that Venetian merchant”) manages purchases for the Voivode of Poznań. From letters written at the end of 1642, we learn that the ordered “looking glass” and “brocatelle,” which is a decorative material, were delivered to Kraków; however, the price still needs to be “talked down.” Who is to undertake this? The answer is obvious: those who, residing permanently in Kraków, have for some time taken care of the Opaliński family business there (“Your Grace! You have in Kraków such people who *curant res* of Your Highness”). One of these proves to be Girolamo Pinocci, a Kraków merchant, entrepreneur, intellectual, politician and diplomat. He was one of the most prominent figures of the Italian colony in Poland in the second half of the 17th century. Here (in 1642), he still appears in a typically merchant role, for Krzysztof asks his brother to “commission Pinocci to talk the price down and to describe the goodness of the material.”³⁴ Two years later the same Pinocci will show in our source again. This time he will be a permanent informer to both Łukasz and Krzysztof. As far as we know, the mechanism of information dissemination in Europe was then not only merchant news, but general news of the world (the so-called *avvisi*), whose distribution was often and eagerly done by the Italians. It emerges from the following letters that similar services were rendered to the Opaliński brothers by the priest Lodovico Fantoni (the Warsaw curator and royal secretary).

Two more merchants also feature in letters as Italian service-providers: Giulio Attavanti, who we know traded textiles (from 1635 he had a concession for this business in Lviv), a thus far untraced Nanuzzo, probably a banker from Poznań; and also Domenico Roncalli, a canon of Warmia and an experienced diplomat in the service of the Polish court, whose practical advice was used by Krzysztof Opaliński in preparing in 1645 for a mission to France for Marie Louise Gonzaga.³⁵

33 Sieraków, Opaliński family estate; described so in the letter from 1 Oct. 1641 – *ibidem*, p. 22.

34 *Ibidem*, p. 110. As regards the Uberti, Jan Ptaśnik in his encyclopaedical compilation (*Gli italiani a Cracovia...*, p. 28) points out two figures in Krakow of that time that may be taken into account (Giovanni Maria Uberti, Giovanni Pietro de Ubertis). The editors’ doubts in this regard may be settled in favour of the former due to the account of the Venetian ambassador, Giovanni Tiepolo; see [Tiepolo], *Il carteggio di Giovanni Tiepolo...*, p. 584.

35 See [Opaliński], *Listy Krzysztofa Opalińskiego do brata Łukasza...*, p. 56, 236, 279, 385, 494.

Let us pause for a moment at these names and professions. The spheres of Italian activity and service provision for the noble family can be seen quite clearly in the light of our source. Thus, there is a sphere of luxurious consumption: the construction, furnishing, and landscaping of a residence. The Italian contribution guarantees modernity of conception: a fashionable, aesthetic look, and professional workmanship. This is supplemented by purchases of luxury goods: textiles and objects of everyday use (“a looking glass”). This scope of services has also a quite down to earth dimension: money lending, price negotiations, details of settlements. The second sphere is the contact with the world. First of all, this includes regular information such as one might find in a modern newspaper, and besides that, temporary contacts with those whose occupations required mobility (particularly diplomats, but this role could also be played by merchants), which in turn imparted knowledge of the world and unique experiences that Polish magnates took advantage of eagerly, whether directly or indirectly.

Therefore, our source suggests that the external world was in contact with the service in the sphere of luxury and specific mediation. Its fragmentary nature remains obvious, but it cannot be denied that, in taking into account further detailed discussion, such an image should still appear in conclusion.

And yet there is another general remark that pertains to the above-mentioned figures: almost all of them belong to the circle of individuals outstanding in the community of Italian immigrants (and maybe an insufficiency of sources indicating other names is a reason why they in particular are relatively well-known).

Attavanti was one of the most significant merchants working in the Commonwealth of that time. Pinocci has already been mentioned, and he is a really exceptional and comprehensive figure: a merchant and great entrepreneur, taking on, among other things leases for mints of the Crown and Lithuania; a lover of books and scientific experiments, a royal secretary, a diplomat, the first publisher of the national press. Fantoni and Roncalli are professional diplomats in the service of the royal court. For a long time, both of them functioned in Polish-Lithuanian circles of power elites. All of them remained in some contact with Opaliński brothers, though we do not maintain that this contact was so close.

Is it a coincidence or a rule that a leading noble family and a group of outstanding Italians appear together on the pages of this source? It seems that the latter is the case. The scale of the elite and the number of its members at that time was so small that chances for mutual contacts with active representatives of the Italian colony soared dramatically. This could also suggest that the state of our knowledge and discernment of Italian environments in the Commonwealth of that period is very good. But let us not be too optimistic. Equally plausible is the possibility that we are limited in sources and go in circles around a few names, amongst a closed group of some 20 people (but, we will rather never be certain about this).

Sebastiano and Valerio Montelupi, Niccolò Siri

Another survey examination that is worth applying in this context concerns Italian figures featuring on the pages of correspondence between those Italians residing in Poland and their partners in native land. We will look at how the group of Italians (but only those staying in Poland at the time) were mentioned—in any context—in Italian letters written from Poland. In short, we are interested in the world of Italian personal references, from the angle of letters from Poland.

Our research relies on two collections of letters, which have been published some time ago. The first is *Korespondencja Sebastiana i Valeria Montelupich* (1576–1609), published in print by Danuta Quirini-Popławska (1986). The second is a compilation of letters of Niccolò Siri, written from Kraków and Warsaw in 1642–1645, the publication of which was prepared by Tessa Capponi-Borawska (1993). The addressees and recipients of most letters are in Florence; as regards Montelupi, they are the Grand Dukes of Tuscany, Francesco I and Ferdinando I Medici, together with their influential chief secretary, Belisario Vinta. The addressee of Siri's letters was primarily a successor of Vinta from the 1640s, Giovanni Battista Gondi. It cannot be proved that these collections are either representative or complete, but they make editorial corpora, and as such may also be analysed for our purposes.

“The Italians in Poland,” mentioned in Montelupi's letters, are shown to be a small group, consisting of only 29 people, yet this group is surprisingly distinct and easy to characterise. Considering that the letters were written by Italian merchants permanently dwelling in Kraków, it is not surprising that the group most frequently appearing in the correspondence consists of business partners and subordinate co-workers (these would be people employed in the small group's enterprise). In total, this group comprises 15 individuals. Among commercial partners, their figure was renowned in the business world: a Florentine merchant named Marco Bartoli, who was trading predominantly in silk; the representatives of a famous family of bankers, Carlo and Bernardo Soderini, and their Kraków partners: Lorenzo Nelli and Filippo Talducci; Giulio del Chiaro, who was cooperating with a Nuremberg firm of Torrigiani; and Neri Giraldi and Riccardo Riccardi, Tuscan trade agents interested in purchasing Polish crops. Almost equally often, we encounter people employed by the Montelupis, either in relation to orders and tasks assigned to the former, or in the context of long and strenuous lawsuits between them and their employers. The community generally shares a single, Tuscan, origin.

Apart from this group, whose presence in letters is justified by the professional activity of their authors, we encounter a clear, that is to say easy to separate, group comprising as many as nine people: papal diplomats residing in various periods in Poland. Such a high number results, to some extent, from the fact that

the analysed letters were written during a period of over 25 years. But the size and relative completeness of the nuncios' group, who were noted in Montelupis' letters, is mind-boggling. We encounter mention not only of subsequent Papal diplomats residing in Poland for a couple of years (Alberto Bolognetti, Girolamo Bovio [de' Buoi], and Germanico Malaspina), but also of those who were engaged in one-time legations. Wherein there is both the prime "diplomatic suit," namely people for whom the post or intensive public activity brought general respect (the Jesuit Antonio Possevino, mediator between Báthory and Ivan the Terrible; Papal legate, Cardinal Ippolito Aldobrandini, to whom we owe a Bytom-Będzin peace treaty between Sigismund III and the emperor in 1588; Cardinal Enrico Caetani, who, during ceremonial legation lasting more than a year, persistently but ineffectively urged Poles to join the anti-Ottoman league), as well as second tier figures of Papal diplomacy. The latter group is extremely important to us because they are the authors of extant, written relations or other source relations (Alfonso Visconti, Benedetto Mandina, Alessandro Cumuleo, and a secretary to Caetani, Bonifacio Vanozzi).

Besides the strict professional sphere and the group of nuncios, we have to discuss one final category, the least numerous, which includes four people.³⁶ It comprises, in order of appearance in letters, Annibale Rosselli, a Calabrian and professor at the Kraków Academy; a Franciscan superior, who in 1585 visited subordinated Polish provinces; Simone Genga, martial architect in Stefan Báthory's service and simultaneously a Tuscan resident, who was entrusted with diplomatic functions in Austria, Hungary and Poland; Luigi Bevilacqua, a Tuscan envoy, who came to Poland in 1609 on a courtesy mission; and finally, Alessandro Cilli, a musician and intellectual, active at the court of Sigismund III, later leader of the royal ensemble, and who was also a Tuscan fulfilling diplomatic functions.

Apart from Roselli (the titled cleric and intellectual), whose person raised natural interest, not requiring any further inquiries, the three others shared Tuscan origin and activity in diplomacy. In the case of Luigi Bevilacqua, it was an official representation of the Florentine court.³⁷ Tuscan origin also characterises a great majority of those who were included in the category of associates and business partners of the analysed letters' authors. Diplomatic functions connect these four figures with the most vivid group in the correspondence, namely Papal diplomats.

The above review of individuals of Italian origin named in Montelupis' correspondence may be a basis for at least two conclusions. The first is that Italians in Poland cooped themselves up in their own company, which is defined by common origin from a particular region or division of Italy. In short, they were more representative of a little homeland than of a pan-Italian structure and

36 The fifth one was a certain Alberto Machiavelli.

37 See Wojciech Tygielski, *Dyplomacja – propaganda...*, passim.

network of relations. The second conclusion stresses the importance of diplomacy as a sphere of Italian activity. Within it, we can find the nunciature's special role as an institution raising interest among Italians far from their homeland, and possibly being a plane of integration, a stable point of reference, an institution facilitating self-identification among this mixed element.

The reading of the second block of correspondence implies similar conclusions. It is a less voluminous collection, but far more homogenous, since it was created over a much shorter period of time (of several years, and not decades), and the letters were penned by one person, himself practising the diplomatic arts. Niccolò Siri, a Tuscan resident, wrote in the 1640s to the head of diplomacy in the Grand Duchy, who was Giovanni Battista Gondi.

In Siri's letters, there are twelve men of interest. The territorial provenance of most of them is unidentifiable but three of them emphasise the importance of Tuscan ties. Siri develops an interest in Angelo Incontri because he came to Poland on business, also bringing some gifts (these were five mules) from the Grand Duke for the Polish monarch. Carlo Costa, another Tuscan, who quite unexpectedly came to Kraków, was described by the author as "molto mio Padrone"; another, even more unusual present which this traveller had to transport to Florence was noted in the letter.³⁸ Lastly, Francesco Maria Simoni, a merchant operating in Warsaw and having difficulties with settlements with local partners, could count on—as is clear from the correspondence—the protection of the Grand Duke and appropriate intervention by the king, which must have got him out of trouble.

Almost all other people (with one exception) may be included in the group of those connected with diplomacy. Besides two nuncios, Mario Filonardi and Giovanni de Torres, these are individuals—which are characteristic and significant—related to the diplomacy of the Commonwealth. A notable Capuchin, Father Valeriano (Massimiliano) Magni, was a frequent representative of Papal diplomacy, first in Vienna and then in Warsaw. Later he represented the Polish king in Rome. Domenico Roncalli, royal secretary and Warmian canon, was a representative of the Polish court, first in France, then in Rome. Finally, Lodovico Fantoni, also a secretary to Władysław IV, was at about that time preparing for a diplomatic mission to the imperial court. Francesco Bibboni may join these three as the famous Italians in the Polish diplomatic service (he was King Władysław's resident in Vienna and Madrid). Also worth noting is that the aforementioned Angelo Incontri competed with Bibboni for this diplomatic post. Diplomats of the Italian states are represented in this group only by the Venetian ambassador Giovanni Tiepolo and his associate, Girolamo Castellani, whom Siri would get to know better during their common travels around Poland, and who was later King

38 "una mezza zampa di ungia della Gran Bestia" – Niccolò Siri, *Lettere da Cracovia e Varsavia...*, p. 42.

Władysław's envoy to Vienna. Diplomatic inclinations characterised virtually all the above mentioned Italians.

Though the scarceness of source material and survey nature of the completed analysis does not allow for very far-reaching judgment, one may conclude that—as with the Montelupis' correspondence—Italian diplomats rendering professional services to the Polish king are dominant among those mentioned in Siri's letters. In regards to the characteristics of the people making up this community, they saw their little homeland (the Grand Duchy of Tuscany) of relatively great importance because it served as the foundation for ties and collective self-identification.

Paweł Piasecki

Often quoted by historians and researchers of political history, the chronicle of Paweł Piasecki (bishop of Przemyśl and abbot of Mogiła) is an excellent work that covers the period from the beginning of Stefan Báthory's reign until the times of Władysław IV.³⁹ Here, the Italian theme is marginally treated, clearly yielding to German motifs. The Germans are those foreigners who have an excessive influence on Sigismund III. The “German dissenters” and not—as usually—the Italians symbolise the religious dissidents arriving in Poland; Italian themes seem incidental (p. 37, 40). “Strange football,” which is, according to the author, “in France and Italy becoming,” is much favoured by Sigismund III (p. 131–132).⁴⁰ With manifest disapproval, Piasecki is also hazy when describing further the king's interest in alchemy, for one is unclear on who, besides Marshal Mikołaj Wolski, accompanied the king in those trivial pursuits.

Fortunately, the king's manners were soon to change for the better. Still using Wolski's service, the king “hath brought from Italy, with considerable expense, many famous musicians, and he hath much pleasure in listening to their symphonies and sometimes in making copies of paintings, even when he was of venerable age” (p. 132). Thus, instead of football and alchemy, music and painting by artists imported from Italy, the treatment of this thread is decidedly positive. The Italian thread, this time taking the form of a pure chronicle devoid of judgment, will appear later when discussing Prince Władysław's travels, the major part of which were devoted to stay in Italy (p. 314–316). Nuncio Giovanni de Torres was once mentioned as the head of the ceremony confirming the marriage of King

39 [Piasecki], *Kronika Pawła Piaseckiego biskupa przemyskiego*, ed. Julian Bartoszewicz, Kraków 1870.

40 We do not treat literally this kind of descriptions as we believe the author wanted to say by this “in foreign lands” or “in west of Europe”; it will be discussed later.

Władysław to Louise Marie Gonzaga, which took place in Warsaw's church of St John (p. 431).

Italy will come to the fore in Piasecki in one more context, which, although strange, is still noteworthy. The chronicler scrupulously records—most surprisingly—the subsequent deaths of those who were known in open forum and who rendered great service to their homeland.

After reading the most highlighted cases on the pages of *Kronika*, one may draw the conclusion that it is in Italy that people part with their lives. First, Vice-Chancellor of the Crown, Stanisław Miński, ailing with “catarrh fluxio,” went to Naples. There he went “to Puteoli's Baths, with whose beneficial effect he regained health,” but on his way back home, “having got great fever from the oppressive heat, in Padua hath died” (p. 213). Not long afterwards, Marshal of the Crown Zygmunt Gonzaga Myszkowski went to Padua, also to recuperate his health, but having not obtained successful help from the doctors there, on his return journey “this life hath departed” (p. 259). Finally, analogous accidents happened to the representatives of the ruling family. Also in Padua, Jan Wojciech Vasa met his end at the age of 23. He was a brother to the king, cardinal and bishop of Kraków, who went to Italy “for distraction of mind.” Treating Padua as a starting point, he “visited various Italian towns from there, and in several months therein, ridden with sickness, hath died.” The same misfortune happened to his brother, Alexander, who “shortly before his death hath left for Italy, seen the Pope, Rome, Naples, Florence, Milan, Venice, everywhere with great respect received” (p. 403). The reader, attentive to Italian motifs, must have thought twice before travelling to Italy.

The chronicle of Piasecki must therefore be categorised as a source that does not emphasise the Italian presence in Poland. This may be explained in various ways. Primarily, the author concentrates on political issues: wars, treaties, elections, and personal details relating to the narrow circle of the power elite. This is a thematic scope in which the Italians do not typically occur. An expansion upon this explanation may be an assumption that the co-existence of the Italian community within the Polish environment did not generate spectacular events, since such would not be disregarded by the chronicler.

There is yet another possibility. The chronicle, written in the 17th century, viewed the Italian presence as obvious and natural. The author's biography would support this thesis. Italy was strongly present in Piasecki's life, who after studies at Prague University, went to Italy. Here, he spent four years and—as he recalled—“as a 19-year-old youth, in Rome hath received my first education.” There he participated in the jubilee ceremonies of 1600, which may have resulted in contacts of wide, European scale. Piasecki returned to Rome in 1608, spent the

next three years in Curia, received the protonotary apostolic title, and penned the *Praxis Episcopalis* treaty, which he published in Venice (1611).⁴¹

Father Jan Piotrowski

Also, in the source materials from Stefan Báthory's time there was an excellent collection of letters by Father Jan Piotrowski (who was the informer to the Marshal of the Crown Andrzej Opaliński). Published by the priest Ignacy Polkowski, one would relatively rarely encounter the Italians.⁴² This group of several names includes only two figures that occur in the news from abroad (Filip Strozzi, who participated in the struggle for the Portuguese throne, and Rudast Suconello, a doctor of a Wallachian Hospodar).

Sebastian Montelupi, renowned Kraków merchant, co-organiser and leaseholder of the first Polish post, will feature precisely in the context of rendering postal services, particularly regarding the dispute about their quality by the then Polish envoy in Rome, Piotr Dunin Wolski. There is mention of Nuncio Giovanni Andrea Caligari, an official figure, twice: when he arrived in Kraków to take up his post, and when he appeared in the entourage of the king during the *Sejm* in 1581. Niccolò Buccella, court doctor, is mentioned once in his medical role. Let us add for form's sake that the name of Queen Bona will appear several times in the context of third tier successional property matters.

There are only two Italians who will become embedded in the reader's memory due to the number of mentions in the text: Domenico Allemani, a close associate of Stefan Báthory (as the royal chef), who in 1582 undertook a diplomatic mission to Sweden; and Antonio Possevino, a Jesuit, whose successful mediation resulted in a truce between Poland and Muscovy in Jam Zapolski in the same year. Allemani's mission is recorded here purely factographically; moreover, as a one-time event, the multifarious activity of Possevino, who after his success at Pskov returned to Rome, is an object of interest to envoy Wolski. This activity is also of interest to the Polish permanent resident in Rome, Jerzy of Tyczyn. In any case, both Allemani and Possevino appear here clearly as diplomats, which justifies the emphasis placed upon them.

This collection of source materials concerns mainly politics, which in Báthory's times was an Italian domain to only a minimal degree (a position which would not change until the next century).

41 [Piasecki], *Kronika Pawła Piaseckiego...*, p. VIII-XII.

42 *Sprawy wojenne króla Stefana Batorego. Dyjaryjusze, relacje, listy i akta z lat 1576-1586*, ed. Ignacy Polkowski, Akademia Umiejętności, Kraków 1887.

Zbigniew and Jerzy Ossoliński

Materials relating to memoirs, which were left behind by these two representatives of the famous and influential Ossoliński family, represent here—to the extent that such is possible—a rich category of sources, namely Old Polish memoirs.

In Zbigniew Ossoliński's memoir, the mentions of Italy and Italians are very scarce. They include minimal traces of some settlements with the Kraków merchants Andrzej Celary and a certain Nelli, from the 1590s; a reference to the educational journey of the writer, the Italian stage of whose journey occurred in 1574–1576; and finally, the rare (three, to be precise) records of stays of third parties in Italy.⁴³

In the memoirs of Jerzy Ossoliński, Zbigniew's son, the situation is slightly better.⁴⁴ In fragments about the stay at Prince Władysław's court—at the time of the Muscovite Campaign (1617)—we encounter, in the prince's close circle of nine prominent figures of senatorial rank, one "Hieronim Cazzio, an Italian, medic and famous politician greatly dear to the prince himself."⁴⁵ It is he who, at a critical moment, proves a good influence on young Ossoliński and restrains his emotions and rash reaction. These would be unfavourable for his image in the prince's eyes, to evident provocations of one of the court rivals, Paweł Tryzna.

The next figure is the Papal nuncio appearing in a formal context, though the occasion of the meeting is private. Ossoliński had to spend part of 1620 in Warsaw, where he married Izabella Daniłowicz, daughter of the Crown Treasurer. The marital ceremony—a social event of a certainly high rank—was attended by the royal couple and highest officials, among them the then nuncio, Francesco Dotallevi. This, essentially, short list of Italians on the pages of Jerzy Ossoliński's memoirs, is complemented with people from beyond the territory of the Commonwealth, with whom he had contact during diplomatic travel.⁴⁶

43 Zbigniew Ossoliński, *Pamiętnik...*, p. 31, 36, 41, 49, 142, 145.

44 It should be fundamentally different – considering the incomparably greater career, and thus also experience of Jerzy, but we must not forget that his memoirs end in 1621 and do not cover the period of life and political maturity which is of highest interest to a historian.

45 Jerzy Ossoliński, *Pamiętnik...*, p. 62; further mentions of the Italians on p. 64, 94, 110, 115.

46 They were: a Neapolitan, Marcello di Guidici, on behalf of the Spanish king, the governor of Lingen, who accommodated our memoirist – in 1621 going on a diplomatic mission to England – “humanissime exceptit [very cordially welcomed] and after the hardship of the journey hath fully fed”, and belonging to the envoy's train, a Milanese, a certain Captain Magno, who is mentioned at a further stage of the journey, in the surroundings of Antwerp, and who may hypothetically be identified with Francesco Magni, brother of a famous scholar and courtier of Władysław IV, Capuchin Valeriano.

Is this a lot or little? Objectively, that is, by volume, there are not many mentions. However, taking into account the sparsity of content in Old Polish memoirs, the fact that an Italian theme appears at all is of great significance. Let us bear in mind that in many modern era sources there are neither Italians nor any problems arising from possible contacts with them.⁴⁷ In this context, it is worth noting the narrative sources created in the urban environment, with emphasis— for obvious reasons—on the chronicles written by Kraków burghers.

The Kraków Burgher

This is an anonymous text, entitled thus by the publisher, Henryk Barycz, and covering the years 1575–1595, a period in which the almost mass presence of Italians in Kraków is so well confirmed that it does not raise any doubts.⁴⁸ In this situation, a reading of *Kronika mieszczanina krakowskiego* [The Chronicle of the Kraków Burgher] disappoints and simultaneously intrigues, since the Italian themes are surprisingly scant, especially those most interesting, namely relating to everyday relations with the Italian immigrants. The Italians appear here—as in almost every chronicle-narrative text of that time—in the role of diplomats. They include “an envoy of the Venetian lords,” who was late for the wedding of Sigismund III to Archduchess Anna, because he arrived in Kraków only on 24 June 1592 (p. 127); Nuncio Germanico Malaspina was mentioned as accompanying the king, who in autumn 1593 went to Sweden; and Papal legate Cardinal Enrico Caetano was mentioned as a participant of the service celebrated in relation to the relocation of Saint Hyacinth of Poland’s relics to the Church of the Holy Trinity (p. 143, 163). Also, a superior general of the Dominicans, Ippolito Moria, is noted as paying an inspection visit to Kraków on 29 October 1593.⁴⁹ These threads, though undeniably related to Italy and its inhabitants, may be viewed first as official records, and second, as not focusing on the aspect of nationality.

There are, however, two exceptions.

47 Relative scarcity of extant sources and easily questionable representativeness of them precludes the *ex silentio* reasoning here.

48 *Kronika mieszczanina krakowskiego z lat 1575-1595*, ed. Henryk Barycz, Biblioteka Krakowska No 70, W. L. Anczyc i Spółka, Kraków 1930 (see the introduction by the editor; relevant page numbers are given further in brackets in the main body of the text.).

49 It also mentions the activity of Polish diplomats in Italy – obediencial mission of the bishop of Łuck Bernard Maciejowski to Pope Sixtus V in 1590 and the deeds of Voivode of Łęczycza Stanisław Miński, Polish envoy to Pope Clement VIII, sent to Rome in 1594 (p. 84, 148); also the return from Rome of Cardinal Andrzej Báthory, on Saturday 19 October 1584, was noted.

The death of Annibale Roselli, a professor of theology at Kraków University, did not escape the chronicler's notice. It occurred in "a Bernardine convent" on 2 February 1593.

The profile of the scholar was rendered in pure superlatives, for the deceased was "very learned, worthy, of a saint's life." Hence, the fellow monks, as well as the body of professors could not get over the loss (p. 134). Let us add that Roselli (b. 1525), the author of a multi-volume commentary on hermetic texts (attributed to Hermes Trismegistus), must indeed have been an uncommon figure. He came from Calabria, studied philosophy in Naples and theology in Leuven, travelled a lot, and lived, among other places, in Paris and the vicinity of London. He came to the Kraków monastery of Bernardines on the orders of his superiors in 1581. His task was to participate in monastic educational reform. Roselli, as a university lecturer, soon grew extremely popular among students. In 1584, he was nominated a general commissioner of the Bernardine order in Poland. He spoke of his new workplace with reserve; he underlined that he unwillingly—only out of obedience vow—left the sunny Italy as to exchange it for a distant and dreadfully cold country.⁵⁰

The second case recorded in the chronicle is the opposite of the first: an Italian called Baldy [certainly Baldi or Baldo, meaning bold] was a bandit prowling in the area near Olkusz, who was finally captured and beheaded (p. 139–140). The above, slightly comic juxtaposition of an intellectual and a bandit, exhausts the catalogue of figures whose Italian origin is clearly marked in the text. The list is surprisingly short, for we do not deal here with a general lack of interest or a planned omission of different nationality groups.

On the pages of *Kronika*, there are other nationalities, representatives of which are generally presented unfavourably. The Hungarians are portrayed as troublemakers and violent thieves (p. 20, 21, 32), which is no great surprise at the time of Báthory's reign. The Germans are a synonym for religious dissenters and so are assessed negatively (two coiners "who counterfeited coins").⁵¹ Jews also appear in the text; once they appeared in a context almost devoid of emotional colour,⁵² twice in an extremely negative view.⁵³ Scots are also present; they are

50 See Jan Czerkawski, *Humanizm i scholastyka...*, p. 97-104.

51 For the form's sake, the list of Germans should also include one Swabian – in the role of a foreign country diplomat (p. 68, 72, 85).

52 When discussing the funding of gifts for the Sultans of the Ottoman Empire with Jewish head-tax money.

53 First, we learn that a plague broke out in Jarosław in 1588, and that contaminated air "from there was brought here to Krakow by Jews"; further, in 1590, we read about a terrible fire of Poznań, which consumed three fourths of the city, with a commentary-explanation that "this fire had been set by the Jews" (p. 67, 85, 89).

not primarily depicted as merchants but rather as participants of religious unrest (p. 94). Thus, the attitude of the author to any of the four mentioned nations can hardly be described as positive.⁵⁴ We would not expect a better reaction to Italians but rather a more frequent mention of them and clear accentuation.

The absence of Italians as a community living in Kraków, creating some problems, voicing their opinions and moods, is all the more astonishing as the author of *Kronika* devotes much place to local, Kraków events, which were sometimes described in very great detail.⁵⁵ The Italians do not occur as a distinct separately defined group during public ceremonies, which—especially in the years 1594–1595, the last two described in the chronicle—were not infrequent.⁵⁶ Let us remark that “HM the King’s musicians” (one of the Italian professional specialities), who “chanted the mass” at the funeral service after the death of Bishop Piotr Myszkowski, were in no way nationally defined, but the identification of Italians among them would in any case not be expected until a couple of years later.⁵⁷

Finishing the review of Italian themes in *Kronika mieszczanina krakowskiego* we do not change our opinion that they are marginalised as regards the group’s functioning in municipal structures. However, we would like to point out two Italian accents, referring not to people but to scenery and material culture.

The first concerns fashion. On the last day of May, 1592, just after the Archduchess Anna’s coronation, the king and queen went to their private apartments, “Therein, HM the king changed his garments and appareled in Italian fashion.” He participated in the subsequent parts of the ceremony while being freed from his coronation robes, and clothed in Italian style. Italian clothes may be identified a few days later, when Rabsztyń Castle witnessed a feast including

54 It has to be emphasised that the whole text is not written in a xenophobic style as one may easily find fragments – especially referring to the arrival of Archduchess Anna to Krakow – showing that foreign opinions were noticed and esteemed by the author (p.110-111).

55 The death toll due to bubonic plague in Krakow districts of Kazimierz and Kleparz, in 1591, was reportedly 3286 people. We also learn in detail about the composition of the funeral processions that gave the last farewell to Jan Myszkowski, the castellan of Żary and the bishop of Kraków Piotr Myszkowski, both deceased in 1591 (p. 90-93). We may read about the wedding reception of the Grand Marshal of the Crown Zygmunt Myszkowski (p. 99), the monarch and Archduchess Anna’s wedding ceremony (p. 106-128), about the funeral procession escorting the body of Princess Catherine, who died in Stockholm after nearly a month-long life (p. 154-155), and about the christening feast of Prince Władysław (p. 165-166). etc.

56 The Corpus Christi procession in 1591 (p. 95-96), ceremonial entry of Sigismund III into Krakow, after the return from Sweden (p. 155-156); processions and propitiatory services for victory over Turks (p. 156-157).

57 See recently on the subject: Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Annibale Stabile i początki włoskiej kapeli...*, p. 93-98.

parades, concerts, and paratheatrical spectacles. Some actors as well as “the marshal of these players” were dressed “in Italian style” (p. 117, 123). “In Italian style” in the *Burgher’s Chronicle* means modern and elegant. When the Polish envoys went to Prague to Emperor Rudolf in 1589 to confirm the Będzin-Bytom peace, they presented themselves in Italian style (this fact is important because of its affirmative evaluation). During this meeting, “held in great admiration were the Poles there, with such apparel and rightly presentable tinctures... also His Highness, the cardinal of Lithuania [Jerzy] Radziwiłł due to the Italian style, his garments and colours... for a great glory of Poland” (p. 73–74).

Apart from a glamourising clothing, a prestigious place—as it is implied by the chronicle—in Kraków of that time should be mentioned, namely the Montelupis’ Kamienica, more precisely, the house of Sebastiano Montelupi; he was a famed merchant, banker, and postmaster who laid the foundations for his family’s permanent position in the city. His house, still standing on the Small Market Square, received the royal couple several times, as well as the senatorial elite of the Commonwealth. This was a fact evidently viewed by the author as natural and not requiring further comment.⁵⁸ Clearly this building—most certainly one of a few—must have been prepared for serving such representational purposes, and this must have indirectly elevated the owner in social awareness.

To recap, Italian themes occur in this source far less frequently than expected, and even when they do appear, they seem incidental (the intellectual and the robber). Simultaneously, the Italians do not feature as a clear social group, which may be explained either by the lack of conflicts with their Polish environment, or by the much advanced process of “Polonisation.” Or rather this would be adaptation, because the Kraków chronicler forwent distinguishing them. But, however keenly one feels the inadequacies of the Italian motifs, the author’s attitude, nevertheless, proves more cordial than to representatives of other national groups mentioned there, and the Italian style of dressing was treated in the text as an

58 The first occasion was the christening feast of a son to Mikołaj Firlej, the castellan of Biecz. The ceremony was held 1 March 1588, in St Mary’s Church, with the participation of the king, Queen Anna Jagiellon and Princess Anna Vasa. The child, named Mikołaj, was held by the Deputy Chancellor of Lithuania Lew Sapieha, while the other fellow godparents were: the Deputy Chancellor of the Crown Wojciech Baranowski, the Voivode of Sieradz Albrycht Łaski and the castellan of Sandomierz Stanisław Tarnowski. This was a gathering of the creme of society – senators and ministers as well as the representatives of all three (for there were separate) royal courts. After the christening, Firlej the *senior* held a dinner – exactly in the Montelupi House, after which – in the near market – ring-tilt was scheduled (p. 58-59). According to our source, the second time a prestigious ceremony was held in this place was in 1594. It was on the occasion of marriage between Mikołaj Firlej, the Voivode of Krakow, and Agnieszka Tęczyńska; the reception for numerous guests and the king was held in the Montelupi House – “for spaciousness” (p. 157-158).

obvious compliment. *Kronika* allows for the suggestion that there was simply no problem—in the sense of controversy, conflict, or tensions—related to Italians in Kraków at the end of the 16th century.

Jan Markowicz

The notes of Jan Markowicz are even more disappointing from the perspective of the richness of material and the possibilities for interpretation. He was a 17th century merchant and Kraków burgher born in 1613. Markowicz traded in spices, but was also active in the city authorities. For decades (practically until Christmas 1683) he kept a ledger containing diary notes and commercial bookkeeping, concentrating on the words debit and credit. The text, before the Second World War, was stored in the Library of the Jan Casimir Lviv University. The published fragments and detailed summary (created by Ludwik Kubala) of Markowicz's writings are what made his work known to us.⁵⁹ On this basis, one may state that—in the diary of the Kraków merchant, who worked also during economic crash of the middle of the century—not only is the Italian problem non-existent, but the Italian presence there has not even been singled out.⁶⁰ Representatives of this nation (for instance, Franciszek Kortyn or a certain Pestalocy) appear sporadically—as business partners—but are in no way described as Italians, and their origin and nationality is known only from other sources. This may prove their full assimilation and the lack of conflicts of group character.

To the merchant Markowski, the real problem and serious rivals are Jews (we should note that the usage of the term “Jew” has as a religious meaning rather than a national community one).⁶¹ These people seem to be the main competitors for a Polish merchant in the second half of the 17th century. Admittedly, from the author's contemporary perspective, these concepts could overlap to a certain extent, but this cannot be determined without specialised research and requires a particularly cautious interpretation.

59 [Markowicz Jan], Ludwik Kubala, *Mieszczanin polski w XVII wieku*, in: *Szkice historyczne*, series I and II, Ossolineum, Lwów, Warszawa 1923, p. 409-430; there is a separate edition as part of Biblioteczka Uniwersytetów Ludowych, publishing series popular before the war, no. 119, under the imprint of Gebethner and Wolff, Warszawa, Kraków, undated.

60 A possible suggestion that there were no Italians in Krakow then, however, must be discarded.

61 Deploing the progressing economic collapse of the native town, the author points to the “boldness of the Jewish nation, which is in total possession of trade and crafts.” Hence, the local authorities have formulated a supplication in which they also requested “curbing the Jewish cheekiness in trade.” *Kronika* also mentions anti-Jewish riots which occurred several years later – [Markowicz Jan], Ludwik Kubala, *Mieszczanin polski...*, p. 427-428.

Therefore, the following texts presented here offer a different, sometimes extremely contrasting, viewpoint; they provide other possibilities of interpretation. And yet, none of the extremes presented above seems true: neither that which implies a widespread participation of Italians in the social life of the Commonwealth, nor that which ignores their presence or totally marginalises it. Likewise, the review of selected narrative sources was unable to prove an obvious point, namely that the Italian immigrants came to noble Poland and that they were an active and vivid group. Our goal was to show the internal diversity of that community and the multiplicity of contexts in which their representatives appeared. The fragments of chosen works referring to Italians had to serve as an introduction to the central topic, which is the Italian influence on the Old Polish reality.

The Italian presence was expressive in certain places and social contexts. Thus it will never be possible to extrapolate precisely from the observed phenomena to the entire country, nor to obtain measurable indicators of the phenomenon's intensity. Everything depends on the source context, which happens to be incidental. For, if we read on the pages of a political text that some information was to reach the author through "Bozalini's post," then most probably one would make a mistake in attributing the surname. One should also note that this political text would come in the form of a letter from Deputy Chancellor of the Crown Andrzej Olszowski to Jan Wężyk Starosta of Sieradz (many such texts circulated around the country in the turbulent 1660s).⁶² The general postmaster at that time, famous in the whole country and successor of Prospero Provana and the Montelupi, was called Angelo Maria Bandinelli. To a historian interested in the Italian presence in Poland, one can see that Bandinelli (the whole family and this member in particular) was a commonly known figure, yet from the above fragment one can conclude that this did not apply to Deputy Chancellor Olszowski (or rather, the author of the leaflet, who was impersonating him). To this author, there was no significance in Bandinelli or Bozalini, though the Italian sound of the postmaster's surname must have had its significance.

In addition, other sources, especially those compendious studies cited earlier, suggest that the phenomenon in question occurred on a large scale. The Italian presence, seen from this angle, proves to be outstanding, maybe even strongly exaggerated (this does seem highly probable). The Italians were relatively easy to recognise; in some sense, they were even spectacular. In any case, they were clearly visible to this part of the Old Polish society from which the authors of the compendia and some narrative sources derive. The Italian arrivals—who we will document in detail—also drew a considerable degree of attention from the Old Polish writers. The problem that we will have to tackle is precisely the

62 See *Pisma polityczne z czasów panowania Jana Kazimierza...*, vol. III, p. 194.

already emerging disproportion between the very attractive spectacular side of the Italian presence in Poland, and the real influence of the Italians on the most important groups of Old Polish society, which could have resulted (but did it?) in its substantial modernization.

Chapter II
The Coming
From the Italian Perspective

Emigration and Its Causes

Emigration is always a result of some level of determination, a predominant desire to change one's situation, an urge to eliminate radically existing and longstanding, pinching discomforts. Emigration may either be voluntary in some sense, related to the intention to ameliorate an unsatisfying material state (compulsion here has the nature of a long-term inconvenience), or forced—usually by political realities—directly and on a one-off basis.¹

Hence, emigration is chosen by individuals who cannot be regarded as typical for a given community. For, on the one hand, they express elements of non-adaptation, and on the other hand, they possess traits that enable making such a life decision, namely, determination, courage, will power, and readiness to face up to adversities. The catalogue of these traits demonstrating go-getting energy must have had special significance in distant times. Then the risk connected with a long journey was incommensurably greater than today. Also, the stimuli inclining to emigration must have been respectively stronger.

Older subject literature, which we discussed briefly in the introduction (Alfred von Reumont, Pietro Amat di San Filippo, Pietro Donazzolo), saw the Italians primarily as travellers and discoverers. The term *viaggiatori italiani* mainly raised associations with far and exotic journeys, the discovery of new lands (beginning with Piano dei Carpini and Marco Polo).

By the modern era, this group had grown dramatically (Cristoforo Colombo, Sebastiano Cabotto, Amerigo Vespucci, Giovanni Verrazzano), which documented the absolute dominance of Italians in the company of great discoverers, though not necessarily expedition organisers. Practically all the most outstanding explorers, apart from Magellan (however, he was accompanied by Antonio Pigafetta,² who also documented the trip), came from Italy. They were individuals of whom, after many years, their homeland (the recently united Italy) could be proud, and they were vaunted eagerly in its propaganda.³ Many Italian travellers, whose activity prepared the ground for emigration, acted under foreign banners (chiefly in Portuguese and Spanish service). Importantly, the Italian inclination to travel proved to be long-

1 “Migration is a natural process. For ages people have been dislocating from place to place to improve their civilisational conditions or to escape from war.” – Prof. Marek Okólski, Instytut Studiów Społecznych UW (*Gazeta – Magazyn* 16 Aug. 2001, p. 2).

2 Pietro Amat di San Filippo, *Gli illustri viaggiatori...*, p. 171-173.

3 “Ora per concludere dirò che ad un libro [...] che offre [...] il racconto della vita e delle opere di uomini, che onorarono la Religione, la Patria e la Scienza, non può mancare benevolo accoglimento da quanti hanno in onore il culto del buono e del vero” – as declared in the introduction to the study by Pietro Amat di San Filippo, *Gli illustri viaggiatori...*, p. VIII.

standing, despite the weakening of their native background. From the end of the 15th century, Italy—interpreted as a group of the most important states on the Peninsula—entered a period of weakness and crisis (maybe excluding the Papacy and the Papal States, though even Rome fell victim to imperial *sacco* in 1527).

The Turkish threat, increasingly the ruthless interference of European powers, and above all the phenomena occurring on a greater, global scale—discovery of new continents and the consequent change in trade routes—laid the foundations for the process of marginalisation. This process by its nature progressed very slowly, and its starting point was undoubtedly the first-rank civilisational and economic position of Italy in Europe of the 14th–15th centuries.

When sketching a very synthetic image of motives that urged Italians to leave their native country in particular periods, Pietro Amat di San Filippo focused on travels and not on emigration. Referring to the Middle Ages, the author indicated a stimulus of religious character and commercial motives, and also added a factor which nowadays would be described as cognitive predilection or simply curiosity of the world.⁴

The effects of such a stance include, on the one hand, the considerable participation of Italians in the penetration of Asia (discovery-commercial excursions) and Africa (mainly in Portuguese service). On the other hand, the effects also include the presence of Italian commercial residents in many strategic locations (beginning with Cairo and ending with Peking). In the 16th century Italian activity was not dwindling, despite losing the primacy in trade and regardless of increasing political dependence. Since the Italians could not realise their plans in their native country, they were as if forced to leave Italy to—let us remain for a while in the 19th-century propaganda stylistics—serve with their talents other nations.⁵ The next century was a period of Italian decadence. The primacy in crafts and trade was finally lost. Neither Venice (engrossed in wars with Turkey), nor Genoa (deprived of its colony in Asia Minor and on the Black Sea) were important parties in Europe; they lived “in the shadow of former greatness.”⁶ Thus the number of these people who travel for commercial reasons decreased, and the number of those who were world-curious or Catholic clerics increased only slightly. In the 18th century, the phenomenon disappeared almost entirely; only rare missionaries still remained on routes.⁷

4 In the original version, the author used the term: “l’amore per la scienza” – Pietro Amat di San Filippo, *Bibliografia dei viaggiatori...*, p. V; the whole fragment from which we quote here: p. V-XXII.

5 Exactly this Italian “operiosità [...] costrinse molti Italiani a volontario esilio, per dedicare l’opera e l’ingegno a vantaggio di straniere nazioni” – *ibidem*, p. IX.

6 “l’ombra dell’antica grandezza” – *ibidem*, p. X.

7 In the ending, Amat di San Filippo did not hide his patriotic intentions; he wanted to (written in December 1873): “far rivivere una gloria italiana un po’ troppo dimenticata” – *ibidem*, p. XXII.

It is difficult to assess the extent to which these adverse tendencies were clear to the contemporaries, and the extent they realised their far-reaching consequences.

Girolamo Priuli, a Venetian chronicler, writing in the beginning of the 16th century, stated with pride and full conviction on the pages of his *Diaries*: “non est vivere extra Venetiis” [it is impossible to live beyond Venice];⁸ one can easily find similar examples of regional patriotism. However, something induced the inhabitants of Italy to leave the peninsula, and this certainly was not a politically driven expansion. What then was the main, dominant (if such existed) motive for setting off on a journey?

Browsing the work of Giorgio Vasari on “the greatest painters, sculptors and architects,” we encounter the figure of a Florentine Giovanni Battista, nicknamed Il Rosso (1494–1541). His life story is riveting because, according to Vasari, he was “devoted to the art of painting; for if these were not acknowledged in Rome and Florence by those who could reward them, yet in France he found one to recompense him for them, and that in such sort, that his glory might have sufficed to quench the thirst of the most overweening ambition that could possess the heart of any craftsman, be he who he may.”⁹ The artist, not satisfied with his position in his homeland, sought recognition abroad. Such cases are, by the nature of things, singular, whereas departures in search of work and the opportunity to practise one’s profession, something that Italy was beginning to be unable to offer, was more of a mass phenomenon. Hence, we deal here with a desire to improve one’s situation and a drive to address the worsening economic situation. This particularly concerned the building trade and the northern, mountainous regions of the peninsula, which lies on the historical Italian-Swiss border.

Giorgio Mollisi presented a perspective that is interesting from our point of view—a “list of souls” living in the Valsolda region in 1726. According to this document, of the 1,446 people registered as Valsolda inhabitants, 654 women and only 74 men were actually living there, since 460 men were “in far-away countries such as Poland, Moscow, Bohemia, and Hungary.”¹⁰

Danilo Baratti, studying demographical transformations in the mountainous regions in northern Italy, paid attention to the results of a bishop’s visit to Mugiasca, which occurred in 1769. Firstly, the number of 149 “souls” (*anime*), inhabiting this village was surprisingly low, in comparison to 44 “hearths” (*fuochi*), that is households. Secondly, the vicar (*vicecurato*) preparing the report of the visit,

8 Quote from Gaetano Cozzi, Michael Knapton, *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia...*, p. 155.

9 Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects...*, trans. by Gaston du C. de Vere, vol. V, London 1913, p. 189.

10 Giorgio Mollisi, *Pittori in Valsolda...*, p. 17; see also Romano Amerio, *Introduzione alla Valsolda...*, p. 24.

noted alongside this latter figure that “in half of them the head of the family is missing.”¹¹ According to Baratti, such a situation—very characteristic of regions temporarily left by men who migrated for economic reasons—could likewise be observed in the whole Vallemaggia region. The “*ad limina*” reports on the state of the diocese delivered cyclically to Rome confirm this phenomenon and document the instability of population in the northern mountainous regions.¹² Thus, the migration processes were very evident (also in the demographical sense).

Nevertheless, can the observations made on the basis of sources referring to the 18th century be extrapolated to earlier centuries? This seems justified because, among other things, of the interesting findings on the employment in the Como diocese in 1590–1769. In the first part of the studied period, until 1630, there was a significant fall in the number of inhabitants (from about 250,000 to about 170,000); subsequently, until 1670, a relatively slower increase in population occurred (up to about 220,000). At the same time, over the next 100 years the number of inhabitants remained at more or less the same level (though within this century there were multiple short-term fluctuations).¹³

On the basis of demographic survey one may assume that the northern regions of Italy were a supply base of economic emigration, rather seasonal, and that this phenomenon occurred there on a relatively large scale because it found an express reflection in the population structure; however, there are no grounds to view these data as representative of all Italy. According to Athos Bellettini, demographic transformations in the Apennine Peninsula in the 17th century showed much resemblance to processes happening in the whole of Europe, where historians have noted multiple signs of economic crisis together with population regress. Relying on the detailed analysis of crises from 1591, 1630, 1649, 1679 and 1693–1694, Bellettini maintained the earlier observation about the surprising homogeneity of demographic processes taking place in particular regions of Italy, and in reference to the whole continent. The author—confirming the existence of an Early Modern economic depression connected with population regress on the peninsula—takes emigration into account as one of the causes.¹⁴

The motivation ascribed to the construction trade may be generalised successfully and applied to other social groups whose representatives undertook the effort of emigration in search for not so much fame as life success. The first book by Antoni Mączak, on journeys around Europe, describes an interesting

11 “La metà delle quali non anno capo di casa” – see Danilo Baratti, *La popolazione nella Svizzera italiana...*, p. 75.

12 The credibility of this material is highly assessed by Bruno Caizzi, *Il Comasco sotto il dominio spagnolo...*, p. 188.

13 Danilo Baratti, *La popolazione nella Svizzera italiana...*, p. 66.

14 Athos Bellettini, *Ricerche sulle crisi demografiche...*, p. 17-18.

figure, namely James Howell. An Oxford graduate born in the end of the 16th century, Howell began his career in glass manufacture in London, then, in 1617, left for Venice in order to recruit more Italian specialist workers in his native factory. Although he took a roundabout way through Amsterdam, Paris and Spain, he recruited the workers, the fact which is essential to us.¹⁵ Similar activity and mobility in the labour market in the 17th century were no less common.

In the modern era, migration in the European continent ostensibly became commonplace. Dislocation—due to educational travels or diplomatic activity—had lost its exceptional character. A Venetian ambassador, Alvise Foscarini, on his way to Poland noted in his letter to Doge Leonardo Donato in 1606, the crowded inns and great traffic of travellers including Italians in the surroundings of Vienna. The diplomat put this situation down to wartime turmoil in these regions, which after all could be a permanent feature of an important transit route.¹⁶ The intensity of travelling in this region of Europe, of correspondence contacts, and the migration of artists, doctors or soldiers—who wanted to be involved in wars with Turks and then in the Thirty Years' War—created, as described by Rita Mazzei, colourful “*milieu cosmopolitan della strada*.”¹⁷ Italians heading for Poland also contributed to this milieu. They will be called emigrants because such—in our view—was the nature of the journeys they set off on. We will try to gain insight into the motives that drove them on their way to the Polish-Lithuanian state territories.

“Here divers causes and opinions I describe / Explaining Romans' sea trip to Lithuanian side,” penned Maciej Strykowski on the pages of his chronicle *O początkach... narodu litewskiego*.¹⁸ Extensive fragments of this work were quoted to illustrate the intriguing thesis of the author on the Italian origin of Lithuanians and their state. There can be disputes about whether, in the past millennium, the main reason that the Italians crossed the Alps and headed further north and east to the Commonwealth territories was business (maybe even economic duress), or whether the original motives were of higher nature and consisted of purely cognitive, religious (dissemination of Christianity and Catholicism),

15 Antoni Mączak, *Życie codzienne w podrózach...*, p. 94. It seems justified to apply the name “Gastarbeiter” at least in reference to the part of the Italian emigrants who treated their stay as temporary – see Janusz Tazbir, “*Włoszczyzna*” w *Polsce...*, p. 359. See also Juliusz Chrościcki, *Kamieniarze i mafiosi...*, p. 70-71, where, however, this term was not used.

16 “*Trovai tutte le stantie molto frequenti de' diversi Signori, et Cavalieri Todeschi, et Italiani, che qui si trovano per causa di questa guerra*” – *Fontes Rerum Polonicarum e Tabulario Reipublicae Venetae...*, Series II/1, p. 266, a letter from Vienna, written on 6 June 1606.

17 Rita Mazzei, *Itinera Mercatorum...*, p. 279.

18 Maciej Strykowski, *O początkach, wywodach, dzielnościach... sławnego narodu litewskiego...*, p. 56.

and political motives; the point of view, as well as the background knowledge gathered on various occasions, plays a major role in resolving such dilemmas. Undoubtedly, the appearance of relatively many Italians in the Commonwealth was a consequence of the motives signalled above, which operated on a pan-European scale, and also of factors specific to Polish-Italian relations.

Among famous Italian travellers and discoverers were those who crossed Polish-Lithuanian territories (going to Moscow or further east), and explored and often described them. We may name Francesco da Collo and Antonio de Conti, who on behalf of Emperor Maximilian I, in 1518, undertook mediation in the Polish-Moscow conflict; we may also mention Antonio Possevino, who did more or less the same in 1582. From Florence, Raffaele Barberini also travelled to, among other places, Moscow (1564). We will later refer on several occasions the valuable and popular description of European Sarmatia by Alessandro Guagnin.¹⁹

Until now historians have cited the descriptions and relations that were left by Alberto Vimina of Belluno, who travelled to Moscow and Sweden in 1657; his writings include details about the Tuscan Cosimo Brunetti, who in 1659–1661 visited various European countries including Poland (where he stayed for longer), and about Ercole Zani of Bologna, who went to Moscow in 1671. The account of Michele Feburo da Novi, from his travel to Turkey in 1688, was said to have been translated into Polish and published in Warsaw the same year.²⁰

However, we should say that the modern era migration from the Apennine Peninsula to the Commonwealth was predominantly voluntary and the decisions were made individually. Many migrated to Poland because of dissension; in the 16th century, many people faced religious persecution in Italy (especially in the Papal States), some even looked for escape from failed power struggles in an Italian state (such as the participants of the Pazzi conspiracy to displace Medici in Florence). Apart from dissidents, there were many Italians who sought to move to Poland for employment in their specialisations, in other words better living conditions or incomes from banking, trade, or production; for these Italians, the decision to emigrate, not forced in the literal meaning, must have been even more difficult to make.

They could be inclined to take the risk of migration because of the prospect of incomes in a region that was poorly or not at all explored from this angle until then (this, for example, concerned bankers and the future organisers of post). There were many examples of migration that, more often than not, happened due to tough competition in Italy; doctors and apothecaries came for their desire to

19 Pietro Amat di San Filippo, *Bibliografia dei viaggiatori...*, p. 48–49, 60–61.

20 *Descrizione del paese dei Turchi dedicata dall'autore a Cristina Regina di Svezia e tradotta dall'italiano in polacco dal P. Daniele Liplanski, segretario regio*, Varsavia 1688 – see Pietro Amat di San Filippo, *Bibliografia dei viaggiatori...*, p. 75, see also p. 73, 76.

find new clients; musicians, opera singers, and actors looked for appreciative audiences; university professors, mainly in the Academy of Kraków, sought out intellectual achievements; architects, builders, sculptors, and possibly painters, looked for patrons who could and wanted to benefit from various services related to constructing new buildings.

The person who made the decision to move, which required above average dynamism, was often influenced by a life situation that he/she assessed as being either satisfying or problematic, for whatever reasons. The choice of country and city required basic information and concrete incentive, such as an invitation or agreed contract. But, maybe the examples of the people who did well in the new pastures and achieved enviable success motivated others to follow suit. In the case of the Italians, the latter factor played a key role. But, before we analyse the mechanism of influence by these positive examples, we should consider what was known in Italy about the Polish-Lithuanian state. This would include an understanding of the mechanism for the transfer of information that influenced the final decisions about migration that were made in the Apennine Peninsula. The Italian emigration to the Polish-Lithuanian state did not begin suddenly, for it was followed by a period of interest that was marked by attempts to provide reliable and appealing information.

From Italy to the Commonwealth—Motivations

Knowledge about Poland

Poland, as we have already said, was not the sole destination of the modern era Italian emigration, but the land had an exceptional position among targeted places. Besides a country's specific exoticism, dissimilarity of social structure, and extensive economic development (which, nevertheless, gave the immigrants opportunity to work), the preconceptions that the inhabitants of Italy had of any potential target country were of utmost importance.

“Polonia vasta regio est, quae Silesiae ad occidentem proximat, Ungaris, Lituaniis ac Prutenis conterminata” [Poland is a vast kingdom, which borders Silesia in the west, and is limited with Hungary, Lithuania and Prussia]. The pages of *De Europa* feature this laconic characterisation of Poland, written by Enea Silvio Piccolomini, and often cited by historians.²¹ We may treat this description as an introduction to a discussion of knowledge about Poland in Italy, and on a fundamental change that occurred in this regard at the end of the Jagiellonian

21 Recently quoted by Pietro Marchesani, *Polska w historiografii włoskiej...*, p. 179.

epoch. However, the starting point was not encouraging, since the scarcity of factographic resources was accompanied by expansive criticism. Still, one could not deny the competence of Enea Silvio Piccolomini, the future Pope Pius II; he is the most famous representative of this tendency. This outstanding 15th-century humanist and patron was educated in Siena, at courts of Roman spiritual dignitaries and in the circle of Emperor Frederick III; moreover, even before being elected pope he corresponded with Cardinal Zbigniew Oleśnicki, whose Latinist skills he greatly admired. Humanist refinement and the highest epistolary class, displayed by the cardinal, must have impelled Piccolomini to revise the unjust generalisation attributing to Poles a lack of interest in culture. Also, maybe for this reason (as suggested by Ludwik Bazylow), the Italian author abandoned exposing drunkenness as the most distinct Polish national trait.²²

Piccolomini was not on the best terms with King Kazimierz IV Jagiellon due to the pro-Hussite and anti-Teutonic stance of the latter. On the pages of Piccolomini's work about Europe (written in 1458), the author preserved, or even created, the unfavourable image of Poland as an extremely vast country that is only forests, where nobody has any idea how to grow a grapevine, and all houses are wooden; according to him, the only city that deserves the epithet is Kraków. The meaning of these fragments on Poland of this highly popular compendium is that the country has a peculiar exoticism and backwardness. Piccolomini must have been very demanding. The author of the famous expression that humanist studies rarely flourish out of Italy ("Studia humanitatis rarum habent extra Italiam domicilium"),²³ which he included in a letter to Duke Galeazzo de Arco in 1443, had a fundamentally low opinion about the level of culture and abilities in this scope of peoples inhabiting distant regions. Allegedly, he had already formed this opinion during a visit to Vienna, where he found humanist arts to be in a deplorable condition. He sneeringly described magisters there, for whom "any waif from the west could be a master." He voiced similar opinions about Hungarians, Poles, and Bohemians. Only the latter showed some humanist inclinations, but they in turn were repudiated by a pro-Hussite attitude. Thus, Piccolomini was not entirely objective. Polish historians and writers (Sędziwój of Czechło) were already revealing shortcomings in his works in the 15th century. The criticisms that also came in the following century (from academics such as Jan ze Stobnicy, Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, Miechowita, Justus Ludwik Decjusz, Marcin Kromer, Marcin Bielski) unanimously pointed out the unreliability and tendentiousness of extracts

22 See Ludwik Bazylow, *Historia powszechna...*, p. 19.

23 *Der Briefwechsel des Eneas Silvius Piccolomini*, publ. R. Wolkan, *Fontes Rerum Austriacarum*, Wien 1909-1918, I 219, quote from Ignacy Zarębski, *Stosunki Eneasza Sylwiusza z Polską...*, p. 76.

on Poland.²⁴ After all, it was not objectivism that was significant here, but the author's authority and the popularity of the work, which *De Europa* treatise did not lack.

More or less during the same time, other outstanding writers and historians, such as Flavio Biondo and Marcantonio Sebellico (who favoured the Asiatic cradle of Slav origin) nodded in agreement with Piccolomini.²⁵ We should note that the subsequent authors of similar compendia borrowed liberally from their predecessors' works, thus fixing stereotypes and hindering their debunking. According to Pietro Marchesani, the information on Poland that appeared in Italian historiographic works in the first half of the 16th century hardly exceeded Piccolomini's scope of information about Poland. The change was only brought about by works of Paolo Giovio (*Historiarum sui temporis libri XVI*, 1550–1552) and—secondarily—by translations of works by Polish authors or connected with Poland (which we will discuss later).²⁶ Hence, this was a gradual process and the unfavourable stereotype proved resilient.

Even Baldessare Castiglione, author of *Il libro del Cortegiano* (1528) and a writer quite representative of the Italian late Renaissance, belonged to a generation to which the Polish-Lithuanian state was a symbol of inaccessibility, exoticism, and harsh climate. This may, in any case, be judged from the one Polish motif that is found in *Il Cortegiano*, and which is worth presenting here because of its symbolic significance.²⁷ The story concerns a merchant from Lucca, who came to Poland with the intention to go further to Moscow for furs and sables. Since he could not continue his journey due to war between states, he stayed at the bordering river (which in the text was called Boristene, that is Dnieper) to negotiate the transaction from there with partners from the other side of the river. The negotiations went with difficulty for the words shouted to the contractors froze in their flight. Therefore, he lit a campfire on the ice-bound river, which action did not soften the ice's hardness, so that the words halted in the air, melted, and reached the proper ears. Actually, the deal was not finalised because the price seemed too high, but the scenery of negotiations must have made an impression on readers from the Mediterranean Sea. Interestingly in the first half of the 16th century, Castiglione saw the Polish-Lithuanian state, whose queen was Bona Sforza, as a country where in winter words spoken froze in the air, and campfires were lit on ice-bound rivers (as a matter of fact, this habit was described as commonplace daily practice by Łukasz Górnicki).

24 Ignacy Zarębski, *Stosunki Eneasza Sylwiusza z Polską...*, p. 126.

25 [Miechowita], Maciej z Miechowa, *Opis Sarmacji...*, p. 8.

26 Pietro Marchesani, *Polska w historiografii włoskiej...*, p. 182-185.

27 Book II, ch. LV.

To date, the subject literature usually assumes that a new quality in perception of Poland in the west emerged in the beginnings of the 16th century, while the next phase of this process and new wave of interest occurs around mid-17th century—in relation to spectacular defeats of the time of the Deluge (the Swedish invasion) and the crisis of the state. Such events as the Polish-Lithuanian victory over the Muscovite army in the Battle of Orsha (1514), the marriage of King Zygmunt I to Bona Sforza (her journey, arrival in Kraków and wedding ceremonies in 1518, and also the queen's return to Italy in 1556—"among flowery orations and lavish ceremonies"),²⁸ and subsequent dynastic events: monarchs' deaths, coronations, and marriages are being mentioned here. From the events that must have riveted the public opinion in the west, the first free elections take a special place, not because of the crucial political structure changes in the Commonwealth, but due to the possibility that European monarchs could vie for the Polish Crown. For free election as a mode of choosing a new king broadened the group of possible pretenders on an unprecedented scale, the consequence of which was a dramatic soar of interest in the Polish-Lithuanian state, at least in circles close to European courts. At that time there also arose awareness of benefits that could be derived from having their own diplomatic representation in Poland.²⁹

Simultaneously, the events of the mid-17th century—the Khmelnytsky Uprising, the surprisingly easy conquest of the Commonwealth by the Swedes, and in consequence, the real threat of the state's collapse—also stimulated the increasing interest, though rather not in the categories of possible political and economic partnership but out of pure curiosity. In turn, these changes invited people to draw conclusions from the observation of the Polish-Lithuanian political system, perceived as an anomaly, and its growingly manifest negative consequences.

The image should be complemented for, in our opinion, the first decade of the 17th century is an important caesura. There are two reasons for this: firstly, in the period of Zebrzydowski's Rebellion (1606–1607), the foreign observers start to see the whole oddity and low functionality of the Polish political system clearly; secondly, the West began to be interested in the long lasting struggles on the eastern boundaries of the Commonwealth. In the political calculations arising out of this, Poland was not only a potential partner in an anti-Turkish alliance, but primarily the last bastion of Catholicism on the eastern edge of Europe. Thus, expansive actions in this direction, undertaken in the first half of Zygmunt III's reign, drew much attention and general approval among the European elites.

28 See Pietro Marchesani, *Polska w historiografii włoskiej...*, p. 178.

29 The intensity of diplomatic efforts to support the candidacy of Henry of Valois, taking into account the interests of France, Turkey and the Papacy, is shown, for example, in the correspondence of Giovanni Antonio Facchinetti, a nuncio in Venice, with his Roman superior, Cardinal Tolomeo Galli – see *Nunziature di Venezia...*, vol. X, p. 306, 325.

Irrespective of which events and tendencies we will see as particularly stimulating the imagination and curiosity of foreign observers, the process of discovering the Commonwealth by the opinion-forming circles in the west of Europe, alongside accustomisation to the realities of this state, was a continuous phenomenon (at least since the beginning of the 16th century); such an increase in interest could not be held back by any events or hostile propaganda. The process occurred in environments where ideas about emigrating could emerge, and it directly influenced the groups that considered such life decisions seriously; certainly, in many cases it stimulated such resolutions.

A greater problem still needs to be settled, namely how to measure the level of knowledge about a particular country both in the neighbouring countries and in all others that maintain more or less intensive political and economic contacts with it. There arises not only the issue of what was written on the subject, but who read the texts and lastly, what was understood acquired and remembered from them. Historians of older epochs usually lack clues in this respect; they know the contents that were available but their perception is only guesswork.

Nevertheless, there was a rapid increase in the output of compendia created in Poland, addressed to foreign readers. At least from the beginning of the 16th century, we note conscious efforts to influence the image of Poland in Western Europe or to correct the unfavourable opinions formulated there. Primate Jan Łaski was the first great proponent of undertaking the effort to provide the western public with competent information on Poland. Having arrived in Rome for the Lateran council of 1513–1514, he witnessed, during intensive contacts with representatives of political and intellectual elites of then contemporary Italy, not only unfamiliarity with Polish state history but outright hostile and purposeful distortions of it.

The intellectual revival in the Polish court, which could be observed especially at the turn of 15th and 16th centuries, resulted in, amongst other things, an aspiration to create “a modern synthesis of national history that would correspond to the size of the nation, the power of state, that would bring practical advice on ruling it, preserving its glory and enabling advancement, guard against turmoil and catastrophes.” According to Henryk Barycz, whose opinions we quote here: “The yearning for such a modern view of the past was surely close to the sons of Kazimierz IV Jagiellon, pupils of Jan Długosz, to Jan Olbracht, an ardent reader of histories, and to Alexander, who commissioned the Polish diplomat Mikołaj Rozemberski to write a native history.”³⁰ This plan was not realised until Maciej Miechowita, who for precisely that reason should be afforded attention.

30 *Maciej z Miechowa, 1457-1523...*, p. 46.

When, at the end of October 1517, the printing of the slim treatise by university professor Maciej of Miechów was completed in the Kraków printing house of Jan Haller, nobody could have foreseen the publishing success and international response to the work. And yet *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis, Asiana et Europiana et de contentis in eis* became a specific scientific sensation and raised vivid interest in various social environments and elite-intellectual circles (Rome, Nuremberg, Amsterdam). The study was received with what was, for those times, enormous interest, which is clearly confirmed by the multitude of subsequent editions. Barycz estimated the number to be “at least 20,” with the first being published in Augsburg in August, 1518 (only ten months after the first edition).³¹ In the same year and place, the German translation by Johann Eck was published. Soon, Dutch and Italian editions followed. A Polish translation by Andrzej Glaber from Kobylin in 1535–1545 ran to three editions. We should add that Waldemar Voisé also voiced his opinion on the European success of *The Treaty on Two Sarmatias* by describing it as “unparalleled.” According to this scholar, the oeuvre of Miechowita “became [...] a bestseller among the intellectual elite of the times” because within one century it saw so many translations and reactions from leading European intellectuals.³²

Italy was the place where, in addition to Germany, *Treaty* was best received and gained enormous popularity. In Italy, the work also had the highest number of reprints: beginning with early adaptations by Alberto Pighio Campense (1523) and Paolo Giovio, ending with five editions translated by Annibale Maggio from Brescia. An Italian translation, entitled *Historia delle due Sarmatie tradotta per il Signor Annibale Maggi Bresciano*, appeared for the first time in 1561, and the following year it was printed again. The next edition, under a little changed and expanded title, was released in 1584. Then, Miechowita’s text was reprinted in Ramusio’s *Delle navigazioni et viaggi* (1606). The subsequent edition was published, as all the previous ones, in Venice, this time in 1634. We must remember that Italian was then known in other countries and Venice was one of the principal editorial centres. Let us remark that, according to Barycz, the mentioned translation of *Treaty* by Annibale Maggio plays a major and symbolic role in Polish-Italian relations: the first piece by a Polish author to be printed in Italian. Also in Italy, the most Latin reprints of the treaty were published, while its author became the best known Polish intellectual in the West.

The reason behind this editorial success seems to have been twofold. The work contained a considerable amount of geographical-historical knowledge, but was not devoid of news: it was about two emerging powers (the relatively better known Turkey and more mysterious and threatening Grand Duchy of Moscow),

31 See [Miechowita], Maciej z Miechowa, *Opis Sarmacji...*, p. 5.

32 Waldemar Voisé, *Pierwsza książka polskiego autora...*, p. 165.

which Europe had to take into account more and more. Simultaneously, the treaty included strong polemic accents. The emphasis on the European cradle of Slavs had to challenge the thesis popular in the West: that they came from Scythians and Sarmatians. This was a certain manifestation of belonging to the European community. At the same time, Miechowita gave his nation a certificate of its antiquity and autochthonism in the territories of Vistula and Odra basins. Apart from the boldness and the consequences of the arguments presented, the reader on the Peninsula could also find interest in the fierce polemic with the opinions of such renowned Italian historians as Biondo, Piccolomini, and Sebellico, who—as we remember—supported the thesis of an Asiatic cradle of Slavs.

Without going deeper into textual analysis and its reception, we have to highlight the international success of *The Treaty*. Let us give the floor to the expert in the subject, Henryk Barycz: “In breadth of scope and power of influence none of the achievements of Polish thought in general could to date compare to this, while its author ranked second only to Stanisław Hozjusz, whose popularity and success, though one-sided since limited to the Catholic world, were in 16th century Europe the highest on the literary market, he became a recognised, confirmed authority in the field of geographical knowledge about Eastern Europe and a proper discoverer of this region.”³³

Shortly after publication of Miechowita’s work, *De vetustatibus Polonorum* by Jodok Ludwik Decjusz (1521) appeared on the publishing market, as well as the Italian translations of the works of Zygmunt von Herberstein (*Rerum Moscoviticarum commentarii*, 1549) and Sebastian Münster (*Cosmographia Universalis*, 1554), and also, or rather primarily, *Polonia* by Marcin Kromer (1555, published in 1582 in Basel and in 1589 in Cologne).

The extinction of the Jagiellonian dynasty started a new, rapidly developing, phase of increased interest in Poland, whose crown became a real object of desire to the European ruling Houses. The publishing market reacted expeditiously. There were numerous new publications, such as another *Polonia*, by Jan Krasieński; *Regni Poloniae brevis et compendiosa descriptio*, by Mikołaj Sękowski (published in Naples in 1582); an Italian translation of Alessandro Guagnin’s *Sarmatiae Europaeae descriptio*, by Bartolomeo Dionigi da Fano (this work was included in the, 1583, third edition of the famous collection *Delle navigationi e viaggi* of Giovanni Battista Ramusio). Also, mentioned for the first time in this context, there was a study by the Calabrian Franciscan Annibale Roselli, who settled in Poland in 1581.³⁴ Around this time, fragments of accounts of Poland prepared by diplomats were incorporated in the pages of historical compendia. This was

33 See [Miechowita], Maciej z Miechowa, *Opis Sarmacji...*, p. 6.

34 Pietro Marchesani, *Polska w historiografii włoskiej...*, p. 189, with references to works by Stanisław Kot and Henryk Barycz.

principally, *Relazione di Polonia* by a Venetian, Girolamo Lippomano, written in 1575. But on a really big scale, *Relazioni Universali* by Giovanni Botero included the accounts of ambassadors and Papal nuncios.

A dramatic growth in the number of available studies did not mean the fast evolution of their content. According to Pietro Marchesani, “in spite of undeniable progress made by Italian historiography in the last quarter of the 16th century [...] all of them in fact reproduce (even if they do not do it literally) the portrait of a Pole depicted by Kromer: physically beautiful, ruthlessly honest, generous and hospitable towards foreigners (especially to Italians), inclined to drinking, and knowing languages, particularly Latin.” This stereotype also included praise for the Poles’ battlefield courage and recognition for the real power of the Polish-Lithuanian state; but, an awareness of the Commonwealth’s unpreparedness to engage military against Turkey also arises.³⁵ Only later, 17th-century Italian studies exposed the role of the Commonwealth as the bulwark of Christianity (Alessandro Cilli, Giovanni Ciampoli), and, primarily, criticised the Polish political system, and the inefficiency and backwardness of social-economic solutions (Gualdo Priorato, Alberto Vimina). However, the role of such texts in the popularisation of Poland in the West, and more precisely in preserving this direction of expansion and migration, was already insignificant. The stability of interest may also be proven by following the translations of works from Polish into Italian; one example of such a work would be the historical description of the Polish-Swedish struggle during the Deluge.³⁶

The religious transformations in the 16th century were also very significant for the soaring interest in Poland. The emergence and spread of Reformational currents directed the attention of both feuding parties, Catholic and Protestant, to European peripheries. The hope of the former was to preserve the present spiritual assets, including the region of Roman domination in the religious sphere. The hope for the latter was for a new doctrine. One of the records of perceiving and appreciating Poland’s position in this context was the establishment of its cardinal protector, a Roman Curia office appointed to care for interests of particular kingdoms and their inhabitants. According to recent findings, this position was established in the early years of the 16th century.³⁷

35 Pietro Marchesani, *Polska w historiografii włoskiej...*, p. 197-198, 200, 202.

36 *Historica descrizione delle cose più considerabili occorse nel tempo della guerra suetese in Polonia, cominciata l'anno 1655 nel mese di Luglio et terminata l'anno 1660 il mese di Maggio con la pace di Oliva, opera di Pauli Nicolai, da esso indirizzata per loro informazione ai secoli futuri* – translated into Italian by Poliarco Micigno; see Stanisław Miczulski, *Archiwum Pinocchich...*, esp. 131.

37 See Krzysztof R. Prokop, *Od kiedy kardynał Pietro Isvalies był protektorem Polski...*, p. 89-100.

Nonetheless, not all source records are unambiguous here. Even in 1560, on the eve of the third session of the Council of Trent, when the major European countries carried on negotiations to decide where the sessions could be resumed or a new council called, the French court—wanting to prove its conciliatory stance—supposedly declared to a Spanish envoy, Antonio de Toledo, that it was ready to accept any place for the council, even “in the middle of Poland.”

The comment naturally meant “even at the edge and end of the world” and was proof of the openness in negotiation of those who made this declaration on behalf of the French king.³⁸

For us, the most interesting thing is that the concept of Poland was used as a symbol of periphery, or even exoticism, during negotiations held by diplomats of the European Catholic powers.

Bronisław Dembiński, to whom we owe this citation, wrote in the subsequent commentary over 120 years ago: “Poland indeed stood then aside and did not maintain close relations with Western courts. Truly there was a Polish envoy in Rome as well as in Vienna, but none of them participated in the Council negotiations so actively as other envoys, at least nothing is known about this, nobody speaks nor writes of this.” This opinion is difficult to polemicise, and yet this trend was stable and explicit.

In the West, a rapid increase of interest in the Polish state was taking place, accompanied by an evident accumulation of knowledge, which came from increasingly varied and reliable sources. Let us remember that the Jagiellonian dynasty’s exeunt was a breakthrough moment in this process.

The plans for an anti-Turkish league formulated in the 16th century—mostly assuming Poland’s active participation—is another factor that should be included in this context. The leading European powers (France, the Habsburg Empire, and Spain) and the Italian states (mainly the Papal States and Venice) were interested in the formation of a league. Thus, the Polish monarch’s attitude was widely monitored. This was reflected in correspondence as well as in concrete diplomatic actions, from which the most famous, though politically ineffective, was the legation of Cardinal Enrico Caetani in 1596–1597. Negotiations over the league surely contributed the Western power’s better acquaintance with the Polish-Lithuanian system of power; specifically, they learned more about the mutual relations between the king, the senate, and the chamber of deputies, as well as the way of functioning of both chambers of the parliament.

The process of the growing interest, a constant enhancement of knowledge (which must have equalled broadening and systematisation), about Poland was incessant, even though it is hard to work out precise measurements. Perhaps the

38 Bronisław Dembiński, *Rzym i Europa...*, p. 180-181.

records of a person unknown in the closest circle of Nuncio Galeazzo Marescotti, who left for Poland in March 1668, may be viewed as representative of the state of knowledge from the second half of the 17th century. The author of the travel diary of the—very competent as it later appeared—Papal diplomat stated in the beginning that whenever he set off, he had a problem in distinguishing which information he received from those who had made the analogous journey before (and then he verified it himself), and which observations he made himself.³⁹

Recognising the great usefulness of the previous accounts, he decided to pen his observations and impressions from his departure from Rome until his arrival in Poland. The notes were therefore, by assumption, to be not only very detailed but first and foremost practical. Hence, they contained descriptions of roadside inns where one could stay overnight, indicated grazing spots for morning and afternoon rest, characterised kinds of vehicles, explained monetary systems and their geographic usage, and suggested places where necessary purchases should be made. All this so that others who followed the same route could benefit from the advice.⁴⁰

However, the author saw giving distance between places on the way up to Innsbruck as pointless because “these are well known and many times published things” (This sort of information is the reason why we refer to his diary). Likewise, he decided not to voice his opinion on the quality of inns on the way from Rome to Bologna, because he thought this section was highly frequented and thus widely known, and he said the level of accommodation services on this route was fair and decent.⁴¹ If we add that the latter advice was formulated during a stay in Vienna, we will get three characteristic geographical areas, spreading along the subsequent phases of the journey from Rome to Poland. Up to Bologna, namely to the edges of the Papal States, nothing to write about, everything is well known and obvious. On the way from Bologna to Innsbruck or Vienna, the territories are already explored; there is no point in discussing details because they too have been described many times in print. But further, up towards Poland, a detailed account will be of use to those who follow. Indeed, this is no longer *terra* completely

39 [Anon. 1668], *Partenza da Roma e viaggio verso Polonia...*, p. 3.

40 “[...] et questo si fà acciò secondo tali particolarità ogn’uno possa ben’regolarsi” – *ibidem*, p. 4.

41 “Mi parebbe affettatione il stender precisamente la distanza de luoghi da Roma in Ispruch, essendo molto ben note et stampate su molti libri. Et stimo anco superfluo il dichiarar fino a Bologna la qualità delle hosterie, essendo questo viaggio frequentatissimo, et per lo più ritrovandosi in tutte l’hosterie commodità recipienti” – *ibidem*, p. 3; see also p. 29 and p. 42-43, with a slightly critical description of Kraków, however not devoid of respect for particular buildings and some elements of decor and furnishings.

incognita, but rather an area in which the geography and realities have not been fully explored.

The process we will try to recreate thus also depended on particular persons; it was different in specific social groups and certainly was also territorially varied on the whole Apennine Peninsula. The resonance that the Battle of Vienna stirred in the whole Europe may be seen as a symbolic crowning achievement in the process of Europe's familiarisation with Polish-Lithuanian realities. Festivities and ceremonies honouring the Polish king were held in all major cities of Italy: Rome, Florence, Bologna, Genoa, and Milan. It is estimated that in the whole of Italy, as many as several dozen poets dedicated around 500 poems to this event.⁴² Its European rank was universally recognised alongside the main hero and kingdom whose ruler he was. Previously, the level of knowledge and interest depended greatly on the particular country and milieu; if it was open and intellectually brisk, then surely individual or group interests in possible contacts with Poland must have been discerned more easily.

Flourishing diplomatic contacts provided occasions for mutual acquaintanceship. From the Italian side, the most significant role (this will be discussed later) was played by the nunciature. In addition, the one-time diplomatic missions of Venice and Florence were also of vital importance. This is because their participants first had to prepare for the mission (thus they created a demand for information and stimulated its accumulation), and then they were obliged to make an account from it (typically in written form—potentially readily available and easy for future use). The consequences of Polish missions sent to Italy could have been similar. The preparations to welcome them must have resulted in the increase of interest in the country from which the envoy and his retinue came. Polish diplomats could and many times did use this for propaganda purposes, while the diplomatic visit itself was inscribed in social memory and usually recorded in historical compendia.

In *Storia veneziana* by Daniele Barbaro, in the entry from 1514, we encounter a substantial passage covering a visit to Venice by King Zygmunt I's envoy, who conveyed to the Republic authorities the joyful news about the victory of the Polish [actually, Polish-Lithuanian] army over the Moscow troops at Orsha.⁴³

42 A vast collection of the was compiled by Bronisław Biliński, *Le glorie di Giovanni III Sobieski...*, passim, where he reported 186 authors registered by himself – p. 136; cf. Janusz Tazbir, *“Włoszczyzna” w Polsce...*, p. 365.

43 Daniele Barbaro, *Storia veneziana...*, p. 1079-1080. A description of this event featured on pages of occasional newspapers in the form of, among other things, an account of papal envoy, Giacomo Piso, sent from Vilnius, and King Zygmunt I's letters to Pope Leo X and the bishop of Poznań Jan Lubrański, written in a camp near Borysowo – Konrad Zawadzki, *Gazety ulotne polskie i Polski dotyczące...*, vol. I, p. 1, vol. 3, p. 1-2.

According to this account, the envoy not only presented the genesis and course of the war with Moscow in detail, but also portrayed the kingdom of Poland and characterised its military power as well as answering all specific questions.⁴⁴ Thus, in some prestigious forum, presumably before the senate of the Republic, something akin to a modern day press conference occurred, preceded by copious authorial presentation by an honourable guest. Clever management of such a meeting could have been of enormous propaganda value to the Polish state. From further narration, we can see that the victorious monarch wanted to share his joy, and thus sent captives seized during the battle to the Venetian Doge and the Pope. Unfortunately, during the passage through Germany, some subjects paid respect neither to the Polish king nor the honourable recipients, and recaptured the prisoners by force. And hence a potential further and spectacular propaganda effect could not be achieved this time.

An example from 100 years later, to which we will return in further discussion, may be the mission of Mikołaj Wolski to Rome and Florence, which the then Grand Court Marshal visited in winter 1609/1610 in order to gain political, and perhaps also financial, support for military actions of Zygmunt III against Moscow. As is well documented in sources, Italian political circles showed considerable interest in the course of the visit. So we know that the figure of Wolski made a very good impression on the highest Curia officials, not excluding the Pope himself. This was confirmed by the then head of Papal diplomacy, Cardinal Scipione Borghese, who, in a letter to a nuncio at the Polish court, Francesco Simonetta, dated 23 January 1610, reported that the envoy presented himself just as he had been described in a letter of recommendation from the nuncio, and the letter—as may be easily guessed—was full of superlatives. According to this account, Paul V (endeared by the modest yet highly dignified conduct of the Polish envoy) treated him very kindly.⁴⁵

Wolski was similarly assessed in a summary of his visit issued by the Secretariat of Holy See. This document contained the compilation of favours and privileges he was granted in Rome. According to this document, the mission was carried out with great skill and the marshal—during the short stay in the Curia—showed himself in the best light.⁴⁶ Thus, he was welcomed according to his merit⁴⁷ and granted all the favours that were possible to be given at that moment by the Pope. The marshal achieved significant successes also in the political propaganda sphere. We know,

44 “Narrava costui... dando buon conto delle forze del suo Re, delle qualità dei paesi, e di tutte quelle cose che da persone desiderose di sapere gli erano richieste.”

45 “è stato visto dalla Santità Sua con occhio benigno” – ASV, Segreteria di Stato, Polonia 174, p. 75v. A characteristic of Wolski was included by Simonetta in his letter from Vilnius, dated 25 September 1609.

46 “ha dato honorato saggio del suo valore” – ASV, Segreteria di Stato, Polonia 174, p. 82v.

47 “conforme a i meriti suoi.”

for instance, that during his stay in Rome he presented a map of Smoleńsk besieged by the Polish army, and acquainted his interlocutors with the military aspects of the royal undertaking.⁴⁸

He also denied the rumours spreading in Rome about the alleged illness of the king, about Polish-Lithuanian misunderstandings that supposedly occurred in a camp at Smoleńsk, and about heavy losses and increasing demoralisation in the Polish ranks.⁴⁹

The pages of the then contemporary *Avvisi*, namely journalistic reports, confirmed that Wolski also made the best impression on his partners in conversation during contacts with lay representatives of the Eternal City's elite. An account from his meetings with Duke Michele Peretti and Constable Marcantonio Colonna emphasised not only the first class and perfect manners of the envoy,⁵⁰ but also included a significant expression that Wolski behaved as if he had spent his whole life at the court of Rome.⁵¹ This was something more than diplomatic rhetoric, of which one could accuse commentators from the Curia, but a characteristic imposing itself on external observers. This diplomatic episode undeniably benefited the image of the society and state that Wolski represented.

The envoy's rank and his acquaintance with protocols, observed at foreign courts, prompted universal interest and respect. This, in turn, increased the effectiveness of his arguments by significantly broadening the elite group that received his diplomatic message. The Polish party, in sending such an exemplary envoy to Rome after a long break, again emphasised the importance of the relations with the Papacy as one of the most crucial political partners of the Polish-Lithuanian state in the West.

Marshal Wolski perhaps equalled the most notable, in terms of propaganda, mission of Jerzy Ossoliński to Rome, Florence, and Venice. But the impression

48 He explained the history of the fortress, its current fortification and natural conditions, and characterised the garrison defending it – made up of experienced soldiers well prepared to defend the stronghold. Acknowledging military difficulties, the marshal stressed the increasing chances for final success of the siege, mentioned victories at other fronts, especially on the outskirts of Moscow – BAV, *Urbinate Latini* 1078/I, p. 41r, 59v (later: *Urb. Lat.*).

49 The news about a supposedly acute defeat of the king at Smolensk was brought by, for instance, the letters from Gdańsk, dated 2 January 1610; however, this source was not lent credence – “perche ordinariamente di Dansica si scrivono molte bugie” – *Urb. Lat.* 1078/I, p. 83v: “Di Venetia, 30 I 1610.” A record of Wolski and his circle's propaganda actions may be a Roman *avviso* from 20 February 1610, in which it stands: “Li Signori Polacchi negano che il lor Re sia stato rotto sotto Smolensco in Moscovia” – *ibidem*, p. 150r.

50 “compitissimo Cavaliere et perfetto corteggiano” – *Urb. Lat.* 1078/I, p. 72r: “Di Roma, 30 I 1610.”

51 “come se si fosse invecchiato in questa Corte.”

on the western imagination was the effect of a whole series of far less spectacular actions than the famous loss of golden horseshoes and throwing handfuls of coins to a gawking crowd, which allegedly accompanied Ossoliński's entry to Rome in 1633. It is known, for instance, that the secretary of this mission, Domenico Roncalli, who later carried out serious diplomatic missions on behalf of the Polish Vasa, delivered on this occasion an oration glorifying the Commonwealth in the Roman Accademia degli Umoristi. The speaker pointed out, among other things, that this was a country of free nobility, whose representatives were characterised by valour, erudition, and rhetorical skills. Roncalli's speech was published in the same year in Rome—"apud Franciscum Caballum," and in Kraków—at the print shop of Andrzej Piotrkowczyk.⁵² Similar propaganda actions were arranged quite frequently. Not only were they to dazzle with wealth and splendour, but this style—in the context of Polish magnates' journeys—even earned its own Italian expression ("*far viaggio alla polacca*,"⁵³ which meant "to travel in the Polish way"), but more refined measures were also employed.

Simultaneously, we witness the constant intellectual effort of the Italian observers, who tried to comprehend and describe in their accounts the Polish state, its system of power, social structure, inhabitants' qualities, and natural resources. The effects of these attempts are assessed variously today, especially critically when these scholars characterise the Commonwealth's political structure and the functioning of the state. Feasible prerogatives of the most important Polish-Lithuanian political subjects and the structure and mechanisms of power were not correctly described over the following decades. The Italian observers should be also given unsatisfactory mark for perpetuating social stereotypes and reiterating pseudo-curiosities that enhanced the conviction of Polish-Lithuanian egotism (also relating to climate and nature). Efforts were made, as evidenced by recurrently applied comparisons, to introduce the illustrated reality and make it more vivid. For example, Nuncio Giulio Ruggieri, in his account from 1568, stated that Malbork Castle, erected by the Teutonic Knights—a rather unusual construction in the Polish landscape—was "as spacious as the castle of Milan," while armed cavalry at the Polish king's disposal exceeded in number the cavalries of such powers as Italy, France, Spain and Germany put together.⁵⁴ This is evidence—and by no means unique—of efforts that brought Poland closer in Roman, but certainly also Italian, awareness, a process that in mutual relations cannot be overestimated.

The Italians also acknowledged the fact of Polish differences in political and economic systems, as well as in the social and cultural specifics. "The election of

52 See K. Konieczny, *Roncalli w XVII w. głosi chwałę Polski...*, p. 663-675; cf. *PSB* XXXII, p.10.

53 See *Polska stanisławowska w oczach cudzoziemców...*, vol. 1, p. 5-6.

54 *Relacye nuncyuszów apostolskich...*, vol. I, p. 201-202.

the Polish king is unique for the whole Europe of this age,” Francesco Bibboni convinced the members of the Spanish court that were particularly interested in the Polish-Lithuanian state in 1648, when the election was to be held.⁵⁵ Differences in political system were neither most significant, nor discouraging (just the opposite?), and for a long period they did not obstruct migration. Besides Italian or, more broadly, Western interest was already permanent, and Europe undoubtedly “shrank” with the intensification of travels and exchanges of correspondence; there was also a tightening of commercial and intellectual relations. The Papal and Venetian diplomacies, which had already been functioning for decades, along with more frequent visits to the Commonwealth by representatives of other countries, and a network of informers providing content for thousands of pages of handwritten *avvisi* and subsequently of printed accounts, all played their part.

Apart from written and verbal accounts of Italians who visited Poland for some purpose, contacts with the inhabitants of the Commonwealth must also have been a source of this kind of knowledge. In this context, a special role was played by Papal Rome due to a long tradition and a great quantity of reasons and occasions for the Polish presence there. This presence—always supported by the residencies of great personalities representing Poland—had been reinforced by the establishment of concrete institutions. Thus, of ‘Polish Rome’, as a significant milieu, we may speak with full conviction from the second half of the 16th century. This period is the time of figures such as Cardinal Stanisław Hosius, Stanisław Reszka, Jerzy of Tyczyn, Tomasz Treter; likewise, it includes the consecration of St Stanisław Church and the foundation of the Polish hospice at via delle Botteghe Oscure, which served also—because setting up a separate institution failed—as a collegium of Poles.

In the next century, although the number of Poles visiting Rome was surely not falling, the institution established earlier apparently proved less effective as it tackled financial difficulties. Cardinal Jan Kazimierz Denhoff, residing in Rome in the end of the 17th century, could not equal Hosius; likewise, the next generations of Polish residents (Kłodziński, Montuanus) subsided in their rank in relation to predecessors. And so, the ‘Polish Rome’ in the 17th century turned out to be organisationally weaker but still it persisted, aided by the next waves of incomers from the Commonwealth and represented it in some sense. Further, in the next centuries, the environment was co-created by artists and intellectuals, whose Roman fates in the 18th century were depicted evocatively by Maciej Loret,⁵⁶ and also—much later—by successive generations of Polish patriots (from general

55 *Pisma polityczne z czasów Jana Kazimierza...*, vol. I, p. 19.

56 Maciej Loret, *Życie polskie w Rzymie w XVIII wieku*, Scuola Tipografica Pio X, Roma 1934.

Jan Henryk Dąbrowski's legionnaires to Adam Mickiewicz), who sought refuge in the Eternal City after the uprisings.⁵⁷

However, it seems that the changes that occurred in the 16th century were decisive for the shape of the Polish presence in Italy. The Polish environment there was becoming more numerous populated by diplomats. Their numbers were augmented by the pilgrims and people of the Church paying traditional visits to Rome, Assisi or Loreto, as well as by young people who went there to study. It was exactly these Polish students who, alongside diplomats, most evidently represented their country and played an essential role in the process of deepening of mutual acquaintanceship. This significant fragment of Polish-Italian contacts in the modern era may only be hinted at and complemented with the information that in the Pontifical Basilica of Saint Anthony of Padua there used to be a Polish chapel dedicated to St Stanisław, next to chapels of three other nationalities other than Italy: imperial Germany, Spain, and France.⁵⁸ Admittedly, this was in Padua, visited particularly often by Polish students, but a Polish national chapel—present in such an important church next to the chapels of three of the most important European nations—must have had significance in terms of prestige and propaganda.

Thus we uphold the statement that numerous representations of Polish students must have beneficially influenced the existing stereotypes and created new, positive images. For this was a naturally elite group, if we consider social origin and motivations of students as well as accompanying governors and preceptors. Alessandro Baransani, agent to the Duke of Ferrara, Alfons II d'Este, when recommending the candidacy of his ruler to the Polish throne in the interregnum after the escape of Henry of Valois, was allegedly convinced that his sovereign knew and loved the Polish nation and learnt to value the character and intellectual capabilities of its representatives precisely because of the great number of Polish students whom he met in Italian universities.⁵⁹ This declaration, cited after Świętosław Orzelski, though undeniably of a diplomatic and propaganda nature, may nevertheless confirm the role that the student group played in the process of raising images of Poland and its inhabitants.

Coming back to the personal ties co-creating the relations between whole communities, we may assume that the higher culture and education level, the

57 These were also singular figures living there as, for example, Zofia Katarzyna Odeschalchi nee Branicki, an Polish patriot influential in Roman circles around mid-19th c., married to Livio III Odeschalchi. Her importance grew especially after the suppression of the January Uprising, when she contributed to the establishment of the Polish Collegium, beatification of Jozafat Kuncewicz, and to organising a home for the emigrant clergy. – *PSB* XXIII, p. 535.

58 Tadeusz Ulewicz, *Iter Romano-Italicum Polonorum...*, p. 190.

59 Świętosław Orzelski, *Interregni Poloniae libri VIII...*, p. 378.

better chances for Polish-Italian connections in influential social circles. In the second half of the 16th century, we encounter great—in number and quality—waves of “Paduans,” who, after the return to their homeland, found occupation in the royal chancellery and at courts of magnates, both lay and clergy. These people then created cultural goods referring to Italy and successfully propagated models from there. They would also maintain and cultivate their connections with Italians.

From this perspective, interesting, though not fully explained, relations connected, for example, Giovanni Botero (author of *Relazioni universali*) with the Kostka family, as well as the Konopacki House related with them. The acquaintance began—as was rather usual—in Italy, Rome, or Bologna, during the studies of Piotr Kostka, bishop of Chełm to be, and Stanisław, future voivode of Malbork. It was Piotr Kostka to whom an occasional oeuvre honouring Henry of Valois was dedicated in 1573 by Botero. The work not only praised the new monarch-elect but also glorified Kostka himself (his impressive command of foreign languages was also commended).⁶⁰ The piece in honour to Henry was nothing unusual at that time, and the Polish context was only natural. In another major work by Botero, entitled *Detti memorabili...*, which was a compilation of the sayings and maxims of prominent personalities both contemporary to the author and historical, Poland is well represented. It features five rulers (four kings: Władysław Jagiełło, Zygmunt I the Old, Zygmunt II August, Stefan Báthory, and High Duke of Poland Kazimierz II the Just) and yet, interestingly, from all the Polish magnate houses, only those of the Kostka and Konopacki families are represented. It is hard not to notice the influence of personal contacts, which resulted in this peculiar protection and induced Botero to place his acquaintances as representatives of the Commonwealth in the European pantheon. From this situation, we cannot exclude the idea that Piotr and Stanisław Kostka served as key informers to Botero about Polish matters, and maybe they consulted the contents of quoted fragments of *Relazioni universali*, thus, indirectly influencing European consciousness and knowledge about the Commonwealth.⁶¹

Connections of this type were not infrequent. They created a social background that was a favourable climate for mutual relations; this was certainly a beneficial influence on social attitudes to the phenomenon of Italian immigration. In some particular cases—as the one above—they helped influence the encyclopedical-

60 *Joannis Botteri in Henricum Valesium potentissimum Poloniae Regem ad Petrum Costcam illustrem et magnificum virum Carmen* – see Alojzy Sajkowski, *Opowieści misjonarzy...*, p. 78-80.

61 Here, we share the opinion of Alojzy Sajkowski, who in conclusion of this study stated that “the family of Kostka was to the Italian writer a perfect link between Italy and remote Sarmatia (described by him in *Relazioni universali*)” – *ibidem*, p. 80.

compendial works prepared in the West and successfully co-created the image of the Commonwealth and its inhabitants that they popularised.

The words of Aleksander Ługowski may be seen as an indirect confirmation of the positive effects of this state of affairs. In 1641, he wrote in a letter to the priest Szymon Naruszowicz, who escorted his son Jan during his educational journey: “Verily, Italians to foreigners, especially to our people *verba bona dant* [speak compliments] and praise our nationality to the skies *ex largitate* [for generosity].” Ługowski senior, however, first of all, wanted to warn his son against extravagance and arrogance resulting from wealth, because—in his opinion, supported by his own travel experience—“in a foreign country fame of great riches is rather ignominy and dishonour of all the nation.” This reminiscence of his own travels, apart from the didactic tone that characterises the whole letter for obvious reasons, contains yet another hint—not easy to interpret—on the perception of Poles in Italy. Let us quote the next fragment of the letter: “What my memory has kept since my stay”—Ługowski referred to the issue of high-spending—“is that from our Poles’ greatly debauched abundance there arose a saying in Venice: *Non sum Polaco Cuiavo*.”⁶² The saying, which we cannot translate otherwise than: “I am not a Pole of Kujawy” (still, it may be a cluster or deformation of Italian or Latin words), poses some difficulty, though the context again indicates Polish naivety and gullibility—confronted with Italian acumen and greed.

Yet the general tendency—due to the increasing number of factors tightening international ties—should not be in any doubt. Its next symptom is the fact of including Polish in multilingual dictionaries published in Europe in the 16th century.⁶³ In Lyon in 1594, an Italian humanist working in France, Ambrogio Calepino, published his dictionary of eleven languages, in which—perhaps for the first time—Polish appeared alongside the major languages of modern Europe.⁶⁴ We should point out that, in the edition of this work from 1585, Polish was still not present. An important role in the process was also played by Aldo Manuzio, a renowned Venetian printer and publisher. This was seen when in the beginning of the 17th century he published a dictionary of Latin phrases together with their German and Polish translation.⁶⁵ But there are also some indications that restrain

62 *Jasia Ługowskiego podróże do szkół...*, p. 333.

63 We do not mean here Latin-German-Polish dictionaries printed in Poland in the 16th century (at that time also comprising Greek), but multilingual compendia published in the West.

64 Ambrosius Calepinus, *Dictionarium undecim linguarum: Latina, Hebraica, Graeca, Gallica, Italica, Germanica, Belgica, Hispanica, Polonica, Ungarica, Anglica*, Lion 1594. Calepino had associates in particular countries. In Poland, this function was held supposedly by Jan Mączyński, a famous lexicographer.

65 Aldo Manuzio, *Purae et Elegantes Linguae Latinae Phrases*, Gdańsk 1607.

us from over optimistically outlining the image of Polish realities and Italy's acquaintance with them. If we look at Giorgio Vasari's *Lives of the Most Famous Painters* (a compendium rather representative for the extent of the Italian elites' knowledge of Poland), then we will see that Polish themes are scarce and rather incidental.

From the Italian artists creating in Poland, there appears—actually in an equivocal context—only Bartolomeo Berrecci, the architect of Zygmunt's chapel. There is also Gian Giacomo Caraglio (1505–1565), a goldsmith, a medallist, and a graphic artist; he was active at the courts of both Zygmunts. Only slightly more frequent are mentions of paintings thematically related to Poland.⁶⁶ Naturally, Italian artists who happened to be working at that time in the territory of the Commonwealth were, from the western perspective, a rather marginal phenomenon, and thus, it is hard on this basis to draw conclusions on the familiarity with our country in Italy of that time. Still, a concrete manifestation of such *désintéressement* was not to be omitted here.

Nunciature and Jesuits

A serious impulse that increased the western interest in the Polish-Lithuanian state, and subsequently a better knowledge of it, were religious transformations. The most fundamental of these changes was the advent of the Reformation and consequent Counter-Reformation. The dramatic spreading of the Reformation prompted the Church hierarchy and most accomplished Catholic intellectuals to reflection. Moreover, the whole Church undertook an energetic and—as proved later—largely successful action regarding reforming its doctrine as well as organisation. We are more interested in the latter here. This included the obligation of permanent residence of bishops and setting high standards of Church bureaucracy. There were numerous high standards that were implemented: registering the sacraments given, determining the size of the congregation, recording all the changes in the congregation, and expanding the requirement of recording (some of the reporting pertain to relations on the state of a diocese, which all bishops were obliged to send to Rome every couple of years). Another important reform that the Church underwent was the creation of a network of nunciatures as permanent representations of the Holy See at Catholic courts (more specifically, these individuals would represent the Pope himself). Establishing these nunciatures was a crucial Counter-Reformational decision that strengthened the Church, especially in terms of organisation.

66 Giorgio Vasari, *Żywoty najslawniejszych malarzy...*, Warsaw 1979, p. XXXI-XXXIII.

Papal diplomacy was a structure guaranteeing a temporary change of location while simultaneously providing a chance for achieving life advancement, which was obviously a considerable challenge for ambitious individuals. The system of nunciatures, gradually forming in the 16th century, became one of the most advanced—next to the embassies of the Republic of Venice—diplomatic structures of the modern era. The advancement primarily relied on keeping permanent representations at all courts of Catholic Europe (later also outside the Old Continent) and constant transmission of information and reports. Over the course of the 17th century, the rule of four-year tenures (still universally applied today in diplomacy) was developed and set. But, from the very beginnings, the nuncios' missions, also to Poland, lasted several years. This was of a colossal significance not only for the realisation of political and pastoral tasks assigned to diplomats by the Holy See but also for the issues we investigate here.

The transformations that the institution of nunciature was already undergoing in the 16th century were very interesting. The main motive of the first missions was the Turkish problem. Papal envoys formed projects to stop the Turkish expansion; they probed the possibilities of forming anti-Turkish alliances and taking joint offensive actions. After a while, however, the religious issues and the necessity to take actions against Reformation came decidedly to the fore. The need to challenge the Reformation—also on the doctrinal level—resulted in an intellectual reinforcement of Papal representation. This occurred in Poland too, which is plausibly evidenced by the theologians' names and skilful Jesuit polemicists accompanying nuncios since the 1560s.

Another phenomenon already crucial and noticeable in the initial phase of the nunciatures existence was the necessity to consider local realities and cultural habits (in order to achieve higher efficiency of actions undertaken). To the historians of Papal diplomacy, and also to researchers into the information flow on a European scale, this issue is crucial because it refers to the question of flexibility of those responsible in the Roman Curia for international affairs, and their readiness to analyse information and suggestions coming from remote outposts, including Poland.

From this perspective, the Papal Secretariat deserved the highest mark. Papal diplomacy of that time may also be described as modern due to its way of using information delivered by particular embassies. Therefore, nunciature was not only a Papal representation, but a stable connector of the Commonwealth with the West (this was a unique link for its institutional stability and long-term activity). The role of the following nuncios as authors sketching the image of the Old Polish state and society in letters sent systematically, and in the pages of the so-called final reports, which summarised a mission of several years, seems hard to overestimate.

It should also be pointed out that the reports of authorial type were accompanied by information only relayed by nuncios (separate *avvisi*, enclosed with the letters on mass scale in the second half of the 16th century and especially in the 17th century, were often unrelated to a nuncio's actions and his personal contacts). It is not known whether they were edited by nuncios or censored, although clarity in this matter would have key importance for the complete recreation of the information flow mechanism.

From Poland's perspective, as a country hosting Papal diplomats, the nunciature—in the lack of analogous diplomatic representations—was a unique institution, permanently inscribed in the political and social landscape. Thus, it had to be treated in a special way, not only because of the exceptional nature of the party which it represented, but also due to the exceptionality of its permanent presence at the court, together with the constant readiness to mediate in contacts with the external world. A nuncio residing permanently at the royal court had easy access to the king and, by virtue of position, entered the elite court circle. A nuncio's presence illuminated all private and public ceremonies, which enriched social contacts and greatly facilitated the acquisition of information.⁶⁷

The establishment of nunciature at the Polish court was thus essential for the process of learning about the Commonwealth and familiarising the European opinion with the novel image of the Polish-Lithuanian state. A nuncio's post, and each of at least several specialised positions in his circle (with the auditor, secretaries and an official managing provisions at the lead), gave the opportunity of an official, cost-free stay in the Commonwealth. This applied to people of various statuses and life opportunities: from the members of the College of Cardinals, to ambitious individuals of no recognised familial background.

Francesco Simonetta, future nuncio at the Polish court, when seeking support from Cardinal Federico Borromeo, introduced himself as “a poor priest, buried away somewhere at the back of beyond, completely forsaken and underestimated.”⁶⁸ Even if we suppose that, upon reading these emotive expressions, the author seeks support rather than overdoing the rhetoric, then it is doubtless that when writing

67 A statement of the kind: “there was Rev. legate [Giovanni de Torres] and many lords and noblemen”, naturally emphasised the rank of the reported event. This particular mention is taken from the chronicle of Marcin Goliński and it referred to the funeral service for the soul of Władysław IV, which was celebrated in the Kraków Jesuit church of Saints Peter and Paul on 22 January 1649 – see Stanisław Mossakowski, *Uroczystości wawelskie w roku 1649...*, p. 78.

68 Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana G 179 inf., p. 217r: Francesco Simonetta to card. Federico Borromeo, Milano 8 VII 1598; requests the cardinal to hold him still as a loyal servant and keep him in memory, though – due to the remoteness and multitude of tasks – the cardinal could easily forget “un povero prete, come sono io, sepolto nella patria, abbandonato et di niuno prezzo.”

this letter he had reasons to be afraid about his future and simultaneously had no grounds to envisage—six years before nomination—his five-year stay in Poland (1607–12) as a nuncio. Such cases must have been more common.

However, leaving Rome, or rather the Curia, where decisions on individual careers of the representatives of Catholic clergy were made, could be risky, and posed the danger of being pushed into the shadows and forgotten. Hence, the decisions were not easy. Jerzy of Tyczyn, a Polish resident in Rome, wrote in one of his letters to Marcin Kromer from 1580 about the plans (soon realised) of sending Vincenzo Lauro (ex-nuncio in Poland) as an inter-nuncio to the Duchy of Savoy; this trip would be in relation to the generational change on the throne there.⁶⁹ The Polish diplomat was full of doubts whether Lauro would accept the nomination willingly since “in Rome those who are present are more considered than the absent.”⁷⁰ Since we have started the thread of the Curia and diplomatic careers then—consistently maintaining the “Italian perspective”—we should also cover the selection of human resources, the recruitment mechanism of staff for diplomatic service of the Holy See. For, the assumption of the prestigious position of a nuncio in Poland was not compulsory.

According to the accepted findings and the forming tradition, this was a so-called second-rank nunciature (of three), which meant that in terms of prestige it yielded only to three diplomatic representations that were most important from the Roman perspective: in Paris, Madrid, and the emperor’s court. Simultaneously, it was an outpost regarded as difficult, both due to political and cultural exoticism, which was clear especially in the 16th century, as well as the remoteness from Rome and unfriendly climate.

However, provided that a diplomat performing this function was positively assessed in the eyes of the Pope, and especially by those who were permanently employed in the Papal secretariat of state, they could count on a promotion in the diplomatic and also Curia hierarchy. If he additionally gained the lasting favour of the Polish ruler, which was most often the case, he could expect to be endorsed in his struggle for a galero, which was often successful endorsement since it was usually a matter of prestige to the king himself. For years, Zygmunt III Vasa maintained a correspondence concerning cardinalship for Claudio Rangoni, nuncio in 1598–1606. He was eventually unsuccessful, although he did succeed in two other cases: nuncios Cosimo de Torres and Antonio Santacroce were incorporated into the circle of cardinals about the end of their missions, in 1622 and 1629 respectively. Władysław IV with his queen Ludwika Maria solicited futilely for

69 Emanuel Filibert, deceased in this year, was superseded by Karol Emanuel di Savoia.

70 *Polski dyplomata na papieskim dworze...*, p. 183.

this rank for Valeriano Magni, whereas Jan II Kazimierz secured the red hat for Pietro Vidoni, nuncio in 1652–1660.⁷¹

Recommendations in this regard were formulated even during the Polish-Lithuanian sejm sessions. In 1669, a certain man named Osiecko, standard-bearer of Gostyń, “petitioned for reverend nuncio [Galeazzo Marescotti] to be given the hat from the Holy Father because it was now the Polish king’s turn [to present a candidate].” Those representatives of the senatorial elite who seconded the petition included Andrzej Trzebicki, bishop of Kraków, Kazimierz Florian Czartoryski, bishop of Kujawy, and also Stanisław Warszycki, castellan of Kraków, and Jan Leszczyński, Great Chancellor of the Crown. It is true that Marescotti received the hat, but only in 1675, five years after leaving Poland.⁷²

Thus it was worthwhile to take the risk, and this gradually dawned on the group of potential candidates. Even if, in the 16th century, we encounter cases of no enthusiasm about the proposal to set off to the Kraków court as a nuncio, and looking for excuses not to go (there were instances of refusals to accept the nomination—typically in reference to poor health), then later such attitudes were noted significantly less frequently.

In the case of Nuncio Giovanni de Torres, such specific lack of eagerness accompanying the departure is recorded in mid-17th century. In one of the reports that Venetian resident Giovanni Tiepolo addressed to his superiors in the summer of 1645, it is also mentioned that King Władysław IV yearned for and even impatiently awaited the arrival of a new nuncio, and the nomination had already been given to—this was known—de Torres.

At that particular moment, the king’s attitude was not surprising. The arrival of the next Papal diplomat was to end the breaking of the continuity of the nunciature functioning in Poland—unique in modern history, and politically very inconvenient, due to the dispute in 1643 between the former nuncio Mario Filonardi and the king—and the forced departure from the Warsaw outpost. Meanwhile de Torres was—in the opinion of his Venetian colleague, and despite having completed formalities including transit passports—sparing with incurring costs and reluctant to take the risk of a long journey.⁷³ However, this is a rather extraordinary case.

71 *Acta Nuntiaturae Polonae...*, vol. I, p. 241, 248, 252, 261; *PSB XIX*, p. 138.

72 *Diariusz sejmu koronacyjnego 1669...*, p. 49, 61, 62, 67, 79; *Acta Nuntiaturae Polonae...*, vol. I, p. 267.

73 “Questa maestà attende con impazienza monsignor il nunzio Torres che peranco non si sa quando possa pervenire alla corte, non avendo voluto così facilmente esporsi agli incomodi della spesa et ai perigli del camino, tuttoché abbia ottenuti li passaporti molti giorni prima della mia partenza” – wrote venetian ambassador in a depeche from Warsaw dated 19 August 1645 – [Tiepolo] *Il carteggio di Giovanni Tiepolo...*, p. 82.

The process of acclimating the Papal diplomats to the prospect of conducting a mission in the Commonwealth started seriously in mid-16th century and ended after several decades, due to better familiarisation with the Polish-Lithuanian state within the circles of the Roman Curia. Formulating their opinions around mid-16th century, the first nuncios found the great distance between realities and ideas convincing. “But if they were here”—wrote nuncio Berardo Bongiovanni from Kraków on 5th October 1560, thinking of cardinals Puteo and Montalto—“they would see how to endear Catholics, gently proceed with the wavering in faith, give a helping hand to those who return to the bosom of the Church, refrain from harsh and exasperating means.”⁷⁴ Therefore, the difference in assessment concerned an issue of fundamental importance—namely the official stance of the Papal diplomat on the matters of faith, or rather the way he should act in circumstances that were ambiguous in this regard—and how to react in conflict situations. Apparently, Rome suggested a steadfast and unyielding attitude to the diplomat, whereas already the initial orientation in the local situation inclined him to choose a flexible and tolerant bearing as far more effective. Since even attitude and policy in the issues of faith could be a subject of substantial contention in the circles of Papal diplomacy, then it is even easier to imagine the scale of differences between ideas on the Commonwealth that functioned in the west, and its reality. The differences gradually dwindled, but it was a long-term process.

For its course of importance was also the increasing role of the Commonwealth as regards strategic diplomatic actions undertaken by the Apostolic See (the attempts to organise a pan-European league against Turkey), and the simultaneous weakening of the position of the Papacy in relation to major European courts. Irrespective of this direction of evolution relying on tightening mutual ties, the nunciature in Poland remained a challenge for ambitious and enterprising individuals. For even if the perception of the Commonwealth in the above mentioned categories of political and cultural exoticism gradually diminished, then the distance from Rome, as well as the climate along the Vistula, did not change.

From the mid-16th century, nuncios arrived in Poland practically incessantly (which shows that there were no serious problems with personnel after all) and voluntarily, though the element of official order present in this context was certainly of some significance here. Papal diplomats sometimes had difficulties in completing their retinue, colloquially called *familia*. The reason appears obvious: the drawbacks and hazards of the long journey concerned all the interested parties to the same extent, while benefits for the future career—or, in other words, motivations of higher ideological rank in the case of lower officials of the nunciature—played a far less important role. At the same time, the expectations

74 *Relacye nuncyuszów apostolskich...*, vol. I, p. 89.

of them were not low; secretaries would have to be qualified in office matters and languages; auditors would have to have knowledge of law; servants, who among other things managed approvisionnement, would have to know Polish and how to act in local realities. The scarcity of the staff was, as it seems, a constant problem of Papal diplomacy in Poland. This is confirmed both by appropriate sections of Nuncio Galeazzo Marescotti's *Vademecum*, written in 1670; and individual cases of prolonged recruitment of associates, as well as recurring conflicts that arose within a nuncio's *familia* (this clearly proved that there were personnel problems in the whole institution).

Irrespective of these perturbations, which did not necessarily reach the awareness of the Polish milieu, the nunciature, as an institution in these times entirely—even as regards staff—Italianised, must have constituted a stable element of the Polish-Italian landscape that offered numerically appreciable occasions for the stay of Italians in the Commonwealth. Interestingly, from the 17th century, we note cases of people arriving as the entourage of a nuncio. They then remain in Poland for many years, fulfilling activities at the royal court and in diplomacy. In their new environment, they fulfilled their positions with considerable success and were crowned with achievements.

There are many examples of people upholding these sorts of positions. The secretary to Nuncio Cosimo de Torres, Bartolomeo Ribboni, later became a royal secretary. Domenico Roncalli, a renowned diplomat in the service of the Polish Vasa, was originally a secretary to Nuncio Giovanni Battista Lancellotti.⁷⁵ Finally, Gaetano Ghigiotti, later one of the closest counsellors of Stanisław August Poniatowski and head of his Italian office, came to Poland in 1760; in Saxon times, he was already working for Nuncio Visconti as his secretary and personal courtier (*maestro di camera*). This meant that for the next 30 years he binded himself to the Polish court (he died in Warsaw, in 1796).⁷⁶ Remaining in the sphere of the “Italian perspective,” we may state that the role of nunciature in providing information on Poland in Italy is hard to overestimate, though certainly this viewpoint was specific, not shared and accepted by everyone in Europe. Due to this position in Poland, there was a decisive regularity of news; in addition, the nuncios' letters contained diplomatic content, information of general character, and *avvisi*. The latter form of information, contrary to subjects directly related to the mission, must surely have been distributed more broadly.

Apparently, the demand, and so also the value of information, rose over time, which accelerated and intensified its flow. The exchange of letters was less and less limited to the official layer. The nunciature officials and nuncios' associates

75 *Die Hauptinstruktionen Gregors XV...*, p. 326, *Acta Nuntiaturae Polonae...*, vol. I, p. 249, 251.

76 *PSB VII*, p. 417-418.

also sustained their own correspondence contacts, parallel to the official “Roman” channels. An example—not given so far in the subject literature—may be the figure of Cesare Baroffi, auditor to Nuncio Francesco Simonetta. During his stay in Poland, he kept quite a regular correspondence with Cardinal Federico Borromeo, residing in Milan. He also disclosed to him political information, relating to the internal situation in the Commonwealth, as well as to the events in the international arena.⁷⁷ It was thanks to Baroffi—irrespective of the contacts with the nuncio himself—that the cardinal learned of, for example, the veneration of Carlo Borromeo in Poland, and actions taken in support of his canonisation.⁷⁸

It is hard to say whether this activity took place with the approval and knowledge of direct superiors. In the case of Baroffi and Simonetta, it is probable because the two were modest as far as social position is concerned and both belonged to the same circle of protection, which was composed of the archbishop of Milan and the Borromeo family. This, however, needn't have been a rule, while diplomatic contacts of that time often astonish by multitude of correspondence partners.

As regards disclosure of information sources, the nuncios were profoundly restrained. If we look across the whole period studied, we can see that the nuncios followed the rule of anonymity of their non-official correspondents. Even if—in some instances—we manage to obtain their names (such as, for example, that of a certain Martinello, an informer of Nuncio Caligari, sent near Płock to provide up-to-date information about the military actions of Báthory),⁷⁹ the situation still does not fundamentally change. The people we are interested in are surrounded by

77 In the letter written in Kraków, 8 June 1608, we encounter, for instance, information about reconciliation between Zygmunt III with the head of rebels Mikołaj Zebrzydowski, which allegedly took place two days earlier, the hopes for peace in the country and universal joy resulting from it – see Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, G 199 inf., p. 429r; in one of the following letters, 28 September 1608, we find mentions of False Dmitry I and tensions in relations of the Commonwealth with Moscow – Biblioteca Ambrosiana, G 198 inf., p. 67r; next year (a letter from Kraków, written 21 March 1609) Sejm was discussed as well as the king's plans to temporarily move the court to Vilnius and to take military action against Moscow. – Biblioteca Ambrosiana, G 200 inf., p. 126r-v; then, following reports on the political and military situation on the eastern front appeared – the course of Polish-Muscovite Wars and the defence of Smoleńsk (Vilnius, 30 January 1610 – Biblioteca Ambrosiana, G 205 inf., p. 176r-v; Vilnius, 20 XI 1610 – Biblioteca Ambrosiana, G 204 inf., p. 167r-v).

78 See Biblioteca Ambrosiana, G 252 inf., p. 147r-v – Cesare Baroffi to Cardinal Federico Borromeo, Kraków, 20 July 1608.

79 *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana...*, vol. IV, p. 253-254: “Il Martinello è nel campo, et dalla sua lettera alligata V. S. vedrà quello che là passa, benchè egli non può penetrare molti secreti”; Antonio Martinelli (this version of surname is given by Henryk Damian Wojtyska) is an identifiable person – a secretary to Caligari, and later also to cardinal-legate Ippolito Aldobrandini – see *Acta Nuntiaturae Poloniae...*, vol. I, p. 224, 233.

discretion, and in general, any statements about them by nuncios are characterised by blanket guardedness.

The discretion and circumspection of Papal diplomats did not affect the value of information passed on, or if it did, it was a rather positive effect. This source of news pulsed rhythmically for many decades and satisfied various needs, not only ecclesiastical, at the same time being a fixed point of reference for channels of information functioning in parallel. Though the representations of other Italian diplomatic structures that were present in Poland—especially Venetian and Tuscan, relying on one-time missions—functioned similarly in terms of information collection; it was on an incomparably smaller scale.

The positive nature of the information was not equal to its plenitude. We should not disregard the evidence that the nuncios' letters and reports also encompassed unflattering remarks about the country. If these were widely distributed, then they could discourage potential emigrants from going in this direction. For example, we can find such discouragement in the difficulties of Nuncio Giovanni Andrea Caligari's stay in Poland during Báthory's times. During his struggles, Caligari formulated the opinion that "the disorders of this kingdom do not fall within normal rules," which in this context referred to the non-observance of the incompatibility principle concerning Church positions.⁸⁰ Analogous critical opinions were voiced by Nuncio Francesco Simonetta in the beginning of the 17th century,⁸¹ and his numerous successors too. The nuncios' criticism primarily related to the public and religious spheres. So, it did not necessarily dissuade all those who planned a mercantile trip or labour migration.

In turn, the foundation of the Jesuit convent and the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, as well as modernization of the censorship system, focused attention on the details, variety, and modernity of forms of ideological influence. Highly educated Catholic theologians were primed for debate with the most sophisticated opponents and novel curricula, and quickly gained renown. Moreover, the availability of Jesuit educational institutions enabled new generations to be influenced effectively. Achievements in culture—particularly literature and theatre, this time used consciously, for a defined purpose—also worked towards this goal. The adjustment of rites and forms of culture to the local tradition, a need indicated by the first nuncios, also proved successful. In the background loomed the List of Prohibited Books and a reformed, thus more effective, inquisition, as well as universal awareness of the presence and influence

80 *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana...*, vol. IV, p. 298: "li disordini di questo regno non cascano sotto le regole ordinarie."

81 *Acta Nuntiaturae Polonae...*, vol. XVIII/1, p. 168: "Questo Regno è in uno stato infelice. Non si sentono se non homicidii et misfatti. La giustitia non può essere amministrata, li Magistrati sono vilipesi, et ogni cosa finalmente si vede in confusione."

of the people of the Church in the circles of lay power. The result of these combined actions was that the Church retrieved much of its lost influence, for which many good examples may be found in the Polish-Lithuanian state and vast territories of the Commonwealth.

They were discussed by Claudio Madonia, whose findings we draw on extensively.⁸² Madonia briefly characterises the relations between Poland and the Papacy during the 16th century and then remarks on the progress of the Reformation in Polish lands; he also details the consequent increasing concern in Curial circles. He thoroughly presents the first legations of Roman diplomats.⁸³ These are important because after a while they established the subsequent stabilisation and ingraining of the institution of nunciature in the local social-political landscape.

Madonia views the nunciature's activity in the 16th century in parallel to the actions and activities of the Jesuits. In the cited study, we encounter the description of a great success, namely the Lithuanian mission that founded the first collegium (which was then a university in Vilnius). There were also two failures, which, according to the author, were the attempts to found a collegium in Tynava in the Habsburg part of Hungary (now: Trnava in western Slovakia) and Klausenburg (Kolozsvár) and in Transylvania (now Cluj-Napoca, Romania). Madonia points out the dynamics of the Jesuit actions, and also the boldness of their educational aims. This may be evidenced at least by the location of the first collegium in Braniewo, in the Warmia region, near Protestant Ducal Prussia and a popular school of higher education in the capital Königsberg, which attracted students from all over the Commonwealth. This may be regarded as a clear proof of courage and determination. The chronology of further steps illustrates their expansiveness. Soon after the founding of Braniewo in 1564, and strictly according to the original model, a collegium in Pułtusk was created in the backward but relatively densely-populated Masovia; then, in 1569, it was the turn of the Lithuania capital Vilnius. Here, we can see that there was a clear interest in the east and also in Ruthenian lands, which is confirmed by further, analogous initiatives. Within about two decades, the Jesuits had managed to found collegiums in the following and disparate towns: Poznań, Jarosław, Połock, Riga, Dorpat (now Tartu), Kalisz, Nieśwież, and Lublin.

Madonia perceives two phases in the 16th-century Jesuit activity in the Polish-Lithuanian state territory. He identifies the years of Báthory's rule with a period of the consolidation of convent structures and the establishment of their position

82 Claudio Madonia, *La compagnia di Gesù e la riconquista cattolica dell'Europa orientale nella seconda metà del XVI secolo*, Name, Genova 2002, esp. chapters IV, VI, VIII.

83 Starting with Zaccario Ferreri's stay, in 1519-1521, at Zygmunt I the Old's court, through soon following Tommaso Negri's and – slightly later – Girolamo Martinengo's missions.

within the Commonwealth. In Zygmunt III's times (as we know decisive for the final strengthening of Catholicism's position in the Polish-Lithuanian state), he sees the Polonisation phase of that part of the convent that settled in Poland. Precisely this Polonisation, involving some form of adjustment to local realities, would guarantee the efficiency of the undertaken action. An analogy with the nunciature experiences seems obvious here. Because of the Polonisation of the part of the convent that operated on the Commonwealth territories, the problem of communication with the surrounding area was solved, which differentiated Polish realities from neighbouring ones.

This type of obstacle concerned, for example, the collegium in Tyrnava, then situated on Hungarian territory and comprised in the Habsburg Monarchy. Among 46 members of the newly established collegium, there were only 11 Hungarians ("ungheresi"). This group encompassed four Croats, one German, and two Slovaks; only four others could be viewed as local Hungarians ("ungheresi etnici"), for whom the native language was Hungarian. If we add the two Slovaks to these four, we will have a six-person group that could easily communicate with the local community; but this group made up only a slight, about fifteen percent part, of the collegium inhabitants at that time. The vast majority was separated by a language barrier, which—to the author, whose arguments are convincing—contributed, to a crucial extent, to the failure of the initial phase of the Counter-Reformation actions taken in Tyrnava.⁸⁴

The thesis connecting the successes of the first Jesuit missions in Poland with the ability of the monks coming from the west, mainly from Italy, to adapt to local realities, and subsequently the quick Polonisation of this part of the convent seems fully plausible. Naturally, however, it does not fully explain the grounds for the massive, second conversion and the Polish-Lithuanian nobility's return to the bosom of the Church.⁸⁵ Nevertheless, this phenomenon goes beyond the boundaries of the topics we are interested in here.⁸⁶

At this point, we will end our discussion about the theme of stays in Poland in the context of diplomatic service and convent structures. We would like to return to the issue of personal experiences gathered during conducting missions,

84 Claudio Madonia, *La compagnia di Gesù...*, p. 128-129.

85 A move away from Reformation must have been of chain-reaction type: decisions of individuals who were respected and opinion-forming in local circles certainly found followers; while the massive scale of renunciation of reformed denominations must have influenced the decisions of the undecided.

86 It is easier to explore them in individual cases, whereas in relation to mass-scale processes we are forced to rely on suppositions. They may refer either to the attractiveness of the Church after the Council of Trent, or to the unequivocal in this regard attitude of the first elective kings, especially Zygmunt III Vasa, and the social-political consequences of this.

which, if positive, became a basis of familiarising the people from the West with the Polish-Lithuanian reality, and even of propagating a positive image of the Commonwealth and its inhabitants.

When we considered such consequences of the nunciature's functioning a few of years previously, we indicated the existence, among the Papal diplomats, of a relatively numerous group of about fifteen people. They were well-oriented in Polish affairs and had Polish experiences behind them, and with their experience gained in the Commonwealth, could serve whenever such need arose. For instance at the end of 1586, we observed an impressive organisational skill when Stefan Báthory suddenly died. Due to this event, the Roman Curia politicians found an opportunity to re-discuss Papal policy in new circumstances and to take a stance on the matter of the election of the future ruler and possible dispatch of a special legation to the king's election. Almost all living nuncios who had stayed in Poland participated in councils that were held then, involving the Pope and his closest associates. This manifestation of organisational efficiency evidenced excellent management of Curial staff and equally good orientation in experiences of particular people and their competences.⁸⁷ Not changing our opinion on this issue, we want to remark upon the significance of such kinds of figures for the creation of an accurate image of the Commonwealth, and also for the popularisation of knowledge about the country.

“Pro-Polish Lobby”

The intensity of Polish-Italian contacts in the Commonwealth territory depended to a great extent on the views that were expressed about the Polish-Lithuanian state and its inhabitants in particular regions and political centres of Italy. These opinions—in original form and at a local level—must have been formulated primarily by those who had experiences in that field. The second phase, if we picture correctly the then binding (indeed, universal) principles of social communication, must have included multiplication of these opinions and possible, highly likely, distortions. However, here, we would have trouble attempting even the most general systematisation because there is such a great multitude of factors specific for particular people, situations, and contexts.

This does not pertain to the authors of the judgments in question, whose basis—generally speaking—was autopsy. For—while we may re-create or at least visualise the mechanism of creating these original assessments, which laid the foundations of later formulated universal and generalising opinions—

87 Wojciech Tygielski, *Z Rzymu do Rzeczypospolitej...*, p. 247-249.

our aim should rather be to define social and professional groups in Italy whose representatives had a history of stays in Poland, and on this basis could express positive opinions, thus persuading others to this type of contacts.

A separate matter would be those who formulated negative opinions. Indeed, their influence—as a factor hindering contacts—cannot be ignored, but it is also hard to include it systematically in constructing a model illustrating the mechanism of the creation and stabilisation of Polish-Italian bonds.

Let us name the most characteristic types of people that are of interest here:

A **diplomat** who completed a mission in the Commonwealth and served his possible successors with experience. Here, the apostolic nuncios are particularly significant, not only due to the continuity of functioning of Papal diplomatic representation in the Commonwealth, but also because of the formalisation of documentation and the way of passing on the information gathered over several years to the successors.

A **merchant and entrepreneur** who achieved professional and financial success. Many examples are provided by the representatives of famous banker-merchant families of Soderini, Montelupi, or Orsetti, but it is also worthwhile mentioning in this context the figure of Marco Ottoboni, an envoy of the Republic of Venice, who was to analyse the possibilities of importing Polish grain and whose efforts will be described in greater depth below.

An **artist** (who could be only a contractor of artistic and building works) and a **craftsman**, who not only found commissions for his work and creations, but was also satisfied with living conditions that were offered to him, and approved of the remuneration paid and the way of final settlement with the employer.

A **seasonal worker** who subsequently returns to the same place to do freelance work, sometimes alone, sometimes in the company of relatives and neighbours encouraged by his example. Thanks to Mariusz Karpowicz's research, a person that we may refer to in this context was Pietro Perti (1648–1714), working for the Pac and Sapieha families in Vilnius on the erection of the Franciscan and Trinitarian churches, city palaces, and also the Camaldolese church in Pažaislis. It is known that Perti stayed in Vilnius in 1677 and worked in Antakalnis but returned for the winter to his native Ticino, only to reappear in Vilnius the next year, with five brothers. A suggestion that he was a kind of scout who acted on behalf of the family arises by itself naturally. The reconnaissance went well and in the next season the whole team travelled to work.

Each of the mentioned categories and every one of the examples is obviously a fragment of an entire process, which relied on becoming familiar with a remote reality, more frequent contacts, sharing impressions and experiences, and acquiring reliable knowledge.

In the extant travel diaries from around Italy, one may also find traces of knowledge about and fondness for the Commonwealth, which resulted from acquaintance with it; in short, these were Italian advocates of Poland who had completed at least one season on the Vistula.

Jakub Sobieski, when visiting a cathedral in Reggio Emilia in 1611, stopped for a long moment before a picture of the Last Judgment because he saw in it an exposed and clear Polish accent. It was a figure of characteristic traits and clothing that enters heaven first. This detail was ascribed by the diarist to “considerable affection [...] towards our nation” of Claudio Rangoni, local bishop and the picture sponsor, “who was in Poland here with us a nuncio for a long while, and held dear by our folk.”⁸⁸ Members of the retinue of Prince Władysław Vasa, who travelled across Italy in the end of 1624, met a brother and a nephew of this nuncio in Poland (who died three years earlier). Alessandro Rangoni was a nephew to Claudio (“a nephew of this good Reggian bishop”—as described by Stefan Pac) and ceremoniously a prince in the Papal palace in Foligno (where “he was then a governor”); in this position he saw the noble travellers up to Spoleto.⁸⁹

This is a model situation: Claudio Rangoni, bishop of Reggio, was the former nuncio in Poland. He conducted his mission from the early autumn of 1599 until the beginning of 1607, and was evidently well remembered by the hosts. After the end of his mission, he returned to his diocese and had fond memories about his time in Poland. He managed it for the next 14 years (died 2 September 1621). The positive attitude to Poland was ingrained during his diplomatic mission and was expressed surely immediately after his return; he began by enriching the church décor by Polish accents there. The bishop could not have ended on this single gesture over the following years. He managed to pass on his positive attitude towards Poland (or maybe only to the ruling dynasty?) to the members of his closest family, since his brother and nephew not only treated the passing of Prince Władysław’s train as the highest-rank event, but also felt obliged to play the role of hosts and were ready for all services that this entailed.

It is worth adding that—soon after the separation with Alessandro Rangoni, when the distinguished guests reached Rome—Cardinal Cosimo de Torres, who had stayed in Poland as a nuncio in years 1621–1622, held custody over them. He went as far as Castelnuovo to welcome the prince, and he then spared no hospitality, surely desiring—as Samuel Twardowski put it—to “reward him here in Rome for benevolence in Warsaw.” Indeed, it should be remarked that de Torres had then already been, for over year, an official protector of the Kingdom of Poland, a name given to the cardinal who was entrusted with the care of Polish

88 Jakub Sobieski, *Peregrynacja po Europie...*, p. 175.

89 *Podróż królewicza Władysława Wazy...*, p. 265, 283, 285.

matters in the Roman Curia. Yet, it seems, his relation to lordly guests extended far beyond diplomatic courtesy.

We are in the diplomatic sphere, but the phenomenon must have had a wider extent. It may be safely assumed that the intellectually active and dynamic part of the Old Polish society (and any other in Europe of that time) was then incomparably less varied, and most significantly, far less numerous in comparison to more contemporary times (when democratisation processes took place on the whole Old Continent). If that is the case, then it follows that the role of direct contacts and personal relations in the circle of this elite group was much greater then. This observation also refers to communities travelling across Europe at that time.⁹⁰

This phenomenon may also be illustrated with an example from merchant-bourgeoisie circles. Marco Ottoboni—a Venetian merchant, who at the end of the 16th century carried out negotiations in Gdańsk on the possibility of importing Polish grain—must have gained the friendship of local partners; the municipal officials did not spare help and advice about the local realities. A renowned Gdańsk painter, Anton Möller, painted Ottoboni's portrait. Thus, when councillor Arnold von Holten visited Venice in 1608 as an official envoy of the Gdańsk authorities, it was Ottoboni on whom the task of showing the guest around the town and acquainting him with its major attractions was conferred.⁹¹ Supposedly, the authorities utilised good contacts and favours of their citizens, but undoubtedly he himself renewed old friendships with pleasure on this occasion.

Changing, for a moment, the century and social circles, we may pose a question: what social partners—besides the structure of local court—did the voivode of Mińsk, Krzysztof Zawisza have during a stopover in Vienna during his return from Italy in 1701? His *Diaries* record that he was visited by, among others, “priest Davia, a papal nuncio.” Hence this must be Giovanni Andrea Davia, a diplomat who was a nuncio in Warsaw, from 1696–1700, and who was later given an analogous mission at the court in Vienna. The voivode spent most of his time there with a certain “Count d’Areo, a noble and kind knight,” surely an Italian [conte d’Arco], and beyond doubt a member of the previously defined international

90 During the audience for Prince Władysław and his circle Pope Urban VIII recognised both Stefan Pac, whom he had met about fifteen years earlier when he was a papal legate in Bologna (ibidem, p. 287, 290), and Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł, whose description of this solemn moment is worth quoting here: “The Pope, upon seeing me, immediately recognised me for in my times his name was Maffeo Cardinal Barberini and he was a legate in Bologna, and had not bees but flies in his coat of arms. When I saw him for the second time, in Rome, in 1616, I foretold him that he would become Pope; thus I was most kindly welcomed” (ibidem, p. 288).

91 See Edmund Cieślak, *Les relations de Gdańsk (Dantzig) avec l’Italie...*, p. 214.

and elite class.⁹² The decisive process of getting to know one another, levelling stereotypes and biases, and forming incentives to expand contacts occurred in this class, one of the most mobile groups.

The Motives for Setting Out On a Journey

The motives for leaving one's native land appear and will be thoroughly analysed in the context of the lives of particular figures. Here, we list only their basic categories, which are slightly stylised in the language of the epoch.

“Curiosity”

This motive is listed first and in some sense primary, though it was far from being the most important. Pure curiosity and desire to know as motives of a long and dangerous journey to the east of the continent was still at this time rather rare, a symptom of immense daring (or rather a whim) together with the courage and material resources to satisfy it. Essentially, such curiosity—a manifestation of general interest in geography, climate, political solutions, or maybe the religious situation—had some undertone of self-interest because exploring for the sake of learning and the potential application of acquired solutions (what could possibly be learnt east of the Elbe?) was not the case here, but rather figuring out the opportunities of economic or trade expansion.

In the language of that time, there was even a special expression for the European East: the India of Europe (*le “Indie d’Europa”*). This name implied that Eastern Europe contained remote and exotic territories that also offered ample, yet still unexplored, opportunities for expansion and getting rich. The location of these lands was never too precise, but naturally they were to be found somewhere far and to the east. Among the Italian figures that we study, this expression was used by Girolamo Pinocci during his diplomatic mission to the Netherlands in 1658. During this time, he advised his interlocutors to maintain intensive contacts, including trade, with the Polish-Lithuanian state and with Moscow.⁹³ However, this term had already functioned earlier in the Commonwealth itself, at least from the moment of the rapid widening of the Polish state territory in the second half

92 [Zawisza], *Pamiętniki Krzysztofa Zawiszy...*, p. 99; see also *Acta Nuntiaturae Poloniae...*, vol. I, p. 285.

93 “... tener aperto et vivo in particolare il traffico dell’Indie d’Europa (in questo predicamento sono appresso di loro la Polonia, la Lithuania et la Moscovia)” – see Rita Mazzei, *Traffici e uomini d'affari...*, p. 10, footnote 6.

of the 16th century. The south-eastern borderland, according to Polish political scientists, opened up just boundless opportunities for development, expansion, and enrichment. In 1573, Piotr Skarga wrote “non requiramus Indias Orientis et Occidentis, est vera India Lituania et Septentrio” [We do not need the East nor the West Indias—Lithuania and the north are the true India].⁹⁴ Polish writers were certainly likely to overrate the attractiveness of these lands tendentiously, whereas for the external observers the term could easily mean, and clearly did, the entire Commonwealth—a land of vast prospects and opportunities. Nevertheless, even if curiosity could sometimes incite travel, it is hard to imagine that it was a satisfactory stimulus to emigrate.

“Business”

The original motive that inspired relatively many Italians to penetrate the eastern frontiers of the continent was the business of trade. This factor played a colossal role in the 16th and 17th centuries. The mechanism, on a macro scale, was clear, and we will refer to it further on numerous occasions. A fairly well-prospering Polish economy created demand for consumable goods from the nobility and the wealthier section of burghers. Merchants, some but not exclusively Italian, tried to seize the opportunity and offered wines, spices, and chiefly textiles to the Polish consumer. The quality of Italian fabrics was unsurpassed, and soon this commodity became most sought after.⁹⁵ Fashion and tastes quickly adapted to the new possibilities and favoured the Italian exporters. The problem on the side of demand remained the financial means of the prospective buyers, but in this regard the situation seemed stable for a longer period.

Therefore, the motives that inspired the emigrants were enhanced by the target-country realities, where financial resources and material potential of the predominant noble class rose, alongside a considerable readiness to accept novel consumer offers. Bernard O’Conor, English royal doctor to King Jan III, said that “the merchants coming to Poland for tiniest trifles [trinkets, fripperies] mercilessly fleece the dames here [...] these frolics not only in attire, multitude of servants, but also in housing are to be seen, the edifices erected today are Italian style for the older ones are small and cramped.”⁹⁶ We may express the conviction that the merchants referred to by the author were also Italian.

The awareness that, from this perspective, Poland was an important partner for Italy may be found in the works of Łukasz Opaliński. The author mentions,

94 [Skarga], *Listy ks. Piotra Skargi...*, p. 55.

95 See recently on this subject Rita Mazzei, *Itinera Mercatorum...*, p. 70.

96 [O’Conor], *Wyjątek z pamiętników...*, p. 427.

in *Obrona Polski* [A Defence of Poland] (1648), Italian silks, imported to Poland on a mass scale and being some attraction to local consumers. Disregarding the prestigious status of Italian goods, it is worth stressing that—according to Opaliński—the Italians “with us primarily carry out trade in other places [...] they intend to quit this occupation, despite they care most about it.”⁹⁷

In the mid-17th century, the Polish author from the class of magnates was interested in the subject and also realised that the market for Italian fabric was narrowing; he also realised the consequent growing significance of the Polish-Lithuanian consumer.

The economic relations cannot be viewed only in the categories of the market (especially since the Italian merchants traded goods produced in various places). From our perspective, it is hard to see how the Commonwealth and modern Italy were ideal economic partners. The basic reason for this relative weakness of existing relations was the distance between the countries, both by land (with mountains and politically unstable regions in between) and sea.

And yet, the attempts to establish close trading contacts—including not only selling fabrics, wine, and luxury goods on the Polish market, but also importing mainly corn and cattle from the Commonwealth—were nevertheless undertaken; a serious attempt was made to understand the mechanisms involved. Potential partners were looked for in Gdańsk. This was understandable as the merchants of Gdańsk had for a long time been meeting Italians in major European trading centres: in medieval Bruges, in Antwerp (chiefly in the 16th century), and in Amsterdam (in the following two centuries).

When the harvests of 1586–1590 proved bad in Italy and the necessity of importing crops arose in most important Italian states—Tuscany, Venice, Naples and the Papal States—the eyes of Italian traders and politicians turned to Gdańsk. In the period of trading prosperity, this centre exported around 100,000 lasts (about 250,000 tons) of corn annually. Ferdinando I, Grand Duke of Tuscany, was first to send Geronimo Giraldi and his relative, Riccardo Riccardi, on a mission to Gdańsk. They purchased 355 lasts of corn and set out on eight ships (out of which only three reached their destination) to transport the grain to Livorno. It is known that, in the following years, the Tuscans had their own business representatives (Pietro Neri and, after his death, a certain Priami in Gdańsk, while Geronimo Giraldi arranged analogous transports even in the beginning of the 17th century).⁹⁸

It is remarkable that the traces of Italian, precisely Tuscan, interest in Polish crops at that time are found in sources in which the economic themes were not foremost, though it is hard to deny competence in this field to the authors of the

97 “What luxury there is in clothing, may be attested by Italy, which provides us in great abundance with silk...” – see Łukasz Opaliński, *Wybór pism...*, p. 230.

98 See Edmund Cieślak, *Les relations de Gdańsk (Dantzig) avec l’Italie...*, p. 209-211.

letters we want to cite. Sebastiano and Valerio Montelupi, relying on correspondence from Gdańsk, informed Ferdinando I, the Grand Duke of Tuscany, in a letter from Kraków, written 11 January 1597, about a steep surge in the price of wheat and rye there, exceeding 10%. This was supposedly caused by rumours about alleged purchases by Italians.⁹⁹ Interestingly, a month later, the same senders, this time in a letter to the secretary of Grand Duke Belisario Vinta, signalled a sudden cooling and snowfall and expressed concern about the next harvest, simultaneously stressing the affordability of local wheat—at least compared to Tuscan realities.¹⁰⁰

In one of the next letters to Vinta—written from Warsaw, 22 March 1597, signed only by Sebastiano Montelupi—we encounter the following incentive to trading activity. The English allegedly bought rye for 60 florins and wheat for 90 and voiced that it will be worth 125 florins in England.¹⁰¹ In one of the following letters by the Montelupi to Florence, dated 24 May 1597, some trends offering promising business prospects were indicated: very good weather augured good harvest, the falling price of wheat and rye was fluctuating around 30%, and there was a great probability that prices would drop again at harvest time. These encouragements to purchase crops and export to the south was complemented with information about the decrease in the price of wheat and rye in Gdańsk; whereas the observation that out of seven ships filled with food, which had recently sailed from Gdańsk bound for Livorno, only two had reached their destination safely (the rest were either destroyed or brought produce spoilt by scorching heat) could dampen the buyers' enthusiasm.¹⁰²

The theme of the crop trade and price fluctuations—yield forecasts and the progress of harvests, as well as the actions taken in Gdańsk by foreign traders—is clearly present in the Montelupis' letters, at least from the early autumn of the following year, 1598.¹⁰³ The addressee was typically Belisario Vinta, and sometimes the Grand Duke Ferdinando. Contradictions and the lack of internal coherence of these reports seem characteristic, due to the poor quality of communication with Gdańsk, and simultaneously the conviction of the senders about the importance of this subject and their consciousness of their responsibility to comprehensively and possibly competently elucidate upon it. The most explicit grumbling on the

99 [Montelupi], *Korespondencja Sebastiana i Valeria...*, p. 131 – “sendo stato cavato voce che italiani facevan comperare”; the theme of food prices appeared in the following letter from 8th March – p. 139.

100 “Con tutto ciò il grano qui è a buon mercato” – *ibidem*, p. 135.

101 “... gl'Inghilessi havevano fatto montare il segale a fiorini 60 et il grano a 90, dicendosi che in Inghilterra valeva fiorini 125” – *ibidem*, p. 140.

102 *Ibidem*, p. 146-147. If the abovementioned initiative of merchants Giraldis and Ricardi was meant here, then its dating should be changed – repeated after Edmund Cieślak.

103 There are no real grounds for assessing the completeness of the edition we use here.

lack of up-to-date commercial news from Gdańsk was contained in the letter from 12 July 1597.¹⁰⁴ The Montelupi informed on the weather anomalies, which might result in a continuing surge in prices (which was confirmed in subsequent letters from 2 August and 13 September 1597 as well as 4 May and 26 September 1598). The information about the current price level was accompanied by attempts to estimate the foreign demand for crops, which—if we believe the information that was then available in Kraków—was unstable, though basically it guaranteed a high price level.¹⁰⁵

A reconnaissance mission regarding the import of Polish crops was also arranged by the Venetians at that time.¹⁰⁶ Their envoy, Marco Ottoboni, stayed in Gdańsk for over a year (Sept. 1590 – Oct. 1591). His profitability assessment of the crop imports directly from Poland—crucial for taking any decisions—was not unequivocal. Though he managed to construct a complex banking system (Capponi in Venice, Montelupi in Kraków, Pestalozzi in Vienna, Troilo, Viats and Fiester in Wrocław, and Torrigiani in Nuremberg), which could bankroll the whole enterprise, five ships were eventually dispatched from Gdańsk. Out of these ships, only three reached their destination, bringing in 130 lasts of rye and 250 lasts of wheat. Similar actions, which nevertheless never attained the planned scale, were taken in 1608–1609. The constant interest in the subject may be attested by the fact that Pietro Duodo was commissioned to produce a detailed study on the structure of the Gdańsk authorities and the bonds connecting this city with the Commonwealth.

The possibilities of grain supplies from Gdańsk were also explored by the Papal States. Pietro Maria Volcano, who had stayed for ten years in Poland, was to conduct proper negotiations with municipal authorities on the Pope's order.

The issue considered was importing 1000 lasts of rye and 500 lasts of wheat spread over ten years, and paying 100,000 florins on deposit for these goods. The negotiated contract, set and formulated during the Volcano's second stay in Gdańsk, was eventually rejected in Rome, but—thanks to the mediation of the Genuese, and also to customs facilities introduced in the Papal States—some quantity of Polish corn did reach Rome, through the port in Civitavecchia.

104 “Non havendo da Danzica in molte settimane alcun’adviso dell’reggimento de frumenti, non ho da potere scrivere nulla di certo...” – *ibidem*, p. 150; see also p. 151-153, 156, 158.

105 13th Sept. 1597 Sebastian Montelupi reported that allegedly there is no demand for wheat in Gdańsk because the Dutch – chief recipients of grain – prefer rye (“i Paesi Bassi amano più la segale del grano”); according to the letter from 4 May 1598, in Gdańsk, there were 300 ships awaiting loading, and some Dutch ships were yet to come.

106 See Ludwik Boratyński, *Przyczynek do dziejów pierwszych stosunków handlowych Gdańska z Włochami...*, *passim*.

Then, Naples, Genoa, and Mantua also made similar commercial approaches to Gdańsk. It is beyond doubt that far greater amounts of Polish corn reached Italy at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, as a result of trading mediation by the Dutch.

According to Edmund Cieślak, a gradual weakening of these multi-lateral contacts may be observed in the beginning of the 17th century, when political support for the merchants' actions began to drop off significantly. Such support was—in this author's view—indispensable for crystallising trading structures.¹⁰⁷ Thus, in the context of centuries-old Polish-Italian relations, the whole episode should be regarded as ephemeral.

Initiatives to supply the peninsula with meat through the import of oxen from the Commonwealth lands, happening at the same time, must be judged similarly. In this case, we have confirmation of concrete interest from Venice. To the letters of Venetian ambassador Pietro Duodo, dated 27 June 1592, in Kraków, was attached an extremely interesting *Informatione. . . sopra il cavare li Bovi di Polonia*; it was professionally prepared by someone who signed himself Giovan Battista Ceki.¹⁰⁸ According to the author of this opinion, 15,000–18,000 oxen raised in the winter and fed with fodder on vast pastures on noblemen's lands could be obtained annually in Poland. The exemption—as we read—of nobility from all fees, including customs and tolls, was their great advantage in the context of any purchase plans. Additionally, 6,000–8,000 thousand smaller oxen could be bought in Podolia, which—according to local custom—were paid annually as tithes to the local nobility by the serfs. The price of a year-old ox would be 12, 13, 14, or 18 florins at most—depending on the size and weight of the particular animal.

It should be stressed that Ceki informed that the oxen were sturdy, rich in meat, comparable in size to the Hungarian breeds or even exceeding them, and in any case more valued on the Prague market (where only two species were available). The price of lesser, but equally—as it has been signalled—valuable animals from Podolia would be 6, 7, 8 or 9 florins. Polish oxen raised during winter may be purchased early, right after Easter, and those from Podolia a little later—not before St Jacob and Bartholomew's day [30th April]. To bring them to Venice, there was no better way than through Silesia, Moravia, and Austria up to Pontebba; this sort of journey could last up to two months. The cost of transport is hard to estimate without knowing the precise customs fee, but it may be assessed at 5–6 florins per animal, including the drovers' pay and their return journey cost. Besides, the idea could be tested first by importing a small number of cattle on a trial run. The author of the letter declared a readiness to execute the whole

107 See Edmund Cieślak, *Les relations de Gdańsk (Dantzig) avec l'Italie...*, p. 211-213.

108 *Fontes Rerum Polonicarum e tabulario Reipublicae Venetae...*, Series II/1, p. 247-248.

operation, emphasising that, as the person who supervised customs collection on the Commonwealth borders, he was hard to disregard.¹⁰⁹

The business promised to be attractive to both sides. Was it being realised on a greater scale? It is difficult to answer this question, but the very idea seems crucial. The annex added to the letter to the Venetian ambassador clearly confirms that new sources of food supplies—in this case, meat, for the Apennine Peninsula—were sought in the Commonwealth lands.

However, a specific asymmetry is visible. While the Venetians considered this idea as one of several, to their partners in the Commonwealth, the opportunity to carry out such an extraordinary transaction, and on such a large scale, seemed the chance of a lifetime, which could not be missed. Soon after sending the mentioned letter, together with the annex, ambassador Duodo received from Ceki one more supplement.¹¹⁰ In it, the author wrote about two other kinds of oxen, whose number may be estimated at 40,000 per year. The first were to come from Ruthenia, the second, of massive size, from Podolia, Moldavia, and Wallachia. The price of the first was 11, 12, or 15 florins, the second from 15–20 florins, though in both cases a customs tariff of 1 florin per animal would have to be included. In a complementary report, there were further details on the customs system realities in the Commonwealth and its Silesian borderland. These trading-import initiatives, although interesting from the economic perspective, were of marginal significance because the judgment that the economic relations between the countries we are interested in could practically not exist in the modern era. This sentence meant, therefore, that the two parties were by no means condemned to cooperate in trade. This opinion is denied neither by the fact of importing Italian fabric and wine (alternative supply sources are easily conceivable) to Poland, nor—even less so—sporadic attempts to take Polish grain to Italy.

Yet mutual Polish-Italian relations had their economic dimension. It was primarily the labour market, and more broadly, the sphere of life activity that could be offered to the inhabitants of Italy, a relatively densely populated land entering a prolonged period of economic stagnation, by the Commonwealth. The catchword “to earn one’s bread” is essentially a motivating complement referring to the groups in a bad economic state. Trading calculations and actions may have been undertaken on a big scale and raised to very high incomes. They did, however, require previous investment in stock and means of transport. On a lower level of wealth, we deal with people who sought employment and the possibility of a better life because the economic conditions in their

109 “... dovendo tutti questi bovi passare per le mani nostre.”

110 *Fontes Rerum Polonicarum e tabulario Reipublicae Venetae...*, Series II/1, p. 250-251, the text written in Kraków, 27th June 1592, attached to Pietro Duodo’s letter sent to Venice from Vienna, 9th July 1592.

homeland were not satisfying to them. Typical representatives of this category are craftsmen with niche skills, and builders without commissions; all of these types of workers are ready to travel great distances in search of work. The representatives of this group were able to incur small expenses (travel costs); therefore, their expectations were far smaller.

“The Call of Duty”

This motive primarily pertains to diplomats, especially nuncios, because of their long stays. Another group of arrivals delegated in some sense are monks coming to Poland with concrete missionary tasks (Jesuits founding collegia as a new element of the educational system) or sent because of their qualifications. An example of the latter category may be a distinguished Jesuit architect, Gianmaria Bernardoni (1541–1605), born in Como; he was primarily known as the creator of the Jesuit church in Nieśwież. Bernardoni came to Poland in 1583 on behalf of his order’s authorities, for the Polish province asked Rome to send a specialist in regard to the construction of the collegium in Braniewo; architect Giuseppe Brizio, already working in Poland in the 1570s on the construction of the collegia in Pultusk and Jarosław, was evidently not enough because of the grand scale of the conventual investments. Giacomo Briano of Mutine (c. 1589–1649) was an excellent architect who was active in the first half of the 17th century. Until 1632, he held the position of general architect of the Polish province for 15 years, supervising, among other things, the erection of monastic buildings in Łuck, Lviv, Kraków, and Lublin. In some sense, Benedetto Molli (1597–1657) was his successor. He was sent to Poland in 1633 and then worked for 15 years or so in Ostróg, Łuck, Vilnius, and Kraków.

The arrivals from Italy also held managerial functions. Jesuit provincial superiors in Poland included, among others, Lorenzo Maggio (c. 1530–1605), former rector of Collegium Germanicum, who oversaw the bringing of the Jesuit religious order to Poland and later was a visitator of the Polish province; Giovanni Paolo Campani (c. 1546–1592), who initially accompanied Antonio Possevino in diplomatic actions and was a co-founder of the Academy of Vilnius and organiser of new collegia; and Giovanni Argenti (c. 1561–1626), who had previously been a visitator of the Polish and Lithuanian provinces, and rendered considerable services to the development of Jesuit education. In 1614, in the same field, Michele Salpa (1560–1618) was appointed as rector of the Academy of Vilnius. His counterpart in the Franciscan religious order was Giovanni Caputo (1556 to after 1618), a

preacher and a regent of a seminary in Kraków. He was a visitor of the Polish province, elected its provincial superior twice.¹¹¹

The third category identifiable in this context comprises agents and envoys that were given concrete political tasks, often connected with striving for the Polish crown. For some part of the Polish-Italian contacts, thus also some part of Italian activity in the Commonwealth was related to diplomatic relations. In the period of several interregnums, an Italian candidate to the throne was taken into account—though it is not known how seriously. One of Báthory's rivals in 1575 was Alfonso II d'Este, Duke of Ferrara, Modena, and Reggio, on whose behalf Alessandro Barasoni acted, and whose candidacy gained epistolary support from, among others, Giovanni Battista Guarini, who maintained a correspondence with Marshal Andrzej Zborowski. Also, the candidacy of Cosimo I, Grand Duke of Tuscany, was discussed. In the next interregnum, the Duke of Parma was one of the candidates.¹¹² After Korybut Wiśniowiecki's death, the young Rinaldo d'Este Duke of Modena, related on his mother's side to the Barberinis, competed for the crown. His champions—Galeazzo Gualdo Priorato, historiographer of Leopold I, residing in Vienna, and Giuseppe Montecuccoli, influential at European courts—hoped he would play the role of a compromise candidate (*super partes*).¹¹³

In the end, nothing resulted from these plans. But, even if such ideas were not anything more than political wishful thinking, there must have existed political, social, and financial backing for such candidacies. Such support could be made up of both Italians living in Poland, as well as emissaries specially employed for this purpose. In the case of Rinaldo d'Este, the support of the Barberini House, whose representative sat upon the Papal throne 30 years earlier as Urban VIII, proved to be highly insufficient; eventually, Rome backed the candidacy of Charles V, Duke of Lorraine. The efforts of Modena's envoy, Alessandro Bellentani, as a person of low rank and little authority, were equally fruitless.¹¹⁴

In this context, we can discuss the interesting case of the Soderini family. They were bankers and merchants in Kraków that were also active in German markets, among other things due to the relation and close cooperation with the influential and politically ambitious Torrigiani family, which resided in Nuremberg. The

111 *PSB* I, p. 156-157, 461-462; II, p. 435; III, p. 202; XXI, p. 635; III, p. 196-197; XXXIV, p. 391-392; see also Felicjan Paluszkiewicz SI, *Mały słownik jezuitów...*, p. 10, 14, 22, 34, 42, 143, 147, 178, 203-204.

112 "Parmensis – Practica multiplex, doli occulti, veneva, et sitis auris, hac tendunt in exitum odi Italum" – such remarks on the Italian candidate may be read in news from Warsaw dated 2nd June 1587 – BAV, Urb. Lat. 1055, k. 270v; see Gaetano Platania, *Włoska dyplomacja i nieudany "interes" Rinalda d'Este...*, p. 103, footnote 24.

113 Gaetano Platania, *Włoska dyplomacja i nieudany "interes" Rinalda d'Este...*, p. 100-103.

114 *Ibidem*, p. 107-111.

representatives of Soderini (Bernardo and Carlo) played a significant role at the election of Henry of Valois to the Polish throne, by endorsing this candidacy by co-organising financial support. It is notable that, in their native Florence, the Soderini belonged to those important and influential families such as the Albizzi, Corsini, and Guicciardini, being part of the so-called *case popolane antiche*. At the turn of 16th century, Pietro Soderini was elected life *gonfaloniere*, and Francesco was a member of the College of Cardinals.¹¹⁵ Such social initiatives must have had the endorsement of powerful figures in Poland, and there must have existed forms of communication between such people or centres and particular courts in Italy. Intermediaries upheld such communication and regularly reported necessary information. A good example may be Count Zygmunt Myszkowski, a known Italophile, of whose Italian connections and inclinations we will write more in due course. Highly interesting correspondence between the count and his circle, and the Mantuan court, may be an adequate illustration, despite the fact that fragments preserved in Poland naturally refer to episodes isolated from their context.¹¹⁶

The letters addressed to the Duke of Mantua and Monferrato, sent from Kraków and Warsaw in the first half of 1600 by a certain Pietro Franco, residing temporarily in Poland and remaining in close contact with Myszkowski and his circle, illustrate the scale of interest of the Mantuan court, and also the scale of political thinking of the correspondent and his Polish partners. We have insightful remarks on the bad condition of the Polish-Lithuanian state, disturbed by internal conflicts; later there is information about the anti-royal attitude of the *Sejmiks* (regional assemblies), arising from the monarch's failure to meet commitments or fulfil the promises made before his election.¹¹⁷

At the head of the discontented were the Voivode of Vilnius [Krzysztof Radziwiłł] and castellan of Vilnius [Hieronim Chodkiewicz]. Military preparations were being made, under the pretext of private disputes; for instance, in Lithuania, the Myszkowski family ("*Marchesi Mescoschi*") recruited a thousand cavalry and

115 Rita Mazzei, *Itinera Mercatorum...*, p. 73.

116 Exact copies of the Mantuan court's correspondence with Poland are stored – as the so-called. *Teki Cieszkowskiego* – at the Library of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN) and the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences (PAU) in Kraków. (later quoted.: *Teki Cieszkowskiego*).

117 *Teki Cieszkowskiego* 8712, k. 1-2, Pietro Franco to Duca di Mantova et Monferrato, Kraków 6th Feb. 1600 – writes “per commissione del S.re Marchese Sigismondo” [Myszkowski]; he reports to what extent “questo Regno è tutto in rumori parte per private inimicitie, ma si dubita che si nasconda la biscia nell’erba, le diete particolare sono fatte tutte contro il Re generalmente et s’accordano di levargli l’ubbedienza, se non sodisfa a quel che ha promesso circa la sua elettione...” – which he cannot do since he does not rule Estonia; artillery, which he was supposed to hand over to Poland is in Sweden, etc.

infantry; the king and his supporters also prepared for an armed conflict; in all, each side had 5,000–6,000 people.

Against this background, there is some important and interesting information given to the addressee: the open election is discussed freely in the country, and the Duke of Mantua, the ruler of Moscow, Zygmunt Báthory, and one of the local Poles are mentioned as potential candidates.¹¹⁸ In the face of this situation, the author insists on being sent money (“2–3 *millioni d’oro*”) if the duke is still interested in contending for the Polish throne. The money had not yet been received by Myszkowski, and it would be advisable to deliver it before the Sejm during which everything would be settled. The following two of Franco’s letters—written in March, from Warsaw—contained up-to-date information on a slightly less tense political situation. The king’s new attitude was more flexible and accommodating, facilitated by the death of two cardinals (Jerzy Radziwiłł and Andrzej Báthory), and also of the bishop of Kujawy (Hieronim Rozrażewski); the bishop’s demise, in particular, enabled the king to negotiate with Lithuanians.¹¹⁹

Therefore, Count Myszkowski advised the addressee to refrain from sending money, simultaneously giving assurances that the addressee will be informed of any change in the situation as soon as possible by messenger (“*per huomo a posta*”). After a fortnight, such a change did come about, because the outcome of the Sejm sessions was already known. The feuding parties did not reach an agreement and the Commonwealth’s needs “were not satisfied.”¹²⁰ Sejmiks—we read—were to gather five weeks after Easter. The Sejm’s results would be reported there, and only then would it become apparent whether the king would gain any support (“*quasi per misericordia... ottener qualcosa*”), which was rather doubtful. In conclusion, the sender assured the duke that he would take advantage of every opportunity to win over influential senators and public opinion in his name.¹²¹

The election plans must evidently have been put aside, whereas political plans and long-term visions remained in force; their architects at the turn of the 17th century could not have envisaged that Zygmunt III Vasa would rule for more than three decades, thus setting a national record.

118 “...publicamente si discorre di nova electione mettendo in numero V. A., Il moscovita, Sigismondo Battori e qualche Polacco.”

119 *Teki Cieszkowskiego* 8712, k. 2v-3, Pietro Franco to Duca di Mantova et Monferrato, Varsavia, 10th March 1600 – the king began “mutare costume, rompendo quella sua durezza di cervello”, and thus it seems that his situation will improve, “massime con la morte delli due cardinali et quella del Vescovo di Cuiavia.”

120 *Ibidem*, k. 3v-4, Varsavia 26 III 1600 – “hora la Dieta si è andata in fumo con gran confusione.”

121 Precisely: he will not neglect “ragionare fra questi principali Sig.ri, massime quando si sono alegri” and will persuade their “animi verso V. A.”

It should be remembered that, in all actions of this type, and disregarding the viability of the conceptions and plans thus formulated, Italian agents and informers must have been engaged.

In relation to the Mantuan episode, we know the surnames of two of these, for besides Pietro Franco, whose letters we cited throughout, the function of intermediary and constant partner liaising with Myszkowski's camp was performed by Ferrante Persia, chancellor to Duke Gonzaga. This group was certainly more numerous.

“Refugium”—defectors

“You would have here [...] the greatest freedom to live according to your own idea and liking and also of creating and printing. No one is a censor here” wrote Giovanni Bernardo Bonifacio Marquis d’Oria on 30th June 1561; this was a letter intended to reassure his friend Sebastiano Castellione.¹²² The atmosphere of tolerance—confirmed by today’s researchers, or rather the lack of repressive tendencies in the Polish-Lithuanian state as a factor encouraging immigration—was known and appreciated by Castellione’s contemporaries. Thus, whenever a necessity to leave one’s native land emerged, the Commonwealth was one of the destinations given serious consideration. Among the motives of Italian immigration, we should name refuge (though surely not a massive trend) for fear of religious or politically driven persecutions.

The latter was the reason why Callimachus fled from Rome. He, probably as the first intellectual of the West, appreciated the Polish climate of freedom and could take advantage of it successfully. Purely political causes are also clearly visible in the Florentine context, especially in relation to the 1575 discovery of a plot directed by Orazio Pucci against the rule of Francesco I Medici. After the leader’s arrest, rumours appeared in Florence that his companions were planning to head for Poland disguised as monks.¹²³ Actually, Piero Capponi fled to Lyon, where a numerous Florentine colony was located, while Pietro Ridolfi (1549–1589), after a stay in Venice of several months, reached Kraków. He was welcomed there and supported by his compatriots (in Florence it was hinted that he was employed by a certain Polish magnate as a dance instructor, for he was said to be a first rate dancer). However, he did not stay there for long and he went to the

122 Irena Fabiani-Madeyska, *Jan Bernard Bonifacio, markiz Orii...*, p. 27. cf. Janusz Tazbir, *“Włoszczyzna” w Polsce...*, p. 363, where there is a slightly different version of this quotation.

123 “passare in Pollonia vestiti da frati, con il viso raso” – was noted on 28th Nov. 1575; the conspirators supposedly did it for security (“per maggior lor sicurtà”) – Rita Mazzei, *Itinera Mercatorum...*, p. 339.

territory of the German Empire. On the command of Rudolf II, he was arrested in Ratisbon in 1577, consequently handed over to Francesco Medici, and remained in a Florentine prison for the rest of his life.

Political causes often accompanied religious motivation. It is known how much the Polish Reformation owes to inspiration from the West. In the 16th century, the most highly regarded Italian religious reformers—Lelio Sozzini [Socyn], Giorgio Biandrata, Valentino Gentile, and Bernardino Ochino—remained in Poland for a greater or lesser time, fomenting intellectual discourse among the followers of Calvinism and contributing to the formation of the Arian congregation.¹²⁴ Their motivation was the dissemination of new currents of thought, but typically this intention was linked with serious trouble in their previous place of settlement. The first—Sozzini and Biandrata, arriving in the 1550s—had to make first contacts themselves, and to search for local protectors (Mikołaj Oleśnicki hosted the refugees in Pińczów). Ochino, however, who decided to travel in 1564, could easily find support in Kraków itself, where, according to Józef Jasnowski, “there was a quite numerous Italian colony, well disposed to religious novelties.”¹²⁵

Hence, the motivations were various, but the choice of the migration direction was chiefly a consequence of experiences and opinions formulated by preceding emigrants; these were generally positive, since the Italian immigration did not stop in the 17th century.

Multiple examples of the attractiveness of the stays in Poland of representatives of various professions will be presented in the next chapter. Here, we focus attention on those situations in which a decision to leave was facilitated by conscious recruitment actions on the Polish side. We will also reiterate the risks of such a journey, which objectively hindered decision-making (indirectly proving the power of existing motivations).

Decision-making Mechanism

When discussing the issue of motivation we highlighted the importance of knowledge about Poland and of the personal contacts with those who had some experiences in this regard. In the Italian circles, there must have been a progressing process of familiarisation with the idea of migration to the remote Commonwealth, since so many decisions of this kind were taken. At the moment of their realisation (and in as much as we know anything about this) there appears some sort of Italian context almost every time: an advisor setting out for Poland

124 Janusz Tazbir, “*Włoszczyzna*” w *Polsce...*, p. 363-364.

125 Józef Jasnowski, *Działalność antytrynitarzy włoskich...*, p. 79.

versed in local realities, thanks to his predecessor's Polish experience, as well as a native employer already awaiting his arrival.

Callimachus himself—on the threshold of his stay in Lviv, before he moved to Kraków and his position at the side of Kazimierz IV Jagiellon—was indisputably a political refugee from Rome, plagued with troubles because of this, and living with the threat of extradition demands emanating from Italy. Yet he could count on—apart from recommendation from Gregory of Sanok—support from his relative Aynolf Thedaldi, a wealthy Florentine merchant and royal mine administrator [*żupnik*], who had been in Poland for a long time.

The figure of royal chef, Sigismondo Fanello, who in the circle of Zygmunt II August acquired significant influence, attracted the following people to the court: his relative Niccolò Fanello (who became the royal page) and his protégée Martino Calco (also a stable boy, *staffiere*).¹²⁶ It was thanks to his close acquaintance with Prospero Provana, royal post organiser, that a Kraków merchant from Brescia, Pietro Maffon, was appointed by Zygmunt II August as head of this institution in 1564, with an annual salary of 1,500 thalers (only several years later his duties were taken over by Sebastiano Montelupi). This kind of initial support must have been extremely significant in the period of adaptation.

Much later, the Kraków merchant Vincenzo Barsotti assisted the arrival of Girolamo Pinocci, who was his nephew. As we know, Antonio Luchini—another arrival from Lucca, who adopted city law in 1654, and in future he would become a town councillor—was related to Pipans and Pestalozzis, which certainly was directly connected with his decision to emigrate. Architect Francesco dei Rossi, working in Poland definitely in 1651–1654, and probably longer, was brought by his friend Giovanni Battista Gisleni, long-serving court architect of the Polish Vasa.¹²⁷

We know that during his work in Dresden, Francesco Placidi, an excellent architect active in the next century, met many Poles staying at August III's court; it was certainly these contacts that prompted him to move to Poland (soon he started to use the title of the Polish king's architect). Placidi was recommended to his first patron from magnate circles, Great Chancellor of the Crown Andrzej Stanisław Załuski, by his Italian secretary Giovanni Battista d'Aloy. Successes at magnate courts, which recruited independently depending on their needs, could result in promotion to royal court. The future court doctor of Stanisław August (in 1785–1788), Francesco Curzio [Kurcyusz or Curtius], was brought to Poland by Barbara Sanguszko, the Grand Marshal of Lithuania's wife.¹²⁸

126 Marek Ferenc, *Dwór Zygmunta Augusta...*, p. 69, 124.

127 *PSB* XVIII, p. 116; XIX, p. 129; see also Mariusz Karpowicz, *Giovanni Battista Gisleni i Francesco de' Rossi...*, p. 3–21.

128 *PSB* XVI, p. 224; XXVI, p. 632.

There is one more example that is a little different, as the presumable recommendation took place in Italy. The remarkable organist Tarquinio Merula of Cremona, who in 1621 was employed in the court orchestra, had earlier been employed in nearby Lodi at Santa Maria Incoronata Church. A little earlier, the capella had been conducted at this church by Giulio Osculati, the famous tenor who was earlier connected with the Vasa court and also benefited from the patronage of Aleksander Chodkiewicz, voivode of Troki.¹²⁹ It may be safely assumed that it was Osculati who influenced—personally or via the milieu of the Lodi church—Merula’s decision to go to Poland.

Personal contacts explain the Magni brothers stay in Poland. There were connected to considerable influence at the royal court, such as with Capuchin Valeriano (a scholar, diplomat, and Counter-Reformation activist) and Francesco, Count of Strassnitz [Strážnice] (who was a high-rank officer and diplomat, remaining for some time in the imperial and Polish service). The motive, perhaps not the original but in any case decisive, was the personal acquaintance that Valeriano made with Prince Władysław, future Władysław IV Vasa, during his peregrination around Europe in 1624–1625.¹³⁰

Magni had visited Poland earlier, first in 1617, during preparations for Zygmunt III Vasa’s plan to introduce Capuchins to the Commonwealth and settle them in fortified convents in the south-eastern borderlands. In relation to this idea, which however was not realised, Magni visited Rome. After this visit, he again had to come to Poland to—as we read in his biography—bring medicines for gout from one of the cardinals to the court medic Francesco Maria de Rossi.

But it was only his acquaintance with the prince that resulted in conferring upon Magni several minor diplomatic missions that made Poland gradually more important in his life. Already by 1626, Magni had been appointed apostolic prefect and vicar by the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith for the mission that encompassed German, Bohemian, Hungarian, and Polish territories. Thus, this theme of interests and competences in Church structures was reinforced. After Władysław IV’s election at the end of 1632, Magni—invited to the coronation ceremonies—came to Poland. From then—closely related to the court and personally to the king, whose trustee and adviser he became—he split his time between Prague, Vienna, Rome, and Warsaw, performing diplomatic tasks on behalf of at least two political centres—the Polish and the Emperor’s courts. Simultaneously, he remained in close contact with the Roman Curia.

By combining political-religious and scientific interests, he played a significant role in conflicts between the Uniates and members of the Orthodox

129 Anna and Zygmunt Szweykowski, *Włosi w kapeli królewskiej...*, p. 47-48, 73.

130 See *PSB* XIX, p. 138; none of the four authors of the prince’s travel diaries has recorded our Capuchin – see *Podróż królewicza Władysława Wazy...*, passim.

Church, which he tried to mitigate. He was an active participant in disputes with dissenters. He managed to create a favourable climate at the royal court for his scientific work (he was a correspondent of Galileo, and debated with Pascal), and for essential experiments in the field of physics (optical experiments, concerning the possibility of a vacuum in nature). But, the death of Władysław IV cut off Magni's further contacts with Poland. During this time, those who were ill-disposed to him—people in the court circles and among magnates and Jesuits—showed their power by forcing Magni to leave Poland. Afterwards, he stayed mainly in Brno in Moravia. There he only participated in religious polemics with dissenters. He was later found in a convent in Salzburg, where he died in summer 1661.

The Polish episode in the life of his brother Francesco was shorter and more turbulent. Magni junior—making a great career in the army and imperial court, rewarded with estates and titles (Count of Strassnitz—from the Strážnice estate in Moravia), active in diplomatic salons—was accused in 1645 of an anti-imperial plot with the Swedes and Transylvanians, which was tantamount to high treason. Due to Władysław IV's intervention, Magni junior was saved from imprisonment, and forfeiture and deprivation of honours and offices. We do not know whether Valeriano was behind it or Francesco himself rendered some diplomatic services to the Polish king. In any case, at the beginning of 1646, the second Magni settled in Poland and entered the king's close circle; he also advised him during preparations for war with Turkey.¹³¹ Thus, for the next two years he was an important and influential figure, but after Władysław IV's death this situation, just as with Valeriano, changed radically, which prompted Magni junior to leave the Commonwealth and return to Vienna, where—at least for some time—he was restored to favour.¹³²

The case of the Magni brothers illustrates one of the possible, though accessible to few, ways in which Italians could function in Poland. Personal contact with the monarch and services rendered, requiring specific qualifications (here, this included a knowledge of European courts and the intricacies of diplomacy of the time) were of fundamental importance. However, this variant, allowing the achievement of very high-ranking and influential positions in court circles, relied chiefly on personal relations and therefore did not guarantee life stability and durability of the existing arrangement.

It is worth adding that Domenico Roncalli, who around that time rendered diplomatic services to the Polish Vasa, became connected with the Polish court in around 1623 through the mediation of Adam Kazanowski, who was highly

131 Magni's wife, Joanna Prisca Pergar became a house-keeper of the newly-come Queen Marie Louise.

132 See *PSB* XIX, p. 136-137.

influential in court circles (not least thanks to an acquaintance with Prince Władysław, the future king).¹³³ The genesis of his encounter with Poland is basically analogous to those described previously: he had personal contact with representatives of the power elite, guaranteeing the visitor easier adaptation and a relatively high informal position, albeit one of unstable character.

Personnel Recruitment

Running in parallel to the main direction of migration, a far less mass process was initiated that was of essential significance for the entire image: the process of the conscious recruitment of Italian specialists. It is easy to imagine that a foreign architect, gardener, or musician became an important element of the luxurious consumption model at a royal or magnate's court (this was a model closely observed and keenly emulated). If the rules of competing in the scope of conspicuous consumption (which was described by Norbert Elias) were elevated to the rank of "the theory of the leisure class" (created by Thorstein Veblen), and if these rules could refer to the Polish-Lithuanian situation (and it is difficult to show why this would be different), then in consequence a strong stimulus must have appeared to bring reliable specialists from Italy, as was done by the king himself and the most distinguished representatives of the senatorial elite.¹³⁴

We know that many people going to Italy were occupied with such recruitment of personnel. There were also missions of carefully selected and competent head hunters specially dispatched for this purpose. We know that Zygmunt III had, by the end of the 16th century, already recruited Italian musicians for his court capella, with the aid of Canon Bartłomiej Kos;¹³⁵ in the same way, the Polish-Lithuanian magnates acquired desired specialists. Preserved fragments of correspondence maintained with envoys on this occasion reveal a considerable amount about recruitment realities, and enable us to visualise negotiations over the conditions offered.

In 1599, Walenty Strzelec, a servant of Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł (the Orphan), brought to Poland a *cavalculator* [horse trainer] named Carlo Arigoni, of whom he reported to his patron: "I bring with me a *cavaliere*, young, of small posture, a noble *di casa Arigoni*, not *totaliter perfectus* but sound *principia* he has.

133 *PSB* XXXII, p. 10.

134 Norbert Elias, *Die höfische Gesellschaft*, Darmstadt und Neuwied 1975; see. Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class...*, p. 23-62 (chapter III: "Conspicuous Leisure, and IV: Conspicuous Consumption").

135 Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Annibale Stabile i początki włoskiej kapeli...*, p. 95-98.

He studied under one fine master in Mantua, Gioan Maria, for three years....”¹³⁶ The task was hence accomplished, though the effects—Walenty himself knew it best—were disputable. The imported specialist had not attained perfection himself for he only had the makings of the master in his profession; nevertheless, he could negotiate his annual salary with the Lithuanian envoy (80 scudos, surely together with free upkeep at the court), which—from the Nieśwież perspective—was a considerable sum.

Failures also happened. The bishop of Kujawy, Hieronim Rozrażewski, to whom at the very end of the 16th century Chancellor Zamoyski gave the mission of bringing a painter from Italy, who would decorate the walls of the collegiata in Zamość, did not find an artist ready to go to Poland, neither in Venice nor in Rome. The worried envoy thus excused himself in a letter from the Eternal City, written 4th Dec. 1599: “I strive still, as in Venice I strove to obtain a foreign painter..., but in truth, even the Spanish king cannot lure them from beneath the toil they have in Rome, where a single *lamo quadro* is paid for several thousands....” So, the bishop advised, at least in relation to the painting that was to ornament the main altar, “to have it done on canvas” and then bring it to the church (“in dispatching it under heavy guard they will not make any problems”).¹³⁷ The arguments proved convincing, thus in the very same year, according to Jan Białostocki, “the most serious commission that was made in regard of painting by a Polish patron in the Renaissance epoch was sent to Domenico Tintoretto’s workshop.”¹³⁸ We ignore here the later phases of the commission, besides which the successful conclusion occurred with much delay, and will only point out the fiasco of Rozrażewski’s initial mission. That fact that the second most powerful Polish patron after the king had problems of this type certainly requires consideration. It may also stimulate us to review the opinion that it was Italian painters who sought employment, and for this purpose were ready to set out on a long and dangerous journey, namely that they applied for the job. Here, the situation was as if reversed, but this was rather a singular case. The famous artistic commission of Chancellor Zamoyski is related to yet another interesting phenomenon: the role of Italian intermediaries. They were often already domesticated in Poland, who facilitated contacts with Italy and thus objectively stimulated them. For it appears that the commission with Tintoretto’s workshop was eventually made not by the bishop but Sebastiano Montelupi, a renowned Kraków merchant, banker, and postal administrator. He did it through the mediation of the Florentine Capponi. Thus, all in all, it was a

136 Walenty Strzelec to Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł, from Biała, 12th July 1599 – AGAD, AR, dz. V, 15266, quotation after Tomasz Kempa, *Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Sierotka...*, p. 204.

137 Quotation after Jan Białostocki, *Jan Zamoyski klientem Domenica Tintoretta...*, p. 59.

138 *Ibidem*, p. 53.

Kraków Italian, owing to his contacts in Italy, who successfully concluded the artistic plans of the Polish magnate.

Many people received a powerful impulse to travel to Poland due to a concrete invitation from the royal court or one of the magnate centres. This generally pertained to artists and performers of highest qualifications, whom the potential patron wanted to commission for the realisation of some specific works. Thus, the offers must have contained attractive conditions, which could possibly be negotiated.

Italian musicians brought to Zygmunt III's court were offered substantial salaries.

Luca Marenzio, one of the first personalities in this group, was to receive, apart from other benefits, an annual pay of a thousand scudos (according to another version, 1,500 scudos), which nonetheless—as it soon turned out—did not satisfy his expectations and prompted him to return to his native land. As a matter of fact, at least three other musicians (from about 15) who were invited then to the Polish court followed.¹³⁹

Rita Mazzei, making use of Galileo's correspondence, recalled an episode connected with his younger brother's stay in Poland. Michelangelo Galilei, an outstanding musician, was invited in 1600 to Vilnius by some Polish noble ("*signor polacco*") whose acquaintance he had made a little earlier in Prague. In one of Galileo's letters to his mother, he mentioned the most exquisite terms ("*partito onoratissimo*") that were offered to his brother by a Polish protector and potential host. For Michelangelo Galilei had guaranteed upkeep, food, and clothes on the same level as the highest ranking nobles residing at the Vilnius court. He was also promised two servants for his exclusive disposal, a four-horse carriage, an annual salary of 200 Hungarian ducats, which was 300 scudos, and other gifts that he was supposed to receive.¹⁴⁰

The import of artists could not be carried out on a mass scale, nor could the negotiations conducted and terms offered to excellent figures. And problems with personnel recruitment, which was signalled at discussing the institution of nunciature, affected not only diplomacy. To an even greater extent, they

139 According to Marenzio's contemporary, Ottavio Rossi, the musician invited to the Polish king's court, expected (unjustly?) that he will bring a fortune from there: "con opinione ch'egli di là dovesse riportare tesori" – see Anna and Zygmunt Szwejkowski, *Włosi w kapeli królewskiej...*, p. 27-30, 53.

140 "... la sua tavola, vestito al pari che i primi gentiluomini di sua corte, due servitori che lo servino, e una carrozza da quattro cavalli, e di più di 200 ducati ungarici di provvisione l'anno, che sono circa 300 scudi, oltre a donativi che saranno assai" – Galileo Galilei, *Opere*, a cura di Eugenio Alberi, vol. VI, Società editrice fiorentina, Firenze 1847, p. 13-15, quotation after Mazzei, *Itinera Mercatorum...*, p. 280.

concerned the economic activity of all those Italian entrepreneurs who regarded their activity in the Commonwealth as long-term enough to be worthy of selecting and training workers. Little is known of such people and their problems. As long as the cooperation in a business was harmonious, there were no special reasons for records that may serve as our source material. The situation changed completely when conflicts arose. The importance of consequences of any conflicts involving Italians, as regards such documentation, will become apparent later.

Here, we use the example of the conflict between Sebastiano and Valerio Montelupi, and a certain Filippo Franceschi (employed by them in Kraków) only to supplement our knowledge on the mechanism of recruiting staff to work abroad by trading companies of that time. Details are drawn from a letter of Sebastiano Montelupi to the Grand Duke of Tuscany Ferdinando I. Evidently, Montelupi wanted to secure himself against possible allegations that his opponent, until recently a co-worker, could work in Florence. Thus, he presented his version of the conflict course and genesis to the Tuscan ruler. The employer's version is as follows.

Filippo Franceschi was not employed by the Montelupi's company on their own initiative, as had usually been done in Florence and should be done always when recruiting new workers.¹⁴¹ He stayed in Linz where a little earlier he had been dismissed by Antonio Girolami, who ran his business in Vienna. The reason for his dismissal was disloyalty; Franceschi disclosed business secrets to competitors. Removed by the employer, he was taken in by merchant Marco Argimoni, who introduced him to the Montelupi's company, which he co-operated with. However, Franceschi did not adapt to his new surroundings and was not accepted by co-workers despite many letters of recommendation from Florence.¹⁴² Soon, it was to be found that the new employee had not renounced his bad habits: he revealed the secrets of the new firm. He let not only Argimoni into these secrets, but also the competition and fierce rivals of the Kraków Montelupi's enterprise. Thus, he undoubtedly deserved to be fired, which does not change the fact that—knowing the company's structure, its confidential ways of operating and contacts—he could still effectively act to its detriment.

The later course of this long-lasting dispute does not fall within our sphere of interest at this point. Let us remark only on those elements that enable us to recreate the mechanism of personnel recruitment. The recruitment of new employees should be done in the native town. In addition, it should be done on the initiative of the employing party, who in decision-making should take into account relevant recommendations, also in letters, including the experiences of previous

141 “... non come pregato da noi, come vengano gl'altri giovani quando gli caviamo di Firenze”; the letter written in Kraków, 23rd Nov. 1596 – [Montelupi], *Korespondencja Sebastiana i Valeria...*, p. 123.

142 “... se bene da molti di Firenze ci fu scritto in sua raccomandatione” – *ibidem*.

employers. Divergence from these rules could bring such troubles as those that the Montelupi and their Austrian predecessors had with Filippo Franceschi.

Appealing to the Grand Duke of Tuscany's authority, as the conflict happened, after all, in the Commonwealth, also seems important and meaningful. The Tuscans, staying in Poland (for they are the main characters of the feud) had apparently submitted permanently to their Italian ruler, recognised his authority, and were ready to bow to his eventual decision if he should be urged to engage in the conflict presented to him. Ostensibly, the most important, long-term affairs of all those engaged in the dispute were connected with the original place of habitat. Such episodes clearly show that the ties of the Italians in question with their native land were strong and lasting, and only in rare cases were completely loosened. This issue will be one of the topics in the next chapter.

Variants and Strategies

Hardship and Risk

We indicate that the increase of knowledge about Poland and specific familiarisation with the reality of this northern land did not make it a benign country. Hardships and risks of long journey accompanied the Italian peregrinators in the whole period studied. This factor had to be taken into account by every subsequent generation of potential immigrants.

Yet in a popular guidebook for travellers from the second half of the 17th century, entitled *Il Buratino veridico*. . . [The Truthful Marionette...], Poland is foremost the land of inconvenience. Giuseppe Miselli—author of the compendium, a persistent traveller, who knew the described countries from close examination—warned, in the fragment referred to, that the roadside inns are only wooden sheds hosting people, horses, and other animals together. At the same time, the travelling nobility were in sectioned off rooms with covered walls with carpets (“*arrazi*”), which they had to carry with them all the time. Miselli also cautioned against the considerable problems with food supplies and enumerated towns where goods should be purchased for storage. The information addressed precisely to the Italians was that inns in Germany, the Netherlands, and Poland did not have olive oil. Even if there was any, the oil was awful; therefore, taking some personal reserve was recommended. Besides, one also had to take one's own mattress and woollen blanket, because in the north they used eiderdowns, which were unbearably hot. Admittedly, Miselli noted one colossal advantage in this situation: although the traveller had to see to his own, he need not fear being ripped off by an innkeeper, unlike the situation which—as confirmed by many,

not only Polish accounts—gave sleepless nights to most of those who travelled across Italy.¹⁴³

The risk of travel to remote lands was pointedly reflected in the last wills drawn up directly before one's departure. Rita Mazzei compared various examples of such documents, which were written before the journeys of Tuscan Italians to Germany and the Commonwealth, and also in periods of short visits of the peregrinators to their native land.¹⁴⁴ The sense of making a last will on the eve of other similar, sometimes longer, journeys seems obvious. The parties directly involved in such a journey also understood the importance of the last will.

We conclude this discussion with a few remarks on the life strategies of the Italian immigrants and their conceptions about the stay in the Commonwealth. This major issue, which was directly related to the Italian's intentions and motives, may only be signalled here. We draw our knowledge, to a great extent, from observations of specific lives, as we have virtually no declarations formulated before departure. Life plans and calculations connected with travel to Poland are thus discerned from the course of the stay, the kind of activity, contacts made there, and matrimonial decisions or property purchases. In general, however, we cannot compare original plans and expectations to measurable effects of leaving hearth and home to particular individuals and whole families.

However, the fundamental problem that Italian immigrants faced concerned the length of their stay in the Commonwealth. The final decision was naturally influenced by the conditions they were to function under. Undoubtedly, they were setting out with some particular attitude or goal in mind, whether they had a desire to try one's luck in new realities, or to follow a well-thought-out emigration plan.

For the Short Term

Let us commence with a group that had to (or wanted to) stay in Poland only briefly. It clearly follows, from the preserved correspondence, that the position of a foreign informer of one of the European courts did not require exclusiveness. Those who were ready to render information services set out for a long journey or temporarily resided in a remote and, in some sense, inaccessible place. They offered correspondence services not only to their sovereign / principal but also to other powerful figures on the European scene. And evidently this was not seen as a sign of disloyalty.

143 [Giuseppe Miselli], *Il Buratino veridico...*, p. 200-210; cf. Antoni Mączak, *Życie codzienne w podrózach...*, p. 33-34; Zygmunt Wolf, *Podróznicy włoscy o Polsce...* p. 288-289.

144 Rita Mazzei, *Itinera Mercatorum...*, p. 272-277.

Among many possible examples, we may pick a Florentine resident in Poland, Giovanni Battista Solari. As is clear from correspondence stored in the Milanese Biblioteca Ambrosiana, he rendered similar services for Cardinal Federico Borromeo, resting his hopes for advancement on the cardinal's eventual protection.¹⁴⁵ The influential cardinal, brother of then worshipped Carlo Borromeo, was also the addressee of letters from Cesare Baroffi, a secretary of Nuncio Francesco Simonetta, who wrote regularly from Kraków and Vilnius between 25 Nov. 1607 and 20 Nov. 1610. A significant part of these letters concerned, admittedly, Polish threads of the mentioned beatification process, but they also included texts of purely informative character and even fragments of messages sent, at the same time, by Nuncio Simonetta to Cardinal Scipione Borghese.¹⁴⁶

Various life strategies may be noted in the attitudes of merchant families functioning in the structures of major Polish towns. Not all Italians, who as a group undoubtedly belonged to the Kraków financial elite, aspired to membership of town authorities. Sebastiano Montelupi—a tycoon, merchant, and banker creditor of King Stefan Báthory and numerous magnates—did not perform any municipal functions. Similarly, Guglielmo Orsetti, a member of the merchant elite in the 1640s and 1650s, was not interested in this kind of career.¹⁴⁷

Likewise, life and professional success must not always equal the decision to settle down for good in Poland. For instance, the royal servitoriat was bestowed upon Bernardo and Carlo Soderini, who were merchants from Florence in 1556 (as they had been noted in Kraków since 1546, this was at least ten years after their arrival in the Commonwealth). From 1564, they are described as the bankers of King Zygmunt August. The Soderini ran a well-prospering bank; they also had manifold business contacts. In spite of undoubted successes, both men returned to Florence, to their large families, where they died (Carlo in 1584, and Bernardo one year later).¹⁴⁸

145 See Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana G 209 inf., p. 67r-v: Giovanni Battista Solari to Cardinal Federico Borromeo, Milano 12 July 1611, with news from Poland (*i.a.* about Prince Władysław's illness), Moscow, Smoleńsk and also from the broadly comprehended Baltic region gathered by the sender.

See also, in the same compilation, a letter of Queen Constance of Austria to the same Federico Borromeo, written in Vilnius, 6 June 1611, in which the Polish queen commends Giovanni Battista Solari to the cardinal's favour. (*ibidem*, G 208 inf., k. 529r).

146 Biblioteca Ambrosiana G 197 inf., p. 116r-v, G 199 inf., p. 2r, 429r, G 252 inf., p. 147r-v, G 198 inf., p. 67r, G 200 inf., p. 126r-v, G 205 inf., p. 176r-v, G 204 inf., p. 167r-v; letters from Kraków: 25 Nov. 1607, 24 Feb., 28 Apr., 8 June, 20 July 1608, 21 March 1609 and from Vilnius: 30 Jan. and 20 Nov. 1610.

147 Janina Bieniarzówna, Jan M. Małecki, *Dzieje Krakowa...*, vol. II, p. 202-204.

148 See [Montelupi], *Korespondencja Sebastiana i Valeria...*, p. 22.

“For Good”

Some of the immigrants (how many?) grew attached to the new homeland or from the beginning were planning a permanent settlement here. Characteristic evidence of this attitude is found in the Montelupi's letters. Sebastian and his foster son, Valerio, who was involved with a dispute in the 1590s with the already mentioned ex-worker, Filippo Franceschi, presented their arguments to the Grand Duke of Tuscany and his influential secretary, Belisario Vinta. In an epistle to the latter, written in Kraków, 17th May 1597, the Kraków merchants laid out, among other things, the arguments justifying that the final settlement of the dispute fell within the competence of Polish courts, and incidentally formulated an interesting declaration of their Polonisation. For 40 years had passed—they wrote—since they settled in this kingdom, submitted to its laws, and linked with it their professional activity, and consequently owed to it—besides God's guidance and protection—their lifetime achievement.¹⁴⁹

Several decades of tradition of crucial importance as a proportion of an individual's life, and the place of professional activity, were supposed to determine the appropriateness of Polish courts to adjudicate in disputes between feuding Italians, or at least that was what one party assumed. However, it may be supposed that the written declaration of both Montelupi was not related only to litigation, but was confirmed by their life decisions and successes achieved in Poland.

Undoubtedly, a significant section of the arrivals undertook intentional efforts and endeavours that were to ensure them a lasting success in their new surroundings. Rarely do we come across any record of such an approach, for certainly it must have been natural, universal, and obvious for the majority. Documentation was typically created only in a conflict situation.

Sebastian and Valerio Montelupi, in the end of the 1590s, were in conflict with their ex-worker, Pietro Paulsanti, whom they accused of embezzlement. They addressed a bitter letter to Belariso Vinta, who had recommended Paulsanti. The grudges of the ex-employers concerned the outlays and expenses they incurred because of a man who turned out to be an ingrate. Under the influence of suggestions coming from Florence, the young trainee had the opportunity to travel across the country; he was sent on business to fairs, at which he could learn the mysteries of sales and quickly become a competent specialist in this field.¹⁵⁰

149 “Noi dunque, già 40 anni che siamo incorporato in questo Regnio e in queste leggie, tutte le nostre fatiche, e quello che Dio ci ha dato con molte migliara di quel d'altri, tutto l'habbiamo in questo Regnio oltre a questo” – [Montelupi], *Korespondencja Sebastiana i Valeria...*, p. 144.

150 “noi [S. i V. Montelupi]... mandavamo lui [P. Paulsanti] per le fiere dove più facilmente s'impara la lingua, s'impara a vendere, s'impara a far le pratiche per la mercanzia che in

However, a conflict occurred, thus the investment proved ill-judged. The dispute, disregarding its course and the arguments of both parties, is a sign of the long-term thinking of the Italian entrepreneurs about their stay in Poland and doing business there, although it is hard to generalise such information.

Lacking quantitative data, we have to content ourselves with intuition. It seems that the evolution of strategies for staying in Poland graduated from short-term reconnaissance visits—taking into account any other solutions to stabilisation—provided that the conditions encountered proved satisfying. Yet, after some time, certainly around the mid-17th century, the economic downturn hindered the stabilisation of the next arrivals. Short stays, assuming casual employment and a swift return to native lands, became popular again.

Ties with Italy

Irrespective of individual plans, emigrants maintained ties with Italy, which seems particularly important in relation to those Italians who stayed in Poland for a longer time. Knowing the character of these contacts and their intensity would allow us to verify life plans of the Italian emigrants, and how they treated their new surroundings and environment.

Leaving the native land must have had negative consequences on the interests left behind. Today's saying "He who is absent is always in the wrong" had its modern era equivalents. On 15th October 1597, Francesco Simonetta, future nuncio in Poland, wrote a letter from Milan to his protector Cardinal Federico Borromeo. He used warm words declaring his attachment to the patron, expressing at the same time fear due to prolonged lack of correspondence ("mi pareva mille anni che non havessi fatto riverenza con mie lettere") and the possible consequences of this; for, in Rome, where the cardinal stayed then, "Absentes habentur pro mortuis" [The absent are taken for dead].¹⁵¹

There is a question that must be answered: how much could those who set out on such a long journey risk? Surely not much, but this cannot be generalised. Also, there were various means by which particular people and professional groups could counter the negative effects of their absence. Simonetta, through letters in which he renewed declarations of his subordination and loyalty, was able to maintain contact with a powerful Milanese family. Moreover, in the future due

poco tempo si poteva far huomo" – [Montelupi], *Korespondencja Sebastiana i Valeria...*, p. 148.

151 Biblioteca Ambrosiana, G 250 inf., p. 207r – the letter is penned in a different hand than other ones belonging to the same collection, which certainly was due to the authors illness mentioned in its beginning; the Simonetta writes the cardinal he may be sure "che ne in casa Simonetta, ne fuori, habbia persona che desideri più di me di morir in servitio suo."

to this family's endorsement, a responsible job in Papal diplomacy was conferred upon him.¹⁵² Merchants—because of the nature of their affairs—maintained contact with their native background; this also typically was a source of goods. Artists who could count on recognition in their homeland attempted not to burn their bridges, expecting perhaps that they might return after the downturn. Weaker manufacturers surely could not have counted on such an encouraging turn and in most cases had nothing for which to return.

Apparently, the vast majority of Italian emigrants kept contact with their homeland, for there they still had multifarious interests and cultivated ties with distant relations. However, in some cases, a change of perspective occurred and the new place of habitat became the dominant reference point. Rita Mazzei quotes a fragment of a letter by Giulio Bracciolini, a representative of a renowned family running business in Nuremberg and other German towns. In March 1629, Bracciolini was staying in Genua. To the secretary of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Andrea Cioli, he addressed: “Ho sbrigato li miei affari d'Italia, et domani parto di ritorno per Alemagna.”¹⁵³ According to the cited sentence, the author hastened to settle his Italian affairs and the next day went back to Germany. Precisely this use of “di ritorno” (back) allows us to interpret the quotation as a sign of full-adaptation of the author, an Italian from Genoa, in a new, German place of habitat and professional activity.

Among numerous cases of obtaining *indygenat* (a form of citizenship) by Italians, we may encounter examples of recommendations from Italy itself, necessary in such efforts. In 1662, *indygenat* was bestowed on Cristoforo Masini, royal secretary and courtier, upon Pope Alexander VII's request. In 1726 recommendations were made for the Bandinelli by the Grand Duke of Tuscany: Alessandro Antonio, Niccolo and Roberto Francesco.¹⁵⁴

When writing of bonds with Italy, one more category of figures should be mentioned that is difficult to distinguish but crucial for maintaining and tightening those ties, namely intermediaries and informers of all description. Considerable attention was given to political information in the context of nunciature, but the

152 In a letter written in his own hand, from Milan, 8 July 1598, Simonetta asked that he still be considered a loyal servant and be remembered by the cardinal – “se bene il tempo et la lontananza con mille occupationi le doverebbono fare scordare un povero prete, come sono io, sepolto nella patria, abbandonato et di niuno prezzo” – G 179 inf., p. 217r; in the following letter, also from Milan, 29 July 1598, he requested the unfilled canonry of the Church of San Lorenzo for a befriended priest, Gioseffo Rosamarino, and assured that: “metterò questo appresso alli altri tanti oblighi che le ho, che sono senza fine” – G 182 inf., p. 70r; “la supplico a credere che io non ho altro desiderio, che di spendere questa vita in servizio suo”, 19 August 1598 – G 179 inf., p. 80r-v.

153 Quotation after Rita Mazzei, *Itinera Mercatorum...*, p. 278.

154 See *Album armorum nobilium...*, p. 10.

phenomenon was not limited to Papal diplomacy. The whole modern era system of information transmission relied on people who, by assumption, were on the move and simultaneously maintained close contacts with political centres, from where they gathered news.

To recap, it seems that Italian emigrants—maybe besides the refugees—basically tried to keep possibly intensive contacts with their homeland, irrespective of their future plans. This was evident in the case of those who treated their stay as temporary. In addition, those who themselves did not plan to return to their native lands were ready to treat their position and goods left behind in their homeland as a sort of provision, which would enable their or their children's relatively painless return if the situation in the new place of residence suddenly worsened.

Chapter III
The Stay
Italians in the Commonwealth

“The 16th and 17th centuries were the time when southern culture ruled almost supremely in Poland—with all its good and bad sides. These were the times when the Italian element, brisk and enterprising, step by step superseded hitherto masters of trade and industry coming mainly from closer and farther parts of Germany, and seized import trade and various branches of industry in their hands...all that came from the south was regarded as fashionable, better and more perfect than that which was native or coming to us from the German west...fallen Germany had to yield to the Italians, who hence for a long time did not encounter stronger competitors.” With these words, almost a century ago, Jan Ptaśnik introduced readers to his copious study on Italian culture of the Middle Ages in Poland.¹ Some obvious certainties follow from the cited fragment. The first concerns the permanent presence and—fundamental from the perspective of civilisational advance—the importance of external influences. Though they constantly competed with one another and clashed on Polish soil, some fundamental phases of dominant influence of Germany, Italy, and France may easily be indicated. The period of Italian influence is the Early Modern Era, the Renaissance, and Baroque. However, Ptaśnik’s intention was to show that Italian influence chronologically exceeds the mentioned 16th and 17th centuries, and that it commenced much earlier and lasted for almost the entire Middle Ages.

The fragments of narrative sources cited in the first chapter were treated as an invitation to a more detailed discussion on the Italian presence in Poland of the modern era. An attempt to draft the state of knowledge on the concerned phenomenon may be totally subject to chronology, but it may also be arranged thematically from the onset, distinguishing spheres of Italian activity and arranging Italian immigrants according to their skills, social standing, and the regions of Italy from which they came. Albeit, the homogeneity of narration will be impossible to maintain, since Italian arrivals, with the passage of time, changed the fields of their activity and were very often active in several areas simultaneously.

From Early Contacts to the Early Modern Period

According to the traditional view, historiography notes that the first Italians who came to Poland in the early Middle Ages were undoubtedly clergymen. Perhaps the victor’s palm should fall to the bishop of Poznań, Jordan, or perhaps to five Benedictines from the hermitage founded in 971 in Pereum near Ravenna by St Romuald. Together with their superior, they reacted to King Bolesław I Chrobry’s appeal for monks and missionaries, and in the end of 1001, they headed for

1 Jan Ptaśnik, *Kultura włoska wieków średnich...*, p. 1.

Poland. It is known that one of them was Benedetto, another Giovanni; the latter supposedly came from wealthy Venetian stock but renounced courtly life and went to the hermitage. In Poland, he settled in a monastery founded by Chrobry near a village called Wojciechowo, close to Międzyrzecz, where he was preparing for a mission among Pomeranians and Veleti, and in November 1003 fell victim to an attack on the monastery by bandits.² Anyway, personal identities are not crucial here; far more important is the evident religious-cultural context: the first propagators of Christianity came to Polish lands from Western Europe, one of the centres of which was then Papal Rome.³

Still, even if these people came from Italy, is it correct to call them Italians? Rather not. They were more representatives of Latin culture and of the dynamically developing Catholic Church. It did not matter much whether they originated from Lombardy, Provence, or lands upon the Rhine, for the cultural unification of Christian Europe in the Middle Ages was, at least on the level of the elites, far greater than in the later period of emerging nation states. Thus, at the earliest, at least in the stratum confirmed by sources, we deal with the influence of new religion, as well as its emissaries and officials. This is a contact with western civilisation that will bear signs of durability. Orders and congregations created in the West sooner or later founded their monasteries, schools, and other public institutions on Polish lands: Benedictines and Cistercians, then Franciscans and Dominicans, finally Jesuits and representatives of yet another congregation of the Franciscan order. Their culture-creating and civilisational role is obvious and far exceeds the theme of our discussion. Here we only point out the intensive presence of Italian elements in monastic structures, especially among Franciscans and also in the later created orders of Franciscan Rule (Observants, Theatines) and Brothers Hospitallers.⁴

Contact with the West and acknowledgement of Rome's supremacy had consequences that went beyond the sphere of culture and ideology. Since the beginning of the 12th century, Peter's Pence collectors appeared on Polish soil. These were papal officials whose aim was to levy voluntary payments to the Holy See in all Catholic countries. The most intensive activity by collectors was in the period of the so-called Avignon Papacy, which occurred in the 14th century. Though paying the fee was dropped at the end of the Middle Ages, the intensity of Poland's contact with Italy through its collection was of colossal significance. That is to say, in a relatively economically underdeveloped territory, such as

2 *PSB* X, p. 428.

3 Roman Pollak, *Związki kultury polskiej z Włochami...*, p. 586-587.

4 The latter settled in Poland in 1609 and founded the first house in Kraków; from the beginning they were highly rated by Sigismund III, allegedly cured by one of them, namely surgeon Gabriel of Ferrara.

Poland, there arose the problem of transferring great sums of money over long distances. To fulfil this need, banks were created and trade was developed as to guarantee a considerable security to financial operations, such as Peter's Pence.

Such services were offered by banking houses from Venice, Genoa, and primarily Florence. It is known that, for instance, the collector Gerard of Modena, active in 1282–1286, used the intermediation of the bank of the Alfani; somewhat later, banking services in Poland were dominated by the Soderini family. In this way, we proceed to the lay sphere and economic themes, for merchants appeared alongside the collectors of Peter's Pence.

The motivations of lay people, though the cognitive aspects cannot be totally disregarded here, were mainly economic. Under the latter term, we mean firstly trade (an ancient sphere of human activity that encouraged travelling and exploring undiscovered lands). For producers, especially for mass scale crafts production organisers, the importance of markets was obvious long before the modern branch of science of economics emerged. Trade stimulated lasting mutual contacts. Skins, furs, and dyes (crimson) were exported from Poland, while Venetian and Florentine cloth, silks (both raw and as finished articles), and various jewels were imported.⁵

The production and trade of silk was dynamically developing branches of production, for which the issue of the market was of extreme significance and by which the mechanisms of Italian expansion may be illustrated exceptionally clearly.⁶

The production of the Italian weaving centres developed over the 14th century, enabling exports to the countries of Northern and Western Europe. Venice, Lucca, and Genoa were leading; soon, Florence and Bologna joined them. Italian trade intermediaries at first won their clientele mainly in France, Flanders, and England. Encouraged by much interest and business success, they more often settled in these countries and there they organised their outposts. Thus, Italian trading houses sprang up in Bruges, Antwerp, Paris, and London. The process of monopolising the European trade in fabric was accompanied by searching for new markets in the East, where, however, the expanding Turkish state posed an insurmountable barrier.

The Polish market was becoming more attractive. In the 15th century, the trade in Italian fabric was concentrated mainly on Kraków and Lviv, with particular significance given to Wrocław as a transit centre. The port city of Gdańsk also played an important role for the Polish market because it mediated with the Italians in trade by sea through the Hanseatic League ports. In the next century, sales in

5 Stanisław Kutrzeba, Jan Ptaśnik, *Dzieje handlu...*, p. 98-107.

6 See Maria Taszycka, *Włoskie jedwabne tkaniny...*, p. 10-14; Maria Taszycka, *Włoskie tkaniny jedwabne w Krakowie...*, p. 133-139.

the Polish market increased considerably; in consequence, this prosperity was beneficial to the Italian artistic weaving and silk industry. The Polish costume, which was established at that time, required coloured silks with rich patterns (floral designs, so-called “*in fiori*” and geometrical – “*a onde*”), whereas the Western European fashion, remaining under the Spanish influence, favoured black, smooth fabrics. The richness of Italian fabrics of that time, preserved in Poland today, was indirect proof of the strength and durability of local demand.⁷

The necessity of creating an alternative to the existing sea route—a land route connecting Italy and Bruges with Kaffa, a Genoese colony in the Crimea, leading latitudinally through Wrocław, Kraków, and Lviv—induced the first considerable group of Italians to come and settle in Poland. It is known, for example, that, in the 13th century, Benedetto Zaccaria was active on this route, and that Władysław I the Elbow-high, trying to endorse the arrivals from the south over the German merchants, bestowed aldermanship of Wieliczka to the Genoese merchant, Niccolò Manente, in 1306. He gained such great recognition from the Polish ruler that in 1324 he was dispatched to Avignon as an envoy, which made him the first Italian active in Polish diplomacy.⁸ Other merchants of Genoese origin operating in Kraków were Paulinus Cavallo, Peterlinus, and Goffredo Fattinante, on whom Kazimierz III the Great conferred the administration of the salt mines in Bochnia and Wieliczka. Thus, Genoese merchants, for whom the location of Kraków and Lviv facilitated their business in the east, first entered the spheres of production and mining industry on a greater scale.

From Venice, at the very beginning of the 15th century, came Pietro Piccarani. He was a wealthy merchant and one of the first major entrepreneurs. Together with Leonardo Bartoli, Piccarani soon became a royal *Münzmeister* (“mint master”). However, the main area of his interest was taking on lease of the salt mines Wieliczka and Bochnia. He administered these jointly with his nephew, Giovanni Bonajunta, who was also a Venetian, and then also Ruthenian (before 1434). Let us also remark that Piccarani ran a very wide mercantile business, trying to monopolise trade between Poland and Venice. Moreover, the Italian party (Venice and perhaps also Florence)—appreciating the acquaintanceship with Polish realities, which Piccarani undoubtedly had—conferred on him diplomatic tasks at the court of Władysław II Jagiełło.⁹

Leonardo and Antonio Ricci, and Giovanni Tedaldi, also dealt in salt mines. The scant extant information on this subject indicates that activity in this field – if it was to yield profit – required investments and qualifications. Piccarani will be

7 Maria Taszycka, *Włoskie jedwabne tkaniny...*, p. 6-8, 12-14, 84.

8 *PSB XXI*, p. 93.

9 Piccarani’s grandson, Nicolao, Wieliczka salt mine administrator and the first starosta of Muszyna estate, settled in Poland permanently – *PSB XXVI*, p. 25.

positively remembered here, for he assigned the means to modernising the mines in Wieliczka and Bochnia, whereas Tedaldi was accused of carelessness and lack of qualifications. In 1488, Tedaldi's incompetence supposedly brought about a mining catastrophe that had a heavy death toll on the workers.¹⁰

Salt mines were at that time maybe the most important source of royal income, since the monarch was the owner of minerals while every mine administrator earned the difference between salt production costs plus the rent paid to the king and a fixed selling price. The pattern appearing here for the first time will recur in business activity of Italians in Poland, namely taking salt mines on a lease. For the Treasury this meant faster and more certain income, but its profitability decreased in consequence. The Italians, who had amassed considerable capital, were convenient trade partners for the Crown, and they had the opportunity to enrich themselves. A similar mechanism functioned when the Crown and Lithuanian Treasury leased mints to private individuals in the second half of the 17th century. The above scheme may only be recreated by comparing many threads and particular situations, the multitude of which we must be aware of. Wieliczka salt mine, subject to the general principles of market economy, was certainly observed closely both by representatives of the royal court and the concerned traders, while the relations between partners, apparently, often changed.

We may observe them better during Báthory's rule. Prospero Provana—from a Piedmontese family destined for a longer, rather than shorter, stay in Poland—held at that time the lease on Wieliczka and seemed to live up to his given name very well.¹¹ He increased the output and income systematically until suddenly—around 1577—he stood down. His successor, Jakub Bużeński, noted a decrease in income, reportedly to 33,000 florins annually, while Provana—still interested in the enterprise—was prepared to pay the annual rent of 56,000 florins, which offers us an insight into the scale of income as well as of the collapse. Nevertheless, the king did not accept his offer. Admittedly it was decided to confer the mine administration on Provana, but this time according to a new system called “*ad fideles manus*,” under which the Italian was to be the head of the enterprise with an annual salary of 2,000 florins. Despite this, the income continued to drop so Provana started to look for candidates for partnership. The offer was soon accepted by Rocco Marconi, who suggested a more efficient system of extraction and was allowed half the income. Provana himself soon backed out permanently from the whole enterprise.¹²

10 Fortunato Giannini, *Storia della Polonia...*, p. 44-45.

11 In 1600, he took Kraków citizenship. It is hard to say whether it was he who carried out the project of the royal mail and what possible consequences it had for his finances and life strategy because someone else of the same name and surname may be considered too.

12 See Fortunato Giannini, *Storia della Polonia...*, p. 45-46.

This episode shows how poorly developed the current economic structures of the Commonwealth were; their existence and possible market attractiveness—to a great extent thanks especially to the Italian merchants' interest—was dawning on the Polish elites then. Irrespective of the problems arising, and of disputes and their eventual results, this specific upturn and modernization in the way of thinking about economic matters is to be credited to, among others, the presence of the Italian competition.

Apart from the Wieliczka and Bochnia salt mines, Ruthenian salt mines were created in the end of the 14th century, and developed in the next hundred years. The names of two Genoese are connected with the early phase of their functioning, Cristoforo de Sancto Romolo and Giuliano de Valetariis (Italians as administrators would operate there continuously until the 16th century). At the end of the 15th century, taking customs houses on lease also joined the sphere of Italian activity; Aynolfo Thedaldi linked his affairs with customs houses in Lviv, while Albizio de Medici did so in Kraków.

Little is known about other areas of Italian economic activity on the territories of the then Polish state. Presumably the first, at least first known by name, who organised the process of extracting iron ore in Miedziana Góra, Silesia, was an Italian, Lorenzo Angelo.¹³ Italians (Giovanni Geronimo Cacci and other representatives of this family from Bergamo, as well as Giacompo Gianotti de Castellacio, and Warsaw burgher Giovanni Gibboni) were also active in steelworks of Lesser Poland, though they did not play a major role in their development.¹⁴

Likewise, domestic clothmaking had developed on the Silesian-Greater Poland border by the Middle Ages, with a definite, though not decisive Italian contribution.¹⁵ As we know, at least two weavers from the Buonacorsi family settled at the end of the 14th century in Kazimierz, near Kraków.

However, attempts at starting glassworks on Polish lands ended in failure. There were attempts, by means of Italian specialists and techniques, to manufacture products *more italico*, which is in the Italian way. Alessandro Guagnin, known primarily as the author of a popular compendium on Sarmatia, undertook such an initiative. In 1601, Kraków's bishop Bernard Maciejowski conferred on him administration of the works in Cisów near Kielce. Guagnin invited Italian specialists, traces of whom were for a long time preserved in toponymy; for example, their presence was preserved in a nearby village for works employees, and there was a manor house called "Włochy" [Italy]. They could have been glassworkers either from Ligurian Altare, or from Tuscany, though rather not from the famous Venetian Murano (though Guagnin came from nearby Verona) because

13 See Tadeusz Ulewicz, *La "via romana" dei polacchi...*, p. 116-117.

14 Benedykt Zientara, *Dzieje małopolskiego hutnictwa...*, p. 234-250.

15 Antoni Mączak, *Sukiennictwo wielkopolskie...*, passim.

the law there forbade such artisans to divulge professional secrets to strangers and practise the profession outside Venice. Soon after Guagnin's death (1614), the production was halted, allegedly due to deforestation of the local woodland.

Mikołaj Wolski sponsored a similar enterprise. At the end of the 16th century, he founded a glassworks in Krzepice Starostwo to produce "Venetian crystal glasses," presumably using the expertise of imported specialists. Slightly earlier bishops of Wrocław planned to manufacture in their estates glass *ad instar Venetici*, in the Venetian style. Neither cases resulted in signs of success, which allows us to formulate the conclusion that—in contrary to the countries of Western Europe—"In Poland, all endeavours to employ foreign specialists and transplant foreign methods of glass production on to familiar ground quickly failed."¹⁶ Although this may be explained by the natural conditions and lack of proper glass materials, the better reason is that there was a rather low interest from land owners and an economic climate unfavourable for domestic production development. Also, the freight costs proved prohibitive. The presence of Italian specialists, who were a marginal proportion of those employed in the glassworks, was in this case an insufficient stimulus for success.

Still, in the whole period, trading activity did not cease, though its intensity went through many phases. At the end of the 14th century, the influx of Italian merchants to Kraków soared significantly. The Genoese were joined by arrivals from other parts of Italy: merchants of Lucca providing banking services to the Papacy under Urban VI and Boniface IX (one of them, Master Monald allegedly contributed to the Kraków mint reorganisation); representatives of the de Guidottis family from Bologna (Giacopo was Papal collector, others—bankers); the Medici of Florence (and also their relatives and factors: Tornaquinci, Neri, del Cambio, Ricci); the Zanachio, Quirino, and Bikarani from Venice; and the Crivelli, Paravicini, and Barsi from Milan. This inflow even intensified during Władysław II Jagiełło's rule. The income from economic-trading activity, requiring not only capital but also enterprising spirit and organisational skills, must have been so considerable that it made the Italians conspicuous features in the Kraków landscape for the first time, and then remained as a lasting element for at least three centuries.

Local legal acts provide us with proof of the permanent presence of foreigners in the municipal structures. In 1618, a new statute of bricklayers and masons' guilds was recorded in the *Willkür* [self-created municipal laws] issued by the city council of Kraków. The statute emphasised that any Pole or foreigner must, in order to attain the status of master, "meet the requirements."¹⁷ Thus, the guild law from the beginning of the 17th century also included foreigners, which indicates their constant functioning in among the building workers.

16 Andrzej Wyrobisz, *Aleksander Gwagnin i cudzoziemscy fachowcy...*, p. 679-681.

17 Stanisław Tomkowicz, *Przyczynki do historii kultury...*, p. 30.

The answer for the ensuing question about the results of Italians' activity in the economic sphere will be formulated later in the discussion. This issue, which is tightly bound to the problem of competition, should be analysed in the context of relations with the Polish background. At this point, we may only say that—in our view—the Italian economic activity in Poland was for a considerable time not at all competitive regarding the interests of the nobility, but was rather of complementary character, while those to whom it could pose a direct threat, namely burghers, had less and less to say.

Alongside economic activity, contacts of a political nature, thus also diplomatic, appeared and developed intensively. At least since Jagiełło's times, Venice was an important partner of Poland and its potential ally in the conflict with Sigismund of Luxemburg. The first known intermediary in these contacts was Zanachius Quirino, a Venetian observer in Poland and—perhaps—a participant in the wars with the Teutonic Knights and the Battle of Grunwald.¹⁸ After returning to Venice, Quirino remained a champion of political cooperation with Poland. A similar attitude was manifested by Pietro Bikarani, permanently residing in Poland and rendering diplomatic services; instructed directly by the Venetian Senate, he was recognised as a permanent representative of the Republic in 1412. Close cooperation with Bikarani was ordered to a provincial of the Lombardic Congregation of the Order of Hermits of St Augustine, whose name was Paolo, and thus he was the first official Venetian envoy to go to Poland. This specific diplomatic offensive seems understandable. To Venice, friendly relationships with a powerful kingdom in the east signified prestige.¹⁹ To Jagiełło, entangled in the conflict with the Teutonic Knights, these kinds of contacts were also advantageous for—irrespective of the community of political interests—they were guarantees against Poland's isolation on the international arena.

Interestingly, about the same time, in 1411, there was a Papal envoy in Vilnius. Cardinal Branda—and soon a Polish group of envoys, headed by the extremely competent Provost of Włocławek, Andrzej Łaskarz—went on a return visit to Rome. Such contacts would intensify considerably in the 16th century and—in the case of apostolic nunciature—would become formal.

In the 15th century, we may also discern other political and religious events that influenced, though indirectly, the intensification of the Polish-Italian connections. The Jagiellons had a great European career with Poland: victory over the Teutonic Knights, dynastic successes in Czech kingdom and Hungary; the Council of Constance, at which a Polish delegation including Paweł Włodkowic and Archbishop Mikołaj Trąba could present its high intellectual and diplomatic

18 Józef Garbacik, *Studia nad stosunkami polsko-włoskimi...*, p. 4-8.

19 The intention was “to show to the world our being in agreement with the king of Poland”, as it was put in one of the instructions for Bicharani – see *ibidem*, p. 8nn.

rank to a wide audience, Kraków Academy in its prime; the stance of Pope Enea Silvio Piccolomini, who though critical of Poland was keenly interested in it and kept up correspondence with representatives of Polish elites. All of these examples are just a few factors commanding respect, encouraging cooperation, and in consequence, tightening mutual contacts.

Influence in the sphere of ideas increased gradually. The visit of Observant Jan Kapistran to Kraków in 1453, and the great success of this Franciscan preacher, was symbolic.²⁰ This one-time but highly spectacular event could be compared to the activity of nuncios. His work would accompany the work of refined theologians and preachers in the next century.

At the same time, we note the long-term influence of Italian humanism, primarily in literature and philosophy but also in fine arts. These processes are of fundamental importance to Polish culture, and simultaneously, they are issues already studied well enough to require only acknowledgement here. The most crucial manifestations of the early influence of the Italian humanism have been discussed recently by Lech Szczucki. He paid attention to, among other things, the numerous signs of interest in the achievements of Renaissance philosophy that are comprised in the collections of the Kraków university professors' libraries.²¹ New ideas were also propagated by intellectuals arriving from Italy, who were interested in lecturing at the Academy of Kraków and also in positions at the royal or magnate's courts (such examples include Giovanni Silvio de Mathio from Palermo, and Costantino Claretti de Cancellieri, who was brought from Bologna in the end of 1505 by Bishop Erazm Ciołek).²²

Even before the arrival of Bona, under Sigismund I the Old, the Italian arrivals resided and played significant roles in his entourage, such as, for instance, trusted courtier of the King Placido Placidis from Siena; court surgeon Giovanni Francesco de Media Barba from Padua; and barber-surgeon and 'tonsorial artist', the Mantuan, Giacomo da Montana.

Also, young Poles started to show an interest in studying at Italian universities.²³ A symbolic figure of that period was Mikołaj Lasocki (died 1450), who spent around fifteen years in Italy and allegedly became so soaked with therein culture

20 According to Jan Długosz's account (p. 138), "over a hundred people took his order's vestment then."

21 Lech Szczucki, *Humanizm włoski i kultura polska...*, p. 38-39 and passim; see Juliusz Domański, *Początki humanizmu...*, p. 62-85.

22 Władysław Pocięcha, *Z dziejów stosunków kulturalnych...*, p. 183-184.

23 For example the long stays abroad of Iwo Odrowąż in the beginning of the 13th century have recently been interpreted in this manner. In the same century, we note arrivals from Poland who were completing studies in canon law – see Anna Paner, *Studia czy dyplomacja?...*, p. 113-114, 121-122.

“that he was taken for a Roman in Rome.”²⁴ Later, as a Kraków dean, Lasocki had in his surroundings humanists of such rank as Tommaso of Vicenza, Lucan’s commentator; and Andrea Pallacio, future Peter’s Pence collector and the author of the famous letter about the defeat of Polish troops at Varna (1444). Soon after this event, Lasocki himself allegedly commissioned, from a renowned Venetian painter, Jacopo Bellini, a design for Władysław Warneńczyk’s sarcophagus for Wawel Cathedral. During his journey back to Poland after another stay in Rome, during which he was nominated bishop of Kujawy, Lasocki died in Terni and was entombed in Camerino Cathedral. His correspondence with Guarini, likewise the exchange of letters between Zbigniew Oleśnicki and Enea Silvio Piccolomini, are the symbols of intellectual contacts of highest rank at that time.²⁵

The same may be said about the activity of Filippo Buonaccorsi (1438–1496), to whose legend we will devote more attention later in the text. This poet and scholar, born in San Gimignano, first took the name of Hellenist Greek poet Callimachus and later also added the nickname *Experiens*; for, his life was colourful and rich in experiences indeed. Intellectually formed in native Tuscany; Venice, where he resided for some time as a cardinal’s secretary; and Rome, where he was a member of the Roman Academy organised around Pomponius Laetus, he was simultaneously “an adventurer, who in his career experienced conspiracy, as well as something between diplomacy and espionage, a spy both in the service of the Palaiologoi on Chios and Mehmed II in Constantinople.”²⁶ The monarchy of Casimir IV turned out to be the last stage of this long and complicated wander.

Callimachus arrived in Poland as a fully mature man and writer, who nevertheless was able to adapt himself so easily to the new environment that after some time he started to call himself *Tuscoscya* [a Tuscan Scythian]. This was undoubtedly facilitated by openness and interest of the local environment with aroused intellectual ambitions and a distinct desire to emulate Italian humanist ideals. The broad output of Callimachus was significant in this context, for he wrote poems following the model of ancient poetry, excellent works of biographical characters (lives of Jan Długosz, Zbigniew Oleśnicki, and primarily Grzegorz of Sanok), essays and philosophical dialogues, diplomatic speeches and letters (at that time treated as literary and commentary form). These works must have been read and received with considerable deference since Jan Ursyn dedicated his *Modus epistolandi*, created in 1495–1496, especially to Callimachus.

Callimachus—working at first under the patronage of Grzegorz of Sanok—in a short time became a figure around which influential individuals from courtly-

24 Władysław Pocięcha, *Z dziejów stosunków kulturalnych...*, p. 179.

25 Julja Brüstigerowa, *Guarino a Polska...*, p. 70-71; Juliusz A. Chrościcki, *Najstarsze przedstawienie...*, p. 544-551.

26 Juliusz Domański, *Początki humanizmu...*, p. 118.

intellectual circles gathered. This environment was comprised of Oleśnicki, Długosz and Piotr of Bnin, bishop of Włocławek, who allegedly encouraged his Italian friend to write a history of Poland.²⁷ Therefore, Callimachus, as a distinguished intellectual, not only influenced the intellectual shape of the Polish court, but became a spiritual patron of the first generation of local humanists, who typically served as bishops, who in majority studied in Italy, and whose activity was of vital importance to the reception of Renaissance Italian culture in Poland. This already fully Renaissance generation included, among others, Kraków's Bishop Jan Konarski (died 1525), Płock's Bishop Erazm Ciołek (died 1522), Poznań's Bishop Jan Lubrański (died 1520), Gniezno's Bishop Maciej Drzewicki (died 1535), and Kraków's Bishop, Deputy Chancellor Piotr Tomicki (died 1535).²⁸

A symbolic crowning of the intensification process of Polish-Italian contacts and the Italian presence in Poland was the marriage of Zygmunt I the Old to Duchess Bona Sforza.

Spheres of Activity and Typology of Figures

The multifariousness of professions and social types that were part of the Italian community is an indisputable fact. Janusz Tazbir wrote: "Italian colonies, especially that one in Kraków, belonged to the richer ones; apart from merchants and craftsmen, there often were also representatives of the intelligentsia of that time: doctors and apothecaries, architects and writers. It was typically an Italian who was a painter, musician or horse trainer at lordly courts in the 16–17th centuries."²⁹ Those merchants, artists, entrepreneurs or representatives of freelance professions, making a diversified group, pose a difficulty to us since they frequently changed the scope of their work or were active in several fields at once. This could result from a changing economic situation and demand for particular services, but it could also be the effect of Italian expansiveness. This does not make ordering the whole community easier. Eventually, excluding several figures of special status, we present here the figures of "Italians in Poland" according to four basic spheres of activity. They are as follows: 1. the economic sphere; 2. politics, religion and intellectual pursuits; 3. the artistic sphere; 4. services. This division is vague; the borders between spheres thus defined are sometimes hard to delimit and, even so, in many cases, unequivocal assignment proves to be impossible.

27 Ibidem, p. 119, 150; see also Lech Szczucki, *Humanizm włoski i kultura polska...*, p. 39–41.

28 Władysław Pocięcha, *Z dziejów stosunków kulturalnych...*, p. 179–181.

29 Janusz Tazbir, „*Włoszczyzna*” w Polsce..., p. 359.

The Economic Sphere

This is mentioned first, for certainly the majority of Italians residing in Poland were connected with this sphere.

Merchants and Entrepreneurs

Trading, customs house tenancies and mineral exploitation had already brought Italians to the Polish state territories by the Middle Ages. In the modern era, the scale of this phenomenon changed so much that we may speak of a completely new trend. During the reign of the last two Jagiellons, the Commonwealth inhabitants lived in relative wealth, and had developed consumer needs and increasing possibilities of satisfying these. The Kraków court set the tone with its Renaissance profile and particularly grand possibilities and expectations. The Italian arrivals were evidently suited to the role of providers of goods and services, and actually offered them.

The records preserved in royal bills and concrete privileges issued in Zygmunt I the Old's and Zygmunt II Augustus' times illustrate this phenomenon perfectly. Here are some examples drawn from the account related to the period 1506–1572.³⁰ In 1549, Zygmunt II Augustus sends to Italy two Kraków merchants, Wojciech Ber and “Virgil from Italy.” Their task was to make some purchase for the king; the first was to go to Rome for this purpose, the other, to Venice. In 1568, 5 złoty were paid from the royal treasury to “Piotr Mazza, a Venetian, for carriage of the instruments which he to HRM transported”; thus, this was only a shipping service of incomparably lower value and proportionally lower priced. In 1571, the royal treasury paid out 270 złoty to “Joanni Antonio Petrarolo, an Italian sent on HRM's affairs to Italy [...] according to the contract made with him.”

Italian merchants and entrepreneurs not only mediated in and facilitated royal purchases but also provided credit for them (most certainly expecting the king's and his circle's favour). It is known that during Zygmunt I's times, purchases were very often made on credit from Jan Boner and, in smaller quantities, from Luigi [Alojzy] from Venice; other Italian arrivals rendered similar services during the reign of Zygmunt II Augustus. This again was no novelty, nor some phenomenon especially characteristic to the 16th and 17th centuries. Apparently, Italians operating as creditors broadened their services and their clients also included representatives of the nobility. Suffice to remark that even Jan Zamoyski used to

30 Maurycy Horn, *Dostawcy dworów królewskich...*, p. 6.

be indebted to Italian bankers, which—considering the costs incurred at least in the erection of Zamość—is not surprising.³¹

Hence, it may be assumed that in the ages of the two Zygmunts, the Italian offers concerning the supply of goods and services was eagerly accepted by the influential circles of the Old Polish society and that—from the Italian perspective—this was a wise calculation, offering good prospects for the future. This, in any case, is suggested by successive records coming from the same account and pertaining to the merchant and banker Bernardo Soderini. In 1552, Zygmunt Augustus granted this arrival from Florence permission to sell merchandise “in Kraków or any other city in which the Polish monarch will dwell with his court.” In 1556, this merchant, with two others, obtained toll exemption, and Soderini himself additionally had the right to be subject exclusively to the royal court of justice in legal matters. In 1565 the exemption from tolls was also granted to merchants Giacomo Grizon [namely, ‘coming from Grisons in the then Swiss borderland’] and Leonardo from Florence.³²

Although precise trading calculations remain beyond the scope of our research, several figures of Italian merchants will serve as an illustration of their successful activity in the Commonwealth territory.

The Montelupis were a Florentine family, for several generations a symbol of Italian Kraków. Their activity in Poland was started by Sebastiano (1516–1600), who, with his younger brother, Carlo, came to Kraków in about the mid-16th century. Initially they were connected with the powerful trading-banking company of the Soderinis, and after some time they became independent.

The trading business brought them considerable income, for Sebastiano became goods supplier to the royal court, which gave him many indulgences and privileged status. In 1567 Zygmunt Augustus bestowed *indygenat* status upon him, and this was later confirmed by subsequent monarchs. The formula of royal servitor evidently proved unsatisfying, though, since Montelupi adopted Kraków city law in 1579. He also developed a broad trading activity in other towns of the Crown (Warsaw, Lublin, and Lviv) and in Lithuania (Vilnius and Grodno). From Italy (mainly Florence, Venice, and Milan), he imported various merchandise: fabrics, silks and velvets, wines, books, and spices; his affairs reached even Vienna, Nuremberg, and Frankfurt.

31 See Aleksander Tarnawski, *Działalność gospodarcza Jana Zamoyskiego...*, p. 274, 277, 281.

32 “[...] et in tutto’l regno [sono] XV o 20 botteghe d’Italiani, frà quali i Soderini hanno fatte facende grossissime” – Paolo Emilio Giovannini, one of the secretaries to the nuncio Commendone, noted in his account about Poland made in 1565, when reporting the situation in Polish towns – Paolo Emilio Giovannini, *Relazione di Polonia...*, p. 196. Maurycy Horn, *Dostawcy dworów królewskich...*, p. 7-8.

His enterprises were organised in a modern way: in financial operations, he used promissory notes and kept modern books of accounts, which documented the expenditures and incomes, as well as a register, of his debtors. They included not only representatives of the then aristocratic elite but also the city of Kraków, or rather King Stefan Báthory. Montelupi also took over the management of complicated financial operations related to paying interest from the so-called Naples sums, namely a loan of 430,000 ducats given by Queen Bona to Philip II of Spain.

Montelupi's most original sphere of activity, which greatly contributed to broadening his contacts and influences, was organisation and professional administration of the first Polish post—connecting Kraków with Venice (via Vienna and Graz). Montelupi, who was granted the privilege to operate in this field in November 1568, was not a precursor in this matter (earlier this task was undertaken by Prospero Provana and Pietro Maffon), but it was only during his time that the post began to coalesce into a permanent institution. From then—for the following hundred years—the creation and administration of post connections in the Commonwealth was to be an Italian speciality, which confirmed the interest of this group in technical-organisational innovations, with whose introduction the representatives of this group hoped for long-term profits. The increasingly intensive contacts with Western Europe and soaring correspondence needs of diplomats, especially Papal, allow us to assess these calculations as rational. Another question is, how profitable was the business to specific Italian entrepreneurs? Montelupi received from Zygmunt Augustus, and also Stefan Báthory, an annual salary for the services rendered. However, his successors (and he himself in interregnum) discovered that one can run the post as a private enterprise. Profitability was thus dependent on the number of commissions, which fluctuated, so the yield from this activity was sometimes questionable.

Sebastiano Montelupi gained unquestioned position in Kraków itself (he acted as an authority—arbitrator, and executor of last wills) and in circles close to the court. He was a man known to be not devoid of ambitions to patronage. He was also sophisticated, open to novelties, and ready to credit various enterprises. Although he maintained contact with his native Florence (of which he was still formally a citizen—he kept his ancestral estates in the vicinity of Volterra and Bibbona), and even quite often informed the Tuscan court about the events in Poland, he certainly regarded his settlement in Kraków as permanent. It was there that he married (Ursula, daughter of Wojciech Baza, a doctor of medicine and town councillor). He also accumulated a considerable fortune comprising of property and estates, kamienicas in the city, and a manor and gardens in the Kleparz suburbs. The acquired material goods prove his intention to assimilate, as well as the immediate profitability of his banking-trading operations.

Valerio Montelupi (1548–1613), originally called Tamburini, was a nephew of the childless Sebastiano, by whom he was adopted. Valerio proved a very apt pupil and soon demonstrated entrepreneurship and organisational skills. Stefan Báthory bestowed servitoriat upon him, and he kept the right to the surname, *indygenat* status and inheritance, while broadening the scope of business contacts and the group of influential figures to whom he lent money. He continued close cooperation with Chancellor Zamoyski (which proved beneficial when he fell into difficulty over court property), rendered banking services to Zygmunt III Vasa, and, until death, was the head of the post. Valerio shared the uncle's inclination to Polonisation; he married in Kraków, and brought his nephews Domenico and Carlo to Poland. His children remained in Poland and used the Polonised version of the surname—Wilczogórski. His son, Sebastiano (1589– c. 1632), educated in Italy, co-operated with Zygmunt III's court, which he represented in the dispute over “the Naples sums,” became a burgrave of the Kraków castle, held the position of the king's postmaster and maintained a considerable property. The second son, Valerio (1593–1653), chose a spiritual path, and by the end of his life, had become a suffragan bishop of Włocławek. The other representatives of the Montelupi family are from another line of Tamburini's family—Domenico and Carlo. They did not change profession, remaining bankers and postmasters, and as merchants still cherished the royal servitoriat. This made them independent from municipal laws. Interestingly, Domenico applied to be admitted to Kraków law, but instead he obtained citizenship in Lviv and there ran his most active trading activity. Carlo was more devoted to the post, which operated on longer and longer routes—to Poznań, Gdańsk, Lviv and Tykocin, and whose major centre gradually became Warsaw. There, Carlo accumulated substantial fixed assets, and in the mid-17th century, was included among the most prosperous citizens of the new capital.

Administering the Post

The first person to undertake postal administration was a Piemontese, Prospero Provana (d. 1584), who was the future Kraków salt mines leaseholder. He came to Poland in the 1530s with his older brother Traiano (d. 1568), and it is presumed that he remained initially in Queen Bona's service. In 1557 both brothers obtained *indygenat* status, which may prove their great ability to adapt to a new environment. In the following year, Prospero was nominated post administrator with an annual salary. Together with a Venetian, Antonio de Angelis, he undertook mediation in collecting interest from the Naples sums. We should note that this *iunctim* between the financial affairs of the last Jagiellonian on the throne and diplomatic initiatives, the amelioration of which regular post connections were to

serve, proved to be a stable tendency and pertained to all those who administered the Polish post in the 16th century.

The post company did not clash with merchant activity. Provana traded—which was typical—in fabrics and wine, and collaborated in this with other Italian merchants settled in Kraków (Alessandro Baldi, Lodovico de Pello). Clearly open to broadening the spheres of his activity, he became, under Zygmunt Augustus, a co-organiser of a brewery company. Subsequently, he received tenancy of the Kraków salt mines from Stefan Báthory. This multiple activity, though not devoid of troubles and difficulties, brought measurable material benefits, despite the fact that critics accused the Italian entrepreneur of overexploitation in the conferred salterns. Provana invested the revenues thus obtained in estates, which he bought or received in compensation for unpaid debts. He also owned some kamienicas in Kraków.

Traiano was slightly less efficient in accumulating goods. He was also more connected with the royal court, not only of Bona but also of Zygmunt Augustus. It is due to Trainano's relationship with the king that he obtained, for life, the village of Łatkowice near Kraków. He then concentrated on his farm, which he tried to run in an innovative way (fish farming and hop cultivation) and gradually enlarge. He also carried out significant activity among the dissenter circles of Lesser Poland. He married and evidently did not think of returning to Italy, surely satisfied with the social status he had acquired in Poland.

Prospero seemed to be more dynamic; he consistently undertook new challenges. His broadly conducted crediting activity reinforced his social standing and sphere of influence, which decidedly exceeded the Italian colony. His systematic accumulation of real estate in the city, and predominantly of estates, could demonstrate his accurate recognition of the local hierarchy of values, and simultaneously a determined will to fully assimilate in the new place. Allegedly, at the end of his life, Prospero Provana considered a return to Italy and settlement in Venice. These plans were accompanied by quandaries of a religious-ideological nature. Just before his death, he abandoned Calvinism—to which he had converted in the beginning of the 1550s—and returned to the bosom of Catholicism. Both brothers died and were buried in Kraków.

Pietro Maffon (d. 1575) was also engaged in the first phase of the post operation. He was a merchant from Brescia who, in 1564, was granted the royal privilege—certainly by entreaty of Prospero Provana—to run this enterprise for five years, with an annual salary of 1,500 thaler. The post was to operate the route Venice-Kraków-Vilnius, but, apparently, Maffon did not achieve organisational success and even before the end of the contract, according to the king's will, he handed over the company to Montelupi and returned to trading activities.

In the 17th century the post was also run by at least several renowned Italian entrepreneurs.

Roberto Bandinelli (d. 1650), a merchant from Florence trading in fabrics in Poland, adopted municipal law in Kraków in 1618 and next moved to Lviv, where, in 1629, he launched the first regular post linking this city with Kraków (via Zamość and Lublin), Warsaw, Toruń, and Gdańsk. This post also allowed letters to be sent to Italy. The enterprise faced many problems resulting probably from insufficient demand for this type of service; its activity was even suspended at some point, causing Bandinelli to consider returning to his homeland. Eventually, he stayed in the Commonwealth and held the position of postmaster until the end of his life. In 1662, Angelo Maria Bandinelli, replacing Carlo Montelupi, became the general postmaster for the whole country. However Angelo Maria—previously connected with the court of Jan II Kazimierz as a secretary, encountering increasing technical-organisational difficulties—stepped down after seven years.³³

In the mid-17th century, activities aimed at the creation of Polish post in Pomerania were intensified. In 1654, such a task was conferred upon Francesco Gratta, a courtier of Queen Marie Louise—also engaging in trade—and appointed by Jan II Kazimierz as head of all postmasters in Gdańsk.³⁴ Connections were to involve Royal Prussia, Courland and Livonia, and even reach Szczecin; however, Gratta, besides the common problems with ensuring the profitability of the enterprise, faced competition from the Elector of Brandenburg and quite soon went out of business. However, his two sons remained in it: Paolo was appointed Postmaster General in 1661, while his brother Alessandro took up the postmaster's office in Gdańsk. Both obtained *indygenat* status in 1676, but Polish postal affairs in this controversial region were gradually taken over by analogous Prussian-Brandenburg institutions. The Gratta brothers did not build a fortune and Paolo even had serious financial problems and awkward settlements with partners.

Francesco Gratta's son-in-law was Bartolomeo Sardi from Lucca (1645–1719). He was probably luckier, and certainly he did not lack life skills. He had come to Poland under Jan II Kazimierz, which was then linked with the Sobieski court and performed the duties of secretary to Maria Kazimiera, using the title of “King's Secretary.” In 1676 he became Postmaster General of the Crown territories and performed this function—with breaks—until the first decade of the 18th century, though the precise chronology is not fully clear in this respect; nevertheless, he administered the Kraków post continuously. During the whole time he also ran a trading business, and after Tito Livio Burattini's death (1682), he administered the Kraków and Bydgoszcz mints. Around the end of his life, he settled in Gdańsk. There he died and was buried in the Dominican church. His son, Lorenzo, was a postmaster of the Prussian territories, which function he took over after his uncle Paolo Gratta.

33 *PSB* I, p. 255-256.

34 *PSB* VIII, p. 555-556.

In contrast to his predecessors, Sardi was not much inclined to Polish. He married in Poland, but to an Italian (Elenora nee Gratta), and kept up regular contacts with Italy, and his descendants returned to his native Lucca.

Thus, numerous Italian entrepreneurs saw in postal services good and promising business, but typically they combined this enterprise with activity in other fields. Initially in the 16th century, a postmaster was usually employed by the ruler, received a fixed salary for his services, and was financed by the Crown Treasury. Later, however, the post company became financially autonomous. Therefore, the following leaseholders had problems with maintaining its profitability since it was dependent on a fluctuating market for such services.

Offering such services (and any others on such a recipient / client basis) could also cause negative reactions and complaints regarding quality and timeliness, apart from business risk. Those who used this kind of service were generally influential, and their dissatisfaction could bring bitter consequences. And after all—with the prevailing technical conditions and dangers faced by couriers—the efficiency of post activity could easily be threatened. The bishop of Płock, Piotr Dunin Wolski, residing in Rome as an envoy in 1582, appealed to Chancellor Jan Zamoyski regarding a response from the Polish court (which was of importance for the negotiations conducted in Curia), “to send [it] otherwise than commit it to Montelupi, because several months linger letters on the way when Montelupi sendeth them. In two Sundays from Kraków to Venice someone on a good horse speedily can come.”³⁵ If indeed Montelupi’s postal service did not guarantee delivery of letters on the Kraków-Venice route within two weeks, then the bishop’s claims were fully justified, which—in the case of the recurrence of complaints and resulting publicity—could get the enterprise in serious trouble.

Despite such difficulties, the consistency with which the Italians were eager to work in this field is notable. They must have seen in it the potential to gain long term benefits.

* * *

Giulio del Pace (d. 1608) was initially connected with the Kraków company of Sebastiano Montelupi. He and his brother Luca (d. 1609) came to Poland in the 1560s. The del Pace brothers distinguished themselves with activity and entrepreneurship. Luca began as a silk fabrics supplier to the royal court, and Giulio imported wine. Both, however, gradually expanded the assortment of merchandise on offer (to include velvets, satins, brocades, sugars and chestnuts) and also those that they exported (yuft, wax, salt and copper). The recurring threads in their lives

35 *Sprawy wojenne króla Stefana Batorego...*, p. 386.

are those of gradually expanding the trading territory, granting credit, relying on Italian co-workers, and playing a significant role in the Italian colony. Another recurring theme was their simultaneously strong assimilation tendencies. Both, though not at the same time, adopted municipal law (Luca—1576; Giulio—1579), and Giulio was, for the last 15 years of his life, a town councillor; both acquired properties in most prestigious city locations. The thread of Polonisation was also conspicuous in both. The brothers started families in Kraków (Giulio even twice), and their last wills were made in Polish; Giulio's sons continued merchant activity; Luca left behind, amongst others, a son, Raffaele [Rafał], who gave rise to the noble family of Delpacy.³⁶

In St Mary's Church in Kraków, near the entry to presbytery, there is a superb tomb of the Cellari brothers and their wives, erected in marble and sandstone in the beginning of the 17th century. Unlike most Italians described here, who came from Florence, the Cellari originated in Milan. The best known family member was Andrea (d. 1616) and his older brother Paolo. They arrived in Kraków in 1568 and after several years adopted municipal law, copying the scenario that we know already from previous figures of accumulating wealth, gradually settling into the local community and taking up prominent positions in it. However, it is worth remarking that the Cellaris' career in the first generations had no clear connections with the king's court and that the Polish *indigenat* status was bestowed only upon a third generation representative, Paolo. He was a Major-General of mercenary troops in the Polish army, ennobled for military services.³⁷

Complicated relations with the Montelupis also existed in another figure of "the Italian Kraków." Giovanni Battista Fontanini (d. 1597) was a Jew who came to Poland as child, where he was christened. Initially linked with Sebastiano and Valerio Montelupi, he even acted as their plenipotentiary; later their relations deteriorated; mutual grudges and lawsuits occurred. In 1562, Fontanini adopted municipal law in Kraków, and later he was a town councillor and even a mayor (1581). As a merchant trading mainly in cloth and wine he had very extensive contacts with Vienna, Venice, and Nuremberg partners. He purchased buildings in Kraków and the vicinity. He married twice to local women.³⁸ His Jewish origin, seemingly, did not play an especially significant role in Fontanini's life. Nevertheless, he is mentioned here also because we want to signal the phenomenon of the arrival of Jews in the Commonwealth at that time, particularly from Venice. Since we cannot determine the scale of these arrivals and the proportions between the Jewish arrivals and the whole community of the Italian immigrants, we have to content ourselves with singular examples.

36 *PSB* XXIV, p. 751-753.

37 *PSB* III, p. 224-225.

38 *PSB* VII, p. 61.

A famous merchant and simultaneously a banker in the first half of the 17th century was Salomon, called Włochowicz (d. c. 1650). He was an elder of the Jewish Community in Kazimierz near Kraków. At least since the beginning of the 1620s, he ran an exchange, benefiting both Jews and Catholics with loans; he traded in salt and wood; as factor of both King Władysław IV and Jan II Kazimierz, he was subject to the king's jurisdiction and was exempt from taxes. His efforts paid off in the form of a house in Kazimierz, and his two sons continued their father's activity.³⁹

Whereas we treated the Montelupis as specific champions of the generation active in the second half of the 16th and the beginnings of the 17th century, in the next generation, Guglielmo Orsetti (d. 1659) from Lucca was a key figure in the group of bankers and merchants. This was not only because he was regarded as the richest merchant in Kraków—where he settled in 1632, and adopted citizenship in 1647—but also because of the scale of his bonds with other representatives of the Italian community, with whom he co-operated and whom he employed in his companies. Again, we encounter here a potent energy, effectiveness in action, and business momentum linked with a rich assortment of merchandise (silks, cloths, copper, leathers, and also ironware—scythes, knives and needles). Orsetti carried out his affairs in major municipal centres beyond Kraków (Lviv, Lublin, Warsaw, Poznań and Gdańsk). One of his most original moves was the acquisition, apart from buildings in Warsaw and Kraków, of a kamienica in Jarosław (this is because of the famous local fairs).

Around 1650, Orsetti was planning to travel to Italy, for which he received the monarch's consent. This fact indirectly proved that he kept good relations with the court (in the king's letter to Kraków Council he was described as “servitor et factor regius”). He did not realise his plans. Just before his death, in 1659, he was granted *indygenat* status. His descendants also remained in Poland and enlarged their possessions by purchasing estates. Guglielmo's grandson, Piotr, gave rise to the land owning Orsetti family.⁴⁰

Gerardo Priami (d. 1670)—another merchant from Lucca, the future town councillor and royal mint administrator—was related to Guglielmo Orsetti and at first acted as his plenipotentiary. This was another example of a brilliant material career, connected with an attempt—though a failed one—to make money from minting. In parallel, Priami conducted credit activity that resulted in wide contacts with the social elite of the Commonwealth and the royal court; in consequence, this reinforced his position in the municipal structures.

A vast majority of Italian merchants and entrepreneurs settled in Kraków and it was mainly there that they ran their businesses. Initially it was fully understandable, due to the economic role of this city, its status as capital, and

39 *PSB XXXIV*, p. 374-375.

40 *PSB XXIV*, p. 254-256.

its geographical situation (it was very close to the south-western border). Later, when capital city status was gradually becoming a thing of the past, and the threat of economic decadence had emerged, Kraków continued to be a centre in which further generations of Italian arrivals settled. Yet this is not to say that it had a monopoly. Here are some figures that functioned beyond or not only in Kraków.

Agostino Mazoni (d. 1532), from Genoa, adopted municipal law in Kraków quite early (1502), but subsequently moved to Poznań where he purchased a house on the market and settled for good as a rightful burgher, active in self-government institutions. He increased his fortune by successful trade in fabrics and spices, as well as furs, leathers, and crimson.⁴¹ Giovanni Gianotti (Dzianotti) was a renowned and wealthy Warsaw merchant and councillor in the second half of the 17th century, who amassed a fortune by importing Hungarian wines. Nevertheless, at the end of his life, he moved to Kraków and there he adopted city law in 1673. From that time, the following generations of this family were connected with Kraków and acquired real estate there, while Francesco, active there in the second half of the 18th century, even became the president of the city in the crucial year of 1791.⁴²

Giovanni Benedetto Savioli (d. 1654)—a merchant trading in fabrics, leathers, and lead—also finally made his way to Kraków. He came from Rovereto, from a family ennobled in 1562 by the Holy Roman Emperor Ferdinand I. It is as if Savioli sought his place in life in Poland; first, he was a Lviv citizen (1633); then, as a representative of Barsotti-Bottini's company, he dwelled in Lublin; finally, he moved to Kraków (1644).⁴³ Several decades later, Flavio Marchetti (d. 1722)—from Bassano, a Venice territory—also divided his time between Kraków and Lublin. He arrived in Poland during the reign of Jan II Kazimierz, but we know very little of his contacts with the court. We only know that he was granted the title of royal secretary, but not until as late as 1719. Marchetti made a real career and fortune in the last two decades of the 17th century in Lublin, of which he was thrice mayor. He was regarded as the richest merchant there, but he moved to Kraków in 1696, where he held the prominent positions of lay judge and councillor, and was also active in major municipal commissions. In Kraków his material wealth was one of most prominent, which is confirmed by the amount of tribute he had to pay during the second Swedish invasion.⁴⁴ Evidently, the old capital must still have been a strong magnet for the Italian immigrants, since so many merchants—having broad business contacts, and thus acquainted with Polish-Lithuanian realities—chose it as the place of permanent settlement.

41 *PSB* XX, p. 302.

42 *PSB* VI, p. 101-102.

43 *PSB* XXXV, p. 271-272.

44 *PSB* XIX, p. 530-531.

Among modern era Italian arrivals, there were also entrepreneurs; they continued the tradition of accomplished mint master and mine administrators of the 14th and 15th centuries. Their activities and financial successes were of crucial importance to the whole phenomenon of Italian immigration. Their numbers seem to be fewer, and the scale of their actions in the 16th century smaller in comparison to the merchants, though, naturally, precise data is unavailable. However, taking into account the appearance of many new categories of Italian arrivals, we may assume that entrepreneurs influenced the image of the Italian community to a lesser degree.

The minting tradition was continued in the 16th century by Graziano Gonsalo, at first connected with Albert of Prussia's court, and later operating in Gdańsk and Malbork. We know he was endorsed by the Prussian estates but was also backed by the Grand Treasurer of the Crown Jan Firlej. Activity in this field, suspended and resumed several times, brought him an enormous fortune and permanent settlement in Gdańsk.⁴⁵ In the 17th century, leasing Polish mints to Italians became a serious economic and political problem, which will be discussed a little later.

Apparently Stanisław Amenda was of Italian origin. He became rich by trading in lead and holding the lease on the right to collect the 'Olkusz *olbora*' in the beginning of the 17th century.⁴⁶ Antonio De Steza (d. c. 1601), coming from Venice, was active in Kraków in the second half of the 16th century. He, having obtained privilege to do so from Stefan Báthory, made the first attempt in Poland to start majolica production; however, in spite of bringing two masters in this speciality from Faenza itself (Michele Tonducci, Clemente Avezuto), the Kraków factory operated for less than a year. The entrepreneur had some personal and financial difficulties; for example, a lawsuit occurred between the Italian masters, who allegedly complained about the quality of clay near Kraków and other technical parameters (coarse sand, poor-quality salt, and the poor quality of wood for furnaces). Therefore, De Steza's property after his death was used to cover his debts.⁴⁷ Despite the failure of the production enterprise, we should mention Geronimo Ghizlanzoni. He was a merchant from Milan who at the end of the 18th century settled in Warsaw and ran a famed shop selling Faience pottery at Krakowskie Przedmieście, through which he also emphasised the constancy of his Italian predilections.⁴⁸

With the passage of time, the traditional spheres of Italian activity were joined by novel ones: in the second half of the 18th century, Giovanni Marwani (Marvani)—a Warsaw burgher—was an entertainment events organiser and

45 *PSB* VIII, p. 278-279.

46 *PSB* I, p. 86-87.

47 *PSB* V, p. 132-133.

48 *PSB* VII, p. 419.

impresario. For the purpose of impressing other people, he rented a Radziwiłł palace and, with heavy expenditures, organised public events in the Great Sejm era. However, evidently anticipating his time, he faced financial defeat. In contrast, another Italian, with interests in gastronomic and hotel enterprises, notched up success; the Florentine Giovanni Nesti (c. 1753–1812) initially was the chef of the Field Clerk of the Crown Franciszek Rzewuski, and next, in a palace purchased on ulica Miodowa, organised a hotel called Europejski, where he ran a popular restaurant and patisserie. He had two more cake shops. Here, “Italian style” cakes and ice cream were sold. By achieving this success, Nesti opened another, already typically nineteenth-century chapter, of Italian activity in the Polish territory.⁴⁹

Politics, Religion, and Intellectual Pursuits

Bona and Her Circle

Zygmunt I the Old’s decision to marry a princess from the Sforza family was undoubtedly of crucial importance to the Polish-Italian contacts, thus also to our topic. The same may be said of the stay of Queen Bona in Poland, which lasted several dozen years and was, on the whole, very active. It was a period that certainly constituted a significant caesura in Polish-Italian relations, and it provides us with a fixed point of reference.

In his account from 1565, Fulvio Ruggieri wrote: “Since Queen Bona from the House of Sforza, mother to the current king, introduced the language, attire and many other Italian habits, some lords commenced to build houses in the cities of Lesser Poland and Mazovia.”⁵⁰

The Venetian diplomat meant here, first of all, the influence of the Italian patterns, which was reflected by the elite circles of Old Polish society’s increased interest in the urban world, to which the nobility had traditionally held a widely known distant attitude. However, this quote also contained confirmation of Bona’s role as the driving force of serious cultural changes. At the very least, this quote shows us that there existed a common perception of Bona’s positive influence on Polish society.

Bona’s apologists also emphasised her beneficial impact on Polish subjects. The poet Pietro Aretino, maintaining correspondence with Polish queen for a long time, wrote in 1539: “from you hath Poles learnt fine robes, gentle kindness and obeying courtesy, and most importantly your example hath freed them from

49 *PSB* XXII, p. 679.

50 *Relacye nuncyuszów apostolskich...*, vol. I, p. 128.

drunkenness.”⁵¹ Since the latter—as we know now with certainty—did not occur, maybe also the rest should be regarded only as courtly compliments. Anyway, they were the conceptions also formed by native authors, who discerned and could appreciate the queen’s role in the sphere of most widely understood culture and civilisation. Stanisław Orzechowski was extremely glorifying when he stated—in a panegyric written on the occasion of Zygmunt II Augustus and Catherine of Austria’s marriage—that it was Queen Bona who “brought us [Poles] from this Sarmatian savagery to the current culture of life, and caused that we equal Italians in good manners, and Greeks in education.”⁵²

Such panegyric opinions raise natural doubts, but Bona’s role—understood as a consequence of her personal activity—is hard to overestimate. Traditionally (and rightly) her merits are stressed as regards the bringing to Poland of Italian artists and intellectuals. The queen “specially cherished music, jewellery and fabrics.” In order to please her tastes, she invited, understandably, artists from her native Italy by providing them with appropriately favourable conditions at the Polish court. That she had considerable means in this regard may be confirmed by the example of her boys’ choir, the composition of which was regularly refreshed with Italian boys untouched by broken voices.⁵³

She simultaneously showed the ambition, skill, and will to act in the public forum and, moreover, in many fields, including politics. In the life of Piotr Gamrat, the Kraków bishop and close associate of the queen, we read that “Queen Bona, Italian, scornful of feminine occupations, engaged in public affairs and administration of the Commonwealth” and that “upon her judgment almost all honours were granted and she had influence in many other cases.”⁵⁴

Such attitudes must have bred recognition as well as determined opposition. The arguments of critics, increasing in number with time, were facilitated by her foreign origin and particularly her leaving Poland and returning to her native land by the end of her life. This important caesura, closing the period of her activity in Poland (1518–1556), opened a new chapter and created the legend of the Italian queen; a legend in which positive traits were soon dominated by pejorative elements, to which we will yet return.

51 *Lettere di M. Pietro Aretino*, Paris 1609, vol. IV, p. 215; quote from Maria Bogucka, *Bona Sforza...*, p. 104.

52 “Bona regina haec peperit omnia; haec nos illa feritate Sarmatica ad hunc vitae cultum redegit; perfecitque ut humanitate Italica, doctrina Graecis pares sumus” – *Panegyricus nuptiarum [...] Sigismundi Augusti [...]*, Cracoviae 1553 (quote from: Elwira Buszewicz, *Cracovia in litteris...*, p. 144-145).

53 See Jerzy Wojciechowski, *Caraglio w Polsce...*, p. 26.

54 Quote from Maria Bogucka, *Białogłowa w dawnej Polsce...*, p. 209.

Here, we primarily want to treat Bona's arrival and "reign" in Poland as a significant civilisational impulse. The queen brought to the Polish court a group of outstanding figures, who made an important milieu forming trends and opinions. For it has to be remembered that Bona—on her way to Poland and during the wedding ceremonies—was accompanied by a train of exquisite figures; for example, she travelled with the lawyer Lodovico d'Alifio; the doctor Giovanni Andrea de Valentinis; the musician Alessandro Pesenti; and the future religious reformer Francesco Lismanin. They remained longer in Poland than Bona and marked their presence expressively.⁵⁵

Lodovico d'Alifio (d. 1543) came from Bari and belonged to the circle of Bona's mother, Isabella of Aragon. In 1518 he was in the entourage of the future queen and, after coming to Poland, he was appointed her chancellor, an office he held for many years though with longer breaks; the breaks were usually filled by going to Italy, typically on Bona's affairs, as the queen willingly used his legal qualifications. Close relations with the queen resulted in land endowment and also the honour of Kraków castle burgrave. Doctorship of Canon and Civil Law and the endorsement by the court allowed d'Alifio to enter the body of professors of the Kraków Academy. Nevertheless, the last stage of his life was spent in Italy; he acted as governor of the queen's duchies there, and later in Venice, and, in these locations, he consistently represented her interests. Thus, in his case, it is hard to speak of putting down roots in Poland.⁵⁶

Giovanni Andrea de Valentinis (c. 1495–1547) and Alessandro Pesenti (d. 1576) were originally linked with the court of Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, one of the most prominent figures who graced the marriage of King Zygmunt to the princess from the Sforza House with his presence. Both arrived with the cardinal in Kraków and both then returned to Ferrara, but after some time both came to Poland for good. De Valentinis, personal doctor of the cardinal, became a court doctor of the Polish queen, while Pesenti was employed at court as an organist. He was a famous propagator of Italian music and co-creator of the royal ensemble. The queen's protection afforded both of them affluent lives and allowed them to contend successfully for church offices (Pesenti was among other ranks a canon of Vilnius and Warsaw, whereas de Valentinis was canon of Kraków). In effect, they accumulated considerable wealth and settled firmly in the Italian and Polish structures of the capital Kraków. Both kept intensive contacts with their native Ferrara and its court, de Valentinis excelling in this by rendering diplomatic services to Bona.⁵⁷

55 It is estimated that the wedding and crowning ceremony was attended by over 600 Italians, among whom several dozen stayed in Kraków longer – Władysław Pocięcha, *Z dziejów stosunków kulturalnych...*, p. 184-186.

56 *PSB* I, p. 77-78.

57 *PSB* X, p. 439; XXV, p. 652-653.

Another court doctor, and a figure of renowned literary accomplishments, was Giacomo Ferdinando, from Bari, educated in Padua. He was brought to the court by Bona, and left Poland with her in 1556. His brother Giovanni Battista was in turn a sought-after lawyer, who at the queen's request also moved to Kraków, served Zygmunt I, and after his death returned to Bari remaining in Bona's service.⁵⁸

We should add that in the queen's surroundings there were also individuals of Italian provenance who had been there before her arrival. For example, her secretary was Carlo Antonio Marchesini (d. 1540). He was brought to Poland by the bishop of Płock, Erazm Ciołek, when, in 1505, he returned from a diplomatic mission to Rome. Marchesini was thus the first secretary of Ciołek, whom he accompanied on his following diplomatic journey to Rome (1522), and later one of the executors of the bishop's last will. Only after the protector's death, surely with Lodovico d'Alifio's backing, was he admitted to the royal court and conferred the office of Bona's secretary. Allegedly he was one of the queen's favourites, which adequately strengthened his position in the court environment. Thanks to his friends in high places, he was granted *indygenat* status (1534), amassed numerous church benefices (among others, praepositura of Pułtusk and cantor's office in the chapter of Płock), and bought a kamienica in Kraków.⁵⁹

In the first decade of the 16th century, Giacomo Montana (d. 1546) also arrived. He came from Mantua and was one of the first Italians employed in the circle of Zygmunt I the Old, where he was a court surgeon and king's barber. After 1518, his position was clearly strengthened; he entered Bona's circle and earned her trust, which was expressed by her conferring upon him diplomatic missions. Despite maintaining quite intensive contact with native Mantua and the Gonzaga court, Montana connected with Kraków for good; by 1512, he had already adopted municipal law, owned three kamienicas on ulica Grodzka, had been elected master of the Kraków barber-surgeons' craft guild twice. His son-in-law, Francesco de Radicibus, was a famous Kraków apothecary. Let us also add that Montana's nephew, Galeazzo, who had also lived in Poland for some time, was linked with Bona too.⁶⁰

People from Bona's circle also showed interest in economic activity. Carlo Gucci from Florence, who came to Poland with the queen, was busy with trade and held a lease on the Ruthenian salt mines; another representative of this family, Gaspare, was a supplier of cloths and silks to the court and also gave loans.⁶¹ Even de Valentinis, doctor and courtier, acted as a trading agent.

If Bona's circle created some trends of emigration (and a lot weighs in favour of this argument), then they may have primarily contained the message about

58 *PSB* VI, p. 420.

59 *PSB* XIX, p. 530.

60 *PSB* XXI, p. 663.

61 *PSB* IX, p. 131.

the attractiveness of the Polish court and the prospects of an affluent life for those who had artistic, medical, and particularly diplomatic qualifications, which were recognised there. The Italian on the Polish throne acted like a magnet and became an important complement of the Polish state's image, and extended its attractiveness beyond the spheres of trade and economy.

Politicians and Royal Advisers; Diplomats and Secretaries

The researchers of modern era courts typically agree that formal structures existed within them, namely officials of defined spheres of competence and responsibility, as well as informal structures in which a position of a particular person depended on their personal relation with the ruler. Both structures not only co-existed but in some cases often overlapped, thus posing difficulty to the researchers (rather not to the contemporary courtiers) wanting to estimate the real balance of powers and position of particular people. The Commonwealth was not exceptional, though the foreigners in question, as a matter of course, could only appear in informal structures, while the king's power was limited. Foreigners in his surroundings could not aspire to play a leading political role, whereas the role of influential adviser remained within their reach. From the monarch's point of view, co-operation with foreigners—naturally more dependent on the court, not having their own political background and connections—could be attractive and desirable. Did the Italians seize the chance? They did (especially in comparison with the representatives of other groups of foreigners), although they played supporting roles and usually operated discreetly. The affirmative answer is suggested not only by specific examples, from which several will be cited, but also by the anti-Italian rhetoric emanating from the commentaries of the nobility.

Filippo Buonaccorsi—called Callimachus (1437–1496), though best known as a poet and humanist, one of the symbols of Polish Renaissance—certainly deserves to be mentioned in exactly this political context. Educated in Florence and Venice, he initially lived in Rome where he moved in the circles of Pomponius Laetus and his famed academy. Entangled in conspiracy against Pope Paul II, he had to flee Rome in 1468, beginning an impressively long wandering via Naples, Crete, Cyprus, and Chios out to Constantinople, whence he subsequently left for Lviv and dwelled in a residence of the archbishop of Lviv, Grzegorz of Sanok.

Callimachus owed temporary stability in his life, and also a position that he was to take in the future at the king's court, to the endorsement of this magnificent Polish humanist bishop. Before Pope Sixtus IV announced an amnesty for ex-conspirators (1471), Callimachus was in danger of extradition to Rome; this concerned all territories whose rulers kept good relations with the Papacy, and so Poland too. Roman diplomacy solicited for his extradition, but it was stopped

by Grzegorz of Sanok's protection (for which the Italian thanked him with the famous biography—*Vita et mores Gregorii Sanocei*). Another person who helped Callimachus was Aynolfo Thedaldi, a Florentine merchant related to him, lease holder of royal salt mines, who had been staying in Poland for a long time. Thus, the Italian humanist could safely go to Kraków, enter the Academy, become active in its circle, and after some time be admitted to the Jagiellons' court and take the office of king's secretary, combined in his case with the prestigious function of tutor (*consiliarius et praeceptor*) to Kazimierz IV's sons.

As a secretary, Callimachus undertook several important diplomatic missions. In 1476, he went to Venice and Rome to discuss the issue of a possible joint armed action against Turkey, and also the conflict of Jagiellons with king of Hungary Matthias Corvinus, supported by the Pope. Later he visited Italy several times, stayed in his native Florence and Venice, along the way making valuable contacts with humanists, scholars, and artists. When negotiating with the Habsburgs, he also visited Graz and Prague. After Kazimierz IV's death (1492), Callimachus' position at the Polish court was so shaken that he left Poland until the settlement of the question of the succession to the throne. After the accession to the throne of his beloved pupil, Jan I Albert, Callimachus returned to intensive civil service, and his influence on the actions taken and decisions made must have been especially great then. Moreover, he was the author of significant speeches and memoranda, and also insightful political analyses, in which he presented the Polish stance and wholly identified himself with the Polish national interest; he was a declared supporter of power reinforcement and centralisation of the state. Following the example of Venetian solutions, he tried to modernise the Polish diplomatic service and make it more professional. He died in Kraków and was buried in the Dominican church, beside Aynolfo Thedaldi's tomb.⁶²

Let us add that in his very rich humanistic and feature writing output, a separate place is given to the work entitled *Rady Kallimachowe dla króla Olbrachta* [*Callimachus' Advice to King Albert*]; unfortunately, neither the original nor a contemporary copy has been preserved today. For this reason, we are ready to treat this set of advice and suggestions that would make ruling with a firm hand easier to the ruler, formulated in a quite cynical tone (rather popular in Italian political literature of that time) as a pastiche. Its content and significance will be discussed further in the context of later anti-Italian propaganda.

Only slightly later than Callimachus, who—let us recall—did not live to see the 16th century, Bernardino Gallo (d. 1517) operated in Poland. Of Dalmatian origin, this influential clergyman was a canon of Gniezno, Kraków, and Sandomierz, and by the end of his life, he held the highest honours in the Kraków Cathedral

62 *PSB* XI, p. 493-499; see also Józef Skoczek, *Legenda Kallimacha...*, passim.

Chapter. After travelling to Kraków, by the end of the 15th century, Gallo first became a secretary at the court of Prince Fryderyk Jagiellończyk, and after his death (1503), was a close associate of the two succeeding bishops of Kraków, Jan Konarski, and Piotr Tomicki. Thoroughly educated, also in law, he must have played a considerable educational and opinion-forming role among the elite circles of the Kraków church.⁶³

Domenico Alamani was a Tuscan political refugee too, who—as Medici's opponent—left the country and through France arrived in Poland, where he settled around the mid-16th century. Before he was admitted to the royal court, he moved in the aristocratic circles of Lesser Poland. His protectors included, among others, Piotr Kmita, voivode of Kraków; Stanisław Herbut from Dobromil; and Jan Tęczyński, castellan of Wojnicz. Alamani accompanied the latter on a diplomatic mission to Sweden (1561), acquiring experiences that in the future proved highly valuable. He was granted *indygenat* status and the office of pantler of Lublin by Zygmunt II Augustus. Under Henry de Valois, Alamani was also connected with the court since he was allegedly the one who first noticed the king's escape and alarmed others. Alamani solidified his position as an influential advisor during Báthory's reign, which Alamani had contact with in Transylvania. He was nominated royal chef at the very beginning of Báthory's reign and later was involved in land investitures and starostwo of Nowe Miasto. Primarily, however, he carried out missions requiring the full trust of the commissioner, such as participation in peace negotiations with Moscow, a diplomatic mission to Sweden, and representing the king in the dispute between the Jesuits and the Kraków Academy. Alamani also played a prominent role in Kraków's Italian environment, and he maintained contacts with merchants and bankers, such as Carlo Soderini and Sebastiano Montelupi. In spite of his full Polonisation, emphasised by contemporaries (he spoke Polish and also wrote fluently in it), Alamani, who married twice in Poland, chose as his second wife in c. 1570, the daughter of an Italian, Sigismondo Fanello, royal chef at Zygmunt II Augustus' court. Surely this must have reinforced his position in the king's circle, and was inherent proof of the existence of strong environmental ties within the Italian community. Still, Alamani did not totally forget his homeland; he even undertook efforts to regain his property there. His descendants returned to Florence for good around the mid-17th century.⁶⁴

Let us remark that Callimachus as well as Alamani rendered diplomatic services, which, however, should be seen as one-off designated prestigious tasks and not as evidence of specialisation in diplomacy, a fact that also proved the monarch's trust and provided a high position in court circles.

63 *PSB* I, p. 460-461.

64 *PSB* I, p. 40-42.

In the Vasas' times, the frequency of conferring foreign missions upon Italians, and consequently the level of diplomatic specialisation, rose significantly. Italian secretaries, as was the title they usually held, also played some political role, since the diplomatic functions that were conferred upon them were important and responsible tasks. In the discussion of this topic, it must be borne constantly in mind that the functions of secretaries, advisers, and diplomats often overlapped, and that all of these titles could be ascribed to more than one of the figures presented here.

Diplomacy

Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł, returning from the Holy Land via Egypt after having accomplished the goal of his famed pilgrimage, was helped by the consul of France there, who was named Paolo Mariano.⁶⁵ An Italian as an official representative of France in Cairo was no surprise. Diplomacy was then an Italian speciality on a European scale, already by then with some tradition. For instance, Baptista Cigalli was one of Zygmunt of Luxemburg's envoys to the Lithuanian duke Vytautas.

The English court under the Tudors and first Stuarts conferred important diplomatic missions upon Italians. One of the most renowned was the mission of Tommaso Spinelli, a Florentine, at the court of Charles V; and the activity of a Genoese, Horatio Pallavicino, in the Netherlands and Germany. Italians also represented England in contacts with the Italian states; for example, they worked with the Papacy, until relations were broken, and with Venice (Gregorio Monti).

The world of diplomacy (which may also be seen today) to some extent lived its own, separate life. A specific function must have brought closer those people who were often separated from their environment during missions lasting many months. Simultaneously this was an elite group and in some sense influential too. They were linked with courts and performed tasks typically of a confidential nature. Connections within this group had considerable impact on the flow of information and the formation of assessments and opinions. These contacts did not have to be directly related to performing a mission. The French envoy to Gdańsk—according to Karol Ogier's *Dziennik*—"hosted for breakfast a young Venetian noble called Prioli." A little later, on the morning of 16th October, the envoy "visited His Grace Lord Visconti, Papal nuncio" in his lodging at the Dominican church, and after the breakfast a revisit occurred, while the next day both diplomats went to the Cistercian abbey in Oliwa.⁶⁶

The issue of loyalty was also understood completely differently. No clear-headed European ruler required exclusiveness from a diplomat then (which

65 Tomasz Kempa, *Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Sierotka...*, p. 121.

66 Karol Ogier, *Dziennik podróży do Polski...*, vol. I, p. 299, 307.

nowadays is one of the elementary principles), since it would be hard to exact this from people who had already taken the great risk of a long journey and who, because of that had encountered different European courts, were inclined to confer representation of their interests in subsequent stages of their diplomatic journey.

It seems that some freedom, as far as contacts in diplomatic spheres, was also characteristic of Papal nuncios. For instance, Germanico Malaspina, bishop of San Severo, residing in Poland in the 1590s, contacted the then head of the Tuscan diplomacy, Belisario Vinta. Malaspina formulated requests not devoid of any political aspect and offered his services in this regard, which we learn from an independent source, namely the correspondence of Sebastiano Montelupi, who in this case acted as an intermediary.⁶⁷

Italian talents proved very useful in diplomacy. They acted not only as representatives of Italian political organisms but also rendered diplomatic services to Polish rulers, which besides were not limited to contacts with Italy (which is also suggested by known and well-confirmed sources of missions of Girolamo Pinocci to the Netherlands and England. These he made in the years 1658–1659 on the order of Jan II Kazimierz). Francesco Bibboni resided in Vienna in 1636–1646 as a Polish court representative. In 1648, he was delegated to Madrid, where, among others, he presented subsequent Vasas. They were half-brothers of the late King Władysław, Prince Jan II Kazimierz, and Charles Ferdinand, and intended to contend the election.⁶⁸

The task of turning Sobieski's victory in Vienna to political and diplomatic profit in Rome was entrusted to two diplomats. Tommaso Talenti, the king's special envoy, carried an official account of the Turks' rout and the green flag of the prophet to the Eternal City. Jan Kazimierz Denhoff—the future cardinal, at that time a resident of Poland in Rome—handed these gifts to the Pope during a ceremonious service in Quirinal on 29 September 1683.⁶⁹

A further step as regards a patron's trust was made in the case of Tommaso Antici, upon whom was conferred the function of a Commonwealth diplomat permanently residing in Rome.⁷⁰ Antici soon attained the position of cardinal, thus formally becoming the Pope's adviser; this did not entail a loss of trust or weakening of ties with the Polish side. In 1792, the Roman Giovanni Rossi was granted Polish *indigenat* status, thus allowing him to give the required oath of allegiance

67 “Monsignor Illustrissimo vescovo di San Severo che ama, honora et serve Vostra Signoria Illustre, desidera da lei reciproca corrispondentia...” – wrote Sebastiano Montelupi to Belisario Vinta, Kraków, 7 October 1595 – see [Montelupi], *Korespondencja Sebastiana i Valeria...*, p. 88.

68 See *Pisma polityczne z czasów Jana Kazimierza...*, vol. I, p. 18–21.

69 See *PSB* V, p. 112.

70 See F. F. De Daugnon, *Gli italiani in Polonia...*, vol. I, p. 37.

to the Polish king and Commonwealth (which under the contemporary law was to be performed personally before the chancellor as the monarch's representative) in Rome, before Cardinal Antici, representing the Polish sovereign.⁷¹

Over the 17th century, we can notice the recurring engagement of Italians in diplomatic missions, which were to be carried out on behalf of a Polish ruler and court. Let us add that this practice did not arise in the 17th century and certainly was not a Polish peculiarity. Italians provided such services to numerous European courts. In modern times, this tendency became more perceivable, for there are more sources. But, this is also because diplomacy changed and professionalised. Italian services in this matter were one of the signs of this professionalisation. In an ephemeral newspaper from 1662 entitled *Relacyja szwedzkiej wojny*, one can read: "His Lordship King after the advice of senators, knowing Father Fantoni's skill in serious matters on numerous occasions already during the late Władysław's life, hath therefore used him to this legation as one who knew very well the laws and habits of the Realm, as well as the interests of more renowned Houses."⁷²

This experienced diplomat, knowing national and European realities and distinguished already under Władysław IV, was Lodovico Fantoni, canon of Warmia, who in March 1660 was sent to Paris by Jan II Kazimierz. Let us add that—besides the already-defined diplomatic professionalism—one more trait predestined him to the diplomatic mission, namely that "having been born in Italy, he could have an easier access to Cardinal Mazarini (who ruled whole France)." This indirect recognition of the importance of broadly understood ties within the Italian environment should be retained. But, we want to treat the above sentence as further confirmation of the Italians' presence in the structures of the contemporary European politics and diplomacy.

In his account presented to the Senate of the *Serenissima* on 23 August 1647, one can find very interesting remarks on Fantoni; they were formulated by Giovanni Tiepolo, a Venetian minister residing in Poland in 1645–1647. The very fact of including a paragraph on him in a synthetic account, in the context of discussing the most interesting and significant figures of Polish public life, already confers a specific distinction on Fantoni, even though the characterisation itself is not very favourable. We learn that Fantoni came from the Romagna province and that initially he acted as a musician and only later became a favourite secretary of the king, having an enormous influence on him. As far as the source of this influence is concerned, Tiepolo (possibly jealous of the Italian secretary's influences?) starts to flounder. It follows from his words that Fantoni gained his position by guessing the king's wishes in no time and by serving him in leisure and at the table, which endeared him his favour, and, simultaneously, that he is not very good as

71 See *Album armorum nobilium...*, p. 11.

72 *Pisma polityczne z czasów panowania Jana Kazimierza...*, vol. II, p. 124.

a secretary, devoid of talents.⁷³ Whatever was true, Fantoni may undoubtedly be included in the group of professional—according to contemporary standards—diplomats who gained a strong position at the Polish court.

Domenico Roncalli should be characterised similarly. Canon of Warmia and protonotary apostolic, he made acquaintance with the future cardinal Giulio Mazarini during his studies. Roncalli had established contacts with the Polish court through Adam Kazanowski in the beginning of the 1620s, but his role increased significantly from 1633 when he—as a Clerk of the Mission, titling himself royal secretary—participated in the famous legation of Jerzy Ossoliński to Rome, Florence, and Venice. He proved a very active and loyal member of the mission, publicly presenting his new homeland in a positive light. Ossoliński himself, when reporting the course of his mission, praised Roncalli, who served the king and Commonwealth ardently, “not sparing his substance and himself in works.”

In 1639, Roncalli, clearly in good relations with the French court and some diplomats, participated—as the second secretary—in the mission of the voivode of Smoleńsk Aleksander Gosiewski to Paris. His chief goal was the release of Prince Jan II Kazimierz from the French jail. Co-operation with Gosiewski was evidently not as good as with Ossoliński, with whom Roncalli was still connected and to whom he criticised his new patron for laziness and lack of refinement. When Gosiewski, also bearing numerous grudges against Roncalli about contacts with French diplomats and disclosing secret information to them, learnt this in Hamburg, they separated. The Italian had to return to Poland and the incident was described in *Pamiętnik* by Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł.⁷⁴

However, this touchy episode did not end Roncalli’s diplomatic career. In 1643 he was nominated by Władysław IV as the Polish ambassador in Paris. The nomination took place despite critical voices that were formulated about Roncalli by one of the respected French diplomats visiting Poland from time to time, Baron d’Avaugour, who referred to Roncalli as “an Italian schemer and fraud” and accused him of having a too close relationship with Ossoliński, which was supposedly tantamount to endorsing the interests of the Holy Roman Empire. In this case, the support of Cardinal Giulio Mazarini must have been decisive. In Paris, Roncalli carried out diplomatic activity, including among other things, promoting—after

73 Here is the full text of this characterization: “Lodovico Fantoni, della Romagna, di musico è divenuto segretario favorito, in modo che ha gran parte nell’animo del re, quale s’è acquistato secondando il suo genio, servendolo ne’ lussi e nelle tavole; è di niun talento, ma fatto assai sufficiente della grazia del re” – [Tiepolo] *Il carteggio di Giovanni Tiepolo...*, p. 584-585.

74 Under the date of 20 October 1639 – Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł, *Pamiętnik o dziejach w Polsce...*, vol. 2, p. 167.

Queen Cecilia Renata's death in March 1644—the project of another marriage of Władysław IV; this time the marriage was to be with the Swedish queen, Christina (it is uncertain whether he was authorised). He even formed plans to reform the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation. This must have appealed to certain people but was irritating to others. When the next misunderstandings with French diplomats occurred, in February 1645, Roncalli had to leave Paris. He returned to Warsaw as a servant to Duchess Marie Louise Gonzaga, the future queen, and also as an informal representative of Cardinal Mazarini. Such high-ranking connections allowed him to remain in diplomatic salons. He was again sent to Paris to plead for France's help in war with Turkey, and then in the spring of 1647. The legation to Rome was conferred upon him, and he was to remain in that city until the end of his life. In his new place, he was also able to make broad contacts thanks, among other things, to close co-operation with the then cardinal protector of Poland, Virginio Orsini, which ensured that he could maximise the advantages of his position in Curia relatively easily. He still kept contact with Cardinal Mazarini, while among many of the tasks conferred upon him by the Polish court was also advocating for the red hat for Valeriano Magni.

Diplomatic professionalism linked with vast international contacts—the natural advantage of the diplomat, but conflict-provoking on many occasions—surface from the cited biographical details. In the subject literature, several displays of Roncalli's disloyalty when holding diplomatic functions were pointed out, and the text suggested that this was the reason for his troubles. It seems that this is not the right presentation of the issue. Serving two lords, and even more, was not reprehensible in diplomatic circles, especially when it was limited to keeping correspondence and passing information in this way (only then is the contact confirmed in sources). This system was appealing to diplomats because it enlarged their room for manoeuvre. It was also tolerated by monarchs, who evidently recognised its rationality because someone who took the hazards of this profession, inseparably linked with risky travel, became—as we imagine—morally entitled to turn this fact to profit.

Domenico Roncalli and Lodovico Fantoni, acting at around the same time, are two figures that particularly well-illustrate the tendency of our interest: the professional specialisation of Italians within diplomacy. In the group of then influential and active diplomats of the Commonwealth, we may also include the Magni brothers: the Cappuchin Valeriano; and Francesco, count of Strassnitz; and also—tentatively, because it was only a small fragment of his multifarious activity—Girolamo Pinocci, due to the abovementioned missions to the Netherlands and England.

Father Valeriano Magni is one of the more complex figures. One would get a king's ransom if he/she could pin down a particular political centre in which this

very active diplomat of European fame was unequivocally connected. Apart from his truly Renaissance horizons—scientific interests in physics and theological and historical studies—we may say that this future prefect of the Apostolic Mission in Poland first served as a Papal diplomat in Vienna, then in Kraków, whence he was sent on a mission to Rome by King Władysław IV, and then returned to Poland.

It is beyond doubt that, during his many travels, Magni also performed diplomatic tasks conferred upon him by the imperial court.⁷⁵ Chancellor Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł was highly competent in the questions of the court and its policy. When describing the importance of tasks conferred upon Italians, the diplomatic efficiency of Valeriano and the close and cordial relations between the brothers, he wrote on 13 February 1637: “The king from Vilnius hath sent father [Valeriano] Magni, a Cappuchin, to investigate the emperor’s opinion about marrying his daughter Cecilia Renata, and to make him write with his royal hand certain conditions. Magni having come to Vienna, immediately caused that these conditions were mutually signed by the emperor and his son, the King of the Romans, and sent to Warsaw. Father Magni presented them to the king through his brother, Count [Francesco] Magni, witty and eloquent, calling himself merely an envoy of his brother, the cleric.”⁷⁶

In the 18th century, the Italians’ activity in Polish diplomacy became far less conspicuous, but did not disappear altogether. Simone Corticelli may be an example of this. He was a native of Como in Lombardy, who came to Poland via Courland, where his father served as officer in the foreign contingent. Originally intending to continue the military tradition, Corticelli made connections at magnate courts—of the Czartoryskis, the Rzewuskis, and the Poniatowskis—and was promoted to officer rank. The election of Stanisław August Poniatowski opened up to him a court career directly connected with diplomacy. In 1765, on the king’s initiative, he obtained *indigenat* status and next was sent to the court of Maria Theresa in Vienna with a matrimonial mission. Corticelli used his stay in Vienna marvellously: he gained the necessary knowledge and social contacts which then turned out to be his life’s trump card. Since he knew the realities of Vienna, he was to return there many times later, and in 1784–1788, he resided at the emperor’s court with the title of minister.

The described phenomenon, let us reiterate, was not a Polish peculiarity. The Italians appeared and provided diplomatic services in most of the significant courts of contemporary Europe, thus making it one of their specialisations on the international scale. The experience gathered in one place then bore interest facilitating following engagements. A Tuscan resident, Nicolò Siri, known from

75 *PSB* XIX, p. 137-140, see also Niccolò Siri, *Lettere da Cracovia e Varsavia...*, p. 3, 47, 140, 142, 187.

76 Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł, *Pamiętnik o dziejach w Polsce...*, vol. 2, p.16.

his relatively long stay in Poland, continued his career in German territory, where he was appointed, among other things, the official ambassador of the archduke of Innsbruck at the emperor's court.⁷⁷ Nuncios, after their stays in Poland, were promoted by obtaining accreditation at even more prestigious courts.

This is hardly surprising. The centres that founded modern diplomatic service first (permanent posts filled by figures holding tenure for several years at a time, ambassadors informing their mandataries regularly about contacts with representatives of power and the events in the country of accreditation) were Venice and the Papacy. They created certain standards of correspondence contacts, working out basic elements of office routine. The example of the Italian centres had an impact on the minor ones, which resulted in spreading diplomatic-office qualifications, whose holders subsequently started—with considerable success due to great demand—to offer this type of service also to courts beyond the Alps.

In the whole analysed period, we deal with attempts to monopolise the intermediation in the Commonwealth's contacts with major Italian centres. These attempts were taken and were likely to succeed primarily due to the weakness of structures of Polish-Lithuanian diplomacy and the low level of its professionalism. This sort of way of mediation, extremely important in the world of expanded actions and protective demarches, could consolidate and reinforce the existing ties (if both parties were satisfied with the effects of the actions undertaken). However, it could also—as any kind of co-operation when there is no full union of interests—breed conflicts, grudges, and animosities.

Jerzy of Tyczyn was a Polish minister and resident in Rome. He noted in one of his letters to Marcin Kromer the case of castellan of Przemyśl Piotr Barzy, who “badly was deceived by one Italian called don Clemente Spada.” Later he writes that the castellan “hath sent many gifts through him to Italy, which were appropriated by the Italian and some were sold to pay his debts, which many he had.”⁷⁸ We can emphasise that the above fragment of the letter was penned in Polish rather than Latin. The way in which the whole letter was written additionally stresses the confidentiality of the discussed matter, and that there is no slightest intention to generalise this particular incident.

Secretaries

This group is very important especially if we are to consider that we understand this term not only as including royal secretaries but also as including all those performing secretarial-office functions; thus, we also include those individuals from the magnates' and church hierarchs' entourages. Let us recall that royal

⁷⁷ See *Lettres de Pierre des Noyers...*, p. 105.

⁷⁸ *Polski dyplomata na papieskim dworze...*, p. 83.

secretaries made a politically and socially significant group in the Old Polish period, and that only a part of them were in fact occupied with secretarial tasks at the monarch's court. The rest of them treated the secretaryship as an honorary title, a good pretext to move in the courtly circles. Since Italians, as a matter of course, did not fall in the latter category, later we will discuss only the secretarial and office functions actually performed.

The role of secretaries—due to their office functions and future careers—raised historians' interest. They devoted considerable attention to this group at least trying to settle its make up in particular periods. The tendency of Italian arrivals holding these offices seems to have gradually increased; in other words, its significance as its frequency rose. The list of 71 secretaries active under Zygmunt I the Old, comprises two Italians: Lodovico Alifio and Giovanni Andrea de Valentinis. The number seems surprisingly small, particularly when realising that this is Queen Bona's time. This estimation is not changed by the possible inclusion of Zygmunt II Augustus' teacher Giovanni Silvio de Mathio, called Siculus, because then the list of contemporary secretaries should be much extended, but the proportions would remain the same: Italians made up only three percent of the group of Zygmunt I the Old's secretaries (thus verging on statistical significance).⁷⁹

The fact that both Alifio and de Valentinis were linked with Bona and both were dispatched on foreign missions, making use of their linguistic and diplomatic qualifications, attracts attention. The role of “the Italian woman on the Polish throne” appears to be crucial in this context; it was in her time and surely in relation to her that the Italian arrivals were granted entry to the body of court officials and the barrier of mistrust—if there was any—was broken.

Under Báthory, in the group of 146 royal secretaries, there are no Italians,⁸⁰ excluding Jakub Alamani [Alamani], who is almost unknown, whereas the surname raises natural associations with the Italian, Domenico Alamani, influential royal chef. Under the Vasas, the secretarial functions were carried out by people who relatively often performed diplomatic tasks (Magni, Fantoni and Roncalli) and to whom—because of their role—we have already given much attention.

Among the secretaries of Jan II Kazimierz, Sebastiano Cefali is also worth mentioning as his secretarial class was praised by Pierre des Noyers.⁸¹ Cefali was interested in the condition of the Polish-Lithuanian state and was—like Cristoforo Masini—an author of a critical account about this.⁸² Besides, both texts prove

79 Andrzej Wyczański, *Między kulturą a polityką...*, p. 24-31.

80 Leszek Kieniewicz, *Sekretariat Stefana Batorego...*, p. 40, 62.

81 “Pour son secrétaire, il se nomme Sebastiano Cefali, qui écrit parfaitement en vers et en prose; il a le son de la voix si cassé, qu'il semble qu'il parle dans un pot”, wrote des Noyers from Warsaw, 21 July 1658 – *Lettres de Pierre des Noyers...*, p. 421.

82 See Domenico Caccamo, *Osservatori italiani della crisi polacca...*, passim.

the high level of their authors' identification with their new homeland. Tommaso Talenti (1629–1693)—an inhabitant of Lucca, who at 18 joined his brother already staying in Poland—came to the Commonwealth during the reign of the last Vasa. Talenti entered the service of Michał Korybut, and after the death of Jan III Sobieski, became, after some time, a trusted secretary specialising in Italian matters.⁸³

Under Jan III, the secretary's office was also held by Agostino Locci (c. 1640–1732), called the younger, for he was son of the architect, decorator, and scenographer of the same name. Locci senior, who served the three subsequent Vasas, will be named without hesitation later among outstanding court artists. Locci junior (though also an architect, educated by his father and also Giovanni Battista Gisleni, a co-designer among other things of a residence in Wilanów) rather suits the group of advisers and closest entourage of the ruler. He was born in Warsaw and obtained *indigenat* status under Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki. It was only under Sobieski's reign that Locci junior gained a position at court. The king confirmed the bestowal of his predecessor and additionally expanded the privilege onto his secretary's brothers. In 1675, the king gave Locci a living salary of 2000 złoty per year, secured on mines of Wieliczka. Locci frequently stayed in Sobieski's entourage, preparing investment projects for the monarch and leading magnate investors. However, it seems that the prominent position at court was owed to a greater degree to personal contacts with the king, who himself called Locci "aulicus intimus et secretarius noster" [our private courtier and secretary], than to his achievements in architecture.⁸⁴

In the 17th century, the Italians' role in the group of royal secretaries rose significantly in comparison to the previous century. Not only could one note a quantitative change of the Italians role but also a substantial change. Specifically, the Italians had closer and more frequent contacts with the king (especially under Władysław IV, Jan II Kazimierz, and Jan III Sobieski). The consequence of this was, among other things, conferring upon the Italians vital and responsible tasks and active participation in debate on public affairs.

Scholars, Intellectuals...Globetrotters

"*Un cortigiano in cerca di una corte*" [a courtier in search of a court], so Rita Mazzei called Lodovico Monti, who in his rich career was also a diplomat and secretary at Zygmunt II Augustus' court, and thus would rather suit the previous

83 Gaetano Platania, *Il Baltico attraverso gli inediti "Avvisi di Polonia"...*, p. 274; see also Gaetano Platania, *Viaggi, mercatura e politica...*, passim.

84 *PSB* XVII, p. 508-510.

category.⁸⁵ His search, intentional and planned, of an optimal place where he could lead an affluent life at the same time doing something worthwhile and interesting, may well symbolise the stance of some of the contemporary intellectuals.

Such figures are most likely to be found among the body of university professors, which in Poland meant, for a long time, the circle of the Kraków Academy. In addition to Giovanni de Sacchis—a doctor of medicine, who before coming to Poland in the second decade of the 15th century to become a professor in Kraków (his election as dean was confirmed as taking place in 1425) lectured law in native Pavia—there are two other distinguished figures also worth mentioning in this context.

The first was Giovanni Silvius (Siculus), the excellent lawyer and Grecian, born in the 1460s in Palermo. After his studies in Padua and obtaining a doctorate in both civil law and church law, Silvius went on a tour beyond the Alps. At the beginning, he stayed in Vienna, where he lectured in Roman law, and then—at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries—he went to Kraków. First he taught privately, his students including, among others, Hieronim Szafraniec from Pieskowa Skała and Walery Drzewicki, brother of the deputy chancellor, Maciej. A couple of years later, probably thanks to the backing of Krzysztof Szydłowiecki, the future deputy chancellor of the Crown, he enrolled in the university and undertook lectures in the Artium Faculty in humanist studies and in Greek language and literature, which were allegedly enormously popular. Silvius, however, fell into conflicts and long lasting disputes with another lecturer of Greek, Costantino Claretti (discussed below) and with Rector Maciej of Miechów time and time again, which finally wrecked his future academic career. Possibly he worked for some time in the Crown's office (his protectors included Deputy Chancellor Piotr Tomicki), and was ordained priest; nevertheless, his material status was far from satisfying until 1518, when he received a well-endowed canonry in the Cathedral Chapter of Vilnius. Eventually, in 1529, thanks to Queen Bona's initiative, he became a teacher to Prince Zygmunt Augustus. This nomination raised a wave of protests; Silvius was accused of leading an immoral life, he was said to be too old, and it was feared that he would have a bad influence on the pupil. Andrzej Krzycki, a humanist, influential at court; and Lodovico Alifio, the queen's chancellor, and even previously favourable Piotr Tomicki, were critical of this appointment. However, Bona's support proved effective. Silvius resigned from teaching in 1534, but this was only because he was stricken with an eye disease. Until his death in 1537, he resided in Vilnius as canon of the chapter.

Costantino Claretti de Cancellariis was born in Pistoia, which was around the same time as his future Kraków antagonist. He studied medicine, Greek, and Latin

85 Rita Mazzei, *Quasi un paradigma...*, p. 55.

philosophy in Bologna. Then he set out to the north, with a longer stay in Leipzig, where he lived from teaching Greek. After his return to Bologna, he obtained a doctorate in philosophy and medicine, and in 1504, was summoned to the newly-created chair of Greek and Latin philosophy, which position he quit after a year. Costantino Claretti de Cancellariis's contact with Bishop Erazm Ciolek resulted in his arrival in Poland and enrolment at the Kraków Academy, where Claretti was employed as associate reader. His activity, though constantly disrupted by his dispute with Silvius, an evident Italian rival, greatly contributed to the reception of Greek culture in the whole region; this was also to the international character of the students. We know little about Claretti's life after he left Kraków between 1508 and 1510. All we know is that for one year he held the chair of medical practice at the University of Bologna. So, we can see that he must have returned to his native land.⁸⁶

Over the next years, Kraków's academic attractiveness stopped increasing, and it even started to wane after some time. This was caused by the trend towards studying abroad and the rise of alternative options in the Commonwealth, such as Vilnius University (1579) and the Zamość Academy (1594). Still, during Jan Zamoyski's life, and with the engagement of Nuncio Claudio Rangoni, a Franciscan Domenico Convalis (c. 1565–1605) was brought to the latter establishment. Convalis worked as theology professor and simultaneously resided at the great chancellor's court, a position enhanced by the fact that the nuncio conferred upon him the rights to censor books published in local academic press. However, the climate and living conditions in Poland proved unfavourable to the Convalis; he died of malaria after only two years in Zamość.

Aloisio Anzelieri, another Italian, was appointed professor at the Zamoyski Academy in 1675, where he lectured physics. A Venetian, and a doctor of philosophy and medicine in Padua, he was a typical intellectual ready to move and undertake various types of activity. His contract, because of the general decline of the school and little interest of students, lasted only a year. Then Anzelieri entered the service of Wiśniowieckis, and next the Gnińskis and Myszkowskis; here he worked as a court medic and foreign travel companion. The crowning of this episode was Anzelieri's admission to the royal court of Jan Sobieski as a court doctor and secretary among the closest circle of the king (*secretarius intimus*).

The emergence of alternative paths of education did not mean that the Kraków Academy was disregarded by foreigners looking for university tenures. In the first half of the 18th century, Giovanni Antonio Luchini (1675–1750)—a “Polonised” descendant of a renowned merchant family that had settled in Kraków in the

86 *PSB* X, p. 473-475; XXXVII, p. 502-504; IV, p. 89-90. In 1514, Alberto Fantini (d. 1516), a Franciscan who had lectured philosophy before at the University of Bologna, moved to Kraków – *PSB* VI, p. 368-369.

previous century—lectured law at the academy. His record number of 17 tenures as dean attest to his rank and exceptional popularity.⁸⁷

To close the thread of university professorship, we should also point out (although this goes beyond the period we are interested in) that the 19th century, when the relocation of scholars acquired systemic traits, brought some telling Italian examples. The newly founded University of Warsaw's attractiveness proved a strong magnet for Sebastiano Ciampi from Pistoia (1767–1847), a classical philologist and researcher of Polish-Italian relations, whose name features prominently in our bibliography. Ciampi recommended to the Polish authorities another Tuscan, a Piza university graduate, Aloisio Chiarini (1789–1832), lecturing about the history of the Church, Greek, and Hebrew in Warsaw from 1819. Lodovico Aloisio Cappelli (c. 1776–1838) also joined the staff of Vilnius University. He was native of Pistoia, a doctor of Canon and Civil Law, and a professor at the University of Pisa. Apart from law, he lectured Italian language and literature in Vilnius.⁸⁸

We are also inclined to include Gianmichele Bruto (1517–1592). He is a Venetian who, for some time, was in the closest entourage of Stefan Báthory. He was also among the intellectuals wandering Europe. The future historian studied in Padua, which may have resulted in connections with Poles, and maybe with Báthory himself.

Apparently in the case of Bruto—who was a Calvinist, though distanced from any extremism and intolerance—religious issues were the main motive for departing Italy. Fearing persecution, he went to Amsterdam. He then travelled around Spain, Germany, and France; he stayed in Lyon for longer. In the beginning of 1570s, he accepted an invitation to the Transylvanian court, turning down an analogous offer by Maximilian II and the Viennese court.

He came to Poland with Báthory, where he received a high salary and lodgings on Wawel hill. His key task was writing a history of Hungary, which additionally emphasised the strictly courtly character of the position he gained in Kraków. Admittedly, Bruto, taking advantage of the excellent working conditions, did not limit himself to one topic and developed a far wider writing and editorial activity, but remained entirely restricted by and dependent upon the incumbent ruler. Hence, after his protector's death he left Poland and moved to Rudolf II's court where he was also engaged as court historiographer. Close to the end of his life, he also stayed at the Transylvanian court of Zygmunt Báthory.⁸⁹

87 *PSB* IV, p. 94; I, p. 145; XVIII, p. 116.

88 *PSB* IV, p. 15-17; III, p. 200-202, 290.

89 Stanisław Lempicki, *Polski Medyceusz XVI wieku...*, p. 494-495, Lech Szczucki, *W kręgu myślicieli heretyckich...*, p. 149-152, *PSB* III, p. 26-27.

In the 18th century, the group of intellectually and socially attractive individuals who searched for their place at European courts—desiring to draw rulers' attention to their qualifications—was expanded rapidly, by several particularly vivid figures of Italian origin.

Giacomo Casanova has certainly the first place here. By no means was his activity limited to philandering (so much highlighted by the literary tradition). Casanova's stay in Poland, historiographically analysed in detail, was a fragment of a grand journey "in search of a court." It was another attempt at finding a place and means for a living, this time through drawing the Polish king's interest in his person and his conversational attractiveness.⁹⁰ Supposedly, an acquaintance of Casanova was the future supporter of the Targowica Confederation. This contact was Niccolò Manuzzi, a "Venetian adventurer" (according to Emanuel Rostworowski) and "intrigant" as Stanisław August Poniatowski called him in his diaries.⁹¹

The overwhelming desire to forge an immediate social career, as well as attempts to influence great politics, failed in both cases. However, Casanova, as well as Manuzzi, undoubtedly contributed to the increase of the intellectual attractiveness of the royal court.

Political ambition also showed in Filippo Mazzei (1730–1816), a doctor educated in Florence, a commentator and diplomat, a traveller (he went to England, the United States and France). It is via Scipione Piattoli that he established contact with the court of the last Polish king. First, he became Stanisław August's diplomatic agent and, at the same time, a correspondent and adviser in artistic and literary matters. In 1791 he moved from Paris to Warsaw expecting—groundlessly—that he would function at the king's side as a political adviser who influences the shape of reforms carried out in the Great Sejm period. In the face of the Targowica Confederation and Russian invasion, he hastily left Poland the next year and returned to Italy.

Pietro Grozmani was a type of globetrotter and reveller that represented a family that received Polish *indygenat* status in the 1780s. He was a member of masonic lodges, titling himself a baron and efficiently functioning in elite societies of Warsaw and Vilnius. He was interested in the lottery and did not shun gambling. Grozmani dreamt of playing a political role at the side of the king, to whom he had been delivering some "overseas curiosities." He showed patriotism by actively participating in the Kościuszko Uprising and other forms of resistance against Russian domination.⁹²

90 Apart from contemporary biographies by Rives Childs and Robert Gervaso, see Tadeusz Cegielski, Wojciech Tygielski, *Rękopis Casanovy...*, p. 132-133.

91 *PSB XIX*, p. 504-505.

92 *PSB XX*, p. 322-324; IX, p. 32-34.

Religious Dissenters

Italy, universally associated with Rome and the Papacy, in modernity became also a place of activity of various dissenter movements, and consequently, also a place of repression that could be experienced by followers of religious novelties in a country dominated by Catholics. Italian emigration had its religious aspect, and its motives included the search for religious freedom.

The inhabitants of Lucca were, allegedly, the most expressive symbol of this tendency. Under Pope Paul IV, this pattern was described as an “unquenched hearth of heresy.”⁹³ Luccans, who in 1560s settled in Genoa, Lyon, and Paris, were generally regarded there as promoters of heresy. Similar situations were in Antwerp and London, where local authorities thought it appropriate to investigate the religious stance of the arrivals. The Luccans’ mobility, together with their inclination to heresy, raised the natural anxiety of the Holy Office and Papal diplomacy. This subject was of considerably great concern in the correspondence of Propsero Santa Croce, a nuncio in Paris, maintained in the 1560s with the Secretary of State, Cardinal Carlo Borromeo. Also, in the opinion of Sebastiano Gualtiero—bishop of Viterbo and Santa Croce’s successor in the nuncio’s office in France—some of the Luccans there turned out to be extremely possessed by heresy (“*ereticissimi*”).⁹⁴

The superlative degree of the adjective symbolically confirms the existence of other environments, though perhaps less afflicted, but nevertheless influencing the scale of the phenomenon. Admittedly, in the light of contemporary research, neither the actions of the Catholic Church nor the Inquisition’s repressions on the Apennine Peninsula were as ruthless and effective as had been imagined. However, the negative attitude and threat of arrest forced many individuals, and even whole groups, to leave Italy.⁹⁵

The directions of this emigration were determined by the geography of the Reformation circle, specifically Switzerland, northern Germany, and the Netherlands; these were travels “to be among our people.” Simultaneously, the attention of the potential exiles must have been grasped by these lands in which the threat of repression for religious motives seemed low. This condition was met by the Polish-Lithuanian state. One of the reasons for emigration to Poland was undoubtedly its tolerance, which allowed for the conduction of considerably free

93 Simonetta Adorni-Braccesi, *Le “Nazioni” lucchesi nell’Europa...*, p. 363.

94 Ibidem, p. 367-370.

95 See the essay *Inkwizycja rzymska w XVI wieku*, by Lech Szczucki, which preceded the edition of Philip Camerarius’ account of his imprisonment in Rome – Philippus Camerarius, *Prawdziwa i wierna relacja...*, p. 16-115.

Reformation activity.⁹⁶ The Commonwealth attracted both with its liberal political system, not eager to repress, and great opportunities of doctrinal expansion, which resulted from religious revival among the nobility and bourgeoisie. In individual decision making, and with connections and social ties between particular religious activists, who often relocated following the example of or having been persuaded by their ideological partners, were important. We get the impression that in the case of Italian dissenter circles, we often deal with individuals actively promoting new denominations and for this reason deciding to travel in Poland.

Fausto Sozzini (1539–1604), a religious thinker and leader of Polish Antitrinitarians, was the one who most influenced the shape of reformation in Poland. He came from a family of clear dissenting inclination; he was born in Siena, where he spent his youth and gained a humanist education enriched during his four-year stay in Bologna. In 1561, he first went to Lyon, then he visited Zurich and other Swiss towns, where he was planning to settle and devote himself to religious studies. However, soon—supposedly because of family interests—he returned to Italy. He even spent several years in Rome, all the time maintaining discreet correspondence with dissenter circles in Switzerland and Transylvania, and paid a longer visit to these countries in the second half of the 1570s. This period, rich in theological disputes, resulted in reflections and literary achievements.

In the summer of 1579, Sozzini moved to Poland (he resided mainly in Kraków), where he joined the Minor Reformed Church of Poland, participated in discussions with Calvinists, and intensively propagated his own doctrinal concepts. Numerous publications, including a copious treaty against Jakub Wujek, and also active contribution in subsequent Synodal debates, strengthened the Italian reformer's position. By the end of the 1590s, Sozzini had risen to the unquestioned position of leader of the Polish Antitrinitarians. Simultaneously, he was subject to attack from increasingly radical Catholic circles (he was assaulted in 1598 by Kraków Academy students, and nearly lost his life). This inclined him to leave Kraków and move to Lusławice, where he dwelled until death and where he was buried. Worsening health only partly hampered his literary activity, which was reduced to promoting his own doctrine characterised by—in a nutshell—dogmatic minimalism and doctrinal moderation in social-political issues.⁹⁷

We should add as an aside that—despite a relatively long stay—Sozzini Polonised to only a minor degree, and constantly thought about returning to his native Tuscany. However, he was aware that there he would have no opportunity to propagate a new denomination. In 1588, the inquisition started a trial against

96 Józef Jasnowski, *Działalność antytrynitarzy włoskich...*, p. 57-80.

97 Sozzini declared full allegiance to state authority, approved private ownership and serfdom of peasantry as well as the exclusive right of the nobility to hold offices. But, he opposed death penalty and regarded active participation in war as unworthy of a Christian.

him in absentia for heresy, which—apart from being condemned to death—meant to the reformer being cut off from his main source of income. He also could no longer find support in the Tuscan court circles. In the less and less favourable political climate, gradually worsening under Zygmunt III, he had no choice but continue the mission in Poland.⁹⁸

Giorgio Biandrata (c. 1515– c. 1588) and Francesco Lismanin (1504–1566) were also important and renowned in the dissenter environment. The former, coming from Piedmont, was an outstanding Antitrinitarian, a doctor by education, and during his travels around Europe he visited Poland several times. He spent some time at Bona's court, lived in northern Italian Pavia and Switzerland, and then divided his time between Poland and Transylvania. In the beginning of 1560s, he took the lead of the Protestant movement in Lesser Poland; he also gained a strong position in the Italian community of Kraków. Being in Báthory's service for years, he was an influential figure at the Transylvanian court, and spent the last phase of his life again in Poland, at King Stefan's side.

It is far more difficult to classify Francesco Lismanin from Corfu, remaining under the Venetian rule. He came to Poland in his youth, possibly as a member of Bona's train. He entered the Franciscan order in Kraków then continued his education in Italy, most certainly in Padua. He visited Italy many times, carrying out some, so far untraced, diplomatic tasks. He discovered its culture and recognised it as fully his own. He was promoted in monastic structures up to the position of provincial and general commissioner for Poland, Lithuania, and Bohemia. He was a preacher and confessor of Queen Bona, and so also her close adviser. He lectured theology at the Kraków Academy. He kept up contacts with the Kraków intellectual elite and also influential figures of the Italian colony. His conversion to the Reformation side occurred gradually: first through books, later via personal contacts during his stay in Switzerland, where he made acquaintance with Sozzini and Bernardino Ochino, preacher to the Italian Protestant community in Zurich. Having officially announced his conversion, Lismanin returned to Poland in 1555 and took the second superintendent's office of the Lesser Poland Church. As one of the leaders of the Calvinist Church, he was instrumental in its development and strengthening contacts with the Reformation movement in Europe. He was prone to polemics and theological disputes, and was also an avid writer, commentator, and translator. Invited by influential figures, he spent much time at the courts of Mikołaj "the Black" Radziwiłł and Albert, Duke of Prussia in Königsberg. Lismanin died in the latter place in—so far—unknown circumstances. It is estimated that his greatest and most unquestionable achievement was linking

the Polish Reformation with Calvinism and “imbuing the former with traits of a European movement.”⁹⁹

The stays in Poland of the already mentioned Bernardino Ochino (c. 1487–1564/65) and Gianpaolo Alciati (d. after 1581) were short and rather episodic. Ochino came from Siena and was thoroughly educated, also in Perugia. He was a monk of a diverse background: he was first an Observant and later a Capuchin; he is considered to be one of the greatest Italian preachers. Influenced by the Reformation ideas, he personally contacted Calvin and moved to Switzerland. He also visited other dissenter centres and, via Jan Łaski, he made contacts in Poland. He made use of the latter contact when, in the spring of 1564, he was urgently forced to leave Switzerland. In Poland, mainly Kraków, he spent several months raising concern and irritation among influential Catholic circles because of his fame and oratorical talents. By the end of the year, he moved to Moravia, where he died.¹⁰⁰

A Piedmontese named Gianpaolo Alciati della Motta, connected by social and ideological ties with Giorgio Biandrata, followed the latter’s example and first went to Poland in 1561, after a stay in Switzerland. He first resided for some time in Kraków and Pińczów. Then, he moved to Slavkov u Brna but returned to Kraków by the end of 1560s. He was one of the protégés and friends of Niccolò Buccella, an influential doctor of Stefan Báthory, and had numerous contacts in the Kraków dissenter environment. For some time, he was a friend of Habsburg ambassador Andreas Dudith, and was later connected with a group of dogmatic radicals gathered around Jacob Palaeologus. He spent the end of his life in Gdańsk.¹⁰¹

It is notable that in King Stefan’s reign Kraków became a target of radical religious emigration. Apart from an exceptionally favourable atmosphere for adherents of various denominations in the Commonwealth, and the long standing tradition of the Italian colony in Kraków, the presence of multiple Italians at Báthory’s court—to a great extent supporters of heterodoxy who were ready to back their co-religionists—was of great importance. Two court doctors lead in this group: Niccolò Buccella and Simone Simoni. Their profiles and mutual violent clashes will be discussed in the context of the professional group they represented. The court historiographer, Gianmichele Bruto, has already been portrayed—in the category of the closest entourage of the ruler—though he was also among the significant exponents in the dissenter circle.

One may also mention in this group Agostino Doni from Cosenza, another doctor of philosophy and medicine, who left Italy after a five-year stay in the Inquisition’s jails and in vain tried to settle in Switzerland for good. In 1581,

99 *PSB* II, p. 118; XVII, p.465-470.

100 *PSB* XXIII, p. 489-491.

101 See Lech Szczucki, *W kręgu myślicieli heretyckich...*, p. 152-153.

Doni set off for Poland, having previously dedicated his work *De natura hominis* to Stefan Báthory. Recommended by Andreas Dudith, he was kindly welcomed, although eventually he did not manage to secure favour nor be admitted to the king's circle. However, he was allowed to conduct his doctor's practice, which enabled him to rise from the dire poverty in which he had lived.¹⁰²

An example of a dissenter, an antitrinitarian who appeared in Poland in the context of his mercantile activity, may be Fabrizio Pestalozzi (d. after 1595) from Chiavenna, in northern Italy. He came to Kraków in 1578 as "a representative of a Viennese trading outpost belonging to his relatives of the same surname."¹⁰³ He became a citizen of Kraków and married a niece of Niccolò Buccella, whose protection he later used in his mercantile and financial activity. At the same time, Pestalozzi was active in the religious sphere, but—according to Nuncio Alberto Bolognetti, who observed the Kraków dissenter circles closely—he was not present at a high level in this regard, and often changed his opinions.¹⁰⁴ It is known that initially he participated in the Kraków Calvinist congregation, and later—alongside Gianbattista Bovio and Ludovico Fiera—was among the radical Anabaptists actively promoting their ideals among Italian craftsmen living in Kraków. His conversion to Catholicism was being discussed. Before his death, he returned to native land. The aforementioned Gianbattista Bovio came to Kraków allegedly in 1582 and also—thanks to the protection of Fausto Sozzini—entered the group of clients of Niccolò Buccella, which is yet another proof of the high level of integration in this community, though it has to be pointed out that Bovio did not adapt in it and left for Gdańsk after some time.¹⁰⁵

Francus de Franco (c. 1585–1611) from Friuli was also a typical religious exile. In his youth, he had been arrested in Italy by the Inquisition, escaped from prison and fled abroad. During his stay in Leipzig he made some acquaintances with Poles, but he came to the Commonwealth due to his uncle named Petrus, Wieliczka salt mine administrator. The Polish episode ended tragically for the young Italian, who publicly accused Catholics of idolatry at the Corpus Christi procession in Vilnius, 2 June 1611. He was arrested and charged with sacrilege

102 *Ibidem*, p. 154-156.

103 *PSB* XXV, p. 654.

104 "Questo è uno c'hebbe già per moglie una nipote del Buccella hora morta, et non sa nulla affatto" – wrote the nuncio in his account for the Roman Inquisition from Kraków, 23 April 1583, and went on to enumerate the subsequent conversions of Pestalozzi – *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. VI, part 2, p. 259; see. Lech Szczucki, *W kręgu myślicieli heretyckich...*, p. 151.

105 Let us add that Nuncio Alberto Bolognetti, knowing his ideological opponents well, treated Bovio with "a kind of good-natured irony" – see Lech Szczucki, *W kręgu myślicieli heretyckich...*, p. 149-152.

stood trial before a court of assessors. After atrocious tortures, he was condemned to death and the sentence was executed in the same month on the Vilnius market place.¹⁰⁶

The variety of lives of the representatives of Italian religious emigration, even if our observation was limited to the second half of the 16th century, does not allow for generalisation. It is remarkable that the Italian dissenters acted rather in their own community, which could not and also did not attempt to surpass the isolation and to adapt to the surrounding social realities. They seem to have been primarily interested in themselves and of the world view debates that they held. It is enough to mention that the point of a journey made to Poland by Florentine reformer Francesco Pucci was a meeting with Fausto Sozzini, with whom he had debated in Basel. His journey resulted in a stay of almost two years (1583–1585). Surely Pucci's actions were also motivated by more universal goals of propaganda and organisational nature, but that does not change the impression that the dissenter environment was particularly much concentrated on its own, internal matters.

Hence, the group was in some sense elite and vivid at the same time, but its external impact on the Polish-Lithuanian hosts is particularly hard to determine today. In this context, the attitude of Sozzini is exceptional; he endeavoured to fight the individualism of religious inquiry and consistently strived to cement and add organisational form to the dissenting community, which nevertheless, as we recall, did not equate with proneness to Polonisation and integration with the local environment.¹⁰⁷ One can get the impression that as far as the cultural-civilisational impact on Old Polish society is concerned, the Italian dissenter circle rather did not play a significant role, and besides, heresy was not a solely Italian speciality.

“The notorious heretics in Poland are: Vergerius, Andrzej Frycz [Modrzewski] royal secretary, Jan Łaski, Lutomirski, Lizmanini, Orzechowski [...]” reads the instruction that Nuncio Berardo Bongiovanni received upon his departure to Poland in the fervour of religious tension in 1560.¹⁰⁸ We can see that in this six-person group—especially irritating to curial observers—only two were of Italian origin: Pier Paolo Vergerio (a native of Capo d'Istria) and Francesco Lismanino. Vergerio had been a Papal diplomat and bishop and was even a candidate for cardinal. In the course of his polemics with dissenters, however, he succumbed to their influence and from then on resided outside Italy, among other places at the courts of King Zygmunt II Augustus and Christoph, Duke of Württemberg. On the latter's behalf, Vergerio even carried out diplomatic missions. Lismanino was a figure that we have presented among the leading dissenter personalities. The rest,

106 *PSB* VII, p. 81.

107 Lech Szczucki, *W kręgu myślicieli heretyckich...*, p. 158, 161-162.

108 *Relacje nuncyuszów apostolskich...*, vol. 1, p. 79.

the vast majority of the ‘depravers’ mentioned by the nuncio, were not of foreign origin, though they must have been outstanding intellectuals.

This ratio, maybe wholly random, does not seem crucial. We are inclined to treat the above compilation as a hint that the association of a dissenter, and even a dissenter ideologist, with an Italian, was not universal and self-evident. We are also inclined to hold this constation true about the 16th century. Later—with the waning Reformation movement—the above association becomes entirely dated and loses its validity, though its negative significance could even be reinforced over the next century. However, it seems that in political writing—distributed en masse in the Commonwealth in the second half of the 17th century—the religious thread was less exposed, while the anti-Italian blade of possible polemics became much blunted.

In Mikolaj Cichowski’s anti-Aryan text, dated the first half of 1661, we may read for example about “foreign infames,” who deceived the gullible. However, when they are enumerated, the Italian origin of the religious reformers from a hundred years earlier (Fausto Sozzini, Bernardino Ochino, Paolo Alciati) is typically not at all stressed. Evidently this kind of charge, likewise the very phenomenon of Reformation threat and ideological competition in relation to Catholicism, was a thing of the past, and anyway such arguments in anti-Italian polemic were no longer employed.

After a period of a specific dichotomy, stereotypical associations with Italians as regards the religious sphere functioned again within Catholicism and evoked the symbolism of Rome, Jesuits, and apostolic nuncios.

The Artistic Sphere

Architects and Builders

Architecture is one of the professions that quite often raises Italian associations, though terminological difficulties with a traditional lack of precision in describing professions oriented towards erecting buildings should be signalled here. At first—as has been established by Stanisław Tomkowicz in relation to Kraków—architects, masons, stoneworkers, and sculptors were comprised in one guild, and the architects were not distinguished from masons and the sculptors from stoneworkers. The terms “muratores” and “lapicidae” were the most general ones, while “architektor” or “architectus” often meant a carpenter. “Architectus” acquired meaning close to the contemporary use in the first half of the 17th century. Around this time also, the term builder is promoted to a higher rank as it started to

be used for site manager.¹⁰⁹ In the later discussion, we reserve the term “architect” to primarily conceptual work, but it must also be borne in mind that it was often connected with execution of the work.

The subject of Italian architects working in Poland has been intensively studied by art historians. Their output is too copious to be presented here, and still more difficult to be summarised. Let us limit ourselves to several possibly representative examples, drawing knowledge—as in the case of discussing other categories—from the available compendia.

Chronologically, the first figure in the long Hall of Fame of the Italian artists erecting buildings in modern era Polish-Lithuanian state was Francesco Fiorentino (d. 1516). This court architect of Zygmunt I the Old, brought in from Hungary, is the primarily creator of the first Renaissance reconstruction of Wawel Castle. Fiorentino made the arcaded courtyard with the famous—though rebuilt—cloisters and loggias that are still admired today. He remained in Kraków until his death, but he rather did not marry or have his own children, since he made his adopted son, a stone-cutter, Jan, his inheritor.

Another arrival from Florence, Bartolomeo Berrecci (d. 1537), was the creator of Zygmunt’s Chapel. He is presumably the most renowned figure in this group in the 16th century. Elements of his life—though the information is scant, and must be re-constructed with difficulty—may serve as a reference point for other figures. Educated in Florence and Rome, he came to Vilnius, possibly via Hungary, in 1517. He was employed as “a court architect and sculptor of HRM.” In 1519–1530, he created the most famed Polish chapel. After doing this, he worked at Royal Castle. Initially, he lived in Kraków, but, in 1528, he became a citizen of Kazimierz, where he was elected lay judge several times. He gradually accumulated such wealth that we may call him rich. Berrecci was married twice. His son Sebastian, nicknamed Włochowicz, continued the professional career of his father. Both the son and father were murdered by their antagonists, also Italian builders. Such occurrences, tough may hardly be seen as typical, nevertheless, may give some impression of the scale of tensions in the community and of the professional rivalry.

Originally, Berrecci’s close co-worker at the construction of the chapel was Bernardinus de Gianottis (d. before 1541), architect and sculptor from Rome, who later worked on his own or in building companies—with Giovanni Cini from Siena and Filippo da Fiesole—realising serious investments not only in Kraków (villa Decius) but also in Płock and Vilnius (reconstruction of both cathedrals). Giovanni Cini (d. 1564 or later) was mainly a sculptor, who during his long stay in Poland performed many other works, including the reshaping of the vault and

109 Stanisław Tomkiewicz, *Przyczynki do historii kultury...*, p. 28-29.

building the altar of Vilnius cathedral, and also erecting a great number of tombs for the representatives of the contemporary elites.

Probably a direct successor of Berrecci and a close-co-worker of Cini in the period of ornamenting the Vilnius cathedral was Giovanni Maria Padovano, called *il Mosca* (c. 1493–c. 1574). He was an accomplished sculptor and medalist working for the Jagiellons, but also a builder and entrepreneur. Born and educated in Padua, he came to Poland in 1532 to carve a royal tomb, but remained in Kraków until his death. Although he had the status of court artist, he entered the mason-stoneworker's guild, purchased a house and a square in the city. He made medals with images of the royal family, and built tombs, for which there was an increasing demand, including the greatest Renaissance sarcophagus of the Tarnowski family in Tarnów collegiate, as well as elements of church furnishings, and architectural projects and models of palaces and municipal buildings. Considering the scale and territorial range of works carried out and signed by Padovano, he must have possessed not only artistic mastery but also organisational talents. Some, not undermining his outstanding artistic talent, regard him chiefly as an organiser and manager of a very efficiently operating workshop, which realised commissions in the whole country.¹¹⁰ Santi Gucci (d. 1600) was a renowned sculptor and architect from Florence who came to Poland under Zygmunt II Augustus but made his career in the times of the elective kings. The creator of artistically exquisite sarcophagus of Stefan Báthory at Wawel, Gucci had erected a palace in Łobzów near Kraków for him. The artist was also commissioned by magnate families (among others the Myszkowskis and Branickis). He must have been oriented towards a permanent stay from the start. He lived until the end in Kraków. This was the city in which he married and bought half of a *kamienica* house. Giacomo Rodondo (d. after 1614) is also included in the Italian architects of that period. He came from the Rhaetian part of Grisons and was educated in Rome. In the first years of the 17th century, he directed construction works at the Royal Castle in Warsaw, and not only was he a contractor but he also designed the extension of the new royal seat. For Zygmunt III, he also designed Ujazdów Castle near Warsaw. Rodondo also planned to stay for good in his new homeland. He purchased a house and took citizenship of Warsaw Old Town. However, after his wife's death in 1614, he sold his property and probably left Poland.

Paolo Dominici, in Poland, called Paweł Rzymianin, (d. around 1618). He was an architect and entrepreneur from Rome and worked in Lviv, where he adopted city laws in 1585. He owned a well prospering building company, which became famous due to the rebuilding of an Orthodox church, later called the Church of Wallachia. His most prominent works include the Bernadine convent and church

110 *PSB* I, p. 467-469; VII, p. 76-77; 419-421; IV, p. 76-77; XXV, p. 8-10.

and Bernadine monastery. He realised commissions for Lviv burghers and thus he permanently connected with his new place of habitation. Vincenzo Petroni worked in Krosno and Przemyśl; in the first half of the 17th century, he performed commissions among others from Stanisław Oświęcim, author of a famous travel diary, in co-operation with established stuccoist Giovanni Battista Falconi.¹¹¹

Bernardo Morando (c. 1540–1600/1601) was a distinguished Venetian architect, who, although also active in Warsaw and Lviv, went down in history as associated with one but unique investment, namely the erection of Zamość on Chancellor Jan Zamoyski's behest. The contract was signed in mid-1578, and over the next 22 years Morando was carrying out this commission—complex and comprising many elements—perfectly making the most of “the opportunity to design and erect the whole city from the general spatial composition to the minutest architectural detail of numerous buildings.”¹¹² The architect connected with the town for good: he started a family there, bought property, and became a town councillor and mayor.

In 1631, the Ossolińskis, more precisely Krzysztof, voivode of Sandomierz, brought in Lorenzo Senes (c. 1600– c. 1650), an architect from the Italian-Swiss borderland, educated in Italy. Admittedly, Senes bought a kamienica in Kraków and adopted town citizenship, but he resided mainly in Ujazd near Opatów, where in 1631–1644 he managed the construction of the impressive Krzyżtopór Castle, modelled on the Farnese family residence in Caprarola near Rome.¹¹³ Supposedly, the architect also built a castle and the so-called Bethlehem Chapel in Ossolin for Jerzy Ossoliński, and he certainly erected the collegiate church in Klimontów founded by the latter, designed in a novel way on an octagonal plan with an elliptic nave.¹¹⁴

Shortly before Giacomo Rodondo left Poland in 1613, Matteo Castello, an excellent architect from northern Italy, was employed at the Warsaw castle.¹¹⁵ Castello will feature in the next sub-chapter, which—for certain diversity and change of narration—will present modern era Italian architectural activity seen from the perspective of a quite specific centre, namely Vilnius in the 17th century, the second capital of the Commonwealth.

111 *PSB* IX, p. 132-133; XXXI, p. 356-357; XXV, p. 371-372, 689; see Mariusz Karpowicz, *Uwagi o genezie form i oddziaływaniu Cerkwi Wołoskiej...*, p. 169-182.

112 *PSB* XXI, p. 693.

113 Krzyżtopór Castle, since its seizure and pillaging during the “Deluge” invasion by Swedish army, has been an impressive ruin with well preserved traces of splendor and architectural design unique in Polish territory.

114 *PSB* XXXVI, p. 269-270.

115 Mariusz Karpowicz, *Matteo Castello...*, p. 19-21 and *passim*.

Vilnius and Other Places

Our topic could be more easily grasped if we concentrated on one rather peripheral centre that seems representative of the Italian activity in architecture (and besides a synthetic study of this subject exists).¹¹⁶ According to Mariusz Karpowicz's findings, Italian artists acting in Vilnius and beyond the Lithuanian capital usually were in the king's service and had had the opportunity to present their skills in Kraków and Warsaw first, and only later were dispatched to the third seat of the Commonwealth rulers. Hence among the stylistic similarities between works realised in the capital cities, Karpowicz chose nine from around 60 Italian artists recorded in modernity in the Grand Duchy territories. They are figures well known to him from earlier research, but now he concentrated solely on their activity in the Grand Duchy territories. We use this selection and its author's competence.

Matteo Castello (c. 1560– after 1626)—from Melide by Lake Lugano, a student and co-worker of Domenico Fontana, the creator of modern Rome (and also a close assistant of his uncle Carlo Maderna)—had his own substantial achievements in Rome (the chapels of St. Andrea della Valle Church, the transept and apse in St. Giovanni dei Fiorentini, reshaping naves in the St. Maria Maggiore Basilica). In 1613, Castello appeared at the Polish court and performed the most prestigious tasks: in Warsaw he extended the Royal Castle, and fundamentally reshaped Villa Regia and Ujazdów Castle; in Kraków, he rebuilt and concluded the erection of Saints Peter and Pauls' Church after a building site catastrophe, and he erected the confession of St Stanisław in Wawel Cathedral and the Zbaraski family chapel at the Dominican church. In the Vilnius Cathedral, he made the St. Kazimierz Chapel, a foundation of King Zygmunt III, the construction of which was finished under Władysław IV in 1634–1636, when works were supervised by Castello's relative, Costante Tencalla.

Tencalla, a typical Lombardian (b. c. 1590 in Bissone at Lake Lugano), educated in Rome, connected and co-operating as a sculptor with Carlo Maderna, could not complain about the lack of commissions during his stay in Vilnius. On Stefan Pac's commission, he built the St Teresa Church for the Barefoot Carmelites (1634). He erected a sarcophagus for Krzysztof Sapieha in the cathedral and also one for Samuel Pac, Stefan's brother, who founded it. Tencalla's Vilnius co-workers included, among others, Sebastiano Sala (d. 1653). He was a leading Italian artist who was active in the first half of the 17th century in Kraków. In 1630, he obtained Vilnius citizenship and played the main role in the stone-cutters' guild. In this position, he was more connected with the royal court because he

116 Mariusz Karpowicz, *Artisti italiani a Vilna...*, p. 219-231.

performed prestigious commissions of the monarch and leading magnate families, specifically the Gembickis, the Opalińskis, and the Lipskis.¹¹⁷

Shortly before the Swedish “Deluge,” two court artists of Jan II Kazimierz came to Vilnius (he spent here the years 1652–1653). They were the architect Giovanni Battista Gisleni and sculptor Francesco dei Rossi, both very active in Kraków and Warsaw. Gisleni was a Roman specialist in the so-called “small architecture” (altars, sarcophagi and plaques). He stayed at the Polish court from c. 1630 to c. 1668 as a court artist of the Vasas. He regularly travelled to Rome, monitored new artistic trends arising there and applied them in his works (for example, he used a drapery form as the background of an epitaph in the Warsaw Cathedral and some Vilnius churches). It was Gisleni who brought his friend Francesco dei Rossi, a Roman and Bernini’s assistant, to Poland in 1651. Dei Rossi stayed in Poland until 1655 and is known as the creator of the bronze bust of Bishop Jerzy Tyszkiewicz in the Vilnius Cathedral and co-creator (with Gisleni) of the tombstone of Teodora Krystyna Sapieha in St Michael’s Church. He also worked for her husband, Kazimierz Leon Sapieha, the Chancellor of Lithuania.

It is worth adding that the unique speciality of Gisleni, whose artistic qualifications are comparable to those of Trevano and Tencalla, were theatrical decorations and occasional architecture, and that the Vasas’ family chapel in Wawel Cathedral and also the Barefoot Carmelites’ church in Lviv, funded by Jakub Sobieski, are ascribed to him. After the abdication of Jan II Kazimierz, Gisleni returned to Rome, thus emphasising his particularly strong ties with the Vasa court, which is significantly confirmed by his portrait adorned epitaph, preserved in the Roman church of Santa Maria del Popolo. Agostino Locci (c. 1600–1660) was another master of architecture. He was active at the Warsaw court since the reign of Władysław IV; had a regular salary as a royal architect; cooperated with Tencalla on projects including the design of Zygmunt’s Column and renovation-decoration works at Ujazdów Castle, among others. However, the main occupation and passion of Locci, who stayed in Poland until the end of his life, was constructing theatrical machines of impressive size, as well as designing lavish decorations used in performances.¹¹⁸

After the devastation of the Deluge period, caused by the Russian troops, the main investment in Vilnius was St Peter and St Paul’s Church in the Antakalnis, founded by the Pac family in 1668. The interior—illustrious work on the highest European level—owes its final form to two stuccoists from the Italian-Swiss north, in the vicinity of Ticino. They were Giovanni Pietro Perti (c. 1650–1726) and Giovanni Galli. It is worth adding that Perti was later connected with the

117 *PSB* XXXIV, p. 351.

118 *PSB* VIII, p. 8; XVII, p. 508.

Sapieha family by participation in decorative works in the St Kazimierz Chapel in the Vilnius Cathedral.

Alongside the activity of the two artists, a remarkable Florentine painter called Michelangelo Palloni (1634–1711) worked in the Antakalnis. He painted frescoes on the nave finial in St Peter and St Paul's Church. Well acquainted with numerous Italian centres (besides Florence he studied in Rome, knew Venice, and worked in Turin), he was brought in 1677 by Pacs to decorate a Camaldolese church in Petrašiūnai near Kaunas, founded by this family. Palloni stayed in the Commonwealth for good. After 1684, he moved to Warsaw, where he became the most valued fresco painter in the whole country (he decorated among other things the Krasiński Palace and parts of Wilanów Palace). Let us also add that in Warsaw he bought a house and brought his Italian family. He was artistically active not only in the capital, but also in Leszczyński's castle in Rydzyna and sacral buildings in Łowicz. He spent his last years in Węgrów, again functioning under Krasiński's patronage.

The aforementioned Perti also left Vilnius in 1684, in time of temporary suspension of works in the Antakalnis. In Vilnius, Galli married Palloni's daughter, Maddalena, and stayed there for the rest of his days. He visited his native Muggio only once, in 1700, for a couple of months, but he returned to Vilnius, where he died in 1714.

Martino Altomonte (1657–1742), from Calabria, was an Italian artist active in Vilnius in the 17th century. He studied in Naples and Rome and was brought to Poland by Jan III as a painter of battle scenes who also immortalised in paint the Victory of Vienna. A few years after the king's death, Altomonte was invited to Vienna where he made a brilliant career as an imperial painter decorating numerous residences; in 1685–1687, he worked in Vilnius, and also in Antakalnis, decorating the main altar of St Peter and St Paul's Church.

This short review of high-class artists and their works created in 17th century Vilnius allowed Mariusz Karpowicz to formulate the thesis about Italian artists being an integrating factor for the contemporary Europe. For it was thanks to them that the peripheral capital of the Grand Duchy became like the major centres of Europe, though it was far more costly to bring Italian artists to the remote Vilnius than to make them work in Italy, Vienna, or even Kraków. This reflects well on local patrons, who wanted and could afford to surpass such obstacles effectively.

It may thus be stated that in the second half of the 17th century, despite the demographic and economic crisis, there was enough work for the architects and builders imported from Italy. The Vilnius examples could easily be complemented. The Italian community gathered around Jan III was strong. Agostino Locci junior, the Wilanów Palace creator, worked at the king's behest. Giuseppe Bellotti (d. 1708), architect and building entrepreneur, designed the Warsaw Church of the Holy Cross, as well as numerous palaces and manors.

In the 1690s, this group was joined by, possibly via Bellotti, Giuseppe Piola (d. 1715), another architect from Valsolda in northern-Italy who later realised private commissions (Szczuczyn, Pauline monastery in Włodawa and a church in Warsaw). Also, multiple representatives of the Fontana family from Valsolda marked their presence in the whole country. They made a whole dynasty of artists employed in the construction business. It was they who paved the way to Poland for such outstanding figures as Francesco Placidi and Domenico Merlini, whose activity—both in monumental architecture and architectural detail—occurred in the full Enlightenment and gradually started to symbolise the achievements of classicism on Polish soil.¹¹⁹

Builders, Sculptors, and Stuccoists

The artificiality of the applied grouping in this case is particularly vivid. Just as the boundary between architect and contractor used to be vague, so it was that a builder so often did stucco or other elements of furnishings and ornamented the built object with sculptures. However, it seems that the group of architectural creators presented above may and should be supplemented with some figures whose activity was connected to a greater extent with construction and finishing works.

At the construction of Zygmunt's Chapel and also at Wawel Castle worked, under Berrecci supervision, Niccolò Castiglione (d. 1545). He was a stonecutter-sculptor and builder from Florence. Castiglione permanently settled in Kraków, bought a house near St Nicolas Gate, adopted city law (1529), and was the master of the masons' guild. The construction company organised by him, in which Giovanni Cini was a shareholder for a time, did not lack commissions. The more prestigious among them included the construction of Villa Decius, reshaping of Pieskowa Skała Castle, and rebuilding Royal Castle after the fire of 1536.

The Gucci brothers—Matteo and Alessandro, active in the mid-16th century—were also mainly builders. The former is known primarily as the creator of the Renaissance alteration of the Old Synagogue in Kraków; the latter, of the brickyard in Dębniki near Kraków. Alessandro is also known because he erected, among other things, Tęczyńskis manor in Kraków, renovated the ruined gothic vault in St Catherine's Church in Kazimierz, and added detail to Rabsztyn Manor in Wawel Castle. He took over this latter task after Galeazzo Guicciardini (c. 1522–1557). Guicciardini was a builder from Florence who constructed, among other things, Montelupis house in the Kraków market, and also worked for Polish magnates. Geronimo Canavesi was an established sculptor specialising in tomb sculpture

119 *PSB I*, p. 406-407; *XXVI*, p. 347; *VII*, p. 54-58; 60-61; *XXVI*, p. 632-634; *XX*, p. 446-448.

(c. 1525–1582). He connected with the court of Zygmunt II Augustus as “servitor regius” and also realised various private commissions.¹²⁰

In the next generation, we observe prosperous contractors such as the Milanese Ambrogio Meacci (d. 1609), who adopted city law in 1584 and quickly assimilated. He was employed, among other things, in another alteration of Wawel Castle, which was carried out in the first years of the 17th century under Giovanni Trevano’s supervision, and in renovation works at the cathedral. Giovanni Battista Petrini (d. 1613) also co-operated with Trevano in the extension of the Norbertine convent in Kraków. Petrini was also employed in the alteration of the Clarisses convent and at Wawel Castle, where together with Gasparo Arconi he erected the so-called Zygmunt III tower next to the “Hen’s Foot.” Connected with Trevano and also Meacci was Giovanni Reitino, builder and sculptor from the vicinity of Lugano, very active in the Kraków masons’ guild. Also Giovanni de Simoni (d. 1626) was a little younger than Tyrol, who may be included in this group. He was the master of the Kraków guild of masons and stoneworkers, as well as the owner of a productive architectural-sculptural workshop. All those mentioned acted on the relatively well organised construction market and typically co-operated with one another; or at least—not to idealise the image and disregard the competition element—they functioned in one environment. All besides Arconi attained financial success.¹²¹

Giovanni Battista Quadro (d. 1590/1591), from the Como region, did not accumulate a fortune. He was mainly connected with Poznań, where, after a fire, he rebuilt and extended the famous town hall and erected several prestigious kamienicas at the market.

Quadro was one of the most remarkable of the Comacine masters (these were Italian architects and stonemasons from the area of Lake Como). This group included, among others, Giovanni Ricci, the man behind a major alteration of the parish church in Żywiec. In Lviv, Pietro di Barbona (d. 1588) gained a reputation as a high class builder. His pupil, Przychylny (d. 1641), also gained substantial recognition. The former became famous as the constructor of the Korniakt tower (from the name of its founder) by the so-called Church of Wallachia, and creator of a monumental well at the Rynok Square in Lviv. The latter finished the works at the church in Wallachia; supervised work on the construction of the Collegiate in Zhovkva [Żółkiew], founded by Stanisław Żółkiewski; and also erected Stare Selo Castle near Lviv, for Prince Janusz Ostrogski.¹²²

120 *PSB* III, p. 212; IX, p. 131-132; IX, p. 140; III, p. 199-200.

121 *PSB* XXV, p. 688-689; I, p. 154-155; XX, p. 353-354; XXXI, p. 40-41; XXXVII, p. 524-525.

122 *PSB* XXIX, p. 526-527; XXXI, p. 272; I, p. 85, 299-300.

Gaspare Fodiga (d. bef. 1626) had another claim to fame. By the end of the 16th century, he had settled in Chęciny, where he accumulated great wealth, became town councillor and *wójt*. He realised funerary chapels for magnate families in the neighbourhood (for the Padniewskis in the parish church of Pilica and the Branickis at the Franciscan monastery in Chęciny), and in the parish church in Chęciny, he erected a chapel in the name of the Three Kings, which he dedicated to himself and his relatives. It is hard to find a better example of symbiosis of modern trends in architecture and local fashions, or better proof of the attractiveness of local models, which a provincial Italian mason acquired so eagerly and thus crossed the social and estate boundaries so closely guarded in the Commonwealth.¹²³

By 1620, Tommaso Poncino (c. 1600–1659) came and settled in Krakowskie Przedmieście in Warsaw. Soon, certainly working on the construction of Ujazdów Castle, he obtained the status of royal mason and servitor. Also then in Poland, he gained the highest class architectural-building qualifications, which he did not have upon his arrival.¹²⁴ Subsequently, he worked in Łowicz (the Observant Church and convent) in Poznań (the Jesuit church) and Łąd (the Cistercian Church); he built kamienicas in Poznań, where he dwelled for some time. However, his most notable piece is the Palace of the Kraków bishops in Kielce, founded by Jakub Zadzik.

Around the same time, Antonio Castelli, a sculptor and stuccoist, was active in Kraków. He was one of many representatives of this family who worked in Poland. Castelli, like Poncino, came from Northern Italy, from the Lugano area. He was employed first in Wettingen, Munich, and then at Neuburg an der Donau. In the 1620s, he built the chapel of the Princes Zbaraski at the Dominican church in Kraków; it's regarded as one of the most beautiful examples of the Baroque oeuvre in Poland. Giovanni Battista Falconi, an excellent stuccoist, was active somewhat later, and outside Kraków. He was educated in Rome, and acted in Lesser Poland, mainly under the magnate patronage of the Lubomirskis, Ossolińskis, and Zasławskis. Clemente Molli (d. c. 1678)—a sculptor from Bologna, also active in Forli, Ravenna, and Rome—spent only a few years in Poland, chiefly in Warsaw and Kraków. In 1643, on Władysław IV's behest, Molli made a model of King Zygmunt III's statue, later cast in bronze and placed on a column. The architectural conception is ascribed to Agostino Locci and Costante Tencalla, and a certain Andrea Galle is said to have participated in the realisation of the investment from the engineering side. Little is known about the latter, other than that he was a Warsaw builder of Tuscan origin. Later, on a commission from the Kraków Academy, Molli was to produce a bronze statue

123 Mariusz Karpowicz, *Da contadino a magnate...*, p. 3-10, 33-38, 117-120; see id., *La Cappella Fodiga...*, *passim*.

124 Mariusz Karpowicz, *Tomasz Poncino...*, p. 77-78.

of Władysław himself, but this enterprise did not eventually come to pass, and the creator returned to Italy.¹²⁵

In the second half of the 17th century, among the sculptors and stuccoists working in the Commonwealth, there appeared the Fontana family representatives, forming—as in the community of architects and builders—professional dynasties. The activity of Giovanni Francesco Rossi (d. after 1680) is also notable; brought via Gdańsk by Jan II Kazimierz, Rossi was commissioned to undertake the sculptural decoration of the Kazimierz Palace. At that time, he made bronze busts of the leading representatives of the Polish episcopate (among others, the bishop of Vilnius Jerzy Tyszkiewicz and of Kraków, Piotr Gembicki). In this way, he contributed to the propagation of the stylistic innovation that, at the time, was this kind of tomb sculptures. After several years, he returned to Italy.¹²⁶

Sculptors imported to Poland by the last king and representatives of contemporary elites include Giacomo Monaldi (1730/34–1798), a co-creator of sculptural decoration at Ujazdów Castle and Royal Castle; Tommaso Righi (1727–1802), employed mainly at the Łazienki palace; and Leonardo Galli (1760–1812), who applied his experience gained in Carrara and Livorno in the “marble factory” organised under the auspices of Stanisław August in Dębnik near Czerna.¹²⁷

Longhi—an artist’s life

Despite the factual richness of the above review, the material on the basis of which we could prepare a comprehensive assessment of the Italian artists’ lives in the Commonwealth—which would include objective evaluation of not only their professional achievements but also personal profits—is missing. We must bear in mind that our notions are formed by the lives of those who were successful. In the 16th and 17th centuries this group is dominated by architects and builders as well as musicians and people of theatre. Both groups—due to the character of their profession—were more mobile than others. The constant search for work, the concrete character of received commissions—the completion of which may sometimes mean the end of employment—forced Italian builders to relocate quite frequently. Court musicians and members of theatrical troupes also had to take into account similar instability.

By seeking work abroad, one increased the scale of challenges and difficulties but did not affect his/her core life strategies: for example, a typical strategy would be when one returns to his/her native land with earned money. In this situation, one

125 *PSB* III, p. 211; VI, p. 347; XXI, p. 635-636; VII, p. 233.

126 *PSB* VII, p. 52-54; XXXII, p. 135-136; see also Władysław Tomkiewicz, *Francesco Rossi i jego działalność rzeźbiarska...*, passim.

127 *PSB* XXI, p. 639-641; XXXI, p. 296-297; VII, p. 236.

would have a hard time assessing who was successful, who suffered a life failure, and who regarded their travel to Poland—or even several travels—as a poorly judged idea. The attractiveness of such enterprises may be attested primarily by the long lasting recurrence of activity by Italian artists and, sometimes brutal, examples of competition between Italian creators.

Polish historians and art historians still need to conduct an exhaustive analysis of the correspondence that was addressed by architects and builders to their families from the Italian-Swiss borderland (Lake Como and the Lugano region), whence so many artists and contractors of the building industry came. These letters, in the most part coming to the subalpine cantons from precisely the remote Commonwealth, were deposited with local notaries, who read them to illiterate relatives-addressees.¹²⁸ Thanks to this system, nearly complete collections of this correspondence have been preserved and its studies seem to be promising. However, records of how the Polish-Lithuanian realities were evaluated by those who were concerned with them, and which are available in Polish archives and libraries are so scant and incidental that they rather cannot be the basis for wider generalisations. Usually, these are highly subjective voices, since such are the assessments of the author's own successes and life situation.

The preserved letters, mostly addressed to local partners and patrons, often contained express elements of self-aggrandisement, as well as grumbling and demands. An example—out of the group of the most often cited—may be provided by architect Guido Antonio Longhi (1691–1756). In the 1740s, Longhi worked on commission for the Załuskis: Andrzej Stanisław, Great Chancellor of the Crown, bishop of Chełm and later Kraków, and Marcin, suffragan of Płock. Longhi also altered a church in Kobyłka, near Warsaw. He was born in Viggiù, which is the Ticino region and thence he surely came directly to Poland. Apart from Kobyłka, he performed some works at the Palace of Kraków's bishops in Kielce. The creation of the collegiate in Łask and the parish church in Brzeźno were assigned to him. Around 1750, Longhi returned to his native Viggiù, where he married and remained until death.¹²⁹ Longhi's letters in Italian to the chancellor and primarily to his secretary Giovanni Battista d'Aloy have been preserved. We deal here with a patron, artist, and some kind of intermediary, who, however, has no monopoly on contacts with the most important figure in this triangle, namely the Great Chancellor.

128 Their fragments were published by Giuseppe Martinola, *Lettere dai paesi transalpini degli artisti di Meride e dei villaggi vicini...*, passim.

129 See Mariusz Karpowicz, *Artisti ticinesi in Polonia nella prima metà del '700...*, p. 173-182.

Some interesting letters from Longhi, from 1741–1743,¹³⁰ draws our attention to some specific aspects of his work: the minuteness of the accounts concerning trifles and rather secondary architectural and construction solutions; the work of masons (who needed to be constantly supervised) and the quality of materials (damaged stones, of improper size); and the quite meticulous control of the progress of work by one of the founders, specifically the suffragan bishop, Marcin Załuski, who watched over the construction very scrupulously.

The architect played his cards chiefly in the hope of ameliorating material conditions and, thus, tried to choose arguments skilfully, which would reach secretary d’Aloy and each Załuski separately. Hence, he complains about health¹³¹ and bothersome treatment prescribed by the doctor, on which Longhi had not decided as he could not afford to leave the construction site. First, because he could not leave the masons, performing objectively difficult tasks, unsupervised, and second, because he feared they would abandon work if he did. Here we have the first major accent qualifying to be self-advertising: Longhi declares his total devotion to matters of the entrusted construction, despite objective difficulties and at the cost of his own health.

Mention of illness will surface again in later letters: first as an excuse for possible delays in work, but primarily as a form of psychological pressure on the patron. Supposedly, the descriptions of extremely attentive care Longhi received at that time from suffragan Załuski were, via secretary d’Aloy, to reach chancellor Załuski himself and prompt him to similar reactions. What did the suffragan do for Longhi? He found him a good doctor and invited him for a two-month stay in Warsaw to recuperate; this included a room in his own house, surrounded by goodness and care “hard to imagine.” Unless he, Longhi the poor foreigner, had received this help, he would surely have died.¹³² This undoubtedly was a telling example, but it is hard to determine how this story was received by its main addressee—the bishop chancellor. At the beginning of the following year, precisely 6 February 1743, Longhi sent letters to secretary d’Aloy and the Chancellor Załuski, which proved that the Italian architect, tired with his not wholly approved status, decided to clarify his situation and either improve the

130 Stored in Biblioteka Narodowa in Warsaw (BN) – manuscript III 3273 and III 3224, and I owe having read them to Dr Karol Guttmejer.

131 Initially, he felt pain in legs, and when it receded, he had a sore throat which proved particularly acute, because the doctor, about whom the patient spoke very badly, prescribed him some very precise and absorbing throat cleansing.

132 “... mi a prestato tutta quella Assistenza Inmaginabile per sua innata bontà, che per essere povero foresto forsi non avaria più vita” – Longhi wrote from Kobyłka, 7 April 1742; see BN III 3273, p. 65.

conditions of his employment, which he evidently saw as unsatisfactory, or return to his homeland.

Most probably, the salary was at stake. Interestingly, in a letter to an influential intermediary, Longhi explains that he is seeking consent to return home since, with his present remuneration, he is unable to maintain the standard of living of a man of society (“vivere da Galantuomo”). He was thus forced to this measure by necessity (“indispensabile necessità”), since he was in deplorable position of not having even the smallest sum which could be used in case of illness; his situation is becoming more dramatic in face of looming old age.¹³³ However, if the addressee, Secretary d’Aloy, managed to obtain from Chancellor Załuski a change in the architect’s salary—increasing it to a reasonable amount (“pensione ragionevole”)—he would be ready to continue in service, as long as the patron wished. Let us add for clarity that nearly a year earlier Longhi had also offered his architectural-engineering services to the influential secretary. For if d’Aloy wanted to build something, our architect—as he wrote in the already cited letter from 7 April 1742—would be ready to serve.¹³⁴

The letter addressed directly to the Great Chancellor was different in tone though similar in content. It started with a declaration of willingness to remain in Załuski’s service. But, upon reading the letter further, we encounter a completely rationalised argument, even striking with its precision. Longhi states that although he was staying in a foreign country, he had no prospects to accumulate wealth, even the smallest, and the meagre sums he received were incomparable to the income he would make in this time in his homeland or other countries.¹³⁵ This comparison with a hypothetical income the sender could obtain somewhere else seems crucial. It is clearly stated here (and such clarity is rare) that income obtained abroad, by the very nature of things, should be higher, because only then—let us make a personal comment—is it worth experiencing difficulties and running the risk.

This confirms our previous suppositions on the way of thinking of the majority of Italian emigrants and the evolution of this line of reasoning in the Early Modern Period. We must, however, add straight away that the period that the quoted letters come from (almost the middle of the 18th century!) is significant. In the 16th century, ideas about immigrating to Poland were still very fresh on the peninsula. Moreover, along with these ideas came decisions that were made in the face

133 “... ritrovandomi in un miserabile stato di non poter avanzar il minimo denaro per li miei bisogni in caso di malatia o della debbole vecchiaia” – the letter written in Warsaw 6 Feb. 1743; see BN III 3273, p. 67.

134 BN III 3273, p. 65.

135 “... ritrovandomi in Paesi forastieri, senza speranza di fare la minima fortuna, ne meno proporzionata a quella che potrei fare nella mia Patria et in altri Paesi” – a letter written 6 Feb. 1743 in Warsaw; see. BN III 3224, p. 136.

of a great number of unknowns; actions of this kind became more routine and facilitated formulating concrete plans that concerned financial expectations.

In other words, it was at first hard to complain and formulate high expectations, and the region of possible penetration was little known. After some time, when tangible individual and group successes occurred, the territory for expansion was tamed, and had become permanently fixed in common awareness. More precise calculations and relatively greater expectations emerged, for people who were successful became a natural point of reference, and not those who failed. In the collective Italian consciousness, facing the same factors inciting migration, the perspective of starting activity in the Commonwealth must have contained far fewer unknowns.

However, this is only a hypothesis, for Longhi must have simply bluffed; he tried to reinforce his argument in a sophisticated way so that he could effectively influence the chancellor's decision (with whom—as we know—he was connected till the end of the decade). Further on in the letter, he resumes the humble and begging tone. He thus returns to the argument that he can hardly make his ends meet, especially in view of his ailing health. He repeats the request for a salary enhanced to a level allowing him to function without constant material problems, and for allocating additional funds which would enable him to travel to Italy. In the case of refusal, he asks for consent to return home.

An element of blackmail is conspicuous because the chancellor's consent to Longhi's return to Italy—in case of final break of co-operation between partners—was not indispensable. Let us add that, in the letter to Secretary d'Aloy, there is an explicit suggestion that Longhi—provided the negotiations with Załuski ultimately failed—was ready to seek better profits in co-operation with other patrons.¹³⁶ The ending of the letter to Załuski is typical for correspondence addressed by a client to their current patron. The architect expresses confidence in the innate goodness of the addressee, which will allow him to understand the foreigner's difficult situation; he also declares that he would like to continue service to the chancellor with full devotion and still benefit from his protection.

Let us stop for a moment on this epistolary episode, as it seems to us an apt depiction of tensions that were inevitable in relations between Italian contractors and Polish-Lithuanian patrons and investors. A specific game is observed here, in which the stakes included hiring conditions and quality, as well as the timelines of services rendered. The parameters of supply and demand, though we cannot get measurable indicators, affected this reality decisively.

136 "... se volesse abbandonar S. E.... ho per ricercar magior vantagio d'altri Signori" – BN III 3273, p. 67.

Plastic Arts

Painters

It seems obvious that—at least until the times of Bernardo Belotto Canaletto and Marcello Bacciarelli, who co-created the artistic circle gathered around the last king—Italian painters did not play the role in the Commonwealth that would be adequate to the advancement of this branch of art in Italy itself.

This is no place to analyse the genesis of this phenomenon, which could have been determined by differences in climate (more difficult conditions both for creation and reception of painting) and some culture-specific preferences. However, contrary to architects—who were able to adapt Italian solutions to Polish conditions, and attained in this wonderful results—the Italian painters usually did not represent the first artistic league.

The most famous court painter of the Vasas was Tommaso Dolabella (c. 1570–1650), born in Belluno, and educated in Venice. He was brought by Zygmunt III; settled in Kraków; and worked on court, church, monastery, and private client commissions. He painted portraits and small historical compositions of weighty propaganda significance (the apprehension of Archduke Maximilian at Byczyna; Zygmunt III's coronation; the seizure of Smoleńsk; the scene of the handing over of the Shuisky tsars, captured by Hetman Żółkiewski, to the king) and also religious paintings: among others, he painted for the Wawel Cathedral, the Kraków Franciscan, Dominican, and Jesuit Churches, and the Camaldolese Church in Bielany

Undoubtedly his popularity and renown of his painting workshop caused him to fall into conflict with the local guild, which Dolabella finally joined in 1614. A couple years earlier, he had married Agnieszka, daughter of renowned typographer, Andrzej Piotrkowczyk. But, Dolabella became a town citizen as late as 1641. He died in Kraków and was buried in the Dominican Church.

Giacinto Campana was an established Bolognan painter, living in the first half of the 17th century, who spent his last several years at Władysław IV's court. It was allegedly Cardinal Antonio Santa Croce, former nuncio in Warsaw, who contributed to his arrival in Poland. His artistic achievements in the Commonwealth are unidentified; we only know that he did some work in the Saint Kazimierz Jagiellon Chapel in Vilnius Cathedral. Certainly, he used the title "Pictor Sacrae Regiae Majestatis." His death is said to have been hastened by climatic conditions, which the painter—of delicate physical construction and poor health—bore particularly badly.

Martino Altomonte (1657–1745), born in Naples, educated in Rome, was a court painter of Jan III Sobieski. With credential from the Academy of Saint Luke's, Altomonte was recommended to the king by Capuchin Marco d'Aviano.

He painted the interior of Wilanów Palace and made a series of family portraits; he also created historical paintings depicting Sobieski's victories over the Turks. Apart from that he realised numerous private commissions for the Jabłonowskis, Sapiehas, and Wodzickis, decorating magnate residences and churches. His activity diminished after King Jan's death. Apparently, Altomonte did not find his place under the Saxon reign, left Poland, and moved to Austria in 1703.¹³⁷

In the second half of the 17th century, a painter called Del Bene, of whose life we know little, worked under the patronage of the Sapieha family. Allegedly, he came from Naples, but was brought from Rome by Jan Kazimierz Sapieha, the voivode of Vilnius. The artist was engaged in ornamenting Sapieha's palace in Vilnius. The painter also made frescoes for the St Kazimierz Chapel there and decorated the interior of the Camaldolese Pażaislis [Pozajście] Monastery near Kaunas, founded by Great Chancellor of Lithuania Krzysztof Pac. On this latter enormous task he co-operated closely with Michelangelo Palloni.¹³⁸

In the 18th century, especially under the last king's reign, the status of painting was enhanced. Alongside the most prominent figures of Canaletto, who was a typical artist wandering across Europe (at some point Stanisław August's court effectively made him stay), and Bacciarelli, whose role at the Polish court went far beyond the purely artistic sphere, some less renowned painters were very active and far more numerous. Despite the conscious policy of the king, who supported the planned education of future creators, the trend of importing artists from abroad did not vanish. The monarch financially aided court painters, such as the portraitist Giovanni Grandis (1739–1802), until the third partition of the Commonwealth. Also Innocenzo Maraino (d. c. 1800) worked for the royal theatre; he was a painter, decorator, and builder. At the end of 1788, Stanisław August invited to Warsaw an established and very prolific portrait painter named Giovanni Battista Lampi, permanently dwelling in Vienna. His three-year stay at the Polish court resulted in a whole series of portraits of the king and the contemporary elite. Around the same time, Ludwik Pac employed Niccolò de Angelis (born in Rome c. mid-18th century) to adorn the palaces in Dowspuda and Warsaw with paintings. The portraitist Giuseppe Grassi (1758–1838) was brought to Warsaw around 1790 by the Jabłonowskis; he worked under the patronage of aristocrats.¹³⁹

Chalcographers and Goldsmiths

Mentions of craftsmen / artists practising these professions are usually scant, and the relevant studies are not very recent. Adam Bochnak wrote about an

137 *PSB* V, p. 284-285; III, p. 196; I, p. 83-84.

138 *PSB* V, p. 58; XXV, p. 93-94.

139 *PSB* VIII, p. 545-546; XIX, p. 527; XVI, p. 433; I, p. 112; VIII, p. 553-554.

Italian goldsmith employed at the court of the Jagiellons in 1500–1507; Leonard Lepszy described royal goldsmith Vincenzo Palumbo, engaged at court in 1552; and Stanisław Tomkowicz noted two successive goldsmiths, from Venice this time, active at the court of the last two Jagiellons.¹⁴⁰

Andrea Marstella (before 1500–1568), from an Italian family who settled in Kraków for quite some time, was a *serwitor* of King Zygmunt I since 1525. Court bills document the creation and renovation of many artefacts by him, dedicated for the treasury or enriching the royal jewellery. As a goldsmith, Marstella also worked for the bishop of Kraków, Piotr Gamrat. In spite of close connections with the court, he was active in the burghers' institutions too. He decided to enter the goldsmith guild, where he held the post of master several times and, in 1562, was elected a town councillor.¹⁴¹

However, it seems that the first outstanding Italian artist who came and worked for a longer time in Poland was Gian Giacomo Caraglio, goldsmith, chalcographer, and lapidarist (engraver of gems, that is, medals in stone); he worked at Zygmunt II Augustus' court.¹⁴² Some specific biographic-artistic traits worth generalising may be quite easily observed from his example (in any case, this is a characteristic for the early—fully Renaissance—phase of Italian artists' migration to Poland).

Caraglio acquired artistry in gem engraving (*intagliator di gemme*) in Italy, in his native Verona, and in Rome. His professional position had been established before—in the first months of 1538—he arrived in Kraków. Thus, Caraglio could be an object of interest of various potential employers. This is confirmed by the poet Pietro Aretino's correspondence with sculptor and medalist Leone Leoni and Domenico de Conti from Lucca. The latter was, for a short time, a courtier of Bona and Zygmunt Augustus; in the autumn of 1542, he returned to Italy for good, though he still remained in Bona's service, who called him "commissario del nostro stato" ["commissioner of our state"].

The role of Aretino—who previously had recommended his former co-worker, a painter Rosso Fiorentino to the French court of Francis I, in bringing Caraglio to Kraków—does not preclude the participation of other people such as Bona's court musician, Alessandro Pesenti. Like Caraglio, Pesenti came from Verona and arrived in Kraków in 1518. We know that, in the following years, Pesenti kept up close correspondence with Italy and visited it several times during diplomatic missions; he went to the House of Este court in Ferrara and Gonzaga in Mantua.

140 Adam Bochnak, *Mecenat Zygmunta Starego...*, p.153; Leonard Lepszy, *Emalierstwo krakowskie...*, p. 7; Stanisław Tomkowicz, *Na dworze dwóch ostatnich Jagiellonów...*, p. 499.

141 *PSB XX*, p. 66.

142 Jerzy Wojciechowski, *Caraglio w Polsce*, *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, vol. XXV, p. 5-63.

From Verona, he imported to Kraków, among others, the harpist Domenico and also perhaps the architect and stuccoist Bartolomeo Ridolfi.¹⁴³

These details are not insignificant because they reveal some fragment of the network of contacts that allowed recruitment of desired individuals for a monarch's court, in this case that of Zygmunt I the Old and his Italian wife. The demand was there: the Queen's liking for jewels and the appetite for preparing medals with images of the reigning family; there also existed predecessors who took analogous paths, as well as reliable methods of recruitment. As regards Caraglio's motivation, we need not rely—as is typically the case—only on guesswork, for Caraglio is one of few artists working in Poland who was covered by Giorgio Vasari's *Lives of the Most Excellent Italian Painters, Sculptors, and Architects*. We learn from there that Caraglio "having entered the service of the King of Poland, he has occupied himself no longer with engraving on copper, now in his opinion a mean art, but with the cutting of gems, with working in incavo, and with architecture."¹⁴⁴ Thus, among motivations, there was also the opportunity to practise the artistic profession of higher rank than before.

The artist was employed formally by the royal court only at the beginning of 1545 (that is, after Zygmunt Augustus assumed power), but, nevertheless, his stay must have been paid for by the monarch before, which may be evidenced by Caraglio's title of "royal *serwitor*." The position of this artist at the court of the last Jagiellon must have been special; it is very likely that it was only he who was granted the honour of portraying in gems the royal family (the king, his wife and mother), which meant intimate and sometimes prolonged contact.

The artistic value of Caraglio's works made in the surroundings of the Polish court was also significant since "Gian Giacomo's medals rank among the most interesting works of Renaissance medallic art in Poland"; his lapidary creations were valued similarly highly.¹⁴⁵

Artistic mastery and the unique character of his activity reinforced Caraglio's position at court. In 1552 he was granted the prestigious title of Knight of the Golden Spur (*equus aureatus*) and *indygenat* status, which was a noble citizenship of the Commonwealth. He also received the right to sign his works with his newly-obtained coat-of-arms.¹⁴⁶ Presumably, Zygmunt August's generosity (for it was a

143 According to Karol Estreicher, Vasari, who is the author of this information, mistook Bartolomeo Berrecci for Ridolfi, who does not feature in *Lives* – see Giorgio Vasari, *Żywoty najslawniejszych...*, vol. 1, p. XXXVIII.

144 Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects...*, trans. by Gaston du C. de Vere, vol. VI, London 1913, p. 110.

145 Jerzy Wojciechowski, *Caraglio w Polsce...*, p. 41-42 i passim.

146 During his travel to Italy in the following year, 1553, Caraglio commissioned a portrait (by Paris Bordone), in which – this seems to attest to the significance he ascribed to this title – the act of his Polish ennoblement was immortalised.

special gesture and highly uncommon as a reward for artistic accomplishments) was dictated by a desire to keep Caraglio in Poland; it is known that he intended to spend his old age in his native land, where he made some investments and purchased property.¹⁴⁷ Another detail worth stressing is that, for the whole of his stay in Poland, he maintained contact with Italy, and visited it several times. Surely he did that with the king's knowledge, or even at his behest.

It is difficult to measure the outcome of the artist's stay with material effects. However, it should be emphasised that Caraglio, having taken Kraków citizenship, bought a house with a garden outside the city walls. Thus, he must have had financial resources allowing for parallel investments in Italy and Poland. He started a family in Kraków, and married a woman called Katarzyna, with whom he had a son called Ludwik, who, after his father's death, sold the property in Kraków and returned presumably to Verona, but it is very likely that he reappeared in Poland after some time, and died there. Caraglio bequeathed his Italian fortune to Elżbieta, his sister's granddaughter, whose guardian he made his son, Ludwik. Widowed, Katarzyna married again in Kraków, this time to an Italian shoemaker, Scipione de Grandis.

In the time of elective kings, Italian goldsmiths and chalcographers seem less conspicuous. It is as if they are replaced with artists of other professions, or eventually regarded as merely craftsmen. An exception may be made only for Bartolomeo Follino (1736– after 1808). He was a chalcographer who engraved, among other things, portraits of the last king and his family; in 1770, the artist also created the famous map of the Kingdom of Poland.¹⁴⁸

Musicians and People of Theatre

Artists of this kind were a particularly mobile group, ready to change location and make long journeys in search of protectors and audiences. When sources mention them, one can rarely obtain their precise identification and even less so reconstruct their lives. Yet, they represent an important element of the phenomenon we are investigating. Thus, we should recall here mysterious “itali histriones” [Italian actors] staying in the milieu of Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Sierotka. They were presumably members of the theatrical troupe of the young prince and were noted in November 1573 by Heinrich Wolf, who was travelling then from Vilnius to

147 According to Vasari “for which having been richly rewarded by the liberality of that King, he has spent large sums in investments in the territory of Parma, in order to be able to retire in his old age to the enjoyment of his native country among his friends and disciples, after the labours of so many years” – see Giorgio Vasari, *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects...*, vol. VI, p. 110.

148 *PSB* VII, p. 49-50.

Kraków.¹⁴⁹ There appear, though rarely, dance instructors such as Santo Ventura at Władysław IV's court.¹⁵⁰ Primarily, however, there appeared “musicci itali”—of various qualifications and provenance—hired by the courts of Kraków's bishop, Samuel Maciejowski; king, Zygmunt II Augustus; entourage of Zygmunt Myszkowski (these people were active a little later at the royal court); and many other representatives of the aristocracy.¹⁵¹

Thanks to recent research this image may be generally ordered.¹⁵² Let us concentrate—without going into the matter of repertoire or achievements in composition—on the biographical threads of Italian musicians and singers who decided to stay in Poland during the period of interest to us.

Knowledge referring to the first half of the 16th century is still very fragmentary. As we know, under Zygmunt I the Old, there was already a collegium of chorists at the cathedral. It was founded with the primary duty of singing daily *Rorate – praenobili arte italiana*. In 1546, an instrumentalist, Domenico of Verona, was admitted to the royal ensemble (not to the collegium).¹⁵³ Italian musical elements may also be observed during consecutive courtly events and public celebrations; for instance, there was an event that was connected with Zygmunt III's marriage to Anne of Austria in May and June of 1592.¹⁵⁴

A breakthrough occurred several years later. In the mid-1590s, Zygmunt III, after alleviating the political situation inside Poland and returning from his abortive expedition to Sweden, started to become seriously interested in organising his Polish court, an important element and ornament of which were to be musicians from Italy. Royal envoys—Secretary Krzysztof Kochanowski and canon of Łuck Bartłomiej Kos—went especially for this purpose to Rome, with special powers to offer attractive financial conditions.¹⁵⁵ With the aid and experience of Polish diplomats residing then in Italy (Stanisław Reszka), they achieved considerable success.

In February 1595, the first group of 16 musicians—recruited by Kochanowski—left Rome. Annibale Stabile was among them; he was the first excellent musician employed as court chapel master. He died by mid-April, soon after arrival in Kraków, or even maybe he never reached his destination.

149 [Wolf], *Polskie przypadki Henryka Wolfa...*, p. 29.

150 In 1646, the king paid him 1,100 Thalers via Hieronim Pinocci – hence records in his family archive; Pinocci's' Archive 379 – The State Archive in Kraków.

151 See Rita Mazzei, *Itinera Mercatorum...*, p. 280.

152 Primarily thanks to the study by Anna and Zygmunt Szwejkowski, complemented with a review and a series of articles by Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarminińska.

153 See Zdzisław Jachimecki, *Wpływy włoskie w muzyce polskiej...*, p. 42, 46.

154 Anna and Zygmunt Szwejkowski, *Włosi w kapeli królewskiej...*, p. 19.

155 Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarminińska, *Muzycy z Cappella Giulia...*, p. 33-34.

Another group, organised by canon Kos, gathered around Luca Marenzio (a musician connected to Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini and well established in Rome) and set out to Poland in autumn of the same year.¹⁵⁶ After Stabile's death and other perturbations, the Italian ensemble—transported to Warsaw and conducted by Marenzio—numbered more than 20 musicians, whose presence at Polish court irrespective of changing personal details, showed since that time signs of sustainability.¹⁵⁷ At the same time, the recruitment of singers took place, among whom the most renowned included Francesco Rasi, who visited Poland at the end of 16th century, recommended to Zygmunt III by Ferdinando I de Medici, Grand Duke of Tuscany.¹⁵⁸

These well-thought-out and persistent recruitment actions thus brought a lasting effect. The scale of recruitment must have made a big impression on outside observers since in the contemporary correspondence of the cardinal there even resounded voices of concern that Rome would be bereaved of musicians. The needs of the Polish court, naturally, were not that great; therefore, the cardinal did not share these concerns at all. However, the trend did occur, and even on a relatively grand scale.¹⁵⁹

This does not mean that the composition and number of Italian musicians, or their position at Polish court may be viewed as stable. Apparently, not all were content with their work conditions and salary. In addition, some of these musicians could not stand living at a different latitude. Luca Marenzio presumably returned to Rome as early as in 1596 (having joined the train of Cardinal Enrico Caetano), or at the latest, in the autumn of the next year. So he persevered in Poland not longer than two years and probably much less. His successor for over three years was a Pole, Krzysztof Klabon. Then, for around a year, the *maestro di cappella* function was held by Giulio Cesare Gabussi, chapel master of the Milan Cathedral Ensemble, who came to Kraków in mid-1601. His successor was Asprilio Pacelli (1569/1570–1623), who was from Umbria. Pacelli was an experienced chapel master of Collegio Germanico in Rome (who resigned from a newly conferred position directing the Cappella Giulia at St. Peter's Basilica in order to take up

156 In a letter to Zygmunt III, Cardinal Aldobrandini wrote, 5 October 1595, that he consented to “Lucas Marentius, who is second to none in music art in Italy and who is dear to us for other reasons, leaving my home, and when I commit him to HRM, I see that I experience great pleasure in the very renunciation of pleasure...” – quote from Anna and Zygmunt Szwejkowski, *Włosi w kapeli królewskiej...*, p. 25.

157 The marshal's list of salaries due to courtiers, issued 23 May 1596, contained the position: “Italian and Polish music”, but without the amount, as it was to be personally determined by the king. It followed from the enclosed list of courtiers that there were 25 musicians and singers – see *Ordynacja dworu Zygmunta III...*, p. 20-21.

158 Ibidem, p. 30-34.

159 Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska, *Muzycy z Cappella Giulia...*, . 33-35.

office at the Polish court). As opposed to Gabussi, Pacelli settled in Poland for good, in his case for over 20 years; he died 4 May 1623 in Warsaw and was buried in St John's Collegiate Church.¹⁶⁰ Regrettably, we do not know the motives that enticed Pacelli to leave Italy when his career there developed so remarkably. Experts stress the high level of his compositions, representing the so-called Roman School, and his great contribution to Polish musical culture of the beginning of the 17th century.¹⁶¹

We should add that Pacelli's student at the Roman Collegio Germanico was Annibale Orgas (d. 1629) from Ancona, who in 1616 allegedly renounced the *Kapelmeister* post offered to him by the emperor in Vienna. Soon after, he appeared in Poland, where he composed among other things an ode praising those who fell in the Battle of Chocim. Around 1620, Orgas was made the first chapel master of the slightly earlier founded vocal-instrumental cathedral ensemble in Kraków, and several years later also became director of the rorantist ensemble at Wawel. He passed away in Raciborowice near Kraków, where he was a parish priest.¹⁶²

Vincenzo Gigli stayed in Poland even longer. He published a famous collection called *Melodiae sacrae*, containing compositions by four consecutive chapel masters of Zygmunt III (Stabile, Marenzio, Gabussi, Pacelli). It is hard to speak of personal stability within the community of Italian court musicians. In their inventory from 1602 there are 27 (jointly instrumentalists and vocalists); two years later, there were only 14. The numbers constantly shifted, which does not preclude, though, the possibility that there were individuals durably connected with Polish court.

Gigli, later known as Wincenty Lilius, died between 1639 and 1641. For several decades, he lived in Poland, where he left behind a son, Franciszek. In the future, his son would be a royal musician and the future—until his death—chapel master of Wawel Cathedral. Tenor Giovanni Marco Materanus resided at Vasas' court for four decades. Alessandro Cilli—from Pistoia, whose talents were not limited to music only—remained in Zygmunt III's entourage for over 20 years.¹⁶³

160 See Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarminińska, *Annibale Stabile i początki włoskiej kapeli...*, p. 93-94.

161 *PSB* XXIV, p. 753-754.

162 *PSB* XXIV, p. 181.

163 According to one hypothesis, Cilli arrived to Poland already in mid 1590s, recommended to royal ensemble by Bonifacio Vanozzi, Cardinal Caetani's secretary. Before, he could have spent some time at Grand Marshal of the Crown Zygmunt Myszkowski's court. However, Cilli owes his fame rather to the creation of the history of the Zebrzydowski's Rebellion and of the Polish–Muscovite War, published in Pistoia in 1627, soon after his return to Italy. He was also a correspondent of Tuscan court, maintained contacts with Urbino court and nunciature in Warsaw. (*PSB* IV, p. 75-76); see Jan Władysław Woś, *Per la storia dei rapporti culturali...*, passim.

These, however, are rather exceptions from the rule pertaining to this profession. At the core, the principle driving these musicians forward was personnel turnover and the constant search for a better place to create.

The last music director of the ensemble under Zygmunt III was presumably Giovanni Francesco Anerio, who took the post after Pacelli's death, and died two years before the king's death, on his way to Rome, where he wanted to publish his compositions. This intention reminds us that the objective attractiveness of invitations coming from Poland had its limits too; that it was a place where ambitious artistic plans could be realised in satisfying material conditions. But, to create a real European career, the musician was required to stay in the West. Thus, mobility was essential.

The question of what role a stay in Poland played in the professional careers of representatives of the group within our interest cannot be answered clearly. Similarly, the social status of the Italian musicians before their arrival and after their possible return, and also their territorial provenance, are not fully investigated. Moreover, the relatively small number of people in this community is not conducive to generalisations. It is known that—in the period we are interested in, especially since the end of 16th century until the mid-17th century—Italian musicians were coming to the Polish court mainly from Venice and Rome (but also Milan, Tuscany, Bologna, Parma, Ferrara, and Urbino). They arrived either directly or via German courts in Graz and Munich.¹⁶⁴

The cases of renouncing a post in Poland for one of the Habsburg courts were not infrequent either. Zygmunt III had an alto, Francesco Mengacio, who in 1600 moved for two decades to Emperor Rudolf II's ensemble. In the first decade of the 17th century, Christian IV of Denmark's court employed Antonio Tarenus [Tarroni], from Parma, also an alto; Vincenzo Bertolusi, an organist; and three other thus far untraced musicians. In the beginning of the second decade of the 17th century, another alto, Hippolito Bonanni, moved to Graz, to the court of Archduke Ferdinand. Giovanni Valentini did the same in 1614.

Returns to native Italy also occurred; a renowned tenor, Giulio Osculati, returned from Warsaw to Lodi between 1609 and 1614 to become a chapel master at Santa Maria Incoronata Church. The violinist Alfonso Pagani abandoned his service at Zygmunt III's court in 1609 and returned to Bologna. The organist Tarquinio Merula took up the chapel master office of the cathedral church in his native Cremona in 1626.¹⁶⁵

Another Italian speciality was theatre; in addition, Italian opera houses were particularly fashionable in the 17th century. The golden age of these art forms was

164 See introduction by Irena Bienkowska to Cocciola Giovanni Battista, *Dziela zebrane...*, p. 11.

165 Anna and Zygmunt Szweykowski, *Włosi w kapeli królewskiej...*, p. 38-49, 73-77.

at the Polish court under Władysław IV. Before that, Italian influence in this sphere had not been that clear, or it had not been emphasised enough. The most significant theatrical phenomenon that we deal with in the 16th century was school theatre. This dynamically developed at the end of the century, mainly at Jesuit collegia. Jesuits also organised occasional spectacles at social-ceremonial events. Certainly, the Italian presence and inspirations could be demonstrated here; however, we deal with achievements on a European level only during Władysław's time in power.

The patronage of this ruler, musically sensitive and knowing Italian theatrical achievements from personal experience, brought excellent results. The base was the so-called St John's Chapel; at this chapel, Zygmunt III employed a fairly large group of chamber singers. Surely the experiences of Władysław, the future king, from travels across Europe, 1624–1625, must have influenced the form of his musical court.

Preserved diaries leave no doubts that the most important musical experiences occurred in Italy. The prince's stay was made attractive by, among other things, performances of famous singers—Settimia Caccini in Parma and Adriana Basile and daughters in Naples—and primarily spectacles in his honour delivered in Florence and Mantua. The chamber concerts of the most renowned vocalists were one of the many musical attractions in Rome: among others, this included performances by the soprano singer Loreto Vittori. By courtesy of the host of one of such meetings, Cardinal Francesco Barberini, Władysław could bring to Poland the teenager Baldessare Ferri, a promising singer. However, the prince's efforts in Venice to recruit Claudio Monteverdi—then first chapel master of the Republic and also some famous female sopranos admired in Naples by the future monarch—ended in failure.¹⁶⁶

The idea to adapt the modern dramatic-music from that encountered in Italy—called *dramma per musica*—was successful; we may actually say repeatedly successful since Władysław, consequently propagating it at his court, sponsored, according to musicologists, 11 events of this kind, which included the famous spectacles of *La liberazione di Ruggiero*, *Il ratto di Helena*, and *La Santa Cecilia*. The transplant has been very successful, at least in the initial phase of theatre existence.

The most serious verification of its artistic level occurred in 1637. The Ballet *La prigion d'Amore*, and chiefly the opera spectacle *La Santa Cecilia*, proved particularly important. In addition, the memorable events of the wedding ceremonies were also very significant; they were connected with the arrival of Władysław's new bride Cecilia Renata in Warsaw. Foreign accounts on this subject expressed the highest recognition in comparison to the Italian achievements in

166 Allegedly, the composer excused himself with his old age – see Anna and Zygmunt Szweykowski, *Włosi w kapeli królewskiej...*, p. 77-112.

this field. Hanns Schulpli from Tyrol stated: “I have seen in Italy / Comedies in Florence and also in Mantua / But I have never seen any better / Than the one staged in Queen’s honour.”¹⁶⁷ The local viewers were also enthusiastic, as proved by the reactions to the jubilee of the ceremonies.¹⁶⁸

Italian arrivals played a fundamental role in preparing the musical-theatrical spectacles. Among those most engaged, one should mention Virgilio Puccitelli, royal secretary, author and adaptor of texts. We should also include two more people: the architect Agostino Locci, responsible for sets; and Marco Scacchi, a music composer.

Virgilio Puccitelli (1599–1654) was born in San Severino near Ancona, in a wealthy bourgeoisie family. In his youth, he became a clergyman and was educated in Rome. It is uncertain when he arrived in Poland but apparently he was connected with Prince Władysław’s court from the beginning. Władysław, after his election, nominated Puccitelli as personal secretary responsible for Italian correspondence. He acted at the Polish court until July 1649. At this time, after obtaining a lifelong salary, he returned to Italy, to native San Severino, where he died.

Puccitelli, connected with Władysław IV Vasa for around fifteen years, played the most significant role as an organiser of court theatre *per musica*.¹⁶⁹ He also provided for propagandistic resonance of staged works by adapting classical subjects and characters so that they raised associations with Władysław and strengthened a favourable political image of him. It was Puccitelli, planning in 1638 to travel to Italy to recuperate, on whom was conferred the difficult and responsible task of recruiting new singers. Although the Polish court had vocalists of high class, among others, a soprano Baldassare Ferri, tenor Francesco Basile and bass Alessandro Foresti, it turned out at the preparation of *La Santa Cecilia* that the ensemble needed to be reinforced. Margherita Basile-Cattanea—a famous singer, whose artistic career led her from Naples to the Mantuan court (Prince Władysław could have heard her there in 1625) and subsequently to Vienna—was recruited for some time from the latter place.

Music direction of court initiatives throughout the whole reign of Władysław IV was in Marco Scacchi’s hands (d.1662). Educated in the Roman School, the musician came to Poland under Zygmunt III around 1621 and initially worked

167 Quote from Karolina Targosz-Kretowa, *Teatr dworski za Władysława IV...*, p. 300; see Hanna Osiecka-Samsonowicz, *Agostino Locci...*, p. 67-79, Mieczysław Brahmner, *Powinowactwa polsko-włoskie...*, p. 322-352.

168 Albrecht Stanisław Radziwiłł, in the entry under the date 23 September, noted: “in the evening, an Italian comedy called *recitativa* about St Cecilia was staged; it was worth seeing and talking about.” – Albrecht Stanisław Radziwiłł, *Pamiętnik o dziejach w Polsce...*, vol. 2, p. 56.

169 Oreste Ruggeri, *Scenografia e cronaca teatrale...*, p. 139-148.

under the direction and artistic protection of Giovanni Francesco Anerio. Only after ascending the throne did Władysław appoint Scacchi as chapel master and thus also to the responsibility for creating the repertoire. The ruler must have been very content with his decision because Scacchi held this office until the king's death, and was paid a fixed salary. The position of this musician at court must have been unquestioned, since Nuncio Mario Filonardi called him the king's "closest friend." In addition, Scacchi's son's godfather was the influential Adam Kazanowski, then castellan of Sandomierz. The prestigious connections were accompanied by material benefits, though the salary granted—due to constant problems with financial liquidity—was not paid regularly. However, it is known that, from Zygmunt III, Scacchi received some "bona et mobilia" (after Marco Gentili, a musician who died without issue).

In the early spring of 1649, with the consent of Jan II Kazimierz, Scacchi left Poland and set off to Rome having taken care of the musical setting for the new king's coronation. The departure, the official cause of which was the need to get gout treatment, was planned as temporary, but eventually, parting with Poland turned out to be permanent. Supposedly, Scacchi was eventually discouraged from returning to Warsaw by the Swedish invasion. Upon this, he brought his wife and her sister to Rome. By the end of his life, he had settled in Gallese, where he died. Besides undoubted organisational merits during the time that he was conducting the chapel, he left behind ample, highly regarded by experts, musical oeuvre.¹⁷⁰

The outcome of Puccitelli's mission of 1638 is unknown; however, it is certain that, as a result of his efforts, some "nuovi virtuosi" were brought to Warsaw. But, no success was reported as far as female voices are concerned. The constant efforts of the king aiming at increasing the level of performers employed by the court are worth emphasising. New arrivals concerned primarily vocalists, the profession that proved an Italian speciality.¹⁷¹

Let us add that, in the 1620s, a famous singer called Pellegrino Muti, who was for a considerable time related to the influential Roman Peretti family, visited Poland,¹⁷² and Giovanni Battista Jacobelli settled permanently here. The latter, perhaps benefiting from the protection of Aleksander Gosiewski, the voivode of Smoleńsk, was employed as tenor in the royal court ensemble; simultaneously, he

170 See Julian Lewański, *Świadkowie i świadectwa...*, p. 50-60; see also *PSB XXXV*, p. 383, XXIX, p. 309.

171 "The vocal side was dominated by the Italians practically indivisibly, instruments were left to the Polish school" – Anna and Zygmunt Szwejkowski, *Włosi w kapeli królewskiej...*, p. 112; cf. Julian Lewański, *Literatura włoska a literatura polska...*, p. 75.

172 Anna and Zygmunt Szwejkowski, *Włosi w kapeli królewskiej...*, p. 69-71.

was Queen Cecilia Renata's chaplain, and, in 1650, he became canon of Warmia chapter.¹⁷³

Under Władysław IV, court artistic structures were not merely expanded but fixed on a high artistic level. "Italians sing beautifully / Some basso, also alto / Others tenor and treble" we may read in a chapter of *Musica abo Capella Krola I. M.*, a part of the best known descriptive guide of Warsaw from 1643. It follows from consequent lines that a certain Baltasaro, first-class master, singing soprano, comes to the fore in this group of singers. We can say with confidence that this must be Baldessare Ferri (1610–1680), nicknamed Balcererek, one of the most popular Italians at the contemporary royal court, who, however, during the Swedish raid, moved to Vienna. Marco Scacchi is also mentioned there, as the head of the royal chapel, and it is certain that he has a sufficient number of foreign musicians at his disposal.¹⁷⁴ Music and Italian performers thus became a showcase for the Warsaw capital. It may therefore be stated that by importing Italian artists representing various fields, together creating a theatrical spectacle, Władysław transferred Italian opera to Poland. It should be emphasised that this occurred at a time when even in Italy opera was at an early stage of development, and only rarely did it appear north to the Alps.¹⁷⁵

Under the next monarchs, the phenomenon of Italian artistic activity in music and spectacle by no means vanished; however, such preoccupations of the court, intensive efforts and fluctuations, were no longer observed, for the times were no longer favourable. There is even a justified supposition that, during the Deluge, there was a temporary breakdown of the court chapel.

Magnate courts were increasingly becoming centres for musical creation and performance, and theatrical production. Italian music and the style of its performance also resounded beyond the royal court, which created social and cultural trends. We know of, though mainly from the artistic side, the figure of Giovanni Battista Cocciola, a composer who had arrived in Poland by the end of the 16th century, maybe in 1596. He arrived alongside musicians recruited in Rome by Luca Marenzio, or was persuaded to come by Krzysztof Kochanowski. After a brief stay at the royal court, Cocciola was engaged for the bishop of Warmia Szymon Rudnicki's (1552–1621) ensemble. Then around 1612, he moved to Vilnius, to the court of Chancellor of Lithuania Lew Sapieha, where he was chapel master.¹⁷⁶

173 *PSB X*, p. 280-281.

174 Adam Jarzemski, *Gościniec abo Krótkie Opisanie Warszawy*, 1643—reprint, Wydawnictwa Artystyczne i Filmowe, Warszawa 1981, p. 29, 31.

175 Karolina Targosz-Kretowa, *Teatr dworski za Władysława IV...*, p. 69-80; see also *Wjazd, koronacja, wesele Najjaśniejszej Królowej...*, p. 37-38; Julian Lewański, *Literatura włoska a literatura polska...*, p. 74-75.

176 Cocciola Giovanni Battista, *Dziela zebrane...*, p. 9-13.

On 25 June 1635, during diplomatic negotiations in Toruń there was a feast held by the Great Lithuanian Hetman Prince Krzysztof Radziwiłł, in honour of the French envoy and Dutch delegates. From the notes of Karol Ogier, a participant in the festivities, we learned that “the feasters were amused by music, of instruments and singers.” He adds, “especially the royal eunuch [Ferri?], brought from Italy by the king, with a very charming and extremely high voice penetrated every din.”¹⁷⁷ The same diarist, a well-travelled Frenchman, realised the absolute dominance of Italian influences in this sphere. When admiring, several months later, the musical-vocal talents of the daughter of the Gdańsk mayor, Czirenberg, he noted that the young lady “sings in the Italian manner, since only this one is known in Poland and Germany.” A bit abashed by the visit of foreign guests, she was convinced to perform and even sing “a French song,” however, “in her Italian manner.”¹⁷⁸

In an exquisite and often quoted description of voivode of Kraków Stanisław Lubomirski’s court, penned by his long term friend and because of that a very competent servant, Stanisław Czerniecki, the steward of Żytomierz, one may read that the court chapel “was recruited in anno 1645 from abroad by Italian Dzian Baptysta Filiponi, horse breaker of this lordship, from Naples, Rome, Bononia, Venice.”¹⁷⁹ A diligently prepared list of court vocalists and instrumentalists shows that, in fact, the chapel was comprised of Italians and Poles. The latter could also include “Polonised” Italians, which—relying on the source recorded names—is often hard to determine. However, it may be claimed that, in the 1650s, at the court at Wiśnicz, artists brought from Italy made up at least a half of those 13 vocalists mentioned in the description, whereas among 15 instrumentalists, Polish names and places of origin evidently dominate, and only one individual was referred to as “a violinist, Italian, Wincenty.” Let us also remark that Lubormirski’s court was one of the greatest and most expanded in terms of personnel, and the voivode himself—as an affluent person, educated and interested in art—willingly acted as a patron. Nevertheless, a 30-strong music ensemble, kept at the court at Wiśnicz, makes an impression, though such a numerous cappella could not be typical.

Musical celebrities could also be encountered at magnate courts. These included, for example Michelangelo Galilei (1575–1631), Galileo’s younger brother, who in 1600, aged 25, went to Vilnius. Invited by some Polish lord, Galileo’s younger brother was offered excellent terms of stay (“partito onoratissimo”). On his way, Galilei stopped in Kraków and Lublin, and there found communities of arrivals from Tuscany. In 1606, he returned to Italy, and, the following year,

177 Karol Ogier, *Dziennik...*, vol. I, p. 95.

178 *Ibidem*, p. 345.

179 [Czerniecki], *Dwór, wspianość i rządy...*, p. 49.

he entered the Bavarian court, and died in Munich in 1631. A Polish thread also appears in the life of his son, Vincenzo, a lutenist. In 1645, his presence at the court of the voivode of Kiev, Janusz Tyszkiewicz, is noted.¹⁸⁰ After a brilliant beginning in Władysław's time, court theatre experienced ups and downs, but Italian artists were always employed. But there was rather a lack of direct continuation of the Italian opera tradition under Jan II Kazimierz, due both to the exceptionally difficult political situation and the personal interests of Queen Marie Louise, who preferred French theatre and ballet. Queen Eleanor Maria, Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki's spouse, favoured Spanish comedy. In parallel, Venetian opera was greatly esteemed, which may be attested by the journey to Italy of Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł (brother in law of Jan III Sobieski). His stay of almost four-weeks in Venice was devoted mainly to tracking down the newest achievements of the musical-theatrical art there; thence, he imported an opera troupe, which was to adorn his court in Biała in Podlasie.¹⁸¹

Musical and vocal spectacles of the highest class returned to major stages. On 30 April 1684, at the feast held by Jan III Sobieski in Jaworów in honour of the Spanish king's ambassador Leopold Fryderyk Montecuccoli—who had been residing there for more than two weeks—musical accents were a significant element of the courtly setting. The greatest attraction was the performance of a famous singer called Clementini, which was recorded in a diary by Jan Władysław Poczobut Odlanicki. It is notable that this author, one of most renowned Old Polish diarists, a nobleman and soldier, more a Sarmatian than European, paid attention to the fame of the Italian artist (“artist renowned in the whole Europe”) and the prestigious character of his visit (“for the glory of HRM and the whole Polish nation he came here”), though we should add that a little later he gives much attention and space, and also emotion, to the salary that the singer got from the king's hands.¹⁸²

By the end of Sobieski's rule, Italian opera had reappeared at the court in the form of two dramas: *Per goder in amor ci vuol costanza* (1691) and *Amor vuol il giusto* (1694), written by Giovanni Battista Lampugnani, auditor of the nunciature, who allegedly played a role at the Polish court similar to that of Virgilio Puccitelli at the side of Władysław IV.¹⁸³ Music was composed by Viviano Agostini, probably a Venetian, who at that time was a member of the Italian chapel of Jan III, and after

180 Rita Mazzei, *Itinera Mercatorum...*, p. 280.

181 Wanda Roszkowska, *Giovanni Battista Lampugnani...*, p. 8-9.

182 “For which he obtained from HRM a pure gold chain with HRM's image, weighing 200 red zloty, and with that 300 red zloty in cash” – Jan Władysław Poczobut Odlanicki, *Pamiętnik...*, p. 313.

183 See Wanda Roszkowska, *Giovanni Battista Lampugnani...*, especially p. 5-18, 23-25, 31-34.

the king's death moved to the ensemble of Augustus II, where, after some time, he was even promoted to vice-chapel master. Both works—as often happened—were of occasional character. The first, described today as “a comedy based on a Spanish formula,” was staged at the wedding of Prince James Louis Sobieski and Princess Hedwig Elisabeth of Neuburg. The second, characterised as a pastoral, was to grace the marriage of Theresa Kunegunda Sobieski to Maximilian II Elector of Bavaria. Both works, irrespective of debatable interpretative nuances, were a confirmation of the fixed nature of Italian influence on theatrical life in Poland, despite the appearance of alternative propositions.

The number of Italian people of theatre connected with the court in Saxon times was still very substantial; therefore, this very interesting and important period in history of theatre surely deserves some attention. We have to bear in mind that, under Augustus II and III, there were two court centres and the rulers of the Commonwealth, being at the same time Saxon electors, shared their time between Warsaw and Dresden, which, in terms of intensity of cultural life, should be given priority. The Saxon rule is, however, an exceptionally interesting period in the history of theatre in Poland because, firstly, this sphere—contrary to common and fundamentally correct opinions about the cultural collapse of that time—developed very dynamically, drawing on the best European models; secondly, due to specific interests of both of the Saxon rulers, who—as far as theatrical gusto was concerned—clearly differed between themselves.

Augustus II remained predominantly under the influence of the French and Louis XIV's court and its theatre, with which he had become acquainted in his youth. Augustus III was an admirer of Italian theatre and did a lot to be in a constant contact with it and to ensure the plays and spectacles presented under his patronage were of the highest level. Parallel rules in Poland and Saxony resulted in frequent travels of the monarchs and their courtly trains between Dresden and Warsaw. Alongside the court, theatrical troupes also moved.¹⁸⁴ This guaranteed that the Polish audience had quite regular contact with the artists connected with the Dresden court, which at that time meant viewing spectacles of the highest class. Therefore, we deal with a sphere of culture in which a high level was maintained. We should note that this was also thanks to Italian inspiration and its constant influence.

However, nothing heralded such a twist and dynamic development. By the end of Sobieski's reign, the whole theatrical culture of the Commonwealth was comprised of court opera theatre, quite old-fashioned school theatres, presumably some forms of folk theatre, and several magnate theatres (with Lubomirski's

184 In Dresden Archive materials one may often find precise data on the royal train makeup—see review of Mieczysław Klimowicz of Karyna Wierzbicka-Michalska's book, *Teatr warszawski za Sasów*, Wrocław 1964 – Pamiętnik Teatralny, 1965, brochure 1, p. 103.

theatre in Ujazdów at the lead). The Saxon times, in comparison to the previous period, left behind “more theatrical paraphernalia, specialists and audience.”¹⁸⁵

Augustus II’s theatre, adjusting to the ruler’s taste, systematically presented the most distinguished French achievements: from Lully’s operas, through *tragédie musicale*, up to the so-called post-Moliere comedy and ballet. From the very beginning of Saxon rule, the Italian theatre was present on the court scene, also in Warsaw. Since 1698, a *commedia dell’arte* company of Gennaro Sacco performed in the old castle theatre. The following year Angelo Costantini appeared in Warsaw, and from the 1720s, Tommaso Ristori had been active there with his team of comedians gathered in Venice. In 1717, Tommaso’s son, Giovanni Alberto Ristori, an excellent composer soon to become the most prominent figure in the Italian troupe performing in Warsaw, was also engaged in the troupe. He was the head of the 12-strong so-called “Polish orchestra” (*polnische Kapelle*), assembled in Dresden, which was to accompany the king on his travels to Poland.¹⁸⁶ There are many indications that, with this group, there also came—and quite regularly—Italian singers, and a ballet group. It is known that, in the 1720s, musically talented young people were educated in Italy for the needs of, but also at the expense of, King Augustus II. This group included, among others, the soprano Ventura Rochetti and the alto Domenico Annibali, and also the singer Maria Rosa Negri. Ristori junior—who became famous primarily for his work as the author of Italian comic operas (*commedia per musica*)—created a serious alternative to French pieces of this genre. The group performed in Warsaw for the last time in 1730. Then it went on tour to Russia, and in 1732, returned to Dresden. After the king’s death (1733), it practically ceased to exist.¹⁸⁷

Augustus III, crowned in 1734 at Wawel, contributed to even a greater bloom of Italian comedy by keeping a troupe that acted under the direction of Andrea Bartoldi. In a recently published study on the history of music, we find at his court some names of Italian actors (23 in all), dancers (12), singers (21), and musicians (6). There was also one author of theatre texts and one theatre inspector and prompter (he fulfilled both tasks).¹⁸⁸ In total, there were 64 people, which was almost half of the total. Considering absolute numbers, we should take into account that the greater part of artistic activity of those people happened in Dresden and other theatrical centres besides Warsaw, and that primarily not all performers were employed at court at the same time. Nonetheless, the scale of the trend remains significant. For instance, we know that Andrea Bertoldi, an accomplished actor

185 Zbigniew Raszewski, *Za króla Sasa...*, p. 99.

186 Allegedly, an Italian troupe accompanied Augustus II at the Grodno Sejm in 1730.

187 See Karyna Wierzbička-Michalska, *Aktorzy cudzoziemscy w Warszawie...*, p. 16-25.

188 Alina Żórawska-Witkowska, *Muzyka na polskim dworze Augusta III*, part 1, Lublin 2012, *passim*.

of *commedia dell'arte*, engaged for the Saxon court by Tommaso Ristori, and called *principale* of the *comici italiani* troupe, was requested by Augustus III to organise a new *commedia dell'arte* team in 1737. This group, completed in 1738 in Venice, included among others Nicoletto Articchio and Natale Bellotti, already active at Augustus II's court. In the Saxon Garden a large detached building called Operalnia, with seating for an audience of 540, was erected for the purpose of theatre. Numerous comedies by Carlo Goldoni, gaining his fame and popularity as author in Italy at the same time, were staged. The performers were also superb; for example in 1754, such excellences of the actors' world as Cesare D'Arbes, Marta Bostona and Antonio Constantini, and singer Regina Mingotti performed in Warsaw.¹⁸⁹ By the end of Augustus III's reign, distant political events—not for the first time, but this time clearly favourably—influenced Warsaw's theatrical life. During the Seven Years' War, in 1756, Dresden was occupied by Prussians, and the king was forced to retreat to Warsaw, where he stayed until his death. A gradual reconstruction of theatre troupes scattered by war occurred there. A new opera company, as well as a ballet and orchestra were completed.

Irrespective of ongoing discussions on the repertoire and Italian and French influences competing in the theatre world, it seems indisputable that the Italian actors of Augustus III were one of the best *commedia dell'arte* teams in Europe. The number of performances of Goldoni's comedies, which at that time was to some extent a measure of modernity, proved distinctly that neither Dresden nor Warsaw lagged behind in comparison to novel trends and Western theatrical fashions.

The role of Italian theatre—particularly exposed at Saxon court, especially of Augustus III—requires a few words of a comment. In that period, Italian influences in the theatre sphere lost importance on a European scale and yielded to French trends. This mainly concerned comedy. Since 1713, Italian actors had played in French in Paris. In 1737 an effigy of Harlequin was burned publically, thus suggesting in this drastic way, that this character should be forever banished from the scene. Even Goldoni himself, often staged and highly popular then, “bent Italian tradition to the model formed in France.”¹⁹⁰ Therefore, it was as if a change of place occurred; before it was the French who founded gardens in Italian style on a massive scale (which may be regarded as a symbol of cultural impact), then the Italians started to write *à la française*. Only in opera did Italian primacy last for the whole of the 18th century.

189 Julian Lewański, *Miscellanea z czasów saskich...*, p. 15; see also Bohdan Korzeniewski, *Komedia dell'arte w Warszawie*, passim; Zbigniew Raszewski, *Za króla Sasa...*, p. 100-101.

190 Zbigniew Raszewski, *Za króla Sasa...*, p. 94-96.

However, the general cultural trend on the continent, advancing towards the Enlightenment and pervasive French influences, cannot be questioned. This was also true in the sphere of theatre. In the face of this situation, sticking to Italian theatrical models under Augustus III may be viewed as a sign of conservatism and traditionalism. In reference to Italian influences, such an observation is made for the first time.

Meanwhile, unfavourable changes took place in the cultural landscape of the Commonwealth, since the increasingly smaller number of national scenes reacted to external influences. In consequence, according to Franciszek Ksawery Dmochowski: “of all Polish theatres under Wettins the Western European level was retained only by the court theatre.”¹⁹¹ Magnate theatres, so important in the previous century and quite numerous, at least under Jan II Kazimierz and Sobieski, were few and far between under Augustus II, and under Augustus III they virtually disappeared. Thus, the structure of theatrical life changed, and Polish-Lithuanian province was getting impoverished.

It is worth adding that the first permanent public Warsaw theatre, independent from the court, was founded only at the end of Augustus III reign, by Giovanni Francesco Albani (a merchant who in 1759 took Warsaw citizenship) who treated it as a money making business. The theatre, in which French plays, among others, by Molière, Marivaux, and Diderot, were staged went bankrupt after only two seasons (1762 and 1763) and was not even the slightest competition for the soon created National Theatre (1765).

The history of the latter, studied in detail, definitely exceeds our range of interest. Let us only remark that over the following decades “Polonisation” of the acting profession did not occur. The conviction that this profession belonged to foreigners had clearly been cemented strongly in social awareness and was still present in the Enlightenment times. When summing up the initial period of the existence of the National Theatre in Warsaw, Friedrich Schulz, a bright Livonian writing competently about Poland, stated that the scene organisers “did not succeed in securing a lasting support in audience, who—as so many others—prefer mediocre foreigners than the best locals.”¹⁹²

This opinion did not mean critical lenience towards foreign artists. The Livonian very critically assessed, for example, the season that started in spring 1792 by “Italian opera singers,” regarding the performers’ level (excluding singer Benini)¹⁹³ as “very poor.” Therefore, despite social attractions and even sensations

191 Barbara Król-Kaczorowska, *U dworu...*, p. 44.

192 Friedrich Schulz, *Podróże Inflanctzyka...*, p. 623-624.

193 “Only Benini, though well over thirty, combined much taste and nobleness in her demeanour and attire with a beautiful voice and very distinctive features, which is rare in Italian female singers.” – *ibidem*.

that were related to Italian performances, political events, and the necessity to stop paying foreign artist from the privy purse caused the troupe to, “dismissed and impoverished, return to Italy.”

We get the impression that—despite the civilisational evolution which happened during the Enlightenment, and the new, even novel, approach of King Stanisław August (and his closest circle) to art and educating future artists—the situation in this regard, primarily as far as foreign performance domination is concerned, did not fundamentally change. Friedrich Schulz, whom we willingly quote here, wrote in a chapter wholly devoted to the situation in capital: “Indeed, one cannot say that Polish art flourishes in Warsaw, since artists who practise it, were and are foreigners: Italians, French, Germans, who having accumulated from kings’ and magnates’ favour some wealth, go back to their homeland.” Time as if stopped. The Italian arrivals, who had dominated in art for two previous centuries in Poland, were joined by representatives of other nations, but the essence of the phenomenon of artistic work for a particular commission and fixed remuneration had remained unchanged. Likewise, the conviction persisted that in this way one may become rich, and then return with that fortune to his/her native land.

Let us comment additionally that a later part of the cited fragment expresses hope for a favourable evolution in future: “but what they have created remains in Warsaw and may be referred to as a school, which may well contribute in the future to encouragement and education of local artists.” Thus, such a positive change could yet occur, because favourable conditions had been created, but this was for the realms of the future and of possibility.¹⁹⁴

The Sphere of Services and Professional Specialisations

Doctors and Apothecaries

This is another profession that may be ascribed to Italian emigrants working in many European countries. In this context we may mention, for example the famous Luccan doctor, Simone Simoni; he was a fierce and vocal rival of Niccolò Bucella over the causes of Stefan Báthory’s death. There were also lesser known medics: Pietro Stuppa, from Chiavenna, who stayed in Kraków in 1573, whom Emperor Maximilian II tried to attract to his court; Apollonio Menabeni, who resided in Stockholm at the court of Jan III of Sweden; and the Venetian Agostino Agostini, Henry VIII’s doctor, who had been living in London since 1537.¹⁹⁵ The conclusion

¹⁹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 616.

¹⁹⁵ *Dizionario biografico degli italiani* I, p. 457-459.

that, by the end of the 16th century, every European court had its Italian doctor would probably be premature, but such similarities are worth noting.¹⁹⁶

The professions of doctors and apothecaries also were Italian specialities in Poland, at least in the 16th and part of the 17th century, which is suggested both by studies published and relatively frequent mentions in sources. However, there is no indication of numerical or peer domination. Doctors are clearly noticeable in Bona's entourage and the court of the last Jagiellons; they carry out the aforementioned and widely commented upon dispute in the royal courts, over the causes of Báthory's death. Italian apothecaries are a notable part of this profession's representatives in Kraków, but it would be hard to generalise on even so broad an assertion.¹⁹⁷ Let us instead confine ourselves to several of the best known examples.

Zygmunt I's court doctor was Antonio Gazio (c. 1462–1530). He was born and educated in Padua and lectured at a local university (perhaps among his students was Mikołaj Kopernik). He also penned some medical treatises. Soon he concentrated on general practice, which was surely a more profitable occupation. For some time he stayed in Hungary, whence—recommended by Jan Turzon, bishop of Wrocław—he arrived at Zygmunt I's court. In the king's circle, Gazio had the opportunity to demonstrate skill, thus earning gratitude, endearing himself to the court, and gaining a position there. He tried to use it well and influence the consumer appetites of Poles: he combated beer as harmful and advised that it be superseded by wine. The treaty *De vino et cervisia*, printed in Kraków and Padua, was devoted to this issue. Towards the end of his life he returned to Padua, where he lived out his remaining days.¹⁹⁸

The arrival of Bona in Kraków, and the Italianisation of the court, could have been a signal and an incentive to Italian migrants who were scattered in different parts of the country. Such could be the reasoning of Giovanni Alantsee, specialising in pharmacy. His family came from Venice and his parents settled in Płock. In the beginning of the 16th century, Alantsee moved to Kraków, where he became a court apothecary and Queen Bona's servitor. This affiliation brought him material stability and permanent settlement in Kraków, where he purchased a house and garden in front of Wiślina gate. This did not mean a complete break with Płock, of which he was mayor in 1534–1537. Another Italian of the same name, surname and also medical profession, worked by the end of 16th century as Piotr Myszkowski's (bishop of Kraków) doctor, but also treated canons of Płock chapter and bishop of Płock Wojciech Baranowski himself. The foundations and bequests that he had made by the end of his life proved that he was durably

196 Rita Mazzei, *Itinera Mercatorum...*, p. 279.

197 See Jan Lachs, *Dawne aptekarstwo krakowskie...*, p. 53-123.

198 *PSB* VII, p. 337.

connected with both centres, Płock and Raków, where he died and was interred. Other representatives of this family, also maintaining ties with Płock, entered the Kraków patriciate for good; they were town councillors and mayors, and aldermen in courts under Magdeburg law, and they acquired real estate in central points of the town, and at least two of them—Niccolò and Paolo—were bestowed with *indigenat* status (1569).¹⁹⁹

Let us add that in Zygmunt II Augustus times, Stanisław Bartolanus made a considerable career thanks to his practice as a doctor. He was a Sandomierz burgher from a family that was ascribed Italian provenance by Stanisław Łempicki. Bartolanus, educated at Italian universities, managed—thanks to his professional activity in which he won powerful and influential clientele—to overcome class divisions. He married a noblewoman, Dorota Pirocka, and accumulated great wealth. In 1569 Zygmunt II Augustus admitted him to the group of his royal servants (*servitores*), and in 1589 Bartolanus was ennobled and admitted to the Nałęcz coat-of-arms. In the second half of the 17th century, Cristoforo [Krzysztof] Cyboni (d. 1698) was a famous doctor in Lublin, also a representative of a Polonised family of Italian origin. Well-educated, he lectured for some time at the Zamość Academy, was alderman, town councillor, and held the post of mayor of Lublin several times; his whole career was confined to the burgher class.²⁰⁰

However, the most interesting figures of the medieval world gathered at Stefan Báthory's court. In his closest entourage were Niccolò Buccella (d. 1599); Simone Simoni (1532–1602) his antagonist, and Fabio Nifo (d. after 1599). Interestingly, they were all religious dissenters. For this and other reasons, they wandered across Europe and arrived at the Polish court.

Buccella came from Padua, where he studied medicine and gave his first lectures, which were very popular. Nevertheless, as a supporter of radical reformation (he was an Anabaptist), he was forced to leave his native town. In the beginning of the 1560s, he left for Slavkov u Brna in what is now the Czech Republic, where he was doctor of the local commune. Arrested on his way to Moravia in the summer of 1562, he spent two years in the Venetian Inquisition's prison, where he recanted his views. After his release, he resumed general practice. In 1573 he went to the Transylvanian court of Stefan Báthory, who engaged him as king's doctor. In the train of the new sovereign (already as a *physicus regius*), he came to Poland, where he brought part of his family and settled for good. He was granted an annual salary of 600 florins and numerous bestowals, such as a house in Kraków, and landed estates in Wołyń. He had incomes from salt mine in Kodeń, and successfully exploited paper mills and steelworks in Livonia. Thus, he attained unquestioned success in his new homeland. However, the king's

199 *PSB* I, p. 42-43.

200 *PSB* I, p. 320; IV, p. 115-116.

deteriorating health brought to court yet another doctor, Simone Simoni, with whom Buccella fell into personal and professional conflict serious enough to prompt an analysis of their joint lives.

Simoni was born in Lucca, studied in major Italian universities, and obtained a doctorate in medicine in Padua. Because he favoured reformation ideas, he had to abandon his native land. He lectured in philosophy, and later medicine, in Geneva, then Paris, Heidelberg and Leipzig. Everywhere he contacted dissenters' communities and published philosophical and medical texts. After a short stay in Bohemia and conversion to Catholicism in 1582, Simoni was made one of Emperor Rudolf II's doctors. Yet, he did not feel at ease at the Prague court. Hence—endorsed by Andreas Dudith and Mikolaj Wolski—he made attempts to be moved to Báthory's court; in 1583, he was successful. Simoni's annual salary was the same as Buccella's.

The conflict between the two doctors was on the professional level, and stemmed from contrary opinions on methods of caring for the king's health and the natural rivalry for his favours, but it also had a personal overtone; the presumable difference of characters was accompanied by the difference of creed, existing since Simoni's conversion at the end 1584.²⁰¹ It is beyond doubt that Buccella, irritated by favours that the king gave to the new doctor, tried to remove him from the court. Simoni spread the rumour that Buccella wanted to poison the king. The unexpected death of Báthory unleashed a hail of criticism towards both doctors and exacerbated the animosity between them, while providing occasion for them to formulate reciprocal accusations (in brochures and polemic writings, which lasted for the next few years).

The later fate of both adversaries was not decided by substantive arguments but by politics. During the free election, Buccella endorsed Zygmunt III Vasa, while Simoni was a supporter of the Habsburg candidate. Thus Buccella—thanks, amongst other things to Chancellor Zamoyski's support—became the leading doctor of King Zygmunt III (*primarius medicus regius*). The doctor received an annual salary and soon *indygenat* status (1589). Owing to his influential patients, he maintained a high position, and political missions were even conferred upon him. He was active in dissenters' circles (he befriended Fausto Sozzini), as well as among Italians living in Kraków. Simoni, however, became Archduke Maximilian's doctor and left Poland in 1587, to which—as confirmed by his epitaph in the Franciscan church in Kraków—he returned before death.²⁰²

A similar course of life brought to the Polish court another doctor and dissenter. Fabio Nifo came from the south, the Kingdom of Naples. Like Buccella and Simoni, he studied in Padua, where he obtained his doctor's degree in medicine

201 See Lech Szczucki, *W kręgu myślicieli heretyckich...*, p. 149.

202 Ibidem, p. 147-149, 153-154; *PSB* III, p. 74-75; XXXVII, p. 529-532.

and – after several years’ stay in Paris – began lecturing. Accused of apostasy and supporting the Huguenots, he was imprisoned by the Inquisition in 1576. He escaped from prison and went to Vienna, where he developed a general practice. Allegedly, his growing fame prompted his invitation to the Kraków court. Thus, Nifo became—alongside Buccella—court doctor of Báthory, with the same salary of 600 florins a year. Conflict soon arose between them (perhaps not as spectacular as the previously discussed feud, but no less fierce). Nifo tried to discredit Buccella’s knowledge and methods of treatment. The latter “even was considering resignation.”²⁰³ The clash finally ended with Nifo’s defeat, after he fell into bitter conflict with one of his patients, Urbano della Ripa, who was unsatisfied with the course of treatment. In the escalation of discord, the doctor was charged with the intention to poison his patient. The defendant did not appear before court, choosing instead to flee the country. He sped to England and thence to Leiden, where he stayed until his death.

Nifo resided thus at Báthory’s court not even a year, and did not live to see Simoni’s arrival, which was rather a favourable circumstance. Three such personalities under one roof could indeed have caused considerable trouble. Let us add that quarrels between court doctors could result from their personal characteristics and inter-Italian competition at a foreign court, but they could also be a natural consequence of the burden of responsibility for the monarch’s health, a burden that lay on the shoulders of the specialist imported from abroad.

Over later years, such bitter contention between Italian medics is not noted. The next court doctor of Zygmunt III was a Venetian, Giovanni Battista Gemma (1535–1608). He studied medicine in Padua. Originally, he resided at the court of Archduke Charles II Francis in Graz, whence he came to Poland. It is known that in 1593, he became court doctor and received a fixed salary secured on the Wieliczka salt mines. In the times of Jan II Kazimierz, Carlo Conradi belonged to the medical elite. He lived and worked in Warsaw and, in 1676, was granted *indigenat* status. He was a personal doctor of Ludwika Maria and Maria Kazimiera, notwithstanding the fact that Jan III allegedly did not trust him. Conradi’s sister, Marianna, married another Italian doctor, Antonio Laciosi, also practising then in Poland.²⁰⁴

In spite of the quoted examples, it seems that in Polish realities there is no point in firmly connecting medical professions with Italian arrivals. Such qualifications, if the matter is to be treated professionally, were offered, as a rule, to foreigners who had finished a foreign education or had accomplished some trustworthy practice. There are, however, no grounds to hold that – from 17th century on – it was Italians who were dominant in this group. Therefore, we are not surprised by

203 *PSB* XXIII, p. 109.

204 *PSB* VII, p. 384; IV, p. 93-94.

the observation of an 18th century traveller, who viewed the medical environment in Poland as dominated by foreigners usually educated at German universities. According to this author, foreign provenance allowed for hiding shameful episodes from a professional past, and primarily revealed the ad hoc manner of the recruiting process of these specialists by magnates travelling across Europe. “Thus,” Friedrich Schulz commented, “ranks of doctors in Poland are made of almost all European nationalities, English, Italians, French, particularly Germans from all parts of the state. This whole pack works here perkily, often without any patents nor certificates.”²⁰⁵

Military and Engineers

Military professions are not primarily associated with Italians, but rather with representatives of other nations: the English, the Scots, the Irish, and predominantly the Germans. However, we should bear in mind the evolution of stereotypes connected with national traits.

In the period we are studying, we record also the presence of Italian officers in Polish and Lithuanian units, though they are rather separate cases. We learn from Jan Władysław Poczobut Odlanicki’s diaries, for example, that the light cavalry of the left flank of Wincenty Gosiewski’s Lithuanian army, commanded by Kazimierz Żeromski, Pantler of Vilnius (on 9 October 1658 on the Neman River near Kaunas, he fought a victorious battle against Russian troops of Yury Dolgorukov) included, amongst others, troops fighting under six dragoon ensigns, under the command of Giovanni Battista Roselli.²⁰⁶ In the early letters of Jan Sobieski (not yet a king) to his wife, Colonel Colalto, an Italian, appears in the army of the Crown; he is commander of a Reiters’ division.²⁰⁷

In the period of the Polish-Swedish wars, the greatest prominence was attained by Giovanni Paolo Cellari (d. 1664), deriving from a noble Milanese family, whose representatives dwelled in Kraków for two generations and were occupied with trade. Cellari, who spent his youth in military service abroad, made his mark after returning home during the Swedish Deluge. Twice commander of a unit at the Jasna Góra monastery, he fought under both Stefan Czarniecki and, subsequently, Jerzy Lubomirski. He participated in the Battle of Ochmatów and the Siege of Warsaw. In 1658, after Toruń had been wrenched from Swedish hands, he became governor of the stronghold there. In recognition of his exploits during the war, *indigenat* status was bestowed upon him in 1662, and soon after

205 Friedrich Schulz, *Podróże Inflantczyka...*, p. 605.

206 See Jan Władysław Poczobut Odlanicki, *Pamiętnik...*, p. 40.

207 Jan Sobieski, *Listy...*, p. 14.

he became the governor of Kraków and of Kraków's castle. Cellari's career was combined with a very advanced process of Polonisation, which was completed in the next generation.²⁰⁸

Recent studies of officers in foreign units in Lithuanian army around the mid-17th century indicate only a few easily-identifiable figures of Italian origin ("seven or nine, not including several engineers").²⁰⁹ Their presence in the ranks of the Commonwealth army did not pose a problem, though the contrary opinion was held by some noble political commentators.

Italian talents, however, showed up in the field of military engineering, understood as a combination of the art of constructing fortifications and qualifications in casting and artillery. Simone Genga (1530–1596) was a military architect acting in Poland in Báthory's times. He came from Urbino, where apparently he acquired professional skills in the renowned school of fortress constructors, whose patrons were the Princes della Rovere. For 20 years, Genga served rulers of Tuscany. In 1573, he was invited to the imperial court by Maximilian II. He designed a modernization of Graz fortress for Charles II Francis of Austria, after which he moved to Transylvania, where he took over the erection of a new bastion in Nagyvárad, and thence he came as part of Báthory's entourage to Poland.

Genga's first task was the construction and modernization of fortresses in the south-eastern borderlands. Then he participated in the Livonian campaigns: the Siege of Velikiye Luki, and Pskov. After the war, he remained in Livonia, where he erected the strongest fortress there, Daugavgrīva. After Báthory's death, he returned to Transylvania to continue – now in service of Prince Zygmunt Báthory – works in Nagyvárad.²¹⁰ Thus, Genga was a typical specialist, employed by subsequent European courts, while his activity in Poland was closely linked with King Stefan's rule, whose needs in the scope of military-architectural services were so great that one foreign specialist could not fulfil them.

Another Italian figure of similar qualifications appears in the context of designing the castle at Nesvizh, work on which began in 1582 at the behest of Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł aka Sierotka, and which was ascribed to Giovanni Maria Bernardoni (though the veracity of this is uncertain). Doubts also arise concerning the genesis of the then modern fortifications at Nesvizh, the creators of which, according to Tadeusz Bernatowicz, were to be found in a group of formidable engineers active in Stefan Báthory's circle, "for whom worked such excellencies of 'militaris architecture' as Giacomo Barozzi da Vignola, Domenico Ridolfini, Simone Genga, Pasquale and Antonio Cicogna, Ottavio Baldigara."

208 *PSB* III, p. 225-226.

209 Andrzej Rachuba, *Oficerowie cudzoziemskiego auctoramentu...*, p. 62-63.

210 *PSB* VII, p. 385.

Eventually he indicated “Ridolfini (d. 1584) and his assistant Herculo Roseni, co-operating also with the king and Chancellor Zamoyski.”²¹¹ Irrespective of the verdict on the attribution of the Nesvizh fortifications, what attracts attention is the significant, homogeneously Italian list of extraordinary military engineers then in service of the Polish court.

A generation younger, Andrea dell’Aqua (b. c. 1580), a Venetian noble, came to Poland before 1608 and was engaged consecutively at the magnate courts of the Sieniawskis, Ostrogskis, Zamoyskis, and Zasławskis. He was also in the king’s service as the supervisor of the artillery school, which was established by Zygmunt III in 1622. Dell’Aqua issued the statute of the school and the assembly of gunsmiths himself, as he devoted particularly great attention to this professional group. He also prepared a project at the Knights’ Academy, in which the art of artillery and the arcana of fortification construction were to be taught. He developed the topic in his treatise *Praxis ręczna o działach...*, which was preserved in manuscript form. Apart from explaining the principles of artillery and strongholds, it comprised information about bridge construction, preparing light shows, and military deception.²¹²

Thanks to the introduction and dedications with which the author adorned his treatise, we learn some biographical details. If one breaks through the barrier of clumsy Polish (after a stay of 17 years the local language still posed some problems for the Italian), we learn that dell’Aqua, to the peril of his health and life, studied the arcana of fortifications and artillery for 38 years, along the way visiting “many remote and conterminous states.” The most significant conclusion of these experiences was the necessity for close correlation between fortification and knowledge of artillery (none can fortify “unless he hath Praxim [practice] in cannons”). Hence creating the concept of the proposed military academy and founding that which the author sincerely hoped for.²¹³

Isidoro Affaitati (1622 – c. 1687), who arrived in Poland in the times of Jan II Kazimierz, was a Milanese representative of a family strongly connected with Poland, and a military engineer too. In 1655, due to the Swedish threat, the king conferred on him the task of fortifying Kraków. Referred to as royal “captain and engineer,” he was involved in the military action against the Swedes and battles in the east (The Battle of Chudniv, 1660). In 1673, he was endowed with indygenat status for military merit. Yet, military engineering was not his sole field of activity.

211 Tadeusz Bernatowicz, *Monumenta variis Radivillorum...*, p. 15-17.

212 *PSB* I, p. 146-147.

213 [Andrea dell’Aqua], *Praxis ręczna o działach...*, p. 14: “and I am the first who planned to found Knights’ Academy and teach those two arts in Polish, since I fancied this valiant nation and had nothing else to give it as a keepsake after I part with this world, I leave this fruit.”

He was also royal secretary, and successfully exploited two brickyards, granted to him in 1668.²¹⁴ Therefore, the phenomenon of Italian architectural-engineering achievements, though not necessarily unequivocally associated with this nation's activity, should not be disregarded. In the final part of a copious letter from Tito Livio Burattini to Ismaele Bouillau, written from Warsaw 7 October 1672, we find a description of one of such accomplishments, namely a construction of Colonel Giovanni Battista Frediani from Lucca, active in Vilnius at that time.²¹⁵ The colonel was supposedly well known to the addressee from Bouillau's visit to Poland and their common stay in Jazdów. The expert in artillery gained a high officer's rank in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, and obtained – as we read – a handsome salary. Frediani, during his stay in Vilnius the previous year, reportedly received from the town authorities a proposal to build a solid—“for a hundred years and more”—bridge over Viliya, described by Burattini as swiftly flowing and deep with high banks, 400 feet wide.²¹⁶ The wooden bridge at the site had, until then, been destroyed, swept away by the high water and drift ice each spring, and its reconstruction cost every time roughly 50,000 florins. After brief negotiations, the deal was struck and the necessary materials were secured. Frediani constructed a bridge – let us appreciate his engineering talent – based on an arch, with no piers embedded in the river channel. The construction additionally impressed with its elegance, for it was tiled with flagstone and roofed (“per essere lastricato di pietra e tutto coperto”), and also with its enormous span (“smisurata longhezza”). It is only regrettable—Burattini wrote—that this structure was not created in some other place whose inhabitants could appreciate the engineering artistry of the designer.²¹⁷

Having noted this latter unfavourable remark about the inhabitants of Vilnius, let us add that Burattini complimented also the cost of investment, which—incurred only once—proved to be smaller than the cost of annual reconstruction; and, perhaps most crucially in this context, he suggested creating and multiplying in print the blueprint of the bridge and sending it around the world (evidently, in today's parlance, for the sake of promotion), as a similar solution had yet to be employed anywhere else.²¹⁸

Considering that the above compliments flowed from the pen of another competent Italian specialist, we could assume that we deal here with not only a reliable description but also an objective one. Admittedly, in 1672 (the same year

214 *PSB* I, p. 29-30.

215 Antonio Favaro, *Intorno alla vita ed ai lavori di Tito Livio Burattini...*, p. 128.

216 “un fiume molto rapido e profondo che si chiama Wilia, il quale ha le sponde assai alte et è largo quattrocento piedi” – *ibidem*.

217 “siano huomini ingegnosi che possano ammirare l'ingegno dell'inventore” – *ibidem*.

218 “Io non credo che in tutto il mondo ve ne sia un simile d'un sol arco, nè che mai sia stato” – *ibidem*, p. 128-129.

as publication), Frediani was on the verge of imprisonment because the bridge was washed away by the Viliya's current. However, he finally managed to redeem himself, as evidenced by the fact that Sejm granted him *indygenat* status in 1673.²¹⁹

Not to multiply categories, let us only mention a predilection for the role of horse riding instruction. It was called *kawalkator* (horse breaker and trainer), and it was an unquestioned Italian profession in the studied period. In his 1568 account, Nuncio Giulio Ruggieri praised the beauty and other qualities of Polish horses and noted the leading role of the cavalry in the structure of the Polish-Lithuanian army. Also, he stressed that, despite this, "there is none among them who would be an able groom and teach youths horse riding." The nuncio held that "in the entire Poland there are no more than three or four head grooms and only in the king's or powerful lords' service," and only part of the nobility learned "to ride a horse" during their stays in Italy.²²⁰

Giovanni Battista Filiponi—horse breaker from Naples, the most prestigious provenance for this profession—was permanently employed by Stanisław Lubomirski, Kraków voivode, and the situation was similar at other magnate courts.²²¹ The character in one of the colourful anecdotes cited by Karol Ogier in his *Dziennik* is "Horatio an Italian, horsebreaker."²²² This profession is also remarked upon in the context of artists performing on stage, because one can see a common denominator, namely a spectacle that horse riding shows indeed used to be.

Active in Many Fields...

...indeed, in too many fields to subject to our schematic classification. Three figures, briefly characterised below, are merely examples of this phenomenon, for activity in many fields, and also several changes of sphere of activity, characterised a far greater number of Italian immigrants.

Tito Livio Burattini

Burattini was undoubtedly one of the most outstanding Italians active in Poland of the 17th century. As is the case with the majority of extraordinary representatives

219 *PSB* VII, p. 104.

220 *Relacye nuncyuszów apostolskich...*, vol. I, p. 200.

221 [Czerniecki], *Dwór, wspaniałość i rządy...*, p. 49; see Józef Długosz, *Mecenat kulturalny i dwór Stanisława Lubomirskiego...*, p. 111, Janusz Tazbir, "Włoszczyzna" w Polsce..., p. 359.

222 Karol Ogier, *Dziennik podróży do Polski...*, vol. I, p. 329-331.

of that time, it is impossible to determine his profession clearly, or to indicate the active sphere in which he would realise his aspirations more than in others. We may only say that he was not an artist.

Usually raising negative associations—with the monetary crisis during the time of Jan Kazimierz II—as a producer of low value money, Burattini also became an object of interest to historiography, primarily Polish, but also Italian, chiefly due to his treatise on universal measure (“*misura universale*”), being a bold and novel attempt at creating a versatile and at the same time coherent system of measures.²²³

There is practically no information about the first 20 years of his life. We know that in 1637–1641 he stayed in Egypt, where he carried out geographical and archaeological research; during that time he wrote *Discorso fatto sopra il Niloscopio*, which was an attempt to determine the genesis of the Nile floods (with an indication of the abundance of saltpetre contained in the river water).²²⁴ Co-operation with the famous English astronomer and mathematician, John Greaves, generated Burattini’s interest in metrology. However, we no longer have a copy of his chief work, the result of the stay in Egypt, called *Descrittione di tutto l’Egitto* (thus, presumably, a description of Egypt using quantitative methods).

In 1641 or 1642, he returned to Europe and after a brief stay in Germany, settled in Poland, hence already as an established intellectual and scientist, which may be attested also by amicable contacts which he made with Stanisław Pudłowski, a brilliant mathematician, Galileo’s friend, and former dean of the Academy of Kraków. Pudłowski supposedly gave Burattini a manuscript of *Bilancetta*. This was a treatise by Galileo, who had died the previous year.

On his way to Italy in 1645, Burattini was assaulted and robbed in Hungary, losing the manuscripts of his two most important works. Nevertheless, during his stay in Italy he continued scientific work; he read the first printing of *Bilancetta* and prepared for printing—supplemented with a section on universal measure—his own treaty *La bilancia sincera*.

Then he returned to Poland to learn that, in his absence, Stanisław Pudłowski, an important partner in scientific debates, had died. In 1647 Burattini—inspired by *Trattato delle meccaniche* by Galileo—presented to Władysław IV a project for a flying machine (“*dragone volante*”), along with a short treatise including

223 Antoni Hniłko, author of the most comprehensive Polish biography of Burattini entitled it: *Tytus Liwjuż Boratyni, dworzanin króla Jana Kazimierza, mincarz i uczonec*. Ludwik Birkenmajer devoted a significant text to Borattini – in the introduction to Kraków edition of *Misura universale*. Recently: Gianfranco Cisilino, Ferdinando Tamis, Magda e Sigfrido Leschiutta, *Tito Livio Burattini, scienziato agordino del '600*, Cassa di Risparmio di Verona, Vicenza e Belluno, Agordo 1983.

224 See Antoni Hniłko, *Włosi w Polsce...*, p. 7-11.

a thesis on the possibility of flying. He won the king's support for the idea of constructing the flying machine, but due to the dramatic political events of 1648 (Cossack uprisings) and the king's death, he did not manage to collect the 500 scudos needed to realise this project.

At the same time, Burattini began to engage in constructing optical tools. In 1650 he visited Paris and met Pierre Petit, who co-operated earlier with Pascal on vacuum experiments. From the following year Burattini maintained a long, friendly correspondence with the Gdańsk astronomer Johannes Hevelius.

Meanwhile, the queen became a patron of the Italian scientist after the king's death. In 1652, thanks to the support of Ludwika Maria and her secretary Pierre des Noyers, Burattini achieved his first serious material success by obtaining in lease the lead and silver mine near Olkusz. Next year, the steel plant in Zawadowo was bestowed for life upon the scholar, who was now titled royal architect. Taking advantage of the improvement in his material status in Poland, Burattini tried to secure a better existence also in Italy. In 1655 he bought—assuredly at a good price, for from an outlaw Giuseppe Crotta—half the mountainous territory of Agner and Luna, within the Republic of Venice.²²⁵ Apparently he had not at the time decided about his final place of residence, though subsequent events indicated a strong inclination to assimilate in Poland.

Burattini married a noblewoman, Teresa Opacka, in 1657, and the next year both brothers, Tito Livio and Filippo, received Polish *indygenat* status, which was noted by Pierre des Noyers in a letter dated 1 September 1658.²²⁶ The document, apart from arguments supporting the bestowal of *indygenat*, highlighted Burattini's merits in diplomacy (he successfully completed “varie e diverse ambascerie”) and in the military arena (he raised and commanded a cavalry unit under Grand Marshal Jerzy Lubomirski), and also, his excellent discharge of the minting task, the commission he had received from the Crown Treasury. Thus, in the context of granting *indygenat* status, at least two spheres of activity—remote from scientific-intellectual occupations and which we hold as important aspects of Burattini's life—were mentioned. Let us begin with diplomacy.

In reference to the looming war with Sweden, the Polish court dispatched Burattini in 1655 to Vienna with the official mission of taking a loan of 300,000 scudos on security of Ludwika Maria's jewels. We know that in the Habsburg capital, the envoy also contacted Niccolò Siri, an accomplished diplomat, knowing Poland and at that time connected with Mattias de Medici's court. Burattini discussed with him the project of the latter's contending for the Polish throne in the event of Jan Kazimierz II's death. Then Burattini discussed the question of the

225 Documents concerning the transaction several times mention that “the buyer resides in Warsaw and may be contacted by mail via nunciature.”

226 *Lettres de Pierre des Noyers...*, p. 435-436; a letter from Warsaw.

Tuscan candidacy in Florence in 1657, directly after the Deluge, and reportedly at the queen's behest. Negotiations did not reach a positive conclusion, but the stay at the Medici court proved beneficial both in social and scientific terms. Burattini was introduced to Grand Duke Leopoldo de Medici and Duke Ferdinando II de Medici, from whom he received the commission to prepare a project for a perpetual motion water clock. He also received from the Grand Duke some instruments for physical measurements, including thermometers. After returning to Poland, Burattini supposedly returned a favour to his benefactor by sending some refined pendulum clock of Dutch production, the mechanism of which was in Italy an absolute novelty.²²⁷ We know that on his way back, in Bologna, the scholar met the famous Jesuit astronomer Giovanni Battista Riccioli, with whom he had previously maintained a correspondence.

A letter from des Noyers, written in a camp near Kraków on 26 August 1657, informs of Burattini's return from Italy. According to this account, the Italian scientist brought many devices useful in further research and experiments. These were hermetically closed thermometers, precision scales (also for weighing liquids of any consistency, and even gases), and instruments allowing the density of liquids—and thus also the quality of wine—to be measured; all were donated by Grand Duke Leopoldo. The Tuscan ruler reportedly showed Burattini his palace clock. It was a very unusual device because it was water-powered but very precise. The Italian promptly devised at sight a method to make the clock wind automatically and to continue working for as long as 100 years without stopping.²²⁸ The next year, we note from the correspondence Burattini's efforts to get access to new kinds of telescopes and optical instruments, which had just been invented and constructed in Venice by the clergyman-scientist Odoardo da Vicenza.²²⁹

In one of the following letters, this time written in Danków, 13 July 1657, Burattini reported to the addressee the content of letters from Johannes Hevelius.²³⁰ This contact, like others maintained among a narrow group of scientists and experimenters scattered around Europe, proved lasting, just like research interests of Burattini, who in 1665 constructed amongst other things a powerful telescope

227 “... il primo oriuolo a dondolo che fosse portato in Italia.” Let us add that the pendulum clock, in ebony case with crystal glass face cover – in the Grand Dukes of Tuscany's inventory from 1690 described as a gift from Poland – was a present from Jan II Kazimierz – Juliusz A. Chrościcki, *Naukowo-literackie środowisko Villa Regia...*, p. 94.

228 *Lettres de Pierre des Noyers...*, p. 342-343.

229 *Ibidem*, p. 434; the letter from Warsaw dated 28 July 1658.

230 *Ibidem*, p. 330; the co-operation of both scientists resulted in the creation of a giant telescope (*maximus tubus*) in Gdańsk, 150-feet-long, whose shape was depicted in engravings in *Machina coelestis*, published in Gdańsk, in 1673 – Juliusz A. Chrościcki, *Naukowo-literackie środowisko Villa Regia...*, p. 95.

allowing people and horses to be observed from a distance of three Italian miles (around 20 km) and discern people and colours. In a letter from Warsaw, 4 December 1671, the Italian scientist informed Hevelius about his plan to print *La bilancia sincera*. Nearly one year later, 7 October 1672, in addressing Ismaele Bouillau, another astronomer with whom he corresponded intensively, Burattini signalled the conclusion of work on *La misura universale*. However, he complained about the lack of time for scientific and construction work, as the king [Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki] conferred upon him the post of Warsaw military commander in such turbulent times, which he also held in the following year.²³¹

La misura universale, printed in Vilnius in 1675, was dedicated to all rulers potentially interested in the possible application of a universal measure in east and west, a measure that was to prove highly useful in international trade on a grand scale. The publication of the treatise, on which he worked many years, must have brought him satisfaction, but, in his letters, a pessimistic tone surfaced more recurrently. Writing from Warsaw, 4 October of that year, to Bouillau, Burattini lamented staying far from centres of the exchange of thoughts and on the margin of scientific life. Thus, with greater impatience, he awaited the critical remarks of the addressee about the treatise on the issue of universal measure because in the place he currently stayed there was none competent enough to assess his work.²³²

Do these sentences contain a kind of coquetry of a person knowing the worth of his achievements and scientific reflection, aware of rightful partnership in relation to the greatest authorities, or did Burattini feel truly alienated and exasperated because practising science in remote Poland proved harder than he expected? This question cannot be answered without first looking at Burattini's activity in the economic sphere, which perhaps was primary in his view. Its most crucial element was minting activity, which to a great extent affected the image and position of Burattini in the Commonwealth.

He was given the lease on the royal mint in Kraków in 1657, directly after the Deluge. He was backed, at least initially, by Paolo Del Buono, who must have first met Burattini in Vienna the previous year on his diplomatic mission. Del Buono, a mathematician connected with Tuscan court, resided then at the emperor's court as a leaseholder of mines and head of the local mint.²³³ Like Burattini, he was admirer of the exact sciences: physics, hydraulics, and optics. Thus, the two men naturally found a common language. It must have been then that the idea of taking mints on lease arose.²³⁴

231 Antonio Favaro, *Intorno alla vita ed ai lavori di Tito Livio Burattini...*, p. 128.

232 Ibidem, p. 131-133; the letter to Ismaele Bouillau written from Warsaw 10 July 1676 with dedications enclosed.

233 See *Lettres de Pierre des Noyers...*, p. 125.

234 Ibidem, p. 524; a letter from Warsaw, written 20 June 1659.

The mechanism was simple. The treasury of the war-wrecked Polish-Lithuanian state urgently needed cash and tried to secure the necessary means by minting the right coin; the Italian entrepreneurs were among first who were ready to venture this promising though risky experiment. On the one hand, the profit which could be raised must have been handsome (though reconstructing exact calculations seems impossible); on the other hand, costs (which included reputational costs, for the operators were repeatedly charged with mint forgeries) were huge. As an aside, let us add that the phenomenon of debasement and rapid inflation related to it, along with general nervousness in the financial markets, did undoubtedly occur, and Burattini suffered personally.

The activity that so vexed his noble critics, and eventually contributed to his disrepute, began on a greater scale in 1659, when the contract for the mint lease was renewed and he was bestowed with the task of producing the new copper coin (the shilling or *szeląg*, also called *boratynka*). It cannot be excluded that, besides Burattini, the shillings were issued by private forgers, especially outside Poland, who flooded the market, but it was the hallmark “T L B,” from the minting master’s name, which became the symbol of the circulating currency.²³⁵

At the Sejm forum in 1661, Burattini was accused of not upholding his agreement, misappropriation of substantial sum, and unjustified enrichment arising from the mint lease. Thus, he tendered his resignation, but upon a motion of Sejm committee, and also after intervention of the king himself, he decided to yield to persuasion and continue his minting activity. In 1663–64 Burattini was formally acquitted of charges and renewed all hitherto lease contracts. He also decided to personally defend his good name and monetary activity in a brochure in the Polish *Informacya o Mennicy Szelągowej*. Additionally, he engaged in a long-lasting polemic with his rival in minting, Andrzej Tymf.

Despite these efforts, under Jan II Kazimierz, Burattini was generally perceived as accessory to the public finance crisis. Polemical writing from 1665, the author of which evidently shared the rebellious mood of Jerzy Lubomirski’s supporters, stressed for example that—in spite of the ban—the Italians still produced shillings, from which the royal court clearly profited by getting immediate financial aid for its foul actions. In another text from the same period, the king faced the open accusation that “he hath with fake mints contaminated the Commonwealth *ex senatus consulto*—in contract with Tymf and Boratyni.”²³⁶

It is hard to assess whether macroeconomic consequences of the contemporary minting activity were clear to those who lived at that time, but—even without the knowledge of Copernicus-Gresham’s law about bad money driving out good—this debasement was felt bitterly by all using money. Purposefully and consciously

235 See *Pisma polityczne z czasów Jana Kazimierza...*, vol. I, p. 248, vol. II, p. 155.

236 *Ibidem*, vol. III, p. 84, 113.

reducing the metal content in coins resulted in their losing real value, which was why money lost stability as legal tender. This caused nervous divestment of coin of worsening value, and the search for other measures of value when making serious transactions (such as marking that a deal was struck in good money—“moneta bona,” and not the bad money in circulation—“moneta currens”).

Perhaps a critical part in the process of destabilising money, fatal to the Commonwealth economy, was played by issuing the so-called *boratynki*, “coins so contagious that all long-lasting wars wrought as much harm as this coin,” according to *Dyskurs o eksorbitancjach*, dated Autumn 1668.²³⁷ Undeniably, the name of the wily Italian entrepreneur became cemented in popular awareness in a definitely negative context.²³⁸ Growing distrust accompanied his actions. When, during the first months of 1666, he was building a bridge of boats in Warsaw, behind the scenes in the Sejm assembly, the rumour was spread that punts loaded with noblemen’s corn would be confiscated as material for bridge construction. Recurring negative views enforced the unfavourable stereotype, even causing specific irritation that the figure of the resourceful Italian triggered among more and more commentators.²³⁹

The Coronation Sejm of 1669 most often mentioned the figure of Burattini: it was demanded that he be deprived of Osieck Starostwo and even that all his property be confiscated. “I will not forsake until death,” declared one of the most implacable, Sebastian Jaranowski, Deputy Judge of Brześć in Cuiavia, “when a traitor and unworthy of other *praemium* than be hanged on the highest gallows.” The postulate was repeated by this speaker in subsequent polemic orations while enumerating Burattini’s “betrayals, *defraudationes et depauperationes* of homeland.”²⁴⁰

Admittedly some more balanced voices were also heard. Mikołaj Prażmowski, archbishop of Gniezno, made an appeal for Burattini to be first tried and then punished; whereas Jan Zygmunt Oborski, castellan of Warsaw, reproached the gathered deputies with a sudden change in attitude to the able Italian, who “previously was good,” and drew attention to the responsibility of superintendents who were to supervise minting activity.²⁴¹ Nonetheless, emotions and radical postulates prevailed.

237 See *Pisma polityczne z czasów Jana Kazimierza...*, vol. III, p. 343.

238 Ibidem, p. 95; 134.

239 Ibidem, p. 150. “May Boratyni have two ships of shillings through his belly decanted, and those who supervise the mint – be given absinthium to drink” – such prescriptions were included, among other things, in *Awizy z Warszawy do jednego ziemianina 1667 anno*.

240 *Diariusz sejmu koronacyjnego 1669...*, p. 33, 24, 54-55.

241 Ibidem, p. 59, 77.

Sebastian Jaranowski, a leading opponent of Burattini, was evidently annoyed not only by activity detrimental to the Commonwealth Treasury, but also the life efficiency of the Italian, who—horror of horrors!—thived so well in new realities that he “became a noble without having cut even a pig’s ear for the Commonwealth.” This unjust obtainment of ennoblement was the crowning of a whole series of vile doing through which this “ne’er-do-well” and foe of the country, worthy of “burning to dust,” attained his goal.²⁴²

Irrespective how we judge these emotions, the structures of the Polish-Lithuanian state remained generally helpless, and procedures undertaken were revealed to be ineffective. Despite such serious charges and objections, Burattini also received, in lease, the Lithuanian mint at the end of the 1660s. This was to stay in his hands for a long time, and, in 1678, the Sejm formally recognised the debt of the Treasury of the Crown to Burattini. The debt was paid to his heirs as late as 1685. Thus, competent Sejm commissions were unable to prove Burattini either fraudulent or guilty of conscious action to the detriment of the Commonwealth treasury; and there is little chance that a historian today could do so either.

However, the atmosphere created around the mint master must have been a real burden. In a letter to Paolo Minucci, penned in Warsaw, 23 May 1668 Burattini wrote among other things that he could not travel to Italy earlier than in autumn, as he had to wait for the Sejm, and only after its conclusion would he set out for Italy, and stay there for at least a year, to “have some rest after so much hardship I had to suffer in the past years.”²⁴³

Let us add that, as a result of a quite heated discussion, economic historians are rather consensual about the core of economic dependencies. The monetary crisis, under the reign of Zygmunt III and—more profound and severe—after “the Deluge,” lasted at least till the end of the reign of Jan II Kazimierz. This crisis was not the result of economic perturbations but was rather its expression and consequence. It resulted from the growth in prices and outflow of precious metals from the country, and not from speculation. Therefore monetary crisis was a consequence and simultaneously a sign of economic crisis. The latter, let us remark, in the Commonwealth realities, flowed from the bad economic structure of the country with its ineffective agricultural economy, the feeble state of other branches of production, the orientation towards agricultural export, and the import of luxury goods.²⁴⁴

In this light, can Burattini’s minting activity be treated as an example of preying on Polish weaknesses? In some sense, we can answer yes. His activity required outlays and investments and ideas and knowledge of local economic

242 Ibidem, p. 21, 55.

243 Antonio Favaro, *Intorno alla vita ed ai lavori di Tito Livio Burattini...*, p. 120.

244 See Zdzisław Sadowski, *Pieniądz a początki upadku...*, p. 133.

and social realities. It also assumed a specific weakness of state structures and the lack of the possibility to enforce contracts effectively. At the same time, this activity was risky. It could bring enormous profit but also deal with what was hardly a safe partner, since the Commonwealth Treasury was often unable to pay, and clear means of settling disputes were missing. It was also hazardous to run afoul of noblemen's opinion, which occurred particularly often in the case of Burattini and certainly—besides illnesses—must have troubled him at the end of his life.

His health deteriorated quite unexpectedly. In a letter to his friend Pierre des Noyers, written 20 December 1680, Burattini complained about his physical condition and suffering from gout.²⁴⁵ He died nearly year later, on 17 November 1681, at the age of 64, reportedly in penury and solitude. If this was true, indeed his life turned a full, strange, circle, because the motive for which he left Italy was typical: to search for better living conditions and the possibility of scientific and intellectual development.²⁴⁶

Thus, Burattini left his homeland, arrived in Poland, understood this country and was able to find his place in it: at the royal court, he encountered understanding and support for his scientific interests, and diplomatic missions were conferred upon him. All of these interactions provided him with the occasion for intellectual and scientific contacts; he could act on a grand scale in the fields of economy and finance, while at the same time maintaining contacts with Italy.

Can he be regarded as a man of success though? It is doubtful, not only because he failed to accumulate a measurable wealth by the end of his life, but also due to the atmosphere of suspicion, grudges, and accusations, which—justly or not—surrounded him for many years. In that time, Burattini (albeit in Poland called Boratyński), did not Polonise at his core. He did not manage, and it seems he did not desire, to overcome cultural barriers, including differences in mentality.

Girolamo Pinocci

We view another figure in a completely different light. No less colourful, also having multiple interests and active in many fields, Girolamo Pinocci was described in a bibliographic compendium as “merchant, royal secretary, diplomat and writer,” and even so this description does not encompass the full diversity of his occupations.²⁴⁷

245 Antonio Favaro, *Intorno alla vita ed ai lavori di Tito Livio Burattini...*, p. 136.

246 Gianfranco Cisilino..., *Tito Livio Burattini...*, p. 5.

247 *PSB* XXVI, p. 341-343.

The Pinocci family derived from Siena, but in the 15th century one of its branches moved to Lucca, where on the last day of 1612, Girolamo was born.²⁴⁸ His father, Paolo, was a trader, who worked in Germany and was connected with the Emperor Ferdinand III, by whom he was ennobled in 1643. Girolamo inherited from his father the profession and contacts with the Habsburg court. He rendered some services to Cecilia Renata, future Polish queen, hence the presumption that it was the marriage of Władysław IV with the Habsburg princess contracted in 1637 that brought him to Poland. This is probable but not the only possible explanation. Italian migration was a continuous phenomenon, and exactly at that time, in the first half of the 17th century, arrivals from Lucca were appearing in increasing numbers in Kraków. In 1626 Vincenzo Barsotti, a well-prospering merchant trading in fabrics and realising commissions from the royal court, adopted municipal law. He was Girolamo's uncle, and surely it was he who drafted his young nephew in and after some time handed over his trading business.²⁴⁹ In 1638 Girolamo acted as Władysław IV's factor, importing cloth of gold from Italy to the king's order, and in 1640 he became a citizen of Kraków. The one who introduced and confirmed Girolamo's genealogical data was a notable Kraków wine and cloth merchant, Rafaele Del Pace, whose stepdaughter Girolamo soon married (1644) and with whom, until 1654, he jointly ran a trading business.

Thus, having first tested the position of the royal servitor, Pinocci decided to work under municipal law. As a matter of fact, he went high; from 1644 he was town councillor, twice mayor, and participated in numerous enterprises and commercial partnerships in Kraków, Lublin, and Warsaw. He operated collectively; apart from Barsotti and Del Pace he co-operated in trade with his brothers, from among whom Giuseppe lived in Venice, and it is known about Gaspare that he would come to Poland, and Niccolò settled there permanently (he died as a canon of Pułtusk in 1675).

Trading activity brought Pinocci measurable benefits. Already in 1643 he could afford a house on the Main Square (neighbouring Del Pace's house), and he had a store and "rich stall" in the Sukiennice Cloth Hall. His wife's dowry was half the house at Mały Rynek. From 1651, he held the Dzieckowice estate in Silesia; in 1671, he erected his own manor house in Warsaw, while still owning a house in his native Lucca, which could mean that he also considered the possibility of returning there. At the time of the Deluge, Pinocci, like Burattini, though not on such a grand scale, engaged in minting. Working under the auspices of Great Chancellor of the Crown Stefan Koryciński, he administered mint in Lviv (1656–

248 See Karolina Targosz, *Hieronim Pinocci...*, p. 7-19.

249 In May 1640, Barsotti resigned from municipal law and left Kraków in order to return for old age to his homeland.

1657). It is worth remarking that the company's office was Bandinelli's house on Lviv's market square, and the closest associate was Pinocci's trusted secretary, Lorenzo Bandinelli, which we regard as another proof of group action undertaken by representatives of the Italian community.

Admittedly, ort and szóstak coins issued at that time by the Lviv mint were many years later to be categorised as "most ugly and most clunky,"²⁵⁰ but Pinocci was not the object of attacks or accusations. His activity in this field—due to its relatively short time and the small scale of the enterprise, and perhaps also because of the Great Chancellor of the Crown's patronage—did not become a stimulus for political polemics.

Operating as a merchant and entrepreneur, Pinocci simultaneously showed an interest not only in the monarch's court, which was a natural magnet, but also in the Polish-Lithuanian state and its structures. From 1645, he was royal secretary, which in the case of foreigners meant the performance of concrete tasks ordered by the king and chancery. Therefore, Pinocci co-operated with consecutive chancellors: Stefan Koryciński, Mikołaj Prażmowski and Jan Leszczyński; attained titles and prominent roles; was a notary and then prefect of the Close Roll in 'smaller chancery', the king's Archivist and Custodian of the Great Seal of the Kingdom. Pinocci was also titled assessor of the Royal Court of Justice and personal adviser to the king. The list is impressive, and provides evidence of the trust that Jan II Kazimierz had in his Italian secretary, and also for the extraordinary interest that the latter showed in the matters of state. The firmness of this attitude may be proven by the fact that Pinocci—we do not know whether successfully—applied for the position of Italian secretary to the new king, Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki (1669), and subsequently made efforts to gain an analogous function at the side of the widow-queen, Eleanor (1673).

One of the consequences of functioning in the king's entourage was that diplomatic missions were conferred upon Pinocci. First he accompanied Jan Leszczyński, voivode of Łęczycza, on his mission to Vienna, where Polish envoys sought the emperor's support in the war with Sweden. Then, on his own, as Jan II Kazimierz's envoy, he went to the Netherlands (1658) and England (1659), and his merits in diplomatic missions were emphasised by the king when he applied for *indygenat* status for the Italian.

This symbolic act, stressing the willingness of the foreigner to fully assimilate, took place at the Sejm of 1662, but it was the crowning of long endeavours. Pinocci's intensive efforts in this regard were mentioned by Pierre des Noyers in a letter written as early as 18 May 1656 from Głogów, ascribing to the Italian secretary considerable influence in royal chancery and describing him as "virtuoso

letterato.”²⁵¹ Referring to this epithet, let us proceed to yet another sphere of Pinocci’s activity, namely commentary; perhaps the most crucial for his successful adaptation to Polish realities.

Pinocci wrote numerous and very diverse texts. Only part of them directly related to his professional activity, whereas all showed a profound interest in his new homeland, and even some ambitions to reform it.²⁵² Two texts, created in the 1660s (of which only one, *Vilis moneta Reipublicae pestis*, was printed) were directly devoted to the economy and to monetary issues, and contributed competently to the debate on contemporary minting, the problem of debasement and the economic consequences of this trend. The author, by proposing mercantilist measures modelled on the Dutch system, vowed to be an opponent of issuing coins of low purity, but simultaneously defended Tito Livio Burattini and his minting proceedings strongly. He pointed out the relatively low level of damage done by the copper shillings he issued. Pinocci also penned quite a few brochures and occasional texts, and also the text of a chronicle of natural and historical commentaries. They concerned, amongst other subjects, the most spectacular events of the Swedish invasion and the 1660s, and also the Polish victory at Chocim in 1673. Moreover, he wrote political memoranda concerning possible structural reforms. He discussed setting up a “general court council”, namely a counterpart of government (*Forma concilii status*, 1672), and favouring the *vivente rege* election concept (*Progetto circa il successore*, c. 1658), promoted by court circles and Queen Ludwika Maria.

Pinocci distinguished himself among Italian immigrants, even the most prominent ones, with the extent of his interest in the Commonwealth affairs and his emotional engagement with them. This is confirmed not only by posts he held in critical Polish-Lithuanian state institutions but primarily by his opinions on political matters. “I have been written to from the court *requirando* my opinion of what to do in *praesenti Reipublicae statu*. . .,” thus he commenced one of his political statements.

No less characteristic was the importance that Pinocci attached to getting proper information. It is known that in periods when he had no direct contact with the royal chancery, the secretaries employed there sent him copies of more significant documents, which have been preserved in his archive till today.²⁵³ These collections also document the frequency that he received *avvisi*, namely manuscript reports of a journalistic nature from various parts of his contemporary world. Pinocci also became the first editor of the first Polish periodical—*Merkuriusz Polski* (1661).

251 *Lettres de Pierre des Noyers*..., p. 165.

252 Only a part has been printed, the rest has been preserved as the so-called Pinocci’s Archive, stored in the State Archive in Kraków.

253 See Stanisław Miczulski, *Archiwum Pinoccich*..., p. 134.

The paper was published for less than a year with a small run of around 250 copies, though a complete edition has not been preserved to our times. *Merkuriusz* did not manage to survive on the market because the enterprise proved loss-making, but it was an excellent display of the propaganda activity of contemporary court circles. For example, through selection of text and information, political proposals were promoted that lead to the reinforcing of authority in accordance with postulates of contemporary reformers. Thus, this initiative was of serious gravity, regarded not only as important event in the process of the rise of the Polish press, but also as an attempt to modernise the way of doing politics, through consciously influencing public opinion. Pinocci's leading role in this is worth emphasising.

To complete the picture, let us add that the Italian was also an accomplished translator: he translated (from Polish into Italian) a history covering the years of 1655–1660, the authorship of which is attributed to Łukasz Opaliński.²⁵⁴ Pinocci's wide scientific interests (among others physics, alchemy, and astrology) are attested to by his longstanding correspondence with leading Polish and foreign scientists, and also by the impressive book collection he gathered, known today via a preserved catalogue from 1704.²⁵⁵

Pinocci died in Warsaw, on 28 October 1676. Though he did not break contacts with Italy and visited it several times, he permanently connected with his new country, whose language he learnt and in which he lived for nearly 40 years. Also, his descendants settled in the Commonwealth, maintained the social status attained by their father, and gained offices at court and in church structures. The Pinocci died out in Poland in the 18th century.

Comparing Pinocci's and Burattini's lives, we notice differences primarily in the pace and depth of Polonisation, and the durability of material success that the *Merkuriusz* editor secured for himself and his descendants was only a derivative of this process. Pinocci's adaptational success perhaps resulted from precisely this difference of emotional attitude. He wanted and could identify with the country of settlement, acquired its language and customs, and more importantly, participated in public debate (mainly on economics and the political system and possible reforms in basic spheres of social life). Burattini, a man of no lesser intellectual capabilities, sought his place as a courtier and scientist, and simultaneously engaged in risky financial operations and minting activity. The latter must have brought him a fair income, but—due to the vexation of public opinion—in fact, it drastically limited his possibilities by narrowing down potential spheres of activity.

254 The Pinocci's Archive text no. 365 – Archiwum Państwowe in Kraków.

255 Roughly 360 copies are extant in Biblioteka Jagiellońska in Kraków.

Paolo Del Buono

The third and final figure who we want to present here as a representative of the category of those active in multiple fields and hence difficult to be classified explicitly is Paolo Del Buono. However, information about him is rather scant, and, more significantly, Del Buono was connected with Poland to a lesser extent than Burattini and Pinocci; finally, he lived a much shorter life—only 34 years (1625–1659). Nonetheless, the range of his interests seems comparable; the beginning of an encyclopaedia entry about Paolo Del Buono describes him as: “a physicist, mining entrepreneur, mint master, and author of the project of founding the military academy.”²⁵⁶

He came from an illustrious Florentine family. Since youth, he had been interested in mathematics and physics experiments, as well as technology. He contacted, among others, Galileo and other well-known specialists of scientific world. He received a doctorate in Pisa (1649), and in later years became a member of the prestigious Florentine Accademia del Cimento. His experiments, constructions, and astronomical observations drew the attention of the Medicis’ court and Grand Duke Leopoldo de Medici, and later also of Emperor Ferdinand III. Del Buono, invited to the Vienna court, could engage in scientific experiments from physics and optics (polishing mirrors) and also novel constructions (a machine for drawing water out of mines and extracting precious metals, cannon that could be disassembled, and precision thermometers). The position of scientist-wanderer, who visited European courts in search for interest and support for his scientific doings, was evidently not enough for him and therefore—as we suppose—Poland beckoned.

Del Buono established contacts with representatives of the Commonwealth while still in Vienna, where he was also visited by Tito Livio Burattini and Andrzej Morsztyn, Treasurer of the Queen Ludwika Maria. It was also significant that Buono Del Buono, brother of Paolo, was courtier to Jan II Kazimierz and Michał Korybut, and under Sobieski obtained Polish *indygenat* status (1676). However, the idea to move to the Commonwealth was rather related to plans of searching for precious metals and taking on the lease of the royal mint, which Del Buono, in partnership with Burattini, took at the beginning of May 1658. In the same year, he allegedly constructed the abovementioned cannon “which can be taken to pieces, so is easy to dismantle, transport and reinstall.”²⁵⁷

At the same time Del Buono tried to draw the attention of Polish court to his ideas, and to his bold and simultaneously original plans. Primarily, he presented a project of creating a Military Academy, an institution through which the Polish-

256 *PSB* V, p. 59-60.

257 Juliusz A. Chrościcki, *Naukowo-literackie środowisko Villa Regia...*, p. 97.

Lithuanian army could be gradually modernised. He also formulated plans to found some international “association of writers and scientists.” However, he ran out of time to develop and realise these conceptions. According to Pierre des Noyers’ account from 28 July 1658, Del Buono, staying at that time in Kraków, was already terminally ill.²⁵⁸ He died in Warsaw, before the end of 1659, presumably in November.

We have added the profile of Del Buono to Burattini and Pinocci, though aware that he did not have such great and various achievements. However, in Del Buono’s attitude we find the same flexibility and creativity (though in this case often limited to conceptions and plans), which potentially allowed him to assimilate to new and changing conditions. In his stance and ideas we also discern specific modernity. Like Pinocci, counting on the press and believing in the effectiveness of courtly propaganda, Del Buono saw how much was to be done in the sphere of the Polish-Lithuanian military, and had ideas of how to begin these changes. All three shared not only scientific and engineering interests, for let us remark that the figures who inspired us to create the category under discussion and who were recognised as most representative of it, acted in the Poland of the later decades of the 17th century. Maybe this is coincidence, or maybe changing realities in the Commonwealth and increasing competition enforced such flexibility of attitudes?

Group Portrait

Our review of the professional categories of Italian spheres of activity was based on the example of outstanding figures, such as were discerned by historians and regarded by editors of encyclopaedical compendia as worth including. In constructing a global view, it would be a great facilitation if we limited ourselves only to this community, but then we would obviously distort the picture and idealise it. Bearing in mind these limitations, we present below very briefly the outcome of a statistical list of Italians acting in Poland from the 16th to 18th centuries, whose lives were included in fundamental Polish bibliographic compendia, and point out basic regularities within this elite group.²⁵⁹

First, even—in the statistical sense—“the time distribution of the studied community” is notable. With 238 people, proper grouping posed some chronological difficulties. The people studied can be broken down by century: in the 16th century, there were 75 individuals; in the 17th century, there were 87

258 *Lettres de Pierre des Noyers...*, p. 425.

259 *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* – volumes “A” – “S”.

individuals; and in the 18th century, there were 76 individuals. In percentages, we can express these numbers as 31%, 37%, and 32% respectively, which shows the slight primacy of the 17th century. Thus, the cited figures suggest stability of the phenomenon in the whole period studied.

Assigning 238 people to a particular professional group was much more difficult, for it required a greater number of simplifications and arbitrary decisions.

The vast majority, 110 people, which is 46%, were active in the area of arts and crafts. These were chiefly architects and builders, and other specialists employed in the construction industry (masons, stuccoists, and sculptors). Then came the musicians and people connected with the theatre; representatives of plastic arts (painters, medallists, jewellers, goldsmiths, and chalcographers) proved to be least numerous.

The second place, far distant from the first, is the group of those active in the intellectual sphere (humanists and scientists, secular people and clergymen, dissenter activists, language teachers, and translators), who numbered 46 people (19%).

The third rank belongs to representatives of economic circles (merchants, bankers, mint masters, mine administrators, post masters, and artisans), about whom we have most difficulty categorising encyclopaedically; they numbered 36, which is 15%. Of this category, we may signal for the first time a clear quantitative increase in the 17th century, and subsequently a fall in the 18th century.

In the fourth place there is the group active in politics and diplomacy (courtiers and royal secretaries and other clerks); there are 24 of them (10%). In this case, we could speak of a constant uptrend, if it were not for the fact that we must operate with very small numbers.

The fifth and last place is occupied by representatives of the medical professions (doctors and apothecaries), of whom there were 18 (8%). However, this group was by the nature of things narrow because it was specialised and easily definable. Here we may see the prominence of the trend in the 16th century and its marginalisation in the following ones.

The comprehensive image of this elite group is thus rather stable and evenly spread (as far as spheres of activity are concerned). Artistic and political-intellectual activities are dominant, but this may be a distorted view, since accomplishments in these areas are quite eagerly noticed by authors of encyclopaedical compendia. Economy and non-artistic merits remained relatively underrated, for, in these spheres, Italian activity was of mass character, albeit not always spectacular.

The Scale of the Phenomenon—Possibilities of Quantitative Presentations

We cannot speak of precision here. A quantitatively expressible scale of magnitude will remain unknown forever. The range of subjectivism is also considerable—a historian whose attention is drawn to Italian incomers will notice them easily in source records, but the scale of their presence will remain problematic. The issue of the number of Italian immigrants, and their proportion in relation to other foreign groups, must stay open; the reasons for that were signalled when discussing disproportions in the sources.

Irrespective of objective difficulties, we should mention several possibilities connected with the existence of studies of compendial character, based on which one may try to determine the scale of magnitude of the numerical data of interest here. Sebastiano Ciampi's work, *Bibliografia critica*, prepared in the first half of the 19th century, is meant here, and above all the collection of excerpts from sources by F. F. De Daugnon, *Gli italiani in Polonia dal IX secolo al XVIII. Note storiche con brevi cenni genealogici, araldici e biografici*, published in 1906—a rich but unreliable study, hence one to be approached with greatest caution.

De Daugnon divided his account into four basic parts. In the first he put Italian families whose representatives obtained *indygenat* status, of which there were 128. In the second, he noted families ennobled in Poland (61). In the third, he included those who obtained the titles of count, burgrave, or baron of the Kingdom of Poland, hence these were titles of purely prestigious value (36). The fourth included all other Italians visiting Poland, ordered according to estate and profession: bishops, nuncios, missionaries, and other clergy—220; Jesuits—33; ambassadors, envoys, and courtiers—100; scholars and humanists—16; soldiers—31; medics—35; architects and builders—24; painters—25; sculptors and engravers—19; industrialists and others—19; musicians and theatrical artists—84; others including dissenters—48; in total there were 654 people.²⁶⁰

The first three groups refer to families on whose representatives were conferred *indygenat* status, ennoblement, or Polish honorary titles. There are 225 in all, while on the basis of Polish sources and lists of such cases in the 16th to 18th centuries, there were 177 in all. This is 80% of the quantity given by De Daugnon, but we have to bear in mind that he was interested in the period between the 9th and the 18th century, and not only the modern era. Since in 177 cases that were stated and described, the title was bestowed on a specific person and his offspring or brothers (there could be several) and descendants, it may be assumed that, each

260 F. F. De Daugnon, *Gli italiani in Polonia...*, vol. I, p. 1-10, 307-315, vol. II, p. 7-20, 81-331.

time, around three or four people were honoured with a title. In total, this makes around 700 people.

If the indication of 80%, which—as it seems—brings De Daugnon's data closer to the actual state, is also applied to his first three lists containing, in all, 654 people, we will get 523 figures representing the abovementioned professional groups. Both categories—families and single people—jointly make over 1,200 people, but, since both communities overlap to some extent, the total number of Italians in Poland recorded in De Daugnon's compendium may be estimated as slightly over 1,000.

A ballpark figure, which may be reconstructed on the basis of materials gathered by Sebastiano Ciampi, is not contradictory to the above conclusion. Employing the index facilitating the usage of this huge collection, prepared by Silvano De Fanti, we estimate that there are up to 1,500 surnames within the scope of our interest.²⁶¹

Reaching even that kind of approximation on the basis of Polish sources proves to be impossible. When considering the possibility of estimating numbers relating to Italian emigration, at least in the 16th and 17th centuries, attention is drawn to Kraków, with its books of admission to municipal law. However, even in reference to Kraków, where the phenomenon is decisively best recorded in the sources (but also, supposedly, occurred on the greatest scale), we are unable to get credible data; some of the arrivals adopted municipal law but some did not, because they planned a short stay or assessed subjection to municipal rigours as inexpedient. Additionally, those who subjected themselves to the municipal discipline as artisans often moved to trade as a more profitable field.

Nonetheless, the record of admissions to Kraków's municipal law is the first and quite unique chance to obtain fragmentary numerical data and clues on trends in this respect at that time. However, in the whole 16th century, only 55 Italian families adopted municipal law in Kraków; in the 17th century, there were more such cases (144), while in the 18th century only 15 families settled in Kraków according to this formula, and they rarely came directly from Italy but rather from Silesia or other towns of the Commonwealth.

As regards territorial provenance within Italy, the majority of arrivals were Florentine (40) and Luccan (31—nearly exclusively merchants); Venice ranks lower (25), then Milan (15). The rest came from various localities in Italy—predominantly the northern, subalpine regions.²⁶²

261 Silvano De Fanti, *Per leggere Ciampi...*, passim.

262 Stanisław Kutrzeba, Jan Ptaśnik, *Dzieje handlu...*, p. 100-104, Adam Manikowski, *Mercanti italiani in Polonia...*, p. 361; Jan Ptaśnik, *Gli italiani a Cracovia...*, passim.

According to other calculations, in the 16th and 17th centuries, the following numbers of Italians who got Kraków citizenship in consecutive 50 year periods were noted:

1501–1550 – 22

1551–1600 – 86

1601–1650 – 99

1651–1700 – 57

The total is 264, hence it may be said that we deal with fewer than 300 people in 200 years. Data quoted before in relation to the same period covered 199 families, thus several hundred people. This is only a fragment of an unknown entirety; in order to obtain town citizenship, one had to pay an appropriate fee (of the order of 100 ducats), buy a property in town, and marry the daughter of a bourgeois family. Not every arrival could or wanted to do that. Beyond these statistics there remain people of noble stock and all those directly connected with the king's court, as well as lower ranking personnel of shops, banks, and other forms of Italian activity. Numerical relations between these groups must remain unknown. Nevertheless, we may assert that, among those adopting citizenship, the percentage of merchants rose systematically, which may be linked to the increasing trend of this category to stabilise their activity in town.²⁶³ More forcibly, this is a reminder of how many spheres of activity remain beyond this statistics.

If we also take into account that in the first half of the 16th century (but not at same time) fewer than 200 Italian figures were connected with the royal court, then we will be convinced that the number of Italian arrivals in Kraków—at the apogee of the phenomenon, namely at the turn of 16th and 17th centuries—was counted in hundreds rather than in thousands. It is very hard to extrapolate this general conclusion to other major towns of the Commonwealth (Lviv and Poznań, followed by Lublin, Vilnius and Warsaw), and even less so to the Italian presence in smaller towns (Jarosław, Kazimierz and Zamość) and beyond municipal centres (thus mainly at the magnate courts and monasteries).²⁶⁴

Providing an approximate number of Italians residing at a given time in the Commonwealth (and still not assimilated, to the end that this national distinction is imperceptible) seems too arduous. Basically this is a question of intuition, which in our case suggests the answer of several, maybe even between ten and twenty thousand. This would be a decent sized town, by Old Polish standards, with a population scattered around a vast territory. Thus it is not the number

263 Adam Manikowski, *Mercanti italiani in Polonia...*, p. 360-361.

264 Quirini-Popławska Danuta, *Działalność Włochów w Polsce w I połowie XVI wieku...*, p. 124-125; Stanisław Kutrzeba, Jan Ptaśnik, *Dzieje handlu...*, p. 100-104.

but the distinctness of figures that indicates the image and significance of this immigration group.

Andrzej Maksymilian Fredro admonished: “Who takes on the external appearance of a foreigner, must eradicate the Pole from inside; because from these German-Poles or Italian-Poles there is sure doom for Poland.” Thus, he indirectly indicated two of the most dangerous (and hence most important) foreign nationalities menacing Polish interests.²⁶⁵ Considering a much earlier and deeper German domestication in social structures of the Commonwealth, the role of Italians appears here as particularly emphasised.

Similarly, there is no numerical data about Poles who visited Italy at that time (mainly as students, envoys of church institutions, pilgrims, and diplomats and their entourage). There is an estimate referring to students of the Commonwealth who were coming to Padua at the apogee of educational travels, in second half of 16th century, and simultaneously in the period of that university’s greatest popularity. In the faculty of law, several dozen Polish students could be found, and their number was above a thousand in the 16th century.²⁶⁶

This is only Padua, and yet there were other universities popular among Polish students (Bologna, and Rome), and the form of studying relied on stays in university towns and private tuition. Often, one student in his peregrinations stayed at several universities, thus ruining later statistics. It is also unknown how fast—and whether at all—the flux of students dried out over the 17th century. But still, numerical findings concerning other categories of people going to Italy are even less concrete. The most significant was data on religiously inspired travel (pilgrims and representatives of clergy contacting their superiors). However, in this case, a satisfying answer could be provided only by sources recording stays in specific places like for example the Roman hospice by St Stanisław Church, Loreto, or Assisi. This kind of documentation, if it ever existed and lasted to our times, usually is less precise than university lists of students.

To carry out a quantitative analysis counting the authors of preserved travel diaries and all people appearing in those accounts would be pointless; they so understate the numbers of interest to us, that the results of such an exercise would border on the absurd.

So there is no data on either side of a possible comparison. A recently formulated thesis stating that the number of Poles travelling, for a short time, to Italy—in the period in question—exceeds the number of Italians arrived in Poland, is groundless.²⁶⁷

265 Andrzej Maksymilian Fredro, *Przysłowia mów potocznych...*, p. 50.

266 Stanisław Windakiewicz, *I polacchi a Padova...*, p. 13-17, where years 1560-1570 are pointed out as the apogee; in this period the number we are interested in oscillated between 40 and 60; cf. Janusz Tazbir, *“Włoszczyzna” w Polsce...*, p. 358.

267 See Andrzej Litwornia, *Le “Delizie italiane”...*, p. 331.

The 16th-century Renaissance trend for foreign travel proved lasting, but the travels of young Polish-Lithuanians to the West gradually changed their character. Initially, it was about studies, quite regular ones, not infrequently ending in receiving a formal diploma; then, it was an exploration of other countries that became the goal, which was staying at foreign courts and coming into contact with local universities, meeting learned figures and celebrated artists, and visiting their workshops. In short, it was a ‘finishing school’ experience combined with the acquisition of some far less measurable (but not useless) qualifications. In time, the cognitive dimension seemed to give way to utilitarian motives, and business travel—of far less cultural consequence—became popular even in magnate circles.²⁶⁸

It is hard to indicate clear caesuras of those transformations, although certainly the mid-17th century would be suitable due to the drastic deterioration of the economic situation and impoverishment of society (an effect of the Swedish invasion and devastating wars waged simultaneously). It might have been at that time when both nobility and bourgeois elites started to lack money for foreign travels. However, the material factor could not have been the only one, as it only enhanced the tendency to cultural seclusion, which had existed in Old Polish society before, even in the 16th century; but, then, this tendency clearly yielded to curiosity of the world and of foreign civilizational achievements and social mechanisms. Mutual relations between these simultaneously occurring contrary tendencies changed. The direction of this evolution was set by both social-economic realities and changes in mentality. The advances of the Counter-Reformation must have taken pole position among these factors. The Catholic educational offensive brought visible effects. The Church did not promote travel, especially what it related to education.²⁶⁹

Geography of the Italian Presence

Apart from the spheres of Italian activity presented above, the major areas of this activity should be mentioned. These include the municipal spaces, with the special role of Kraków in this context in relation to other towns, and also the royal court (for a long time functioning in symbiosis with the capital Kraków) and the magnate courts, which took over some functions of the royal court and attracted Italians in analogous rules.

268 Such trend may be observed, for instance, in the Radziwiłłs’ journeys in the second half of the 17th century and in the 18th century.

269 Cf. Janusz A. Drob, *Trzy zegary...*, p. 195, see also p. 197.

Municipal Area

Kraków

Located near the southern border and with capital city status, Kraków attracted Italian incomers, who saw here both the biggest market for their merchandise and various options of employment. They were generated mainly by the royal court, a centre of power which physically modernised and adorned its seat, and also the investment needs of the most affluent burghers.

The role of Italian architects and builders in the Renaissance rebuilding of the Royal Wawel Castle is obvious and indisputable. Moreover, in 1595, Wawel was consumed by fire twice, which made it necessary to resume modernising works (in a new architectural style). Thorough, early-Baroque reconstruction was carried out in 1599–1603; both Italian and Polish masons participated in works; they were supervised by the royal architect Giovanni Trevano, and the job of painting decoration of interior was conferred on Tommaso Dolabella.²⁷⁰

Kraków also remained the most important centre of Italian trade. Here, in the 16th century, operated consecutive generations of Genoese (Paolo de Promontorio) and Florentines (Ajnolfo Thedaldi imported Florentine cloths, silks and cloth of gold on an unprecedented scale; the Gucci family, apart from trading activity, took on lease of Ruthenian mines). Also, multiple representatives of new professional groups appeared: doctors and apothecaries, intellectuals, artisans, and among the latter, primarily stonemasons, sculptors, builders and architects; on a relatively mass scale, while very diversified socially, the Italian presence in Kraków became a fact.²⁷¹

In the 17th century, the membership of Italians in municipal authorities stabilised, and the fortunes that some of them managed to accumulate proved that the crisis touched this community with a marked delay. However, in its internal structure, some changes occurred. After the predominance of Florentine merchants (Soderini, Montelupi, Baldi, Del Pace) in the 17th century, merchants from Lucca (Moriconi, Bottini, Barsotti, Orsetti, Controni) and also entrepreneurs from northern Italy started to arrive more numerously and it was they who were the group decisive for the image of the Italian colony.

It is probable that, with gradual diminishing of Kraków's capital status, the role of Italians living there—from leading and dominant—could gradually be marginalised, or perhaps there occurred a levelling of disproportions between the Italian centre in Kraków and in other parts of the country.

270 Janina Bieniarzówna, Jan M. Małecki, *Dzieje Krakowa...*, vol. II, p. 181.

271 Stanisław Kutrzeba, Jan Ptaśnik, *Dzieje handlu...*, p. 98-100.

Lviv

Undoubtedly the presence of the Italian element in Lviv must have been relatively early because Kaffa, a Genoese colony in Crimea, was an Italian trading settlement prospering extremely well until its seizure by the Turks in the mid-15th century. To Genoese, Lviv was to be of colossal importance as transit point on a major trading route, with all its consequences. The similarity of names recorded here (Lomellino, Grimaldi, Lercario, Mastropietro), to the names of those important for the history of the Genoese and Venetian eastern colonies, leaves no doubt as to the genesis of their presence in Lviv. Scant municipal records from that period confirm intensive trading activity of Genoese, who purchased houses in town and landed estates nearby, and their wealth allowed them even to practise philanthropy.

Venetians and Florentines followed the Genoese. The former “brought with them some unruliness of imagination, resourcefulness, and naval merchants’ vast horizons,” the latter “beside the whole dignity of culture” brought also “high distinction of the prime patricianship upon the globe, and traditions of ancient civic splendour.”²⁷² From the Florentine families, the merchants Ubaldini Della Ripa and representatives of the Bandinellis come to the fore. They were engaged in the organisation and development of the mail network from Kraków in an eastward direction.

Though Lviv traders seem to dominate in the landscape of Italian Lviv, it is here that we encounter representatives of other professions too. Pietro di Barbona was one of the most renowned and distinguished of these. He was an architect and builder, creator of, amongst other things, the famous tower at the Wallachian Church. He also built Korniakt Tower, its name deriving from its benefactor, Konstanty Korniakt. Barbona died in Lviv in 1588.

The chronology of the waning of the Italian element in Lviv is not clear. The caesura of the mid-17th century seems of key significance again. From numerous Italian families strongly connected with the city, mainly of Florentine origin (Albore, Gucci-Calvani, Montelupi, Vevelli, Massari, Bersiano, Alberti, Gargo, Bandinelli, Confortino, Bressa, Pandulfi), only the two most outstanding are visible in this century: the Ducci and the Ubaldini. This meant two things: retreating from business, or Polonising the rest. Eventually, the former became the case.

Vilnius

In a description of Vilnius made in 1570 by Jesuit Francisco Suñyer (1532–1580), it read: “*Vilna civitas est ampla, elegans, civilis et frequens non lituanis solum,*

272 Władysław Łoziński, *Patrycyat i mieszczaństwo lwowskie...*, p. 173.

sed polonis, germanis, italis, rutenis, tartaris mahometanis in pagis adjacentibus cohabitantibus; praeterea iudaeis.” Apart from obvious confirmation of the existence of an Italian colony in Vilnius at that time, its high position in this enumeration demands attention (besides Lithuanians, Italians are second only to Poles and Germans). What was meant here was perhaps not a desire to emphasise this group and stress its number; as we can see, Italians are the last Catholic group from the enumerated. Even so, they were mentioned—alongside Poles and Germans—which allows us to put Vilnius on a list of cities in which the existence of an Italian colony was conspicuous and vivid.²⁷³

Gdańsk

Gdańsk is an example of a centre remote from Italy. By this we mean not the additional several hundred kilometres in comparison to Kraków, Poznań, or Warsaw, but rather civilisational distance. This is a northern, Hanseatic, town where traditional German and Dutch influences were strong.

Rather tolerant, in the 16th century, Gdańsk became a haven for dissenters from the whole of Europe, especially numerous Dutch people, who gained a sense of safety and could develop activity in trading, science, or art. Dutch capital flowing into the city became a powerful stimulus for development of local trade. Usually considerable professional experiences and qualifications guaranteed them successes in many fields. Inhabitants of ports, by the nature of things, must have been more open, and thus more ready to accept immigration.

In Gdańsk, the overriding perspective is that of sea voyage; from this point of view, it is very far to Italy, which has been felt by Italian traders when trying to import Polish corn this way. This, however, did not mean lack of contacts. In the studied period, Italy was of interest to the Gdańsk elites, whose most outstanding representatives included the peninsula in their educational travels. Siena, along with protestant Leiden and nearby Königsberg, was a foreign centre probably most often visited.²⁷⁴

Jan Speymann (1563–1625), mayor of Gdańsk from 1612 until his death, may be seen as symbolic figure for the Gdańsk interests in Italy and their influences. Among numerous foreign centres where he was educated, we can name Padua (1588–1589), Pisa, and Siena (1591). After his return in the early 1590s, Speymann tried to organise corn exports to Italy, and for this purpose, he went there at least twice. He had access to the Italian elites; Pope Clement VIII ennobled him and gave him the title of Knight of the Golden Spur (*equus aureatus*). In Tuscany, he contacted Ferdinando I de Medici himself. In Italy, Speymann purchased books,

273 See Paulius Rabikauskas, *Italia-Lituania nei secoli XV-XVI...*, p. 309.

274 Joachim Zdrenka, *Rats- und Gerichtspatriziat...*, p. 215, 221, 304-305.

works of art and armour, which could later be admired in his Golden House at the Long Market. In the next generation, another such Italophile in Gdańsk was Nathanael Schröder (1618–1674), who used to visit Padua (in the mid-1660s he was even a dean of its university), whence he brought books and precious one off prints. Schröder also became *eques aureatus* but of St Mark. In 1668, he made a beautiful tomb for himself in St John's Church, proving the power of the family, as well as their broad horizons and aspirations.²⁷⁵

Let us remark that the very rich Polish Academy of Sciences' Library—direct heir of the Gdańsk Senate Library [*Bibliotheca Senatus Gedanensis*], founded in 1596—owes its origin to an Italian exile, Giovanni Bernardo Bonifacio d'Oria. The marquis, scholar, and proponent of reformation, in search of religious freedom, travelled across Europe and stopped in, amongst other places, Basel, Venice, Vienna, Kraków, Lyon, and London. In 1591, he reached Gdańsk, bringing with him some 1,100–1,300 volumes of humanist books, which survived a seawreck at the very entry to the Gdańsk port and was lodged in the Franciscan monastery, and which he then donated to the city council to serve pupils of the local gymnasium school.²⁷⁶

This does not change the fact that Gdańsk and its direct vicinity remained beyond the sphere of direct influence of Italians in the Commonwealth, and this concerned also the artistic sphere. From the most outstanding artists working there, we can mention only two Italian names: Giovanni da Bologna (1529–1608), sculptor of Dutch origin, a remarkable mannerist; and, much later, Domenico Quaglio (1787–1837), *biedermeier* painter, lithographer and engraver, representative of a family of artists from Laino in Italy but who, from the mid-18th century, settled in Munich.²⁷⁷ Thus the former, born in Florence, arrived in Gdańsk via the Netherlands, while the latter came in fact from Bavaria. The case of Gdańsk seems to show that geographical-cultural realities determined the direction of Italian travels significantly; they were an effective barrier that prevented Italian infiltration.

Let us add for the sake of order that a few Italians—like the Venetian Suane Fugen Peltraro, who had previously participated in business negotiations—adopted Gdańsk citizenship. In singular cases, we also find a matrimonial bond and permanent settlement in Gdańsk (Rivolta from Milan, Larice—business

275 *Słownik Biograficzny Pomorza Nadwiślańskiego*, vol. IV, p. 247-248; *Zeitschrift des Westpreußischen Geschichtsvereins...*, p. 255; Willi Drost, *Sankt Johann in Danzig...*, p. 160-161.

276 Irena Fabiani-Madeyska, *Jan Bernard Bonifacio...*, p. 48-56; see also Janusz Sokołowski, *Gdańsk (Danzig) – The Polish Window to the World...*, p. 206; Manfred Edwin Welti, *Giovanni Bernardino Bonifacio, Marchese d'Oria, in Exil 1557-1597...*, passim.

277 See *Aurea Porta Rzeczypospolitej...*, p. 444, 456.

representative of Genoese traders, Baptista Neri from Lucca and his kinsman—Pietro).²⁷⁸

Even more chaotic is the information on Italians living in smaller centres. They were active in Poznań (at least in trade and building). In the second half of the 17th century, especially in the 18th, they settled in Warsaw, as if they ascertained its capital status with delay. We know that an Italian colony existed in Pińczów, and that Italian merchants operated in Jarosław, Zamość, and Sandomierz.

Royal Court

The simplest and most obvious association relating to the role of foreigners at the royal court was the court artist. “In every art the king has skilled masters, for jewels and sculptures on them, Jakub from Verona [Gian Giacomo Caraglio], for casting cannons, several Frenchmen, a Venetian for woodcarving, a Hungarian - proficient Lute player [Walenty Bekwark], Prospero Anacleri, a Neapolitan to train horses, and so forth for every art,” wrote Nuncio Berardo Bongiovanni in his account from 1561.²⁷⁹ Thus he named several specialities, rather refined, all requiring concrete qualifications, and the Italian presence appeared to be vivid. However, it is hard to limit ourselves to this account, penned rather hastily in the first months of the mission, and not—as was typical—after its end.²⁸⁰

Since Zygmunt I the Old and Bona, the Italian presence at the royal court could seem natural. Their number in the first half of the 16th century is estimated at 180–185; naturally, this number does not indicate the amount of Italians in court at the same time but over the whole studied period (the length of stay of a particular person at the court is usually unknown; their presence at a given moment is recorded by the payment of salary).²⁸¹ It may be thus assumed that the number of Italians at the Polish court did not exceed, at any given time during this period, fifteen or so.

In the structure of the royal court under Zygmunt II Augustus, Italians were present, though in lesser extent than could be expected and not in all categories. We have lists of people functioning then at court, ascribed to defined positions. However, this material sums up all those who were ever employed at court of this king, and indeed particular figures did not necessarily have to appear simultaneously. Because this concerns the whole courtly community, we may

278 See Edmund Cieślak, *Les relations de Gdańsk (Dantzig) avec l'Italie...*, p. 214.

279 *Relacje nuncjuszów apostolskich...*, vol. I, p. 100; *Cudzoziemcy o Polsce...*, vol. I, p. 124.

280 See Wojciech Tygielski, *Między instrukcją a polskimi realiami...*, p. 534-540.

281 Danuta Quirini-Popławska, *Działalność Włochów w Polsce...*, passim.

presume that internal numerical proportions between particular categories were not fundamentally distorted.²⁸²

There are no Italians among the 15 representatives of the highest group of court officials (*oficiales*), or among ten clergy courtiers (*salariati spirituales singuli*). They also do not feature in 11 other categories, which could hardly be seen as prestigious. For the purpose of a complete picture, we cite several of them: trabants (*stipatores*), couriers (*cubiculares missiles*), scullery boys (*cocci pueri*), shooters (*sagittarii*), hunters (*venatores*), stablers (*oficiales stabuli*), coach drivers (*aurige stangreti*), doorkeepers, masters of the wardrobe, scullions, and bath masters (*familia ex domibus*). Thus, serious spheres of royal court life around the mid-16th century completely dispensed with Italian incomers.

From our perspective, determining in which groups Italians appear and where their presence is most expressive is incomparably more interesting and important. First of all, two categories will be indicated and distinguished: secular officials (*salariati seculares singuli*), among whom 29 (out of 140) were identified as of Italian provenance; and artisans (*artifices*), among whom Italians numbered 16 (out of 65).

In the first group, two people reached the prominent honour of Royal Cupbearer of the Crown, and one of Court Treasurer of Lithuania; four people held the function of royal secretaries. Other distinct professions in this category are doctors and apothecaries (4 people) and horse trainers (12).

In the group of artisans of Italian origin, admittedly those representatives of more refined professions requiring precision and artistry dominate (six goldsmiths—among them the famous Gian Giacomo Caraglio, and one painter and engraver), but we encounter here also representatives of more everyday crafts such as coopers, locksmiths, carpenters, or chimney sweeps; and also gardeners, pond diggers, and waterworks conservators.

Only in these two categories may we speak of an Italian contribution distinct enough to apply percentage indicators. In the first, the indicator is around 20%; in the second, artisan group, it nears 25%.

In other groups, Italians also appear, but it is difficult to hold that their presence is significant in number. Among 412 mounted courtiers (*aulici*), two people may be indicated, of whom one was soon promoted to secular official. The same pertains to one person in 124 houseservants (*cubiculares salariati*), described as “*Włoszek Mikołaj*,” future royal Cupbearer of Podlasie, but his Italian origin is not certain. Individual people appear in the group of pages (*cubiculares minores, pueri regii*), butlers and dwarfs (*nani*). The same applies to cooks (*cocci*), and a lower medical group described as surgeons and barbers (*chirurgicis et barbitonsores*). Italian

282 Marek Ferenc, *Dwór Zygmunta Augusta. Organizacja i ludzie*, Kraków 1998.

origin may be ascribed to several people working in the royal stables: smiths (*fabri*), head grooms (*agazones*) and one of the postilion.

Thus the Italian presence at Zygmunt II Augustus court is not impressive and in numbers it looks even meagre. The Italian element—in concrete cases not at all obvious—makes only around 2% of the whole community, which, according to sociological norms, is on the verge of statistical significance. After all, we're speaking of a court of a king who was the son of Bona Sforza. He himself “dressed in Italian style.” We're speaking of a ruler whose times were a period of efflorescence of Polish Renaissance and the apogee of youthful travels to Italian universities. Finally, we're speaking of a period in which there was an undeniably particularly intensive Italian immigration to Poland, albeit not resulting in a change of national elements at the royal court. Rather, we deal here with singular cases, not a mass phenomenon manifest in numbers, which does not negate the Italianisation of court, but rather sets it in a cultural, not national, perspective.

Doubts also emerge about the role that this Kraków-Vilnius court of Zygmunt II Augustus, “with numerous host of courtiers associated with Italian culture” played in the 16th century culture and in “transplanting Italian achievements.” Maybe this role was not as great as has traditionally and universally been ascribed to this centre, at least due to the frequent travels of the king (*rex ambulans*), which “could not foster neither consolidation of court nor fruitful fulfilment of cultural tasks by it.”²⁸³

At Báthory's court, and particularly the courts of the successive Vasas, a quantitative revolution rather did not happen. In *Ordynacja dworu Zygmunta III* from 1589 and in relevant records kept by the court's marshals, we find only several figures whose Italian origin is beyond doubt. These people are three of the secular courtiers (Sebastiano Dziove Gortiano, Lucretio Granisio *vel* Granisco and Lorenzo Justimonti) and Báthory's court doctor, Niccolò Buccella (who still held his position). There also are two horse trainers, but their names do not sound very Italian: a secretary, Jan Włoszek, who despite his name may not have been Italian at all; and finally, Paweł from Ferrara, who was a bath servant.²⁸⁴ Therefore, the list is not impressive in length. Gradually, Italian professional specialisations became clearer, as did their focus on doctorial and artistic, and secretarial and diplomatic occupations. An active and trusted Italian secretary of Zygmunt III was Filippo Lampugnani, imported from Italy in 1625, who engaged in intrigue against a favourite of Prince Władysław, Adam Kazanowski, and had to depart court in 1631.²⁸⁵

283 Jan Ślaski, *Uwagi o italianizmie Łukasza Górnickiego...*, p. 183.

284 See *Ordynacja dworu Zygmunta III...*, p. 32, 56, 58, 66, 73, 81, 83.

285 Allegedly, the king used to confer on him watching Prince Władysław's and Adam Kazanowski's activities, which eventually turned against the Italian – Wiktor Czermak, *Na*

Intellectual-artistic preferences and the wide interests of Władysław IV are universally known, and such an attitude of a monarch was advantageous to foreigners. Yet, as a prince, Władysław made a famous tour around Europe, during which he had occasion to make further foreign contacts. Before assuming the throne, apart from the mentioned Lampugnani, he also had in his entourage a doctor, Girolamo Cazzio, and Belotti, a court musician, who was to advise the prince in artistic matters and competently recruit other virtuosos.²⁸⁶

We know that the king encouraged Giovanni Ciampoli to write a book about Poland under Władysław's rule, and employed Trevani and Locci as court architects. The latter played a special role yet in the 1630s while furnishing Ujazdów Castle, and was one of the closest advisers of the new monarch. There were two Italians among the royal secretaries: Lodovico Fantoni and Virgilio Puccitelli, also a renowned musician. Father Valeriano Magni used the king's protection and support in scientific pursuits in physics and astronomy. Allegedly, the king used to observe his experiments personally.²⁸⁷

Jan II Kazimierz had three secretaries of defined linguistic competences: Italian, French, and German. It is worth adding that from among these, the Italian secretary (Paolo Doni) received the highest remuneration, second came the French, while the German got the lowest (respectively 600, 500 and 375 złoty quarterly).²⁸⁸ Cosimo Brunetti and Tommaso Talenti were personal secretaries of Jan III Sobieski, on whom he conferred important diplomatic missions; in this group, Angelo Maria Bandinelli and Santi Bani also appear.²⁸⁹

The position of certain Italian figures at royal court was elevated though rarely formalised. This is, by the way, a typical situation for modern courts, with the French of Louis XIII and Louis XIV setting the pace. The two structures coexisted side by side: the formal hierarchy of officials and the informal group of influential figures, who were in the closest entourage of the king, with whom they were connected by personal links. Both structures were incongruous and even competed. According to King Stefan Báthory's will, Simone Genga from Urbino, court engineer, architect, and sculptor was treated as a high official, who—when residing at the Polish court—was entitled to five servants and six horses, about which the person concerned wrote with evident nostalgia soon after his patron's

dworze Władysława IV..., p. 93-94, Krzysztof Zemela, *Skład osobowy dworu królewicza Władysława...*, p. 214.

286 Krzysztof Zemela, *Skład osobowy dworu królewicza Władysława...*, p. 214, 216.

287 Wiktor Czermak, *Na dworze Władysława IV...*, p. 15, 75, 90-91, 120 – with reference to Magni's opusculum, *Demonstratio oculus loci sine locato*, Varsoviae 1647.

288 Wiktor Czermak, *Na dworze Władysława IV...*, p. 81, 86, 98.

289 Andrzej Pośpiech, *W służbie króla czy Rzeczypospolitej...*, p. 152-153.

death.²⁹⁰ A similar position at court was later cherished by Agostino Locci senior. Under Jan III Sobieski, Agostino Locci junior enjoyed this position. He was secretary and artistic adviser of king, and was described as “aulicus intimus et secretarius noster.”²⁹¹

Hence, we may get the impression that the number of Italians at court under the Vasas clearly rose and then remained high under Sobieski. It cannot be forgotten though that the court itself had grown; in the mid-17th century, it was estimated, by Wiktor Czermak, at around 400 people (330 courtiers and servants, and 70 singers and musicians), not including around 600 soldiers of the court guard. So the numerical proportions of Italians among them did not change fundamentally.

And still, foreigners were universally charged with having undue and excessive influences at the royal court. Especially representative of the gentry’s attitudes of the mid-17th century was Łukasz Opaliński, who, in *Coś nowego* (1652), was critical about the prestige that Lodovico Fantoni, canon of Warmia and *custos* of the Warsaw chapter, had in the royal circle. A little further in the text, he included a certain priest, Fiori, in the list of over-influential people. Such concrete grievances were much more frequent. Reportedly, another Italian that was very powerful at the Polish court was Girolamo Alberti, resident of Venice in Poland since 1684, who—according to de Mongrillon, French legation secretary and keen observer of Polish political scene under Sobieski—had the “complete trust” of Queen “Marysienka” [Maria Kzimirka].²⁹²

To what extent did these charges refer to reality? Certainly we deal here with an exaggeration of the trend by commentators, but, nonetheless, we should scrutinise the problem of the secretaries’ and artistic advisers’ positions and their influence on the ruler, especially under the reign of Władysław IV, Jan II Kazimierz, and Jan III.

In the exceptionally harmonious choir of voices tracking foreign influences at the royal court, dissenting voices—belittling the foreign threat in the king’s entourage—were far less common, but nevertheless did surface. A polemic with common opinions in this respect was formulated by an anonymous author from the court circle in a work from 1662. Entitled *Responsz żwawego wiary świętej katolickiej zelanta*, this article saw foreigners only among “doctors, barbers, artisans necessary to the king’s court.”²⁹³ Thus, he challenged the accusation of the

290 The letter to Belisario Vinta written 7 January 1587 – Sebastiano Ciampi, *Bibliografia critica...*, Firenze 1834, vol. 1, p. 128.

291 *PSB* XVII, p. 509.

292 “He could more appropriately be called the minister of the Queen rather than of Venice” – see M. de Mongrillon, *Pamiętnik sekretarza ambasady francuskiej...*, p. 37.

293 *Pisma polityczne z czasów Jana Kazimierza...*, vol. II, p. 111.

excessive number and simultaneously stressed their usefulness, and questioned—in the next sentence—the reality of this foreign competition.

Hence the phenomenon should not be demonised. Viable chances of foreigners at the royal court depended on a specific monarch and the situation at court. Surely they could not have been as great as those presented by the Polish commentary.

Magnate Courts

Wespazjan Kochowski wrote:

On servants, though of varied genesis, are worn
Clothes of matching hue, as at the noble courts
From Slovak, Italian, German and Hungarian land,
Though foreigners all, all lie beneath one lord's command.²⁹⁴

The most valuable primary sources on magnate courts come from the end of the 16th century and from the 17th. In the estimated 100-strong court of Chancellor Jan Zamoyski—a figure upon which Polish and Lithuanian magnates modelled themselves—we find only a few Italians, and even they did not dominate in court structure. Certainly, there was Bernardo Morando, court architect of Zamość; in the preserved bills, painters are also present, however, they are of unconfirmed origin. In 1596, a Calabrian Italian was equerry, and also a horse trainer—typically—was a Calabrian too. In 1598, it was Antonio Camerlingo from Naples. We do not know the origin of the horse's vet or the gardener (*hortulanus*). All of these positions most likely employed Italians.²⁹⁵

In the case of the Nieśwież court of Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Sierotka, voivode of Vilnius and famous voyager, we have information from the turn of the 16th century. At Radziwiłł's court resided, amongst others, a renowned Jesuit architect Giovanni Maria Bernardoni; horse riding instructor Carlo Arigoni; a long-employed servant named Bartolomeo Faragoi; a musician called Leonardo; a gardener by the name of Nicola; and master of the chase, Giovanni. Italians also dominated among a great number of foreign artisans; thus, they were “decisively the most numerous group of foreigners.”²⁹⁶

Let us also remark that a position at a particular court did not depend solely on the place in the formal hierarchy but on non-codified relations with lord of the court, arising from his interests or personal preferences, which could crush any structures and set up *ad hoc* hierarchies. The Italians could presumably take advantage of this on numerous occasions and gain greater influence than

294 Wespazjan Kochowski, *Pisma wierszem i prozą...*, *O tych wierszach*, l. 1-4.

295 Aleksander Tarnawski, *Działalność gospodarcza Jana Zamoyskiego...*, p. 282-283, 285.

296 Tomasz Kempa, *Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Sierotka...*, p. 204-205.

what was possible resulting just from their profession. It is no coincidence that the aforementioned Carlo Arigoni, horse riding instructor, was one of Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł aka Sierotka's best-paid courtiers.²⁹⁷ If we refer to the already quoted correspondence of the Opaliński brothers, the image will be essentially similar.

But if—for comparison—we consult the magnificent, unique description (titled *Dwór; wspianiałość i rządy. . . Jaśnie Wielmożnego Jego Mości Pana Stanisława hrabi na Wiśnicz i Jarosławiu Lubomirskiego, wojewody krakowskiego. . .*, made after Lubomirski's death [thus after 16 July 1649], by his loyal courtier Stanisław Czerniecki, steward of Żytomierz), the picture will be even more modest. In the author's design, the court, its organisation and efficient functioning, were to be one of the voivode of Kraków's accomplishments, which should be remembered by future generations. Panegyric intentions lay at the heart of the meticulous presentation of Wiśnicz court structure, a very elaborate but precise structure that ascribed concrete roles and functions, and defined the court hierarchy.

However, this description is not meticulous enough to make the identification of Italians problem free. This is because, at court, Italian servants functioned and were expressly identified servants. But, there were also those Italians whose provenance could only be speculated. The former may be found among horse trainers and musicians, which professions were specifically interlinked in the text. And so, the most important horse riding instructor referred to in the source was Dziań Baptysta Filiponi [Giovanni Battista Filiponi]. In 1645—at Lubomirski's behest—Filiponi was engaged in “drafting a cappella.” In other words, he recruited musicians for the court “from Naples, Rome, Bononia, Venice.”²⁹⁸ This is yet another example of a seemingly very popular trend: an Italian already connected with court recruited other specialists, also in other fields, from Italy.

Though four major Italian towns on a typical route of Polish voyages were mentioned here, the effect of the recruitment is presented rather modestly in the description of the court. Among “instrumentalists” termed “Italian,” there is only one violinist, “Wincenty.” Among the “vocalists” there is “Father Lukini, a Franciscan” singing bass; let us also include in this group, *per analogiam*, Lachini; he is listed in the tenors group. The list of certain cases is complete, while the rest is only presumption.

The image of the Italian presence at the Wiśnicz court of Stanisław Lubomirski (and it is hard to deny that this centre was representative) is rather modest: a horse trainer and individual musicians / singers remaining in an evident minority in relation to the make-up of the court chapel. This image would not be changed even by the hypothesis that an Italian periodically carried out the marshal's function,

297 Ibidem, p. 203.

298 [Czerniecki Stanisław], *Dwór; wspianiałość, powaga i rządy...*, p. 49.

thus was in charge of the actual management of the whole court. It had probably been better in Sobieski's time, when in the magnate community a trend for Italian secretaries started, and they also happened to be informers for Italian courts. At the side of Great Crown Hetman Stanisław Jabłonowski and his Lithuanian counterpart, Michał Pac, many Tuscan residents could be found (Lorenzo Pazzi and Lorenzo Mariani). Cosimo Bani was in the service of Deputy Chancellor of Lithuania Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł.²⁹⁹

The position of Italian arrivals in magnate circles does not seem to be very prominent. Though, let us recall that in a court environment it was not the number and place in the formal structure but position in the informal hierarchy that was of crucial importance. A confidant of Mikołaj Prażmowski, bishop of Łuck and Great Chancellor of the Crown, was for instance Father Antonio Lupponi, whom the bishop called "my domestic priest." Lupponi, who died in 1682, had been protonotary apostolic and royal secretary, and played a role in the political contacts of his protector in the period of Lubomirski's Rebellion. After Prażmowski was elevated to the dignity of primate in 1666, Lupponi was listed among the canons in the Chapter of Gniezno, where he allegedly made his mark as renovator of St Adalbert's tomb in the cathedral.³⁰⁰ There are more such examples, and yet they remain singular.

* * *

To reflect on the Italian presence in modern Poland, it is worth adding a list of great absentees, a group of Italian celebrities who planned or were induced to come to Poland and seriously considered such an option, or those who merely received a formal invitation.

Such a list should probably open with Lodovico Ariosto, for his chances of appearing in Kraków on the occasion of King Zygmunt I the Old's marriage to Bona Sforza were considerable. As we remember, from this occasion in April 1518, Kraków experienced a "mass influx of Italians." In a group of several hundred there was Cardinal Ippolito d'Este with his formidable court full of humanist excellences. The author of *Orlando furioso*—stay-at-home-man, known from looking for excuses not to go abroad—was also a member of this court. However, arguments of bad health combined with readiness to resign from office proved effective and Ariosto did not accompany the cardinal in his journey to Hungary; visiting Kraków was a consequence of this journey.³⁰¹

299 Andrzej Pośpiech, *W służbie króla czy Rzeczypospolitej...*, p. 152-159.

300 See *Pisma polityczne z czasów Jana Kazimierza...*, vol. II, p. 80, 82-83.

301 Władysław Pociecha, *Z dziejów stosunków kulturalnych...*, p. 185.

Bona, already as Polish queen, invited Sebastiano Serlio—a Bolognese living in Venice, an architect and one of most outstanding theoreticians of late Renaissance architecture, and the author of illustrious work *Regole generali di architettura*. Even though she invited him, he, nevertheless, did not accept her proposition.³⁰²

Contemporary appetites of the representatives of Polish elites were not small. Bishop Piotr Tomicki and his nephew Andrzej Krzycki—courtier and royal secretary, court poet of Zygmunt I the Old—strived to bring to Kraków Erasmus of Rotterdam himself, which may be interpreted as proof that the local community of intellectuals had no complexes. Admittedly, the great Erasmus did not accept the invitation, but he spoke highly of Kraków's scholars and of the monarch, who enfolded them with a truly Renaissance care.³⁰³

In Báthory's times, Court Doctor Niccolò Buccella, seeing the deteriorating health of the king and not happy to bear the sole responsibility for it, made efforts in 1582 to fetch a famous medical doctor, Geronimo Mercurialis, to Kraków. He was supposed to take the chair at the Academy of Kraków, and simultaneously be court doctor. Analogous and similarly ineffective endeavours were undertaken towards another Paduan professor, Giovanni Trevisano.³⁰⁴

Allegedly, plans for moving to Poland were also made by Torquato Tasso. Such a hypothesis was formulated by Sebastiano Ciampi, who analysed the close acquaintance of the author of *La Gerusalemme liberata* with Stanisław Reszka, royal secretary, one of first professional diplomats who rendered services to the Polish court on Italian territory. The basis for such presumptions is a dedication in ottava rima on a copy of *Gerusalemme liberata*, offered as gift to Reszka by Tasso in Naples. Though the interpretation of the poem cannot be unequivocal, in Ciampi's opinion, Tasso expressed his wish to go to Poland, where he hoped for relief, which could not be found in Italy.³⁰⁵ Poland, for the weary intellectual, would be an oasis of peace, a harbour to which one comes to escape the vanities of the world; a safe place from unrealistic dreams.

302 Finding by Lech Kalinowski – see Jerzy Kowalczyk, *Sebastiano Serlio...*, p. 13, 62.

303 Janusz Pelc, *Kontynuacje i nowatorstwo...*, p. 148-149.

304 See *PSB* III, p. 74.

305 Bronisław Biliński, *Sebastiano Ciampi...*, p. 382.

Chapter IV
Interaction
A Friendly Confrontation

In New Realities

Ties and Conflicts within the Italian Community

Were Italian arrivals a community whose representatives identified with one another and felt group responsibility? Or, were their reasoning and consciousness individualistic, with compatriots regarding each other as rivals? This is a question of fundamental importance to our study. However, we cannot count on unequivocal answers here. Besides a possible clash of interests between Italian arrivals, the measure of unification of the contemporary Apennine Peninsula remains unknown, as does the cultural and linguistic distance between inhabitants of particular Italian city states and regions. Another thing is that, on unfamiliar terrain, the inclination to integrate could have been markedly greater.

This must have been the case, especially because Italian trading activity was sometimes run on a very large scale; it required partners and factors dispersed over a vast territory—able, loyal, and reliable in mutual co-operation. Their Italian origin was almost a rule.¹

Strong ties also connected representatives of other social and professional groups within the Italian community. The Venetian envoy, Alvise Foscarini, having just arrived in Tyniec near Kraków, reported in his letter to Doge Leonardo Donato, written 17 June 1606, on the last section of the route he had taken from Vienna to Kraków. He remarked that—because of considerable peril on the roads—he left Vienna with a 30-strong mounted escort, comprised to a great extent of Venetians, and in any case subjects of the doge; the members of the escort wanted, in this way, to show their due respect to the ruler.²

Displays of solidarity referring to community characterised by shared national background may be observed on a journey irrespective of its concrete destination. Giacomo Fantuzzi, an auditor of nunciature, returning upon the end of his mission from Poland to Rome in mid-17th century, and along the way visiting Europe, noted such an episode during his stopover in Amsterdam: “I have experienced—wrote the Italian traveller, who had health problems in the Netherlands—good care from Messrs Giovanni Andrea and Ottavio Tencini, Italian merchants, Florentines, in whose house I always listen to mass. I have been commended to them by Gratta from Gdańsk.”³

A network of contacts with a common, Italian denominator thus emerges. The Catholic Italian, not very self-assured in the Protestant world, searches for support, points of reference, and possibilities to carry out religious practice. He

1 Rita Mazzei, *Itinera Mercatorum...*, p. 93-94.

2 *Fontes Rerum Polonicarum e tabulario Reipublicae Venetae...*, Series II/1, p. 270.

3 Giacomo Fantuzzi, *Diariusz podróży po Europie...*, p.112.

finds them among Italian merchants; they are from Tuscany and he from Emilia Romagna; this is not very far, and possible differences—perhaps marked in Italy—were there in the remote Netherlands evidently of no importance. Fantuzzi could find his fellow kinsmen thanks to instruction given in Gdańsk by Francesco Gratta, who, on behalf of the Polish court, organised a post there, which was soon to encompass all Royal Prussia, Courland, and Livonia. Gratta came from Lucca (this is also not far, in Tuscany); he appeared in Poland several years before, perhaps in the circle of Queen Marie Louise. When going through Gdańsk, Fantuzzi must have contacted him, though in the cited fragment of diary this is not described. The post master had contacts in the whole region, and knew addresses; Fantuzzi was interested in them and certainly made use of only some of them, but the whole episode seems to testify to the existence of strong bonds between Italians scattered around Europe, at least in the context of travelling, and the risk and hardship connected with it. Did the situation of the Italian in Poland stimulate analogous behaviour and attitudes?

In biographies of many Italians, an important place is reserved for other Italians, especially in moments that may be described as crucial in life (inheritance, disputes and lawsuits, and property transactions). It seems natural that foreign territory and surroundings rather induced a tightening of inter-Italian relations, though—as we will see—opposite tendencies could also be observed, at least due to competition among Italians.

When Giovanni Cini from Siena, a co-worker of Berrecci, and creator of the decoration in Zygmunt's Chapel, was leaving to stay a while in Italy in 1529, he made arrangements about his property in case of death (a rather common habit before setting out on a long journey), bequeathing it to Berecci and a builder from Rome, Bernardino de Gianottis, with whom he co-operated. After his return, Cini, whose place at royal court had already been taken by Padovano, showed organisational talent by creating—together with other Italians working in the craft—something like a construction consortium ready to provide services depending on needs and commissions. The first contract—for erecting a villa for Jost Decjusz in Wola (later called Justowska)—was concluded in 1533, with the aforementioned architect and sculptor Bernardino de Gianottis. The company, joined also by sculptor Filippo da Fiesole, built its own brickyard in Przegorzwały near Kraków; the firm successfully undertook rebuilding of Płock Cathedral, then of Vilnius Cathedral, and also performed many smaller but prestigious commissions in Kraków. A similar partnership later connected Cini and Padovano and resulted in numerous completed projects in Kraków and Vilnius.

If we add that, in 1532, soon after adopting citizenship of Kraków, the architect purchased, jointly with builder and sculptor Niccolò Castiglione, a house in Kraków, near Mikołajska Gate (it seems that another co-owner of this property

was Bernardino de Gianottis), and that he married his daughter to a musician called Dziano, then Cini's predilection towards the Italian community appears significant.

Thus, common work and a common lot formed the bond. Operations undertaken by the first generation of Italian builders, gathered around the court of Zygmunt I the Old and transplanting to Polish soil their late-Renaissance solutions, must have required group solidarity. This was in order, irrespective of the king's protection, to effectively vanquish local conservatism and efficiently overcome technical difficulties. It may be imagined that Tuscans co-operating with Berecci at Zygmunt's Chapel—Giovanni Cini from Siena, Antonio da Fiesole (from Florence vicinity), Niccolò de Castiglione and Gulielmo da Firenze (called *Florentczyk*)—arrived at an understanding and created one, harmoniously, co-operating, and effective team.⁴

There are some other examples (by assumption, they are mixed) of joint functioning and mutual services. A certain Giacomo Izabelius decorated in wars with Muscovy, who by the end of the 16th century solicited ennoblement (more precisely, formal renewal of nobility held by his father, Lorenzo, in Venice)—referred not only to the backing of local nobles but also to the testimonies of his two compatriots then staying in Poland: Niccolò Bucella, royal court doctor, and Alessandro Guagnin from Verona, court historiographer. Both witnesses received their Polish documents of ennoblement—Bucella only little earlier, in 1589, and Guagnin in 1571.⁵

Rich merchants from Florence, Luca and Giulio del Pace, employed Florentines in their Kraków firm (Pier-Maria Ceffini, Filippo Talducci, Antonio Viviani); it is also established that they carried out regular business with the Viennese company of Giovanni Rogazzi and Florentine of Antonio Nelli, and also with Sebastiano Montelupi's bank. When in 1581–1584, there was a legal dispute between Kraków merchants and drapers (the object of contention was the admissible scale and size of cloth trading), the del Pace family was represented by the Italian lawyer Giovanni Thedaldi. When the conflict and litigation between them and Antonio Viviani occurred, concerning mutual financial settlements (1607), the case was decided by an arbitration tribunal, on which sat Italian entrepreneurs functioning on Polish market: Urbano Ubaldini della Ripa, Francesco Tellari, Michel Angiolo Leri, and Giovanni Pietro Cernezzi. The list of Italian clerks and agents employed in Kraków by Sebastiano Montelupi was sizeable.⁶

4 Maksymilian and Stanisław Cercha, *Pomniki Krakowa...*, vol. II, p. 172.

5 See *Album armorum nobilium...*, p. 173, 214, 267.

6 Danuta Quirini-Popławska, *Działalność Sebastiana Montelupiego...*, p. 66-68; *PSB XXI*, p. 668.

Later it was similar, though it should be remembered that integrating factors were not limited to national ties; cultural preferences also mattered, as did similar competences or ways of running a business. In the second half of the 17th century, Angelo Maria Bandinelli would be an authorised agent of Tito Livio Burattini, also in financial matters. Bandinelli was initially a Kraków postmaster, who later expanded his activity for the entire country.⁷ And yet financial transactions in which Burattini, grand entrepreneur and controversial mint leaseholder, was engaged were most serious; such authorisation must therefore have been of the highest significance. We can easily name multiple Italian co-workers always present in the major spheres of his activity. They include political partners who were influential at court: Girolamo Pinocci; Sebastiano Cefali; Paolo del Buono, head of the imperial mint, whom Burattini met in Vienna in 1656, where they jointly planned operations on the Polish monetary market; Buono del Buono, Paolo's own brother, courtier of Jan II Kazimierz and Michał Korybut; and a certain Fakineti, mint master in Bydgoszcz mint.⁸

Girolamo Pinocci, when starting a mint in Lviv in 1656, located the business in the Bandinellis' kamienica near the *Rynek*, and his closest associate in this enterprise was Lorenzo Bandinelli; two years later, when Pinocci was sent on a mission to England and Holland, Bandinelli was also present in his train, which we treat as another indication that relations in this community were steadfast.

Tommaso Bellotti, Italian architect from Valsolda, born into a family of the same professional tradition, came to Warsaw in the last decade of the 17th century. There, he co-operated with his uncle, Giuseppe Bellotti, court architect of Jan III, and architect Carlo Ceroni. Certainly thanks to their experience and support, he was soon appointed royal building inspector (“aedilis S. R. M-tis”). He bequeathed all his fortune to two representatives of the contemporary Italian colony in Warsaw: Theatines's Superior Gaetano Bellaviti and architect Giuseppe Piola.⁹ The executor of the last will of Pietro Maffon—merchant and, for some time, post master general—was the trader Giovanni Thedaldi, who was also formal custodian of Paula, the postmaster's widow.¹⁰

Decisions that were expressed in last wills are an important illustration of the existing family relations and strategies. Matrimonial decisions testified in even greater measure to the tendency to assimilate or not. Unfortunately, such clues are

7 In 1660s he used to be described as “mastro generale delle poste” – see Antonio Favaro, *Intorno alla vita ed ai lavori di Tito Livio Burattini...*, p. 25, footnote 1, and p. 100, where there is confirmation that Burattini corresponded with Cefali, who stayed in Florence in summer 1665.

8 *Diariusz sejmu koronacyjnego 1669...*, p. 33.

9 *PSB I*, p. 407.

10 *PSB XIX*, p. 129.

too rarely found to enable the formulation of general conclusions. We must resort to examples.

Niccolò Siri, a Florentine diplomat who had been residing in Kraków since 1642, decided to move to Warsaw in January 1645 due to the royal court presence there, and the upcoming Sejm session. When making his decision he was aware that (as evidenced in his letters) in Warsaw he would join the strong Italian community gathered at court, which included: Lodovico Fantoni, Valeriano Magni, Francesco Bibboni, and Domenico Roncalli. This prospect clearly seemed attractive and inviting. It is also known that, in 1647, his endeavours at court were endorsed by Francesco Magni, Valeriano's brother.

The specific condensation of the Italian element in monastic structures should be treated separately. In the first place, Jesuits must be mentioned as organisers of collegiums and architects sent in to carry out concrete tasks. Similar communities were formed in other monastic houses. Francesco Lismanino—future Reformation activist, who in his youth entered the Franciscan monastery in Kraków—found a protector there, namely the commissioner of the order, a Venetian named Marco de la Torre. After several years, Lismanino himself played an analogous role for his junior brethren, among who were, amongst others, Girolamo Mare and Giulio Maresino from Belluno. Lismanino is also known to have maintained close relations with court doctors, Giorgio Valentino and Giorgio Biandrata.

Because of financial troubles afflicting Filippo Ducci, Lviv merchant and entrepreneur, in 1648, we have a list of his creditors, which is also highly Italianised. There figure primarily Italian producers of silken cloth—Castel-Moro, Cortino, Bertholi, Bolzani, but locally operating merchants appear on the list too—specifically, Orsetti and Bandinelli. The inventory of Ducci's moveable property, made in 1675, after his wife's death, also contains the names of quite a few Italian merchants, listed as creditors (Ghiberti, Savioli, Pestalozzi, Uberti). In both cases, close business contacts with fellow kinsmen are confirmed in this way.¹¹

Let us remark that the Italian provenance of all those concerned was, in most of the abovementioned cases, treated generally, without specific reference to their city state homeland, while an explanation of the character of the self-identification of Italian emigrants (the whole Italy or only a native region or town?) seems to be of great importance for the correct characterisation of existing ties. However, the problem of the nature of contemporary Italian diversity and its geography recurs here. Northern and central Italy, though politically divided and culturally separate, were to some extent internally integrated, while clearly distanced from the south and even from Rome and the Lazio region.

11 Władysław Łoziński, *Patrycyat i mieszczaństwo lwowskie...*, p. 187-189.

The inhabitants of Lucca migrated to many European towns and reached Lyon, amongst others. In the second half of the 16th century, the Italian colony there was made up of four *nazioni*, defined by the name of their town of origin: “nazione milanese,” “genovese,” “fiorentina,” “lucchese”—arrivals from Milan, Genoa, Florence and Lucca respectively.¹² The latter were the most influential because of the role they played in the banking sector. Could such divisions be discerned on Polish-Lithuanian soil? Here are several contexts in which differentiation among those of Italian provenance may be seen as significant.

When, in 1575, the conspiracy against the Medicis’ rule was unmasked in Florence, a section of its leaders resorted to flight. At least one of the conspirators, Pietro Ridolfi, went via Venice to Kraków, whence—after several months’ stay—he left for Germany. The Kraków episode of Ridolfi’s life is interesting precisely because of his contacts there. Among those who hosted him in the Polish capital were Tommaso Lenzi and Urbano Ubaldini della Ripa, Florentine merchants and leading figures in Kraków’s Italian colony.¹³ Evidently, the Italian refugee had no problem with determining where and from whom he could expect help in remote Kraków. The net of Italian solidarity encompassed Poland too. But was it actually Italian solidarity, or Tuscan?

An analysis of Montelupi’s and Niccolò Siri’s (a Tuscan resident) 1640 correspondence to Giovanni Battista Gondi revealed the dominant bond between the letters’ authors, and of the figures mentioned in their letters, with their little homeland, if this term may be provisionally applied here to the Grand Duchy of Tuscany and, specifically, Florence.

This should not surprise us. For the majority of Italians migrating to Poland, the basis of their collective awareness must have been their native town, region, or political centre when speaking of a larger structure of state character. This was also realised in Poland, which is proven by relevant fragments of piercing anti-Italian lampoonery by Gabriel Krasieński’s *Lament Korony Polskiej*, penned c. 1657.¹⁴ Such identification with the native land was characterised by big durability. As late as 1782–1792, on the pages of the Enlightenment periodical *Pamiętnik Historyczno-Polityczny*, in a series of articles on contemporary Italy, one could read: “What a great difference between a Venetian and Roman, between a Genoese and Milanese, between a Florentine and Neapolitan!”¹⁵

Thus political fragmentation and differences between particular regions of the Apennine Peninsula is unquestioned fact, which should be taken into account. Older historiography did this, in so much as the sources available allowed for such

12 Simonetta Adorni-Braccesi, *Le “Nazioni” lucchesi nell’Europa...*, p. 366.

13 Rita Mazzei, *Itinera Mercatorum...*, p. 339.

14 Gabriel Krasieński, *Taniec Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej...*, p. 123.

15 See Zdzisław Libera, *Obraz Włoch...*, p. 229.

discernment. We can observe such an attitude in the research of Louis Fournier, who by the end of the 19th century was writing about Florentines in Poland,¹⁶ through Stanisław Windakiewicz (he distinguished the phase of Florentine and then Venetian influences), up to Jan Ptaśnik, for whom geographical-cultural assignment of Italian arrivals was essential. In addition, a different stance was shown by historians of culture (Roman Pollak, Claude Backvis, Tadeusz Ulewicz), tending to treat “Italian influences” as homogeneous phenomenon.

From our point of view, special emphasis should be put on manifestations of pan-Italian awareness—based on the sense of the cultural oneness of Italy (language, described rather as Tuscan and not Italian, presumably already performed this function at least in court circles and in literature), and perhaps in the sense of unity of heritage and common geopolitical interest. The Turkish threat certainly must have accelerated such changes in worldview on the peninsula. Moreover, the Spanish domination in the north (Milan) and south (Kingdom of Naples) were hindering, rather than helping, the Italian integration process. The question of the integrating role of the Papacy (rather underestimated by Italian historiography), and also the significance of the main political and civilisational centres such as Venice and Florence in accelerating possible nation forming processes on the scale of the entire Apennine Peninsula, remain open as well.

Aware that we are operating in a circle of hypotheses, let us analyse various situational options. For example, we may assume that in the initial period of Italian immigration to Poland, when the number of arrivals was small, the need for group integration and mutual help prevailed over rivalry and competition. With the passage of time and multiplication of the number of the Italian group, the tendency could be reversed. According to this version, group solidarity and harmony dominated initially, but subsequently—with the narrowing down of possibilities of activity—would yield to mutual rivalry and conflicts.

However, a different variant was also possible, which seems more probable to us. Before the mid-16th century, one could observe the internal divisions occurring between the Italians initially arriving in Poland; this happened precisely because there was competition between the Italians in the home country (which happened between representatives of particular regions of Italy). With a new place to live, these conflicts gradually diminished and levelled during the 17th century, because their adaptation to new conditions, happening in parallel, had a unifying effect.

The Nunciature continued to be a stable, at least potentially, point of reference, and maybe even an integrating factor for the Italian presence in the Commonwealth.

16 See Louis Fournier, *Les Florentins en Pologne*, Lyon 1893. His contemporary continuator is Rita Mazzei, who was interested in trading activity of Luccan merchants – Rita Mazzei, *Traffici e uomini d'affari italiani in Polonia nel seicento*, Franco Angeli Editore, Milano 1983; cf. Stanisław Windakiewicz, *Padwa...*, p. 12-13.

We do not intend to say by this that a Papal nuncio represented the whole of Italy. Surely, permanent fragmentation and splits—dominating the Apennine peninsula, as well as political conflicts between particular parties—simply precluded him from playing such role. Similarly, we would be unable to prove that a Tuscan or Venetian residing in Poland would be ready to regard a nuncio as their representative. And yet it appears that—in view of the numerous Italians, especially those within the orbit of the Polish court—the awareness of the permanent presence of diplomatic representations of Italian origin could be significant. International renown of this diplomatic structure and the comparability of its role and competencies on a scale encompassing the whole of Catholic Europe mattered.

Contacts with a nuncio and his entourage residing in a given country were a stable and natural point on the agenda of perhaps every foreign diplomat.

Claude de Mesmes, count d'Avaux—head of the French mission, whose mediation in 1635 was to attain Polish-Swedish peace in Stuhmsdorf—on many occasions personally contacted Nuncio Onorato Visconti, and also did so by letters. Interestingly, Karol Ogier—a member of the envoy's train, responsible for preparing and dispatching these letters himself—took advantage of the occasion and addressed by mail “the most distinguished and honourable apostolic nuncio at the Polish court with a request for consent to read several books.”¹⁷ As a true Catholic of lively mind and intellectual inclinations, he strove for dispensation relating private reading. We will yet return to the role of nunciature as a centre around which Italians residing in Poland could gather.

Gradual unification of the Italian immigrants' community, and the levelling of initial differences, may be evidenced by the appearance of the term “nazione italiana” in sources, ostensibly used by the party concerned themselves, to describe the whole Italian colony. When, after Queen Cecilia Renata's death (24 March 1644), the issue of another marriage of King Władysław appeared on the agenda, one of the seriously considered candidates was Anna de Medici. Florentine resident Niccolò Siri was among those who proposed this solution. He stayed for a longer time in Kraków and kept up regular correspondence with the secretary of Grand Duke Ferdinando II de Medici, Giovanni Battista Gondi. In a confidential letter written from Kraków, 28 May 1644, Siri recommended his services in this regard, stressing formidable contacts which he had with local gentry (which was his advantage over other Italians staying there).¹⁸ The texts also mention “nazione italiana,” a group from which a possible negotiator should be elected. Evidently, this was a wide ranging term, yet clear for both correspondents. Although the context of the affair suggests that someone connected with the Medici's court was meant, the qualification “nazione italiana” proved adequate for referring to a

17 Karol Ogier, *Dziennik...*, vol. I, p. 351.

18 Niccolò Siri, *Lettere da Cracovia e Varsavia...*, p. 124.

potential candidate. Thus, it may be presumed that both correspondents understood it more broadly as a group of ‘Italian speaking’ people or of people ‘coming from Italy’.

We find a similar clue in an earlier letter by Siri, written in Warsaw, 11 August 1643, also addressed to Gondi. This time, the theme was King Władysław’s plan to send two ambassadors; the first was to go to France with condolences on the death of its monarch, the other to Denmark to negotiate a possible anti-Swedish alliance. The Danish mission was conferred on Henryk Denhoff, while the task of visiting and spending some time in Paris as official Polish resident was entrusted to royal secretary Domenico Roncalli, described by Siri as “nostro italiano.”¹⁹ So again, we deal with marking the sense of community of pan-Italian character. Italian origin on foreign territory not only proved to be a clear distinguishing feature and basis for mutual identification but could also be a foundation of solidarity based on common descent and cultural identification.

There existed a specifically Italian institution in Kraków, namely the confraternity at the Franciscan church and monastery. This was a centre around which—from the 16th century onwards—the Italian community was concentrated, evidently intending to manifest its distinct identity in this manner. In the first half of the century, in Bona’s time, an Italian chapel was founded at this church, initially in the name of the Mother of God, then, from 1594, St John the Baptist. Lismanin was among those who resided there; he was an outstanding humanist and religious writer, and lectures were given by, amongst others, Father Marco de la Torre. In the travel diary of legate *a latere* Cardinal Enrico Caetani, made by Giovanni Paolo Mucante (the master of ceremonies accompanying Caetani), we may read that, on 14 July 1596, the cardinal celebrated mass in this very chapel “where all Italians used to gather, who have there their priest, thanks to which they can organise there their own services and celebrations, as it is in oratories of Roman confraternities”; after mass, Father Benedetto Giustiniani “said a beautiful sermon in Italian.”²⁰ Thus this was a representative place and a natural association with the Italian presence.²¹

Indeed, after some time (it is hard to give a precise date), a confraternity, namely an Italian brotherhood, officially described as Confraternita di San Giovanni Battista della Nazione Italiana was founded at the oratory. This was a typical community organisation, which—besides religious purposes—aimed at the integration and mutual help of representatives of the Italian nation living in Kraków. Pastoral duties, according to statute, always fell to one of the Franciscan

19 Ibidem, p. 85. Roncalli’s biogram (*PSB*, vol. XXXII, p. 10-12) describes him as: “Italian by birth and manners”, however, it does not mention his precise geographical provenance.

20 [Giovanni Paolo Mucante], *Itinerario in Polonia del 1596...*, p. 56.

21 Jakub Zdzisław Lichański, *Lukasz Górnicki...*, p. 28.

fathers speaking Italian, referred to as “corrector.” The main services at which Italians congregated were on the feast days of St John (24 June) and Madonna of Loreto (10 December).

Nevertheless, we cannot say how common was the access of Italians to this institution, or to what extent it was representative for the whole Italian colony. A famous painter, Tommaso Dolabella, allegedly shunned compatriots and was not a member of the brotherhood, but his stance was seen as eccentric; it could not be widespread. However, we know that some representative of the colony endowed elements of décor and furnishing for the chapel. The merchant Giulio del Pace was one, and in his will, drawn up in 1608, he donated 25 zloty for the purchase of some paintings; his brother Luca bequeathed to the confraternity twice as much (1609). The Del Paces were not the only ones. In his last will, Post Master Domenico Montelupi conferred a legatum of 200 zloty on the brotherhood (d. 1623). On 8 April 1644, Tommaso Bellami offered 1,000 zloty for the upkeep of the confraternity chapel in the name of “St John the Baptist, of Italian nationality”; in return, he wished to have the honour of being buried inside.²² This was a serious amount of money, but the question has to be posed again: what is the size of the group that identified themselves with the confraternity? Did they treat this institution as “theirs” so much as to think of its future when making a last will?

It is difficult to answer this question. The list of Italian Confraternity members from 12 February 1640 has 28 names of people, a considerable part of whom is known by historians, to an extent that allows assessment of this group as diversified as regards wealth and professions. Unfortunately, all indications are that this is only a list of those present at a meeting on this specific day, and not the list of members. Determining the relation of this group to the structure of the Italian colony in Kraków seems, therefore, an even more distant possibility. We can only say that the affluent and influential figures as Guglielmo Orsetti, Girolamo Pinocci, and Rudolfo Cortino group of contemporary members of the brotherhood. As long as people of such rank identified themselves with the confraternity as a community institution, its existence was safe.

Supplied with donations and bequests, the most important Italian institution in Kraków could prosper, functioning in a magnificent interior. The oratory—“bedecked in fine stucco and pictura”—had a marble sculpture on the altar depicting *Christ's Baptism in Jordan*, reportedly created by Baldessarre Fontana. To the cloister of the monastery there was a remarkable door frame, founded, in 1634, by Kraków burgher Simone Muti. The latter, though from France, expressed his wish in his last will to be enshrined in the Italian chapel, and bequeathed the confraternity with, amongst other things, a kamienica house on ulica Grodzka

22 Feliks Kiryk, *Przyczynek do historii Włochów...*, p. 85-89.

and other precious chattels. Muti and Walenty Pfail's example (another donor and apothecary from Germany) testifies to the expansion of the group gathered in confraternity to include representatives of other nationalities, and thus—indirectly—to its attractiveness.

The period of prosperity ended with the 17th century. In 1684, the Venetian ambassador Morosini visited the chapel, which received him with honours. But in 1702, when Kraków was occupied by the armies of Charles XII, the confraternity suffered serious losses in property; jewellery and church accoutrements were looted or put up for sale—due to the necessity of paying the Swedes a high tribute. It seems that in the 18th century, the confraternity did not regain its former position, and gradually also lost its Italian character, which found expression in using Polish in official documents.

Some activity of the brotherhood started to rekindle in the period of the Great Sejm, when the role of their president was assumed by Francesco Gianotti, representative of a renowned merchant family Gianotti de Castellacio, and town councillor from 1774.²³ With the remaining jewellery, the confraters supported the Kościuszko Uprising and in consequence forfeited their property permanently. The brotherhood left its former premises and moved to St Barbara's Church.²⁴

Let us add that a similar form of organisation existed among Italian societies in Lviv and Lublin. One of the Italian craftsmen's organisations most famous in Europe was the Congregazione di Santa Maria Vergine, formed in 1575 in Prague, with its own chapel at the Jesuit church in the city's Old Town, and a hospice, founded in 1602, in the Malá Strana District.²⁵

However, there was another side of the coin. In the subject literature, there appears Piotr Włoch, called Niezgoda ("Petrus Italus Niezgoda dictus"), identified as a known Lviv builder.²⁶ We note here this sobriquet and proceed to discuss conflicts within the Italian community.

Settling in a new place and engaging there in intense activity could naturally lead to conflicts with the new surroundings. The problem is the number and scale of the conflicts and their proportion to the state of harmonious co-existence. Disputes over property are noted in court records, especially municipal ones, and on the basis of these we get the impression that there were a considerable number of such disputes. However, as a rule, such sources disregard non-conflict situations and focus on mutual claims and grievances.

23 *PSB* VI, p. 101.

24 See Józef Muczkowski, *Kościół Św. Franciszka w Krakowie...*, p. 26-27; Stanisław Tomkowicz, *Kupcy Włosi w Krakowie...*, p. 11.

25 Juliusz A. Chrościcki, *Kamieniarze i mafiosi...*, p. 77.

26 *PSB* XV, p. 210; Lucja Charewiczowa, *Czarna Kamienica i jej mieszkańcy...*, p. 21-22, 58.

Rivalry over offices and position in the king's circle and courts of the most influential dignitaries also came into play. In the first decade of the 16th century, among the body of professors of Kraków Academy, a fierce conflict occurred between lecturers of Greek language and literature: Giovanni Silvius from Palermo and Costantino Claretti de Cancellariis from Pistoia. They publically offended and reviled one another so intensively that the case entered the rector's court, which for a long time proved unable to solve the problem.²⁷ It is also known that, in 1669, Girolamo Pinocci competed with Lodovico Fantoni for the so-called "Italian secretary" position of Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki. There surely may be more such cases to record, but this sphere of conflicts was limited to the narrow world of politics and diplomacy.

The most important role must have been played by rivalry in trade, competition between merchants operating on one market and offering analogous goods, and also, possibly, the rivalry of contractors for commissions and orders.

A postal entrepreneur working in Lviv, Roberto Bandinelli, supplemented this low-profit activity by running there an enormous store of Italian silks. He had considerable successes in trade until 1635, when the town—by separate licence—allowed his competitor, a certain Giulio Attavanti, to set up his own gigantic store of silk merchandise, and granted this businessman particularly favourable conditions and facilitations. Not going into the genesis of the decision of the town authorities, it is only to be said that Bandinelli could not stand such competition for long and had to give up trade in silk. We know that he complained about this before town rulers.²⁸

A crucial clue in this context is provided by diplomatic correspondence. In his regular letters to Giovanni Battista Gondi (the secretary of the Grand Duke), the already cited Tuscan resident Niccolò Siri did not limit himself to political themes. In December 1643, informing about his planned trip to Lublin for the session of the Crown Tribunal, he suggested, as an aside, that one could think of business interests in that region.²⁹ He asked Gondi to pass relevant suggestions to the Grand Duke, and to undertake efforts to reinforce the representation of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany in Poland, of which he was the sole representative. The above advice was to be urgently examined since—in the author's opinion—exactly at that time Florentines experienced heavy losses on the markets of the Commonwealth by giving ground to merchants from Lucca and Venetians, the negative consequences of which could be seen on the Florentine market. Thus Siri showed himself to be a Tuscan patriot; he saw a real threat to the interests

27 *PSB* XXXVII, p. 502, IV, p. 89-90.

28 See Władysław Łoziński, *Patrycyat i mieszczaństwo lwowskie...*, p. 181.

29 "fare in questo paese qualche negozioietto" – see Niccolò Siri, *Lettere da Cracovia e Varsavia...*, p. 114.

of the group with which he identified himself, arising from the activity of Italian merchants coming from competing centres.

Undoubtedly, strong rivalry and consequential animosities and feuds existed among artists—especially among architects and builders. The sudden death of Bartolomeo Berrecci, murdered in 1537 at Kraków’s Main Square, as well as the assassination of his son, Sebastiano, in 1546, in unexplained circumstances, may be seen as most extreme manifestations, and simultaneously evidence of this competition. In the case of Bartolomeo, it is certain that the crime was committed by a fellow Italian (“out of jealousy”), and the same is very likely as regards Sebastiano.³⁰ Presumption nearing the truth is that, at the core of all those clashes, was competition on the labour market already dominated by Italian arrivals.

A little later, in 1561, Mason Tommaso da Robore, who worked with his brother Alessandro, at Kraków’s St Catherine’s Church, was killed. The fact that his main adversary was Antonio Morassi, who eventually took over this commission, suggests similar motives.³¹ However, these must have been spectacular but singular events; they may only prove indirectly the existing tensions and rivalry between Italians trying to put down roots in Kraków.

Some scholars clearly tend to overemphasise the antagonisms between Italian contractors. They claim that the Italians built strength in the building companies, which were often the same organizational structure as their family clan; these companies / families divided, with each other, the state territory, and they did not allow any competition to exist in their particular area of control. Hence, the scholars’ suggestion is that we are dealing here with a mafia, or rather a mafia-clientele system. This interesting proposition seems to exclude the fact that there was a constant demand for Italian services, at least until the end of the 17th century, which must have alleviated competition between contractors significantly. The spread of clan structure over the vast territory of the Commonwealth would signify a definite preponderance of supply of building and investment services over demand, which constatation would be of great significance. For the time being we have only individual attempts at recreating the clan system in reference to Italian artists and contractors such as, for example, recent findings about the career of architect Tommaso Poncino.³²

The doctor-patient relation could also result in a bitter clash, especially when the latter was unsatisfied with the quality of medical service. As we recall, one of Báthory’s court doctors, Fabio Nifo, came into conflict with his Kraków patient, Urbano della Ripa from Florence, a representative of a rich merchant family doing business in Kraków and Lviv. The failure of the young Florentine’s treatment

30 See Maksymilian i Stanisław Cerchowic, *Pomniki Krakowa...*, p. 170-171.

31 See Juliusz A. Chrościcki, *Kamieniarze i mafiosi...*, p. 77-78.

32 Mariusz Karpowicz, *Tomasz Poncino...*, p. 11.

laid the foundations for the conflict, and mutual grievances lead to a dispute that “ended with the doctor being beaten by his former patient.”³³

Therefore, the internal coherence of the Italian colony, as some describe the Italian community of Kraków, or of the Italian minority in the Commonwealth (as this varied national group should rather be called), is hard to assess unequivocally. However, despite the great political and cultural differentiation on the peninsula, and clashes of interests between the arrivals in the Commonwealth, the inclination to integrate and share mutual help and solidarity in the new surroundings clearly appears to have been of increasingly prevailing importance in this community.

The Art of Adaptation

What and Who Did they Find?

When considering the problem of life strategies of Italians coming to Poland, inevitably the question of possibilities that determined the chances of particular individuals and also of specific professional groups arises. No less important seems the questions of whether these realities changed over time, and what possible evolution they underwent.

The evaluation of realities found by Italians arriving in Poland, namely the answer to the question of what and who they found there, is important for our discussion. However, it cannot be precise. Much depended on individual situations that determined the process of possible assimilation and set its pace. This is because adaptation proceeded along a certain course if the newcomer was invited by the royal court or one of the magnate courts; it was different when the arrival joined the already functioning local group of antecedents, when they undertook activity in the existing merchant, banking or production structure, and, again, when they had to pave their own way and go into the unknown armed only with their own general knowledge that was available in their original place of dwelling. For those who *ex definitione* functioned in an organised structure and in such character, being “officially” in Poland—for instance members of monastic communities and diplomats—the level of uncertainty was far lower, and the risk taken was basically limited to the risk of the voyage.

Acknowledging that the phenomenon we are interested in is by the nature of things highly individualised, and thus diversified, we must nevertheless ask about the possible existence of circumstances favouring Polish-Italian co-existence on the Commonwealth territory. Assuming that the motives inducing inhabitants of the peninsula to migrate did not determine its direction, we would like to know if

33 *PSB* XXIII, p. 109.

there were any particularly attractive features distinguishing, in this context, the Polish-Lithuanian state.

In the country of the last Jagiellons and first elective kings, one could observe a continuity of patronage (beginning with the bishop of Kraków, Piotr Tomicki, through his pupils and future successors, both in the bishop's ministry and patronage of arts—Filip Padniewski and Piotr Myszkowski). It is said that Jan Zamoyski was raised under the wing of Myszkowski—he impersonated most excellent accomplishments of lay patronage—and in this vein continued to mentor others, such as Krzysztof Szydłowiecki, Piotr Kmita, the Tarnowskis, the Tęczyńskis, and Jan Firlej. In Lithuania, such a role was played by the Radziwiłłs, specifically, Mikołaj the Black Radziwiłł and especially his son, Mikołaj Krzysztof, the Orphan Radziwiłł that was the “creator of the second ideal city of the late Renaissance in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth—in Nieśwież.”³⁴ Thus, from the turn of the 15th century onwards, there was a tradition of openness for Italian interaction, constant readiness for partnership, and willingness to propagate currents and ideas flowing in from the south west. This positive attitude was perhaps favoured by the character of the inhabitants of the Commonwealth. This is a very extensive theme that has long been interesting to historians, and yet there are no clear conclusions and probably cannot be. However, several possible paths of reasoning are worth highlighting.

“Out of all trans-Alpine nations, Poles are maybe the best” wrote Fulvio Ruggieri, Venetian diplomat, in his fascinating account from 1565. “Namely, the gentry are kind, polite and as it has been said, hospitable. Though bright, they do not go to the bottom of things, they more easily learn what had been discovered rather than take the trouble to discover something in sciences or arts, and do not try to attain perfection in any matter, maybe because they are too given to comfortable and merry life, that are busy with military and husbandry, or that they are prone to barratry and like to support their friends.”³⁵ Is this not a vision of a society (society of the gentry) ideally matching the needs of those who want to be successful in new surroundings? There is kindness and hospitality with intellectual shallowness, and a strictly defined range of interests beyond which one does not stray (and expanded informal links ordering mutual relations). Let us add that, when formulating this description, Ruggieri, like many other external observers, made use of the other authors' opinions (Maciej of Miechów, and particularly Marcin Kromer), who in the 16th century wrote their compendia with a foreign reader in mind. This image, inviting potential contacts, was basically of native authorship.

34 Janusz Pelc, *Kontynuacje i nowatorstwo...*, p. 150-151.

35 *Relacye nuncyuszów apostolskich...*, vol. I, p. 127.

If we believe Kromer and his many followers, who characterised the Polish nation of the 16th and 17th centuries, then an important part of this image was precisely hospitality and curiosity of the world. These are naturally factors favouring initial acceptance of foreign arrivals. However, in Kromer's image, there is yet another important element, which was not highlighted by Ruggieri—and this is the emphasis on Polish candidness, which, in the author's view is a positive trait, though as a matter of fact verges on innocence and naiveté. This candidness, linked with trust, proves very significant in the context of hospitality. This set of traits may be supplemented with a remark of the already cited author of an extensive, English-language account of Poland from 1598, that Poles are attached to titles and pleased to hear compliments and all flatteries³⁶.

Accepting the core of the above characteristics of Old Polish society as being close to reality, we may easily imagine an impulsive, garrulous Italian, interesting to the inhabitants of the Commonwealth for exoticism of provenance, and also paying compliments, which successfully generate a positive attitude towards him. Therefore, we are inclined to say that in the sphere of national character—with all reservations to this term and generalisations formulated in this regard—there existed important premises for harmonious co-existence of Italian newcomers with Polish hosts.³⁷

The second, not less significant, problem requiring at least mentioning in the context of Italian chances for adaptation is the issue of the organisation of social life, inter-town relations, the way of functioning of the state and its institutions. Were the structures and institutions of the Polish-Lithuanian state easy to infiltrate to foreigners, or were there barriers which hindered or even prevented this infiltration?

The social and state structures in question were clearly distinct. The comparison of the Italian city-states and the relatively small, albeit intensively, populated territories subject to them, with vast and incomparably more sparsely inhabited Polish-Lithuanian states, does not leave any doubt here. A surprise to Italian arrivals could also be the estate structure of society, very ostensibly marked, and the domination of the gentry, which blocked the development of the bourgeois enrichment. Another unknown must also have been the clear separation of the worlds of the gentry and townsfolk (not to mention the peasants). The difference also found expression in the specific relations between town and country: the prominent and rich lived in the countryside and only rather sporadically visited

36 [Anon. 1598], *Relation of the State of Polonia...*, p. 136 – “In negotiating by suite the Poles must be handled with greate dexterity... They must be smoothed cunningly (and though apertly, it is no matter) with titles, and commendations, muche attributed to the states, and in generall all pleasant baites used for their humoure.”

37 Cf. Ettore Lo Gatto, *Civiltà italiana nel mondo...*, p. 8.

nearby towns. In any case, they did not co-exist with the townsfolk daily. This was unlike on the peninsula, where in capital cities class distinctions had waned. On the Vistula, prestige and wealth were thus far more decentralised, and capital status was of a different dimension and lesser importance, because in the Commonwealth the relations between the centre and peripheries, the latter which had recently been ascribed fundamental significance for the functioning of a modern state, were specific; in this particular case, it was rather the peripheries that dominated over the centre, and more precisely over centres, for there were at least several.

Simultaneously, however, the Commonwealth could make a very positive impression on the newcomer from a faraway land, at least with its vastness and abundance of open space (not only in the geographical sense but also socially). More important than the relatively low density of population was the retarded structure of mutual relations between particular segments of society, in which there presumably must have been much space for arrivals from outside, and also for the innovations they brought with them. Additionally, public authority was weak; likewise, the state and its institutions were primarily oriented towards protecting the interests of the gentry while disregarding others. Hence, the hegemon eagerly adopted the tolerant attitudes, provided that it did not menace his privileged position. Italian arrivals could count on this kind of tolerance if they met the abovementioned conditions, and this was generally the case.

Thus it is worth reflecting upon the general condition of the Commonwealth—in the context of the Italian immigration phenomenon, and recalling the negative direction of evolution of the Old Polish state and society. The drawbacks of the Polish system and its economic and social structural backwardness were universally known, but only apparently remote from the main theme of our discussion, for the political and economic shape of the Commonwealth was a determining factor for the chances of Italians who stayed in its territory.

The domination by the gentry and its gradual stratification as a social group lead to a privileged and dominating magnate strata in the state, along with deep class divisions hindering change of social status and any possible advancement (these were crucial elements that hampered rising in social rank). The fundamental barrier for progress—universally acknowledged, though variously interpreted in its nuances—lay in the economy. The monoculture of grain and the gentry's monopoly in trade—as well as the existence of an attractive market for corn abroad—resulted in a one-sided development of the agricultural economy and seriously curbed other kinds of production. Initially, favourable external conditions (constant demand and good prices for Polish corn), thanks to which the needs of the Polish social and elite in regards to conspicuous consumption were easily satisfied, proved to be an economic and civilisational trap. Stagnation of the economy deprived of developmental stimuli became a fact. The vigilance

of those strata consisting of those who would be able to look at the state affairs in a wider perspective was dulled. The native production could not cope with foreign competition, which suited the tastes and needs of the richer part of society better. The corn trade in the hands of the gentry meant relative impoverishment of the bourgeoisie and further marginalisation of this class, which in other countries showed the greatest resilience of all. In turn, profits raised by the gentry were used for conspicuous consumption or were hoarded and only invested to a minimal degree.

And, simultaneously, the Commonwealth—one of the biggest political organisms of Europe—was a country essentially devoid of local administration (the gentry functioned as “self-government”). Its low efficiency became conspicuous in the 17th century. In other European counties, there was an efficient civil service that employed people with an education and specialist background. This formed (for example in France) a hierarchy of prestige (*noblesse de robe*) separate from the aristocratic gentry.

The above phenomena were affected also by another factor, namely the immense geographical size of the Polish-Lithuanian state. This had manifold consequences, but, primarily, it determined the scale of internal diversity of the state, which essentially was a conglomerate of contrasts and differences. The size of the territory also demonstrated the scale of needs and challenges to be undertaken by the central power and administration, whose real weakness became, in this context, even more apparent. However, if decentralisation was a structural, indeed immanent, feature of this state, then what essentially guaranteed its coherence for over two centuries? One can answer this question by pointing—in different ways—to the integrating function of the gentry culture and Sarmatian ideology, and to elements of national identity. Some of these elements include unity of language, of history, the monarchy, the royal court and the other so-called jointers of political nature, and finally the system of patronage and clientele (this was a system of informal ties connecting the community of a given region with the dominating magnate house).³⁸ “Despite weakness of central power” Antoni Mączak wrote “this huge country, *Rzeczpospolita*, reached in some respects a greater coherence than contemporary monarchies...Elites of particular lands enhanced mutual familial and political ties, and *sejmiki* [gentry assemblies] contacted one another and adopted decisions of neighbours which were favourable to them...If decentralisation and development of class institutions is *differentia specifica* of a Renaissance state, Poland met these requirements to a greater degree than any other!”³⁹

38 See Antoni Mączak, *Klientela...*, p. 10.

39 Antoni Mączak, *Rzeczpospolita polsko-litewska...*, p. 6-7. Cf. James Russell Major, *The Monarchy, the Estates and the Aristocracy in Renaissance France*, London 1988, and

Even in the briefest discussion of the situation in the Commonwealth—in the context of Italian immigration—there must appear the issue of its multi-nationality and multi-ethnicity, as well as the question of whether this obvious asset from the perspective of cultural history was debilitating to the state. The impossibility of successful settlement of the fundamental question of Cossacks could suggest an affirmative answer.⁴⁰ But, here, the scale and complexity of the phenomenon was huge, while possible problems that representatives of Italian (or Scottish or French) nationality could create were incomparably smaller.

Another factor that should be taken into account is noble culture and its transformations. This is a vast subject, which should be limited here: primarily, considering the effects of educational travels abroad of young people of the magnate and gentry classes; and secondly, the distanced though constantly evolving attitude of the nobility to foreign influence and foreigners. Our investigations seem to point to a great resilience among the Polish-Lithuanian nobility. Although this class maintained—in some periods very intensive—foreign contacts, the nobility was ultimately only ready to adapt the foreign patterns minimally. The requirement to become polished, especially in the 16th century and the first half of the 17th, in “a journey to schools in foreign countries” was quite universally accepted, but young masters not eagerly get down to modernising the state according to Western European models upon their return.

It would appear that the second half of the 17th century—due to the gravity of the prevailing crisis—provided greater chances for radical reformers, because wars waged in mid-century on almost every possible front devastated the country and considerably crippled its demographic potential. The economy was rebuilt in the old, namely obsolete rut, which showed lack of stimuli for development and modernization. A consequence of disorganisation of the monetary system—a trend which, due to Italian participation, proved significant for the increase of xenophobic moods—was nervous tension on the market and paralysis of economic turnover. However, the political and economic crisis—observed in Jan II Kazimierz and Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki’s reigns—did not spur on potential reformers enough. The reign of Jan III Sobieski, and especially his victory at Vienna and other military triumphs (which patched up the state prestige), dulled the vigilance of the Polish-Lithuanian inhabitants. There had not yet been Enlightenment

From Renaissance Monarchy to Absolute Monarchy. French Kings, Nobles, & Estates, Baltimore 1994.

40 In the 17th century, the Commonwealth of both nations did not become, though it could, “a country of three nations.” Noble politicians were unable to find a formula which could adapt Cossacks to the Polish-Lithuanian state structures, and subsequently extend its ‘federal status’ and integrate the south-eastern borderland with the rest of the country.

currents, nor was there a system of schools in which the new generation would be ingrained with new values.

Therefore, we may formulate a general question: would it be easier for Italian newcomers to adapt and make their stay materially and socially satisfying in a country relatively rich and stable, or in one plunged into crisis and anarchy? The answer is not easy. The state of rich citizens—if it accepts foreigners at all—offers them access to the its wealth, at least by becoming a partner in trade. An affluent country free from external conflicts should, therefore, offer foreigners more possibilities, at least in the material sphere, while in social and political spheres a stable system may prove closed and hard to penetrate from outside. Economic crisis, as well as problems with social and political structures, may in turn open a vast field for action to intelligent individuals able to draw advantage from this instability.

In this way, we imagine the evolution of the situation of Italians in modern Poland. The relatively prosperous and affluent Poland of the golden age was a keen customer for goods and services offered by Italians at that time. A considerable part of the gentry, as well as bourgeoisie elites could benefit from this.

The worsening of socio-economic realities in the next century dramatically reduced these possibilities. However, the Italians did not give up, as the factors inclining them to emigration did not end and maybe even proved more acute. They addressed their offer primarily to the magnate elite of the noble class, and simultaneously—having acquired the necessary knowledge of Polish-Lithuanian realities—tried to find their feet and even take advantage of the identified weaknesses. So, we may understand the context of their political-diplomatic activity (attempts to influence election decisions). We also have insight into why the Italians were involved in the banking services and took mints on lease.

Some questions arise here: did the Italians have the necessary adaptational abilities? Were they ever flexible enough themselves? In the travel diary of Sebastian Gawarecki, we find a vivid, though quite clumsily, sketched profile of an Italian innkeeper, owner of the “Under the Golden Cross” Inn, whom the travellers met near Montmelian, in French Savoy. He was an almost 90-year-old lively man who, after inhabiting the little town for 60 years, “where almost all speak French,” still did not learn this language and “in Italian he happily goes on.”⁴¹ Perhaps, his profession inclined him to keep and even manifest his distinctness, though at the same time—as emerges from the quoted fragment of the diary—he did not dissociate from contacts with the local community. The observations of young peregrinators (Gawarecki was custodian of the young Kryskis, Wojciech and Szczęsny, and travelled with them) let us treat this as testimony to the possible

41 Sebastian Gawarecki, *Droga do Francji, do Paryża...*, p. 125.

Italian resilience and attachment to native language in a culturally different reality. Admittedly, this is a singular example; however, it is thought provoking.

More important, from the perspective of adaptability, seems to be the tradition of emigration gradually taking hold both among inhabitants of the peninsula and in communities of Italians who left their native land for some time or forever. Experiences gathered in this regard by consecutive generations surely increased the assimilational abilities of the whole Italian population. Intensive practising trade and activity within diplomatic structures additionally accustomed them to mobility, an effect of which must have been openness to all kinds of differences and suitably broad capability for cultural acclimatisation.

Difficulties in Adaptation

Hence, what barriers to the process of adaptation could be experienced and what difficulties had to be overcome by Italian incomers? Primarily, we should mention a number of geographical and cultural differences: transalpine climatic realities (and in their more severe, eastern version) and the rural character of society and feudal-class social structure (to which one had to know how to adapt).

Language should also be listed among barriers, though this was a burden which every emigrant had to take into account naturally. Was this bar to Polish-Italian relations set high? A negative answer, which we impulsively tend to formulate, may prove hasty, for we should not be misled by modern, often over-optimistic assessments of possibilities of communication between Poles and Italians. The relative ease that Poles have in acquiring, quite quickly, the rudiments of Italian is not shared by Italians who try to learn the arcana of Polish. The Polish language is known as difficult for foreigners and there are no grounds to think that four centuries ago it was otherwise. On the other hand, the foreigner's situation could be facilitated by a relatively good command of Latin among Old Polish elites. Naturally, the barrier must have existed, which is confirmed by extremely interesting, though sometimes surprising, remarks formulated on the subject by Friedrich Schulz, a Livonian, travelling across Poland at the end of 18th century. Characterising the specific and difficult pronunciation of many Polish words (and its excess of consonants), the predilection of Poles to speak fast, and the tendency to shorten long words, Schulz was arguing that this requires "agility of vocal organs," which may only be acquired "by practice since childhood." And thus—he continued—"after 50 years of stay, pronunciation will always betray a foreigner, that he was not born in this country."⁴² And so, this meant that blending into Polish society was extremely hard.

42 Friedrich Schulz, *Podróże Inflantczyka...*, p. 613.

However, the Livonian made further remarks about the difficulties that representatives of particular nationalities had when learning Polish in the contemporary Commonwealth (these remarks are surprising). He said that “the German colonists,” who were born and raised here, “give themselves away by their, heavier, slower speech.” Compared to the Germans, “the French find it easier to learn good Polish.” Next, “the Italians,” and here a surprise . . . “for them it is a great deal more difficult to learn Polish, for their language, like that of the Germans, proceeds at a slower pace.” Amazed as we are that it was the Italians who supposedly experienced difficulties in keeping up with the speed of Polish speech, and that the nature of their language is similar to German, it comes as no surprise that the author judged the chances of the English learning Polish as very low.

Having faithfully cited Schulz’s opinions, we want to distance ourselves from them a little, as his assessments were formed at the end of 18th century. This was a period of reign of the Saxon dynasty in Poland and was a time of unquestioned domination of French culture and state in Europe, a fact that could have influenced contemporary notions about relations between the main European languages and changed the hierarchy of their knowledge in Poland, for it is hard to accept that the linguistic barrier, which has always existed objectively, posed great difficulties to Italians, especially in the context of the 16th and 17th centuries. The Italian language was then present in Polish, and Polish elites were very often in contact with its native form—both through their studies in Italy and during encounters with Italian arrivees.

In the context of adaptational difficulties, and for the sake of form, we should also mention the conflicts of Italian immigrants with their local surroundings. We will limit ourselves to only a few examples, illustrating the kinds of possible conflicts. We will focus on the sphere of politics, trade, services, and entrepreneurship because when conflicts occurred in these areas, they seemed to have no fundamental significance for Polish-Italian relations.

In 1533, the royal court was the stage for a scuffle between Poles and Italians. On the Polish side, there was Hieronim Lanckoroński, Fabian Czema, and Mateusz Podolski. On the Italian side, there was Annibale Bentivoglio and Carlo Marchesini. The reason for their disagreement was, allegedly, the excessive favour shown to Italian courtiers by Bona.⁴³ This is the first category of conflicts. Polemical literature, especially created in the 17th century, is full of addresses against foreigners, who were accused of lording it at the king’s court and giving bad counsel to the monarch. Some of these charges had an anti-Italian and anti-Papal tone; some, formulated in the second half of the 17th century, referred to

43 Stanisław Cynarski, *Dzieje rodu Lanckorońskich...*, p. 125.

the minting activity of Tito Livio Burattini, who was accused—as lease holder of royal mints—of very serious financial abuses (though these were never proven). It is hard to disregard all these voices, especially as, in next decades of the 17th century, they became louder, but, it should also be borne in mind that these addresses were often politically motivated and served propaganda purposes.

In 1574, the Kraków guild of cloth makers accused sculptor Geronimo Canavesi of illegal trade in cloth, and more precisely, of not paying suitable fees for this to the city treasury.⁴⁴ Canavesi began his activity in Poland as court sculptor; so, he was initially a royal servitor, a person not subjected to municipal law. Only after around 15 years stay did he become a citizen of Kraków (1573), and then functioned in the guild structure. This change of status must evidently have resulted in a conflict, or the conflict manifested itself at this point.

Potential for conflict was ingrained in the formula of servitoriat, thanks to which Italian artists and contractors also gained independence from municipal laws, which must have been despised by other townfolk, especially artisans associated in guilds, and thus subject to guild obligations and limitations. The support of the court could also result in various privileges and facilitations in trade, which was contradictory to the interests of local merchants.⁴⁵

However, the fundamental pivot of potential conflicts was set by relations between patron and contractor. The field of mutual claims was significant here, from negotiating the price of purchased services and work conditions, up to assessment of the quality of services or products. This is nevertheless a sphere of subjective opinions and individual relations; positive assessments must have prevailed in general, since during the 16th and 17th centuries, engagement in Poland proved lasting.

But obvious infringements did occur. Matteo Castello took over responsibility for the erection of Kraków's St Peter and Paul Church after the construction disaster in the times of his predecessor Giovanni Trevano. A little earlier, dramatic experiences must have been suffered by a Piotr Krasowski, an Italian builder working in Lviv in the second half of the 16th century, who since 1568 had overseen the prestigious contract for the construction of the tower at the Wallachian Church. We know that in 1570 the tower, erected up to the third scaffolding, collapsed, and the founder brought a lawsuit against the unfortunate contractor. Interestingly, this spectacular professional failure did not result in lack of further commissions. Let

44 *PSB* III, p. 199; see Jan Ptaśnik, *Z dziejów kultury włoskiego Krakowa...*, p. 107.

45 Under Báthory's reign, Kraków town councillor, Battista Fontanini, received, for example, a special right to sell foreign cloth, and primarily that imported from Italy ("...omnis generis pannorum exoticorum et peregrinorum maximo vero ex Italia, Venetia, Mediolano"); quote from Antoni Mączak, *Sukiennictwo wielkopolskie...*, p. 230.

us recall that we have encountered a different situation (discontent expressed by contractor) in the already discussed case of Longhi, architect of the Zaluskis.

Another type of conflict happened at monastery construction sites. Jesuit architects (such as, for example, Giuseppe Brizio, who had been in Poland since 1575, Giovanni Maria Bernardoni – known as creator of a church in Nieśwież, and Giacomo Briano, active from 1616) did not want to physically work at constructing the buildings they designed, which provoked disputes with their local authorities.⁴⁶ However, here the conflict happened within monastic structures.

Therefore, it appears that the allegation that “a long chronicle of construction disasters by fault of Italian craftsmen and their outright proverbial breach of deadlines for works, drunkenness and swindles towards local and Italian partners” may be very easily presented and must be viewed as too harsh and too generalising.⁴⁷ Singular cases, in this massive scale of rendering architectural-building services by Italian contractors, must have occurred, whereas potential conflicts between investor and contractor is, in a sense, inscribed in their relations. In addition, the conflict—as has already been noted—is, by the nature of things, conducive to creating documentation, because the mutual grievances must have been formulated somewhere and disputes settled by someone. Hence, suitable documentation was prepared, which in the case of conflict-free relations is, as a rule, incomparably more scant.

The majority of Italian achievements, especially architectural-engineering ones, must have been valued and accepted, since new commissions and orders appeared constantly on the Polish-Lithuanian market. On the whole, there are no grounds to question the quality of services provided by Italians, and the lack of contentment with the work rather did not lead to hasty generalisations. We recall critical remarks of Piotr Dunin Wolski, envoy in Rome, about the quality of postal services offered by the Montelupis’ company,⁴⁸ which by no means inclined the author to formulate general, anti-Italian conclusions.

Let us sum up: the arrival of foreigners, their settlement, functioning at royal court, and drawing material profits from trade and economic enterprises, must have

46 Juliusz A. Chrościcki, *Rola włoskich projektantów...*, p. 190.

47 The author recalls in this context: Bolesław Przybyszewski, who presented the dispute of Kraków canon, Andrzej Zebrzydowski with Italian masons, then Helena Kozakiewiczowa – studying activity of architectural-sculptural company of Bernardino de Gianottis and Giovanni Cini, and finally Robert Kunkel, who analysed deeds of Bernardino de Gianottis in Płock – Juliusz A. Chrościcki, *Kamieniarze i mafiosi...*, p. 77.

48 In September 1582 – waiting in Rome for a very important reply from the king – the bishop of Płock suggested Chancellor Zamoyski “to send [the letter] otherwise than commit it to Montelupi, because several months linger letters on the way when Montelupi sendeth them.” – *Sprawy wojenne króla Stefana Batorego...*, p. 386.

triggered conflicts and protests among the locals. In this context, the number of complaints seems very modest, particularly in reference to Italian workmanship. In all, it seems that—though the situation in other countries is very difficult in this case – we may adopt the hypothesis that Polish realities were rather favourable to Italians. Besides all that has been said here, they must have found some cultural similarities in the Polish-Lithuanian reality—similarities at least based on common Latin roots and unity of Catholic creed.

Kronika Ziemi Ruskiej, one section of the oeuvre entitled *Z Kroniki Sarmacyi Europejskiej*, is dedicated by Alessandro Guagnin to Zygmunt Myszkowski.⁴⁹ Written by an Italian domesticated in Poland and with ambitions towards a literary career in chronicle writing (also with significant successes in this field), the text of the dedication addressed to one of the most illustrious Polish Italophiles is surely worth attention. The text is dated Kraków, 24 October 1611:

“Although it is not a mediocre sign of a wise man, to serve more his homeland than outside countries,” Guagnin starts his discourse and moves on to characterising his own stance, “I fear not any reprimand here, albeit, being a foreigner I attach to the Polish nation as to my own homeland. For if any land (as Socrates says) is homeland to a valorous man, it is especially that land to which he a better part of life hath given with any acquisition of good name.”

Disregarding ornamental rhetoric, we have a declaration of attachment of a foreigner to a new homeland, to which he devoted most of his days (and now he feels additional satisfaction because his works had been translated into Polish). By this he made a pivotal life choice, which he did not regret: “...I put myself among the happy ones that in my age I am acclimatised in Poland somewhat, and that I have in no other place the fruit of my wit, understanding, soldier’s duty and other honest life hath lain.”

Guagnin does not regret, and is even fully content with, the effects of his decision to emigrate, which he explains by reference to the great advantages of the inhabitants of the Commonwealth, in which he includes piety and virtues in times of both war and peace. Although the emphasised traits of the Old Polish character, headed by piety, diverge slightly from the vision promoted by Marcin Kromer, it does not change the fundamental sense of the opinion of the naturalised Italian. In the long term, and on the whole, a very fruitful Polish-Italian co-existence in the Commonwealth was possible thanks to mutual adjustment of character traits and—let us add—thanks to the unique structure of the Polish-Lithuanian state, a structure so open and capacious that within it the Italian immigrants were able to find a suitable space for themselves.

49 [Guagnin], *Z Kroniki Sarmacyi Europejskiej...*, p. 181-183.

Successes and Failures

The effects of a stay in the Commonwealth can be measured in many ways, and we by no means intend to reduce them to the merely material aspect, though this should be the starting point. Right at the beginning, we can notice the question of whether Italian fortunes in the Commonwealth were real or a myth skilfully created by local propaganda (which would be unwelcoming to foreigners). Were they, objectively, one of the greatest? The material status attained is also difficult to assess because the gathered assets could be located by Italian arrivals locally, or transferred to their native land, and this was not boasted of too often.

The problem of Italians getting rich in Poland and (as stressed by many local critics) transferring the wealth amassed out of the Commonwealth arises at least since the times of Giovanni Andrea Valentino, a Modena native doctor of medicine and liberal arts; he was a very influential court doctor of Queen Bona, and her counsellor, who held the position—certainly lucrative by that time—of Great Secretary of the Crown, and who also acquired considerable income from church offices. Such charges were easy to formulate, but surely, they did not always reflect the facts. However, in the case of Valentino, we know that in 1537 he visited Modena and his family living there. The presumption that he went to this native land with sizeable sum of money is justified by the fact that there he purchased a landed estate and erected a sumptuous palace. Several years later, in 1544, not having any relatives in Poland, Doctor Valentino initiated efforts in Rome to obtain consent for bequeathing his wealth to his kin in Italy.⁵⁰

A long term stay—in the opinion of the concerned party themselves—was enough justification for the size of fortune that a newcomer in Poland amassed. Such an idea was in any case expressed by Valerio Montelupi, in a letter to the Grand Duke of Tuscany Ferdinando II, on whose understanding and support the sender wanted to count on in several conflicts over property in which he was engaged after his paternal uncle, Sebastiano. Attacked by uncle's former co-workers, and surely by his creditors too, Valerio tried to persuade the powerful addressee that he had been staying in Poland for 35 years, and thus the wealth he had was the outcome of his long-lasting strife and efforts.⁵¹ By contrast, Antonio da Fiesole, a co-worker of Berrecci from the time of construction of the Zygmunt Chapel, “was an exception among his natives in Kraków, as he left behind many debts.”⁵²

50 Queen Bona addressed this matter in a letter to Pope Paul III – Danuta Quirini-Popławska, *Działalność Włochów...*, p. 83-84; see also Waclaw Pocięcha, *Królowa Bona...*, vol. II, p. 62, vol. IV, p. 206-207.

51 [Montelupi], *Korespondencja Sebastiana i Valeria...*, p. 167 – “mie proprie industrie e fatiche de trentacinq’anni consumati in questo Regno.”

52 See Maksymilian i Stanisław Cerchowie, *Pomniki...*, vol. II, p. 172.

The wealth of Bernardo and Carlo Soderinis, Florentine merchants and bankers settled in Kraków, was compared to that of the Fuggers of Augsburg. Just like the merchant from Augsburg, and thanks to their financial capabilities, they once contributed to the election in Germany of Emperor Charles V; so, the wealth of the Soderinis was, allegedly, let us recall, one of important factors behind the election of Henry of Valois in Poland. During Stefan Báthory's reign, the Soderinis return to Florence, where Bernardo "with Polish money...rebuilds his palace, regarded as one of the most beautiful; introduces order in many estates, funds for the restoration of churches and erection of chapels."⁵³ Interestingly, both his sons, Niccolò and Luca, returned to Poland, where they soon died leaving no male issue.

Precise commercial calculations of contemporary merchants are unknown and they will rather remain so. In the case of a sizeable group of Italians settling in Polish towns we may note that they acquired property, usually in very prestigious locations. The decisions to buy were made quite quickly, at most after several years of trading activity, which would confirm its high profitability. However, reservations about exclusiveness, and thus the low representativeness of this group, in reference to which we may have information on this subject, should be repeated here. Let us reiterate: these were the successful people who appeared in the sources; those who failed (lost their merchandise, chose the wrong stock, and so on), surely withdrew, and they were never heard of after that. Nevertheless, the scale of potential income must have been great enough to be a constant incentive to undertake the risk and commercial challenges.

Lviv merchant Filip Ducci, after the catastrophe of 1648, was forced to declare insolvency. A special commission, the task of which was to estimate and seal his goods and chattels, had their hands full—mainly due to the necessity of registering huge amounts of expensive silk materials. The final outcome of the commission was, however, astonishing: the assets of the bankrupt (estimated at around 128,000 zloty, which according to Ducci's plenipotentiary, grossly understated the real value) significantly exceeded the listed value of liabilities (by roughly 82,000 zloty), while the list of creditors, which also comprised a group of Italian manufacturers (Castel-Moro, Cortino, Bertholi, Bolzani) and the renowned and long established Lviv merchant Roberto Bandinelli, was much shorter than the list of debtors. Among the latter there were Adam Kazanowski, Bonifacy Mniszech and Mikołaj Ostroróg (Cupbearer of the Crown); there were such surnames as Wiśniowiecki, Zasławski, Sapieha, and Potocki. Hence the crisis—relying to a great extent on a lack of financial solvency—proved temporary. Over the next decades, Ducci successfully operated on the Lviv market, while an inventory made

53 Stanisław Kutrzeba, Jan Ptaśnik, *Dzieje handlu i kupiectwa...*, p. 104.

in 1675, upon his wife's death, showed assets of nearly 100,000 zloty. Along with the moveable stock, apart from fine clothing and Neapolitan upholstery (called *spalliere* and *coltrina*), there also were five horses, a carriage, two calashes, and a brougham carriage.⁵⁴

Around the mid-17th century, the richest merchant in Kraków was considered to be Guglielmo Orsetti, who did vast business in the territory of the Commonwealth; he had prestigious kamienica houses not only in Kraków but also in Warsaw and Jarosław. Swedes, evidently well oriented with the situation, and who in the time of Deluge decided to exact a heavy war tribute from Kraków burghers, valued the contribution due from Orsetti at 50,000 zloty, which was one sixth of what they intended to collect from the whole city.⁵⁵ This did not prevent Orsetti from lending huge amounts, topping half a million zloty, as loans for the needs of the Commonwealth Treasury three years later.

The situation was similar in enterprise. Kraków's salt mines, the administration of which was conferred under Báthory to Prospero Provana for three years, brought 24,000 zloty profit for the lease holder in the first year—after a payment of 56,000 zloty in rent to the Crown Treasury. In all, there was 80,000 zloty. This was an unheard of amount. The sums were comparable, or rather far exceeded, the profitability of the greatest latifundia.

In the mid-17th century, directly threatened by Cossacks as well as Swedes, Lviv experienced two serious sieges—in 1648 and 1655. The second time it had to pay a large ransom, the cost was to be justly—that is in proportion to property owned—divided between inhabitants. A special commission was raised to assess the fortunes and determine who had overpaid or underpaid the sum due. Needless to say, the commission's estimate of both real estate and chattel is a very valuable source for the social history of the city. It is enough to remark that on the basis of *Summaryusz koekwacyi* (made in 1656) it may be figured out how much—according to these estimates—the whole of Lviv was worth. The answer is precisely 5,247,479 zloty.⁵⁶

From our point of view, two conclusions emerging from this material will be of crucial significance. First, Italians were not distinguished in the groupings according to nationality applied by the commission. Thus, they must have been put in the wealthiest section, dominated by Poles, called "Latini." Evidently, there must have been no such need to define Italians, which may be explained either by the scant Italian population, or the advancement of their Polonisation. Secondly, and probably most importantly, the representatives of the Italians appear only sporadically on lists of contemporary bourgeoisie fortune owners. In view of the

54 Władysław Łoziński, *Patrycyat i mieszczaństwo lwowskie...*, p. 187-189.

55 See *PSB* XXIV, p. 255.

56 Władysław Łoziński, *Patrycyat i mieszczaństwo lwowskie...*, p. 169-170.

estimated 600,000 zloty fortune of the richest of Armenians, the 300,000 zloty of the first Ruthenian on the list, and the 120,000 zloty ascribed to the biggest Polish fortune, the resources of two Italians Giovanni Ubaldini (80,000) and Andrea Amoretti (30,000), seem relatively modest. Their names appear, notably, among more than 20 others classified as the most affluent “Latini.”

Singular displays of material prosperity are hard to generalise. Here are some further examples. In 1699 Giuseppe Belotto submitted to the city records of Old Warsaw the last will of Giuseppe Fontana, royal architect from Valsolda, ennobled in 1672, drawn up before an Italian notary. On this basis we may state that Fontana left Poland in 1685, after a stay of 24 years, and that in his native place, Basso, he had a house built by himself, the erection of which may be linked with income earned in Poland. Another, Giuseppe Fontana, also an architect from Valsolda, akin to Domenico and Giovanni Battista Ceroni, deposited in the municipal records his last will in 1739. This document contains an impressive list of debtors, who owed money to the deceased for works performed. We find here names amongst the finest: Franciszek Bieliński, the Pac family, the wife of the heir of Zamość, the archbishop of Lviv Jan Skarbek, the voivode of the Ruthenia Aleksander August Czartoryski, and also Warsaw Piarists and the Reformati of Miedniewice. Assuming—which is risky—that these debts could have been collected, we may state that the property of another architect we encounter in this work was very great, because liabilities were not the only element of his fortune.⁵⁷

A natural complement to this reflection on the successes of Italian immigrants should be a presentation of their possible failures. However, this issue must remain unresolved. Emigrant failure, even more subjective than success, essentially remains anonymous because of the nature of source material, for the failure of an Italian emigrant is not the return to his native land (we have such information in many cases), because perhaps leaving the homeland for good had not been intended at all. The return would be a failure if the goals of the departure—expensive and requiring effort—were not achieved; where there was no expected profit, when debts were left behind, when the return was sudden, when its circumstances could suggest a flight.

But only in the last case, namely when leaving the Commonwealth territory gave rise to concrete grievances and claims, was it probable that source documentation would have been created. By the nature of things, situations that did not produce acute conflict—presumably the vast majority—lacked such documentation. Thus, instead of declaring a collective success of the group we investigate, we rather admit helplessness in research.

57 See Zbigniew Rewski, *Działalność architektoniczna...*, p. 266-267.

Could Italians Enter Old Polish Elites?

When sketching the life of Giovanni de Sacchis—who in the first half of the 15th century was a professor at Kraków Academy—Aleksander Birkenmajer directed his attention to a group of witnesses present at the Wojciech Jastrzębiec's (bishop of Kraków) issuing of a document in 1422, which regulated staffing of canonries, prebends, and other benefices incorporated into the university. Besides six clergy, the witnesses included four laymen and these were all Italian (they were entrepreneurs and those performing academic professions).⁵⁸ This is a clear signal that, at that time, access to the Kraków elite was not closed for Italian arrivals; that by combining qualities of intellect with adroitness in the material sphere, at least some of them were able to cross the barriers facing immigrants. The questions are, whether this situation changed in modernity and how it was on mass scale?

This is undeniably an interesting theme, and also worth comparative analysis in reference to other groups of nationalities formed in the process of migration, existing within Old Polish society and simultaneously functioning in parallel to or independently of class structure. The Scots and Dutch would also come into play, and maybe Armenians (though not Jews, and to an even lesser extent, Germans—because they, irrespective of distinct separateness, should rather be included among locals, or at least among the long-settled). The chances of Italians were particularly high because of the exceptional educational and civilisational role that Italian arrivals played in the Commonwealth.

Let us recapitulate briefly on the main Italian trump cards, on what decided the attractiveness of Italian newcomers and their possible superiority over representatives of Old Polish society. Initially, these advantages certainly included the charm of novelty and some exoticism. Members of the Bona Sforza train arriving in Poland—and particularly those among them who stayed at the Kraków court after pompous wedding ceremonies—must have been a peculiar attraction, though their professions from the start were not among those most valued in Old Polish society. Secretaries, court doctors or horse trainers were elevated not by their professions, but by the fact of their constant residence at the royal court. Presence in courtly structures created the biggest chance for playing a substantial role in public life, albeit a chance available to very few.

Its counterpart could be the position of Italian architects, advisers, and secretaries employed at magnate courts, where in singular cases they could manoeuvre into positions of high influence. The increasing social role of magnate leaders and patrons naturally boosted an influential courtier's chances of attaining a position in one of the peripheral centres of power and prestige.

58 *PSB X*, p. 474.

The strength of Italians could also lie in the ties with Italy, about which the majority of them cared, as a rule not wanting to burn bridges, and only rarely planning to stay away for good.

However this situation, though in concrete cases broadened the room for manoeuvre, did not have an immediate influence on enhancing their position in Old Polish society. Some, but these are indeed exceptional cases, received thence support of a protective nature. The native Italian land thus remained a specific base of rather hazy outlines.

However, the majority of Italians in the Commonwealth were active in trade and production. The prestige of the merchant and artisan professions was only local and always limited to corresponding circles of society. Admittedly, those who engaged in trade or banking possessed very great financial means in comparison to Polish-Lithuanian conditions, but the possibilities of consuming and investing the wealth were practically reduced to their urban space. In acquiring the most outstanding buildings near Kraków's Main Market, which they were doing by the end of 16th century, Italians guaranteed for themselves prestige and elite status—on the scale of the city but not of the whole country. The same may be said about taking over the entire trade in textiles and a significant proportion of the shops selling wine, and even sitting on local authorities, a phenomenon that is confirmed for 17th Kraków on a very large scale.⁵⁹

Material status was linked with the possibility of granting credit to influential figures from Polish-Lithuanian magnate circles, which from the point of view of the latter was undeniably useful, but did it elevate the prestige of the creditor? Italian scholars, for whom posts at Kraków Academy proved attractive, must have been held in fully positive regard. The positions surely were prestigious but... only in the eyes of those who prized intellect and academic values, and so did not necessarily imply social prestige. Thus, out of two reasons for Italian weakness, namely 'otherness' and, generally, non-noble status, the latter circumstance was of more gravity. It posed an effective barrier preventing Italians from fully satisfying any hopes of advancement in Old Polish society.

The fundamental role of armigerous status in Poland is obvious. It was a social characteristic preliminarily determining the chances of an individual and the reality of their life plans. It was a precondition of aspiring to elite circles. In more modern countries, better developed, this tag—still important—served an incomparably smaller role. Stefan Pac, when visiting the Florentine court of Medicis with Prince Władysław, described pastimes common there, making a characteristic remark in his diary, "in Florence, nobility much with merchants mingled, so that there are none, also among more leading, houses, which would not have a bank or stall of

59 Janina Bieniarzówna, *Mieszczanstwo krakowskie...*, p. 32-35; Adam Manikowski, *Mercanti italiani in Polonia...*, p. 362-363.

its own, and by this noble status is not spoiled, otherwise they could have no food in these infertile mountains that are around Florence.”⁶⁰

The Lithuanian magnate was evidently shocked by the lack of clear barriers between classes, and simultaneously—as is explicit from the text of the diary—he was not so presumptuous as to condemn, out of hand, all social phenomena different from Polish-Lithuanian realities. Hence, he looked for justification for staining a noble coat of arms with commerce in the natural conditions limiting the range of crops. However, even the author himself did probably not see this reason as sufficient explanation. The difference in attitudes towards and understanding of noble status proved an impassable barrier, dooming Italians—despite their qualifications and financial means—to function within the “minor league” of the Polish-Lithuanian reality.

Various Directions of Influences

Similarities and Differences

Civilisational differences may be observed in many areas: material culture, customs, structure of power and political solutions, and the system of concepts and barely translatable language constructs. The existence of such differences between modern Italy and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is obvious and does not require any proving. The problem would be the scale of these differences and—most importantly—the spheres in which they occurred with special intensity. Let us remark that differences draw most attention, hence the greater possibility that they were expressly, and maybe even overly, emphasised in sources

Civilisational distance discerned in the sphere of public institutions and customs may be seen in many utterances illustrating various spheres and the scale of differences. By the end of 1622, Aleksander Zasławski (voivode of Bratslav) wrote to Ławryn Drewiński (Volyn’s cupbearer), saying that “Italians say the reason why they do not wake up for early morning Advent Mass, like here in Poland, is that long before being Christians they serve God, and we, since we accepted God not so long ago, we have to do this to equal them in merits.” This was Zasławski’s reason for not attending the Sejm.⁶¹ Irrespective of the humorous convention of this formula, we also perceive in it the obvious Polish-Italian distance and the sense of specific cultural “inferiority” reflected in political correspondence in the distant borderlands.

60 *Podróż królewicza Władysława Wazy...*, p. 348.

61 National Archive in Kraków, The Sanguszko Archive 75/II, p. 805-807; letter dated 31 December 1622. I thank Dr Karol Mazur for drawing my attention to this opinion.

The problem of distance and also petty differences must have been coped with by generations of Polish student-travellers and their parents and tutors. In the letters to his son, Aleksander Ługowski wrote educational advice that included, amongst other things, a recommendation that, during his stay in German countries, young Johnny should “learn to fence with a tesak [...] for in Italy they do not practice fencing with it, and to us for Polish weapon it is indispensable.”⁶² The amazement of pilgrims was even more curious.

During his stay in Venice, Maciej Rywocki—a sixteenth-century adventurer and author of an interesting diary—paid special attention to the formalised and legally sanctioned apparel of nobility there; this class organized its clothing according to rank and social status (“a Venetian cannot wear clothes as he likes but as is determined by law”). The traveller also described—with precision—the procedure for electing a Venetian doge, based on secret ballot. The technique of voting for the doge was based on casting balls into special barrels: “these balls are taken out; the one who has most gold balls in his barrel, is the Venetian Prince. A friend cannot help at all in it.”⁶³ The latter sentence seems crucial. It has a tone of amazement caused by the clarity of election procedures. This is a puzzlement of a person rooted in a *clientela* system, aware of the importance of informal connections in social and state structures of the Commonwealth. Was it not perhaps the most striking element of civilisational distance? On the one hand, there was a system of informal dependencies and links; on the other hand, stable institutions of public life and pre-established procedures.

The remarks of a Polonised Italian from Verona, Alessandro Guagnin, pertain exactly to this phenomenon. In the descriptions of court life, which we find in his chronicle, the author’s distance from the oddities described, degenerations, and manifest exaggerations are easily perceptible. In *Opisanie Polski*, we read: “Of courtiers and servants such multitude all Sarmatians, especially Poles, Masurians, Lithuanians and Ruthenians keep, so that someone unaware would say that they can never feed them. And they do nothing else but follow their master wherever he goes or when the master sends them for something they fetch it; they are free from other services and do not feel obliged to do anything else at all.”⁶⁴ Next, there is a fragment concerning bizarre master-servant relations, the essence of which is the limitation of the master’s power over the servant, since the latter is also of noble stock. This relation—clearly not obvious to the Italian author—is illustrated by the description of situations when the master cannot order his servant to carry out certain commands precisely because of the courtier’s armigerous standing.

62 [Ługowski], *Jasia Ługowskiego podróże...*, p. 273.

63 [Rywocki], *Macieja Rywockiego księgi peregrynanckie...*, p. 198-199.

64 [Gwagnin], *Z Kroniki Sarmacyi Europejskiej...*, p. 36.

We want to pay special attention to this fragment. The chronicler continues that this is wholly different from “the nations of western countries, among whom it is viewed as unseemly that a noble serves a noble.” This is a clear opposition between the Commonwealth and the West in the context of social norms and customs. Could it be that the author—who arrived from Italy, but well domesticated in Poland—wanted to distance himself from the prevalent style in Poland that negated (in his opinion) the sense of court relations? Such an interpretation seems correct to us because subsequent parts of *Opisanie* present, in great detail, a specific Polish category of subjected nobles and their formally non-defined and chiefly representational functions at magnate courts.

Civilisational differences affected diplomatic activity, particularly in Papal relations, while consecutive missions contributed to their discovery. By the end of 16th century, Cardinal Enrico Caetano—during his legation to Poland, concentrating on the issue of the anti-Turkish league—complained in a letter to Cardinal Federico Borromeo about the enormity of difficulties and differences in realities piling up before the mission.⁶⁵ The differences to which the nuncios devoted most attention to concerned forms of religion and the political system (principles of state and the functioning of its institutions), but they also focused on dissimilarities of customs. Galeazzo Marescotti, in *Vademecum pro Nuntiis apostolicis in Polonia*, written c. 1670, warned his successors not to try to compete with local secular senators and Church hierarchs as regards the pomp and size of the retinue accompanying them, since—according to the author—Papal envoys do not stand the least chance in this event.⁶⁶ The nuncio advised dignified presentation of oneself in public places, likewise in performing official functions (“convenga. . . il trattarsi con splendore”). This Polish pomp contrasted with—at least in the light of Marescotti’s recommendations—the pragmatism of western ceremonial and diplomatic custom, since courts of Polish senators prevailed over the courts of the richest Roman cardinals in splendour and number of servants.

Italy was a point of reference for travel accounts. A Polish unidentified traveller, (Anonim 1595)—who crossed Italy and the islands of the Mediterranean Sea and Spain—showed himself to be an admirer of the latter. In compliments that he addressed to the country on the Iberian Peninsula, he used comparisons with Italy, since it evidently must have had a special value. “Italian land has no fruit which Spanish land would not bear *in maiori perfectione* [in greater perfection],”

65 Biblioteca Ambrosiana G 172A inf., f91r: Card. Enrico Caetano to Card. Federico Borromeo, Kraków 19 November 1596.

66 “è vanità ad ogni modo il pensare di poter ivi trattarsi con pompa ammirabile alla nazione rispetto alla quantità de’ servitori, poiché ciascun vescovo o senatore tiene molto maggior corte e stalla di quello tenga qualsivoglia ricco cardinale in Roma” – Galeazzo Marescotti, *Vademecum pro Nuntiis apostolicis...*, p. 11-12.

the author stated, and further, “Italy is recommended by all *ex humanitate* [for kindness]; I will add: *palliatā spe lucri* [covered with hopes for wealth]”⁶⁷ Not judging the aptness of these remarks from which only the self-interest of Italian kindness follows, we nevertheless draw attention to the role of Italy as a natural point of reference of travel deliberations.

This concerned many authors writing in the 16th and 17th centuries, such as Maciej of Miechów, author of *Traktat o dwóch Sarmacjach*, who visited Italy twice, and who knew most prominent scientific centres on the peninsula, with Bologna, Padua, and Rome in the lead. The images of Italian towns must have made a strong impression on his memory and constituted one of the points of reference during the creation of *Traktat*. The author recalls, for instance, Lombardian vineyards, compares East European rivers to the Tiber and the Arno, and states that Moscow is twice as big as Florence.⁶⁸ The French traveller Karol Ogier, coming back from Poland in the summer of 1636—unable to stop marvelling when admiring the flat landscape near Leiden—compared his observations to perceptions of the French envoy, Claude de Mesmes, Count d’Avaux, “who had seen all that exist charming and arable lands in France and Italy.”⁶⁹ Let us note that France and Italy—treated jointly, in this context—symbolised simply Europe.

Interest in, and often fascination with, Italy did not mean a fundamental sense of inequality or complexes in the culturally weaker party. In the account about Polish-Muscovite peace negotiations of 1518—written by Italian mediators, Francesco da Collo and Antonio de Conti, working on behalf of Emperor Maximilian I—we find, for example, a record of the best impressions the two had upon visiting Kraków, where they visited churches with relics of saints and admired the contents of the Royal Treasury.⁷⁰

During his first visit to Vilnius in 1561 (where he met with Zygmunt August and viewed the royal treasury), Nuncio Berardo Bongiovanni commented: “In a word, I had not expected to find so many jewels in one place, to which neither Venetian nor Papal [jewels]—which I have also seen—cannot compare.”⁷¹ Even if the Papal diplomat slightly exaggerated wanting to present the ruler at whose court he resided in the best light, then the comment is thought-provoking. Full comparability of richness and also of artistic mastery of things adorning the court

67 [Anon. 1595], *Anonima diariusz peregrynacji włoskiej...*, p. 65, 68.

68 Waldemar Voisė, *Pierwsza książka polskiego autora przełożona na włoski...*, p. 166.

69 Karol Ogier, *Dziennik podróży...*, part. II, p. 303.

70 They were shown “reliquie de Santi per diverse Chiese di Cracovia, et i Thesori suoi di gemme, et vasi d’oro, e d’argento d’inestimabil prezzo” – Francesco da Collo, Antonio de Conti, *Trattamento di pace...*, k. 12v.

71 *Relacje nuncyuszów apostolskich...*, vol. I, p. 99; *Cudzoziemcy o Polsce...*, vol. I, p. 123; see also Wojciech Tygielski, *Między instrukcją a polskimi realiami...*, p. 534-536.

of the Polish king (and it was in Vilnius!) and analogous valuables that could be admired in first-rank centres of contemporary Italy, were not only imaginable but could also appear on the pages of a diplomatic account. Its author was a person who would have to have been prepared to face critical analysis of the content of his reports, but was undoubtedly very competent at the same time. We see it as a significant clue concerning the comparability of the standard of living and culture of elites in the West and in the Polish-Lithuanian state. Civilisational contrasts surely occurred but rather on the level of “the third estate,” whereas representatives of the nobility and magnates, and also the narrow bourgeois elites at that time, would rather not have reasons to develop complexes. Sixteenth-century Kraków, then in the apogee of Italian influence, certainly did not differ much from Urbino—in the sense of the standards of culture and living, if we symbolically juxtapose *Dworzanin polski* by Łukasz Górnicki with its Italian original, *Il Libro del Cortegiano* by Baldessare Castiglione.⁷²

Relations with Polish Surroundings

Polonisation

It is evident that Italians settling down in the Commonwealth were subject to the process of Polonisation. The research questions may only concern the pace and durability of this trend. It is hard to measure susceptibility to Polonisation of the entire Italian community, because we have only single accounts, and even harder to compare the pace of this process with assimilation of other immigrant groups.

Báthory, when appointing Domenico Alamani as his royal chef, described the nominee as “natione Italus, educatione, moribus, conversatione et tota vita sua verus et genuinus Polonus.”⁷³ This happened in early 1577, hence at the outset of King Stefan’s reign. Maybe the new sovereign thus assessed the grade of Polonisation of his courtier, who had been living in Poland for roughly 25 years. However, it is more likely that—justly fearing protests due to promoting a foreigner—the king tried to minimise the significance of his candidate’s foreign origin and to emphasise his Polishness and full integration with the local surroundings.

We know that Giovanni Benedetto Savioli (d. 1654), Kraków merchant and town councillor, accumulated (in his richly furnished house) a collection of paintings of secular themes and among them many portraits of Polish rulers and dignitaries of the Commonwealth.⁷⁴ Was this a manifestation of civic identification

72 Arturo Stanghellini, *La cultura italiana in Polonia...*, p. 88.

73 *PSB* I, p. 40-41.

74 *PSB* XXXV, p. 271.

with the tradition and national pantheon, or simply a collector's passion combined with a desire to satisfy aesthetic needs? In the latter case, the theme of the paintings would be of secondary importance and the content of the collection could be the result of availability on the artistic market, whereas in the first case, collecting the images of kings and senators of one's new homeland should be ascribed to Polishisation and identification with a new ideological programme. There is no clarity about that.

And here is another important and very telling example. Gaspare Fodiga, architect and sculptor from northern-Italian Mesocco, came to Poland at the end of 16th century. Initially he worked in Nieśwież, for Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Sierotka. Then, he moved to Lesser Poland. He also worked as an architect and entrepreneur in Szydłowiec and Chęciny. He erected typical Polish baroque funerary chapels for the Branicki family (Chęciny), the Oleśnickis (Święty Krzyż), and the Tarnowskis (Łowicz). But he also designed and built his own chapel in Chęciny Church.⁷⁵ Hence, the Italian architect adopted local custom and had the courage to rank himself alongside the magnate families for whom he worked. He symbolically broke the barrier between constructor and patron, which in Polish-Lithuanian realities was hard to overcome. We are convinced that this is not only an example of cultural adaptation but also proof of full acceptance by the immigrant of the social realities encountered and accepting local custom and hierarchy, and simultaneously an attempt to overcome—at least after death—the existing distance.

The adoption of the Polish perspective by correspondents working in the Commonwealth was very frequent, maybe even widespread. Giovanni Battista Solari, reporting to Cardinal Federico Borromeo in July 1611, heard the news that the Polish garrison stationed in Moscow was “li nostri nel Castello di quella Metropoli” [our (garrison) at the castle of that capital]; “nostri” were also called soldiers of Zygmunt III, who laid siege to Smoleńsk, and the king himself was to Solari “Maestà del mio Signore.”⁷⁶ This characteristic adoption of the Polish point of view concerned not only situations in which (as here) the sympathies of the writer were clearly on Polish side, understandably not on that of the Muscovite.

A similar trend may be observed in circles of the clergy and monastic structures. Alfonso Pisanus, a Jesuit preacher of Italian-Spanish provenance, who in last quarter of the 16th century worked in Poland, mainly in Poznań and Kalisz, became so attached to his new place that, when dedicating one of his works to

75 Mariusz Karpowicz, *Da contadino a magnate...*, p. 3-10, 33-38.

76 Biblioteca Ambrosiana G 209 inf., k. 67r-v: Giovanni Battista Solari to Card. Federico Borromeo, Milano 12 VII 1611. Numerous similar expressions are found in correspondence of Nuncio Francesco Simonetta from the same period – see Wojciech Tygielski, *Z Rzymu do Rzeczypospolitej...*, p. 164.

the archbishop of Gniezno, Stanisław Karnkowski, he wrote about “our” Poland, which “welcomed him kindly and it has been already nine years since it feeds him generously, endorses him and keeps him.”⁷⁷ Such cases were much more numerous and to this phenomenon are ascribed, at least in part, the Counter-Reformation’s successes on Polish-Lithuanian ground.⁷⁸

The so called Pinoccis’ Archive provides us with excellent material for discussion of this theme; it is a diverse collection of sources, stored in the National Archive in Kraków, and is interesting not only because of the role of Girolamo Pinocci (whose profile and achievements are presented above) but also due to richness of private correspondence and bills, in which Italian is gradually replaced with Polish. However, until the end of the 17th century, it remains fundamentally an amusing mix of both languages. Also, the prolific output of Girolamo himself, comprising political and scientific writings (in both cases not devoid of literary value and ambition) and even poetry, is an exceptionally interesting example of “cultural acclimatisation grounded on new Polish relations.”⁷⁹

Source materials left behind by Pinocci, constituting probably the biggest archival collection of this type in Poland, contain among other things reports on current (i.e. mainly from the second half of 17th century) events in Poland and Europe, written in analogous convention, giving evidence of far-gone Polonisation. Also the involvement of Girolamo and his Italian correspondents in Polish-Lithuanian internal affairs (defence, social problems) and even suggesting concrete solutions and formulating reform projects is notable.

The consistent and rather rapid process of Polonisation, in which a considerable role was played by marriage, may be seen in the example of the Hipolit family of Kraków drapers and merchants. Its Polish branch came from Hipolit of Pisa (d. after 1575), who married Elżbieta, daughter of draper Jerzy Kaczycki. We know that one of their daughters married a town councillor, and all sons from this bond, at least four, adopted municipal law. The most outstanding among them, Paweł, made a fortune in the cloth trade, bought attractive buildings in Kraków, and became town alderman and then councillor. He was married twice, in both instances to representatives of the Kraków patriciate. It seems that analogous matrimonial decisions in the following generation obliterated the foreign origin of the family to a great extent.

77 See *PSB* XXVI, p. 544.

78 See Claudio Madonia, *La compagnia di Gesù e la riconquista cattolica...*, p. 225-269.

79 Stanisław Miczulski, *Archiwum Pinoccich* [The Pinoccis’ Archive]..., p. 135, footnote 76; the author points out that in this archival collection there are – apart from Polish and Latin – four main Western languages, among which “Italian is greatly predominant” – *ibidem*, p. 136.

Similar process may be observed among the Cortini family. The first who came to Kraków was Rodolfo, a merchant who became *wójt*. His eldest son, also Rodolfo, was in the 1540s in the big league of Kraków merchants, which may be assessed on the basis of the amount of tax that he paid to the town treasury. The second son, Francesco, also made his living from trade, was a wholesaler of wine, and traded in spices and ironware; he also was alderman several times and then member of the town council. When, during the Swedish invasion, the town had to pay ransom and the burghers clubbed together for the demanded amount, Kortyn (this form of surname was used from the second generation onwards of the Cortini family in Poland) and his then partner Rodolfo Delafoppa, had to pay as much as 12,000 zł., which allows us to place the former in the group of the richest Kraków merchants. By the end of his life, Franciszek Kortyn had become royal secretary; he owned a kamienica house at Mały Rynek, once belonging to the Montelupi, and he had also purchased Jakubowice village in Proszowice County, where he renovated an ancient manor house. Therefore, one may see in his activity a tendency to emulate noble models after having secured the solid material foundations of bourgeois existence, which we treat as further proof of the existence of explicit assimilational trends in this family.

Important, and in a sense symbolic, was the process of the Polonisation of names, nicknames and other proper nouns. On the diversity of name versions, it was pointed out long ago that Tito Livio Burattini, financier and mints leaseholder, appearing in Polish documents which were issued in relation with conferring upon him in 1663 the administration of the Lithuanian mint, figured thrice as “Borattyni,” twice as “Boratyni,” and once as “Boratini.”⁸⁰ He himself, as we remember, began after some time to use the name Boratyński, and the coin he minted was called “boratynka.”

Sebastiano, son of Bartolomeo Berrecci, the famed Renaissance rebuilder of Wawel, was called “Włochowicz,” the opera singer Baldassare Ferri was Balcerek, and the Lviv builder Franciscus Quadro was called Krotochwila—completely disconnected from name, surname and place of origin.⁸¹ The most noticeable seems to be the Polonisation of names relying on using the Polish equivalent of meaning (Montelupi—Wilczogórski), or, more frequently, on choosing a form that was phonetically similar and in accordance with local standards.⁸²

80 Antonio Favaro, *Intorno alla vita ed ai lavori di Tito Livio Burattini...*, p. 25, footnote 1.

81 See Maksymilian and Stanisław Cercha, *Pomniki Krakowa...*, vol. II, p. 170-171; Juliusz A. Chrościcki, *Kamieniarze i mafiosi...*, p. 71; A. Bontempi, *Notizie di Baldassare Ferri...*, p. 223; Tadeusz Mańkowski, *Pochodzenie osiadłych we Lwowie...*, p. 137.

82 Bartolomeo Berrecci was called Berezcy; the surname of a son of the Florentine merchant Carlo Gucci, Ottaviano, was Guzewski, and his first name – Oktawian; a famous royal chapel master, Marco Scacchi, became in the Polish language sphere “Szacki”, and his

Even before Cortini became Kortyn and Montelupi Wilczogórski, in Lviv, there worked an Italian builder of a very familiar sounding name, Krasowski. A note from 1567, when he adopted town law, describes him as “*Petrus Crassowski Italus murator Szwancar*” and contains a hint about, quite typical for the building professions, his origin from the Swiss-Italian border (today the Ticino Canton, spreading north from Lago Maggiore). The genesis of the Polish name may be explained in several ways: it may come from the place, Carasso in Ticino, or from Krasów near Lviv, where Krassowski could work in the quarries; or the name may have been a Polonised version of the surname Grassi, popular in Ticino.⁸³ Further examples: Jan Antoni Lukini, a popular professor of law in the first half of the 18th century, and many times rector of Kraków Academy, came from a bourgeois family, which arrived in the 17th century from Lucca and bore the name Luchini; the previous name of Franciszek Kurcysz, court doctor of King Stanisław August, was Curzio.⁸⁴

It seems that the attitude to the Polish surroundings of architect Francesco Placidi, who appeared in Poland in the reign of August III and remained until his death in 1782, changed during his stay. In 1745, Placidi enrolled in the Italian Brotherhood at Kraków Franciscan church and was a member for about fifteen years, often on the board. In 1756—it may be a significant caesura—his Italian wife Caterina Zucchi passed away and his second spouse, Zofia Radwańska, who he married in the same year, represented the new, Polish surroundings. The patronage of the bishops of Kraków, subsequent commissions and professional successes, also contributed to tipping the scales in favour of Polishness, which seems to be confirmed in fragments of Placidi’s manuscript legacy.⁸⁵

The Morykoni family also Polonised rather quickly. Its representatives played a considerable role in the public forum in the second half of the 18th and 19th centuries. They arrived in the Commonwealth in the mid-17th century, settled in Lithuania, and in 1673, were granted *indygenat* status, consistently building—thanks to close relations with the Radziwiłłs—a position as rich landowners. Interestingly, the Morykonis were on friendly relations with Michał Pelikan, town councillor and mayor of Lublin in 1640s, who was also a heir of an Italian immigrant family. This figure could serve as another example of quick assimilation.⁸⁶

colleague Giovanni Maria Brancharini – “Brankarynowski” – *PSB IX*, p. 131; Hieronim Feicht, *Przyczynki do dziejów kapeli królewskiej...*, p. 127-128.

83 *PSB XV*, p. 210.

84 *PSB XVIII*, p. 116, XVI, p. 224.

85 “some extant letters and legends in pictures prove that he Polonised by putting down roots in the place through speech and habit” – *PSB XXVI*, p. 634.

86 *PSB XXII*, p. 20-24, XXV, p. 557, *PSB XX*, p. 98.

We can observe explicit orientation towards Polonisation in the case of Lorenzo Justimonti from Bologna. He appeared in Kraków c. 1570 and functioned first in clergy circles, in the service of the Kraków canon Maciej Drzewicki, and then for Bishop Piotr Myszkowski. After some time, he started to take leases on gentry's villages, taverns, and mills, attaining a position as a permanent supplier of grain for municipal needs. In 1587, during the siege of Kraków by Archduke Maximilian III of Austria, he displayed initiative when fighting at Hetman Zamoyski's side; in 1589, he was ennobled for his merits and express declaration of loyalty. Full assimilation of Justimonti family occurred in the next generation. One of the sons of Lorenzo / Wawrzyniec, Andrzej, owned Włostowice village and titled himself "*generosus*"; he died in 1663, as Master of the Hunt of Sanok.

When observing these and many other lives, one may pose a question: was this inclination to Polonisation, as well as its noticeable ease, directly connected with material-professional successes achieved by specific people? The answer to this question seems positive. The assessment of realities that Italian arrivals found surely decided on their attitude and further plans. The plans were either unclear or short term at the beginning, but rather depended on initial successes or failures. In a summary, if all went according to a traveller's will, then he quickly changed into emigrant and showed readiness to assimilate fully, but if he encountered misfortunes and difficulties, then certainly he limited his plans and aspirations to making money and returning to his native land. The changing realities of the Commonwealth meant that, in some periods, one tendency prevailed while at another time it was the other.

However, the objective attractiveness of the old Polish culture was a fact. Also, some representatives of foreign elites travelled and domesticated in many corners of Europe and were by no means limited to the Polish-Italian option. A renowned religious reformer, Francesco Lismanin, though he came from the Greek island of Corfu, belonged to Italian culture, and his reformist activity was of decisively international character. It is thus the more remarkable that, in the dedication of one of his dissenting treatises, addressed to Mikołaja Radziwiłł the Black, he wrote "please deign Most Noble Prince not to marvel that I to Your Grace write in Polish, being man of foreign nation who from youth among Poles grew up."⁸⁷

Proof of advancing Polonisation may be searched for also in the process of local language acquisition, which was required once the decision of a longer or permanent stay had been made. Giovanni Guidetti, a young man employed in Kraków by the Lenzi merchant family, was to be sent in November 1576 to Toruń to observe Sejm debates there. However, he could not fulfil the task "per non

87 *PSB* XVII, p. 469.

avere la lingua,” namely due to not knowing the language in which the debates were held; emphasising this fact rather seems to point to its exceptionality.⁸⁸ In more international courtly circles this requirement surely could not have been so obvious. A famous court doctor of King Báthory, Niccolò Bucella, living in Kraków for many years, did not learn Polish, which he confessed himself in his last will,⁸⁹ but it is worth remembering that King Stefan did not learn the language of his subjects either.

It is hard to dispute the thesis that the role of Polish language in mutual contacts on Commonwealth territory gradually increased; an exception could be found among the stays that we will call “official” and especially diplomatic missions. Envoys of Italian states, including apostolic nuncios, generally did not know Polish, but in the travelling diplomats’ retinue, there were typically people with knowledge of the local language, a qualification that was usually considered when completing lower level personnel of the nunciature.⁹⁰ For example, Simone Corticelli had a perfect command of Polish. He was a diplomat in the Polish service under Stanisław August Poniatowski and was, for many years, a resident of the Polish court in Vienna.⁹¹

Let us recall that the most Italian institution in the Commonwealth—the Italian Brotherhood at Kraków’s Franciscan church—lost importance during the 18th century, and evidently got poorer. By the end of the century, there occurred a change of language in which documents were written. The bills of confraternity were, from its foundation, kept in Italian, but from 1786 onwards, they were in Polish, which may be taken as a sign that the organisation had lost its Italian character by then.⁹²

Indygenat and Ennoblements

“Excellent *habilitas* to any service for our Homeland always with full eagerness of *Generosus* Pinocci, from noble estate in Italian countries born, *meretur* these *praemia*, which those similar to him used to get. Thus *Generosus* Pinocci at his own expense in missions to the Dutch Republic and the English Protector being sent, proved his affection to the Homeland notably and no little costs he incurred. . . , HRM, as well merited, petitions for him to be decorated with *indygenat* of the Polish Crown,” we read in legation to the royal envoy to pre-Sejm Sejmik

88 Rita Mazzei, *Itinera Mercatorum...*, p. 237.

89 Rita Mazzei, *Itinera Mercatorum...*, p. 211, 236.

90 This was pointed out by Galeazzo Marescotti in his *Vademecum pro Nuntiis apostolicis...*, p. 11-14; see Wojciech Tygielski, *Z Rzymu do Rzeczypospolitej...*, p. 55-56.

91 *PSB* IV, p. 96.

92 See Stanisław Kutrzeba, Jan Ptaśnik, *Dzieje handlu i kupiectwa krakowskiego...*, p. 107.

session of the Duchies of Oświęcim and Zator, from 13 January 1659. The text records key elements of official procedure: the merits of a foreigner for the new homeland, with emphasis of his diplomatic service, costs incurred, and the fact of having foreign noble status. The initiator of the whole procedure, which ended successfully by resolution of the Sejm in 1662, was, at least formally, the king himself. Another foreigner was, in this way, ceremonially admitted to citizenship of the Commonwealth.⁹³

The striving of Italians, living in Poland, for ennoblement—which concerned the incomers of plebeian origin, or for *indygenat*, that is endowment of Polish noble status (as if citizenship) on those who already had a noble title—may be an important clue concerning life strategies of the representatives of this community. Undertaking such efforts—requiring intensive endeavours and certainly also costs—may be treated as a clear declaration that they wanted to stay in Poland for good. The preserved source material is relatively rich, but its interpretation poses some difficulties. Ennoblement, as admission to the noble estate—endowment of coat of arms, rights and obligations ascribed to the nobility in Poland—is a phenomenon noted in sources from the beginning of the 15th century until the end of the First Commonwealth of Poland. In this whole period, the intensity of the phenomenon varied and the social significance of the applied procedures was different.

Let us recap very briefly: initially, the right of ennoblement, held by the king, was subject to no restraints. However, the growing number of endowed noble titles, observed during the reigns of Zygmunt the Old (147) and Zygmunt August (190), and also Stefan Báthory (83), prompted reaction from the nobles. According to the Constitution of 1578, the king could bestow ennoblement at the Sejm—with the consent of deputies and senators. A loophole, quite a large one, included military merits, for which one could be ennobled even on the battlefield, and the decision taken was then approved by the next Sejm. Another resolution in this matter, made at the Sejm in 1601, determined that ennoblement may be done only through an act of parliament and that a recommendation from senate or Sejmik deputies was indispensable, and in the case of military men, there needed to be a recommendation from one of the hetmans.

Over the course of the 16th century, many ennobling documents were issued for foreigners. But, this was done mainly for those who inhabited towns or were officials of the royal court, whereas foreign nobility living in Poland were treated on equal terms with the Polish nobility. Only the acts of the Sejms in 1601 and 1607 set the beginning of the institution of *indygenat*, which was bestowal of local noble status to foreign nobility. This phenomenon, from then on coexisting

93 *Akta sejmikowe województwa krakowskiego...*, vol. 2, p. 658; *Volumina Legum...*, vol. 4, p. 408.

with ennoblements, gained in importance during the 17th century; Old Polish lawmakers devoted more and more attention to it. An act of the Sejm session of 1641 introduced, for foreigners, a requirement of proving nobility, which was carried out at the Sejm, and was then recorded in a document of *indygenat*. It was also required that the applicant made a personal pledge of allegiance to the king and the Commonwealth. From 1662, those receiving *indygenat* had to be of Roman Catholic creed; in 1673 this was also expanded to those ennobled. In the 18th century, the relevant regulation was considerably broadened (amongst other things, a duty to buy a landed estate within two years of being ennobled was introduced, as were numerous charges and stamp duty), which was reflected in the forms of the documents issued.

To us, the most important thing remains the group of those who were granted such privileges, the evolution of this community, and the social context accompanying the efforts undertaken. Obtaining *indygenat* status and ennoblement required “*zalecenie*,” namely a recommendation. A group of those who were entitled to make this, though it gradually expanded (the king, senators, deputies, hetmans, grand officials of the Crown and Lithuania etc.), remained a closed elite until the end of the Nobles’ Republic. In single cases, there occurred recommendations of foreign rulers, but information about those who made the recommendations are available only in some cases.

Nevertheless, despite existing limitations and doubts, the Italian community, who were granted Polish *indygenat* status or ennoblement (and so they must have striven for this privilege), should draw our attention here. We can reconstruct the group today on the basis of existing studies—both these ordering terminology,⁹⁴ and also the ones collecting and systematising the available source material.⁹⁵

The phenomenon of ennoblement and granting *indygenat* status to Italian arrivals underwent many swings. Under the last Jagiellons, Báthory and Zygmunt III, ennoblement—which is the admission to the nobility of foreigners not having noble status before then—expressly dominated. Later, in the second half of the 17th century, more were bestowed with *indygenat* status. This was for those foreign

94 Tadeusz Szulc, *Indygenat w Rzeczypospolitej w świetle konstytucji sejmowych...*, p. 1-10; Józef Szymański, *Nauki pomocnicze historii...*, p. 667; id., *Indygenat czy nobilitacja...*, p. 191; Jan Michta, *Nobilitacja i indygenat...*, passim.

95 Zygmunt Wdowiszewski, *Regesty nobilitacji w Polsce (1404-1794)...*; id., *Regesty przywilejów indygenatu w Polsce (1519-1793)...*; *Materiały genealogiczne, nobilitacje, indygenaty w zbiorach Archiwum Głównego Akt Dawnych w Warszawie...*; *Nobilitacje i indygenaty w Rzeczypospolitej 1434-1794...*; *Album armorum nobilium Regni Poloniae, XV-XVIII Saec., Herby nobilitacji i indygenatów, XV-XVIII w.*, introduction, compilation and edition by Barbara Trelińska, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Lublin 2001.

nobles, who strove to make their nobility of full value on the Commonwealth territory. Władysław IV's times are a symbolic caesura here.

We also observe periods in which relatively more people were granted the *indygenat* status, such as, for instance, in the first phase of Zygmunt III's reign, then at the turn of 1650/60s, and finally in the times of Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki and Jan Sobieski. This would mean the temporary elevation of the status of people applying to formalise their connections with the new homeland, and the greater scale of the phenomenon in the 17th century, particularly in the second half. Perhaps 17th century realities required, from Italian immigrants, a swifter declaration of plans as regards the nature and length of stay.

We have to stress that *indygenat* status was bestowed on relatively few artists, and even when it was, such a distinction was enjoyed by architects-designers rather than representatives of other artistic professions. This seems to prove the supposition that this group—in the context of the huge crowd of artists—was exclusive and was perceived as such.

Considering the intentions of Italian beneficiaries of those procedures, we have to remember that, in Poland, foreigners were endowed with titles of honour too. At first it was *Eques auratus* and later—from the times of Władysław IV—titles of counts, burgraves, barons, such as had never previously existed in Polish-Lithuanian society; they could have prestigious value but rather after the honoured party's return to their native land. We know, for example, that the children of Niccolò Siri prided themselves on holding the title “barone del Regno di Polonia,” and this was certainly not an isolated case.⁹⁶

Now let us sum up. The 108 people with *indygenat* status—receiving ennoblement and holding *Eques auratus* titles that were endowed from the times of Zygmunt the Old until the third partition (1506–1795)—may be described as follows:

1. under the reign of the last two Jagiellons (1506–1572) there were 15 such cases;
2. in times of the first elective kings (1573–1632)—15;
3. under Władysław IV, Jan Kazimierz, Michał Korybut and Jan III (1633–1696)—24;
4. under the Saxons (1697–1763)—3;
5. under Stanisław August (1764–1795)—51.

Titles of honour, counts, burgraves, and barons in periods 1) and 2) were not endowed, and in the following there were recorded respectively: 3)—23; 4)—34; and 5)—12; thus, 69 in total. It is worth remarking that this form was most common in the second half of the 17th century, especially under the Saxon rule.

96 Niccolò Siri, *Lettere da Cracovia e Varsavia...*, p. XIX.

On the one hand, if we sum up the data concerning all honours that were given, then our most highlighted portion will be the period 1633–1696 (not counting the flood of titles under the last king). On the other hand, if we look at the number of titles endowed on Italians in relation to the number of analogous dignities that representatives of other nations were honoured with, then the most “favourable” to Italian incomers proved to be the reigns of Jan III (27.8%) and Władysław IV (18.5%).⁹⁷ Thus, numerical data show that around the mid-17th century, crucial changes took place as regards demand for Polish titles. In parallel to the advent of possibilities to obtain purely honorary titles (here the demand is rather connected with plans of leaving the Commonwealth), the desire to be granted *indygenat* status increases, which would be a sign of a tendency to make one’s stay in Poland permanent. Endeavours to be bestowed with *indygenat* status and ennoblement should be treated as a declaration of a desire to connect permanently with the new homeland, and the more so in view of the costs that were normally incurred by these efforts.

For obtaining ennoblement or *indygenat* status, and also an honorary title, the interested party had to pay, though not necessarily in the literal sense. The Sejm of 1659—“for the convenience” of the interested and encouraging him to “further services to us and the Commonwealth, especially in view that recently he hath a considerable amount of money for the needs of the Republic donated”—acknowledged Guglielmo Orsetti and his children of both sexes as holders of *indygenat* status. In this case, a renowned Kraków trader, regarded one of the richest in the town, granted a loan “for the emergency needs of the Commonwealth” of an immense sum (topping 500,000 zł) secured on Knyszyn and Goniądz properties.⁹⁸ There were also numerous examples of specific sums being paid, and far more numerous situations in which material provisions were not expressly recorded but whose involvement we suspect.⁹⁹

It would be interesting to investigate arguments applied in the ennoblement procedure, and people who promoted the foreigners. Battlefield merits, as relatively easiest to accept at the Sejm forum, are undoubtedly predominant here. But, there is a visible group rendering services (requiring high professional qualifications) to the king and his circle—from engineering and postal system organisation, to medicine.

97 In the whole studied period the Italians received around 10% of all *indygenat* honours, ennoblements and titles of *Eques auratus*, and if we include titles of count, burgrave and baron, this rises to around 15%.

98 *PSB* XXIV, p. 255.

99 For instance, in the case of Giovanni Gibboni, a noble, a foundry owner, who received *indygenat* status at the Sejm of 1654—*Pisma polityczne z czasów Jana Kazimierza...*, vol. II, p. 110.

Among promoters of those who strove for *indygenat* status or ennoblement, hetmans of the Crown and of Lithuania are easiest to note, which is natural in the context of military merits as the prevailing motive of starting the relevant procedure. This group has a clearly marked set of Italophiles, such as Chancellor Jan Zamoyski, and his excellent co-workers: Piotr Myszkowski, Stanisław Gostomski, and Stanisław Gomoliński. Among them were also the voivode of Poznań, Hieronim Gostomski; Marshal Mikołaj Wolski; Jan Sobieski, who was marshal and hetman at that time; and, finally, voivode of Vilnius, Michał Pac. Foreign recommendations also happened, at first Papal, later also Tuscan, but it is hard to interpret them in other than diplomatic terms.

The Italians' endeavours for *indygenat* status or ennoblement remain for us primarily a specific declaration to assimilate, to formalise their stay in the new homeland. Obtaining *indygenat* status undoubtedly reinforced the foreigner's position, and was rarely challenged later. An exception is the case of Domenico Alamani, who was an influential royal chef serving under Báthory. Allegedly, it was said he was not an *indygenat* holder but a person "of Italian nation." In fact, however, he received the honour in 1566.¹⁰⁰ It must be remembered, though, that these accusations came from anti-royal opposition in a period of a tense situation in the country after the beheading of Samuel Zborowski (1584); hence they were a manifestation of extreme emotions.

There also occurred cases of those resilient to Polonisation, such as Gaetano Chiaveri, Roman architect, who initially worked in Petersburg, and came to Poland via Dresden. He surely came to Kraków, where he supposedly had to prepare decorations connected with the coronation ceremony of August III. Chiaveri stayed in Poland in 1734–1737, busy with realising the commissions of the king, the Szembeks, and the Opalińskis. He designed entire buildings and the architectural details and elements of furnishing. Reportedly, August III ordered him to build a stone bridge over the Vistula near Warsaw. To Chiaveri is also ascribed, amongst other things, the design of Royal Castle alterations. It is exactly on the basis of the preserved sketches, drawings, and projects (which the architect signed personally) that we may state decisively that he did not learn Polish.¹⁰¹

Yet Chiaveri was beaten to the wooden spoon a little later by Innocenzo Maraino, painter and decorator from northern Lombardy, who lived over 30 years in the partitioned Commonwealth (d. in Lviv c. 1800)—"little knowing Polish." Maraino's case is nevertheless exceptional. As one of a few, he found work first in Poland (engaged in works at Ujazdów Castle and working for Michał Kazimierz Ogiński's commissions in Słonim, where he designed, amongst other things, a theatre); then was employed in his native country (presumably he painted

100 *PSB* I, p. 41.

101 *PSB* III, p. 290-291.

decorations for the Milanese La Scala opera theatre); then returned to Poland to work in his profession (decorations of the royal theatre in Łazienki, remodelling of a theatre at Plac Krasińskich).¹⁰² Does this mean that he preferred Warsaw theatres to La Scala? Not necessarily. This only testifies how hard it is to generalise on the basis of available biographical motifs.

Originally Florentine, then of Kraków, the Montelupi family, with Sebastiano (a merchant and long-time post master general of the Polish Kingdom at the lead), may serve as an example of success on Polish soil and progressing Polonisation. In the preserved sources, we encounter fragments that are thought-provoking. In one of his letters, Sebastiano Montelupi informed his regular correspondent—the influential secretary of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Belisario Vinta—about the founding of a new university by Chancellor Jan Zamoyski. There would be nothing surprising in that; Zamoyski, due to his position and enormous political influence, had interested the Medici court for a long time, and establishing the Zamoyski Academy was certainly an event worth the attention of European elites. However, in the letter, it is written that the chancellor created a new university “in Samogitia, sua città.”¹⁰³ The context makes it clear that Zamość is meant, and thus, instead of “Samoscium,” features “Samogitia,” Žemaitija. The mistake should be ascribed to one of the clerks employed by Montelupi, but also to the sender himself, for we know that he used to read letters he dictated and personally made amendments. This time the error went unnoticed.

The letter, a fragment of which we discuss here, was dated Kraków, 15 May 1594. The sender, Sebastiano Montelupi, had been living in Poland then, in the capital Kraków, for some 40 years, and Chancellor Zamoyski had been a first-rank figure on the Polish scene for at least two decades. Let us add that the incorporation charter of Zamość—a private town, which after some time became a capital of latifundium and exceptionally lasting monument of achievements—was issued in 1580 (so around fifteen years earlier). Thus, the town, “città ideale,” existed in reality, and because of the novelty of concept and the person of the founder, it must have been a universally known centre. Could it remain beyond the sphere of interest or even awareness of Sebastiano Montelupi?

In Lorenzo Tucci’s words—allegedly spoken in 1630 in reference to the collapse of the Venetian company *Ludovico Bianchi*—*Carlo Pusterla* and the necessity to close down their Kraków business—the company’s representatives would surely, on hearing of the draconian terms set by their creditors, have hit the roof; this would be true if it were not that Italians had become phlegmatic in Poland (“che non fosse che l’italiani diventano in Pollonia flemmatici”).¹⁰⁴ Irrespective

102 *PSB* XIX, p. 527.

103 [Montelupi], *Korespondencja Sebastiana i Valeria...*, p. 67.

104 Rita Mazzei, *Traffici e uomini d'affari italiani...*, p. 16.

of the correctness of this diagnosis, it is worth taking it as evidence that in the contemporary observers' opinion, the stay in Poland had a clearly visible effect on immigrants.

Thus, we end this motif with a manifestation of assimilational fulfilment, closely connected with Montelupis. Wespazjan Kochowski, in *Lata potopu*, describes a battle that was fought at night between 10/11 August 1656 near Tyniec, where a division led by Michał Zebrzydowski, sword-bearer of the Crown, fell into a Swedish ambush and was defeated. From the account, we learn that, among others, fell "Walery Wilczogórski, Italian of origin and Pole through his integrity and courage."¹⁰⁵ The literary character of Kochowski's expressions justifies its specific rhetoric, but the sense seems unequivocal: the descendant of the Montelupis not only used the Polish form of the surname but wholly settled in Polish reality, serving the new homeland as soldier and finally shedding blood for it. His Italian origin remains to the author an element of identification, but at the core are the best traits of the noble citizen—integrity and valour. The man who displayed them, a descendant of Italian immigrants, was—according to his desire—fully accepted. The process of assimilation had come to an end.

Italianisation

The Knowledge of Italian

At the threshold of modernity, European civilisation resigned from Latin as the universal language. Its place was taken by national languages (Italy remained a special case), which decisively differentiated European societies. However, it is worth remarking that since that time either efforts were made to reach some supranational agreement (Esperanto), or one of languages became dominant (French, English).

It is accepted that the basis of the European linguistic community was first Greek, namely *hellenike glotta*, then *orbis latinus* of the West, which emerged from this system of culture and rivaled it until the 15th century. Later the tendency to sustain European awareness of linguistic community (*latinitas*) is observed through the constant influence of Latin as the universal language of elites: religious (as the language of liturgy until the mid-20th century) and intellectual (as the language of science until the end of the 18th century), and the next language fulfilling such unifying functions on European scale was French.¹⁰⁶ However, it seems that in this context we should not totally disregard Italian, or rather Tuscan, which through the 15th and 16th centuries partially superseded a weakening Latin, but then receded in the second half of the 17th century in the face of French.

105 Wespazjan Kochowski, *Lata potopu...*, p. 216.

106 See Andrzej Borowski, *Europejskość i polskość Moliera...*, p. 58-59.

The emergence of national languages put, on the agenda, the issue of translations and necessary linguistic qualifications, as well as learning materials. The knowledge of foreign languages was much in demand. In trading towns, such as Amsterdam, Antwerp, Geneva, Nuremberg, and Venice, multilingual dictionaries were published and re-released, and Lodovico Guicciardini, in his *Descrittione di tutti i Paesi Bassi* (1567), praised Antwerp inhabitants for universal knowledge of languages: French, German, English and Italian.¹⁰⁷

Apart from printed learning materials, educational centres were also created, specialising in teaching foreign languages (Venice), though, in this case, a close teacher-student relationship (preferably combined with a sojourn to a foreign country) was given preference over group actions. According to Professor Eilhard Lublin, active in the early 17th century in Rostock, one could, through private tuition, gain a good command of Spanish and Italian, as well as French and Polish, within three years.¹⁰⁸ It is notable that Italian, besides French, appears in both of the above mentioned compilations, but the domination of French on the Old Continent—initially connected with the exceptional role of the state of Louis XIII and XIV, with the Enlightenment period and the *encyclopédistes*, cemented in the Napoleonic era—seems to obscure and diminish the previous, but almost equally prominent, position of Italian.

Not incidentally, the first manuals and phrasebooks published in Germany as early as in 15th century, and then very popular, were to help learn Italian and other languages of the Balkan states. Consideration for the dynamically developing trade contacts seems evident here, but the merchant activity of Italians in contemporary Europe was not decisive enough to determine the international position of their native language. The explanation of this phenomenon may be easily elaborated. There was not only a language of modern culture. Sources of artistic inspirations were sought and usually found in Italy, where there was the language of scientific treaties and diplomacy.

In Toruń on 26 June 1635, Władysław IV held an audience for the French diplomat Claude de Mesmes, Count d'Avaux, a mediator in the Polish-Swedish conflict. During this event, Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł stated: “On this day the French envoy [...] presented himself to the king as perfectly acquainted with culture foreign to French nobility, as he seemed to surpass Italians themselves when he spoke in Italian, by which he compelled everyone to admiration.”¹⁰⁹ Hence, we learn that the Polish ruler and the French envoy, when they met on

107 Almut Bues, *Rozmówki polsko-niemieckie...*, p. 68, 73.

108 „daß man Spanisch und Italienisch, ja auch Französisch und Polnisch in drei Jahren bei Privatlehrern gut lernen könne“ – quote from Almut Bues, *Rozmówki polsko-niemieckie...*, p. 77.

109 Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł, *Pamiętnik o dziejach w Polsce...*, vol. 1, p. 459.

Prussian soil during the Thirty Years War, held conversation in Italian, and the French showed perfect command of it as the language of contemporary diplomats. Interestingly, from the account of another witness of the scene, Karol Ogier, it followed that the French envoy—having oriented the linguistic preferences of the king—adjusted to them *ad hoc*.¹¹⁰ The French observer also highlighted the very positive reactions of the audience to this and the next addresses of the envoy, whose linguistic flexibility—let us add—was not even in the least surprising to those gathered.

The essence of the modern evolution of diplomatic structures may be the permanence of representation, the consequence of which was a fixed, several year, rotational exchange of staff, which led (in turn) to increasing professionalism, especially as regards gathering information about the country in which a diplomatic mission was based. The day-to-day correspondence of diplomats and the so-called final reports—written by them and presented to their superiors after the mission's end—formed a database on Polish partners on the international arena. A constant inflow of information allowed for updates of knowledge and observation of ongoing changes. Such a formula for diplomatic service was first applied in Europe by Venice and the Papacy, while both the diplomatic structures, secular and church, used Italian (the Venetian diplomacy from the beginning, the Papal from at least the mid-16th century, when Italian replaced Latin in the correspondence of nuncios).

Readiness to provide diplomatic services proved to be a feature clearly distinguishing the inhabitants of the Apennine peninsula as compared with other Europeans. Was this an effect of relatively universal nature of education, which prepared for performing secretary-office functions, or a display of life resourcefulness allowing the offer of services of a diplomatic nature, as an aside to other activity requiring relocation and travelling long distances? Surely both reasons were significant. Moreover, the association of the Italian nation with diplomatic professionalism was more and more widespread, and rulers then did not abide by the principle to confer diplomatic tasks only to their own subjects, the principle which began to be applied universally in later centuries. Hence, this was the reason why there was vast usage of Italian specialist offers that often rendered services to several rulers at any given time. The phenomenon, in turn, caused the increased presence of the Italian language in the international contacts.

A Bolognese nobleman and traveller, Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, was in Vienna in 1682 with letters of recommendation from Cardinal Cibo to the Viennese nuncio Buonvisi, and Cardinal Acciulli to the influential Capuchin Emmericho Sinelli, bishop of Vienna. Marsigli also had a letter from the Spanish governor of Milan to the ambassador of Spain at the emperor's court. In spite of this, due

110 “because he hath learnt the king is in Italian speech greatly enamoured, in Italian [...] he spoke to him”—Karol Ogier, *Dziennik podróży*..., part I, p. 95, 99, 269.

to the mysterious, ambiguous, multifaceted character of his mission that irritated the hosts, Marsigli was given a cold welcome. His situation at court ameliorated only after being granted an audience with the Emperor Leopold I, who was hardly accessible, but who used to like conversing in Italian.¹¹¹

Polish kings also knew Italian. A learned Jesuit, Alfonso Salmeron, accompanying Nuncio Aloisio Lippomano in 1555 (and having a lot of free time during his stay in Vienna) allegedly offered to the monarch to deliver sermons in Italian. He apparently took for granted that the king would understand what was being said. In the end, the proposition was declined, though the monarch was the son of Queen Bona (Zygmunt August). Fulvio Ruggieri wrote that the son “speaketh Italian in memory of his mother.”¹¹²

In his account from 1636, Nuncio Onorato Visconti wrote about Władysław IV: “Besides Polish, he speaketh perfectly Latin, Italian, German, and such profound knowledge of these languages he hath that he may pleasantly and wittily joke.”¹¹³ Władysław predilection for Italian must have been universally known, since—according to Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł—during a meeting of the Polish king with Emperor Ferdinand III in Nikolsburg, 22 October 1638, the host “welcomed the king in Italian.”¹¹⁴ From the elective kings, Michał Korybut Wiśniowiecki could also communicate in Italian (his knowledge of foreign languages—as we know—was far more valued than his intellect), as could Jan III Sobieski.

Italian was also known by Polish-Lithuanian magnates and the gentry. A considerable proportion of the social elite had completed Italian studies, and this language was taught also at courtly homes, which may be evidenced by parental instructions and educational syllabuses (in the circles of the Zamoyskis, the Sobieskis, the Lubomirskis, the Wolskis and the Żółkiewskis). In 1573, a 12 person delegation was sent to Paris after the election of Henry of Valois. At least five of them, with the bishop of Poznań Adam Konarski at the lead, spoke Italian, which we know from a competent source, namely the then ambassador of Tuscany at the French court.¹¹⁵ This group also included Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Sierotka and Albert Łaski, voivode of Sieradz (who was generally praised for his linguistic

111 “Ordinarily taciturn to petitioners and envoys, Leopold always took pleasure in speaking Italian” – John Stoye, *Marsigli’s Europe...*, p. 32.

112 See Paulius Rabikauskas, *Italia-Lituania nei secoli XV-XVI...*, p. 308; *Cudzoziemcy o Polsce...*, vol. 1, p. 133.

113 *Relacye nuncyuszów apostolskich...*, vol. II, p. 190.

114 Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł, *Pamiętnik o dziejach w Polsce...*, vol. 2, p. 106. According to Wiktor Czermak, Prince Władysław “spoke: Latin, German and Italian as well as his own” – Wiktor Czermak, *Na dworze Władysława IV...*, p. 15.

115 See Rita Mazzei, *Itinera Mercatorum...*, p. 236.

talents).¹¹⁶ Allegedly, there was also Bartłomiej Nowodworski, Knight of Malta, courtier and captain of the personal bodyguard of Zygmunt III. He travelled the world and was primarily known as a patron of education and science, founder of schools (which later took his name), and patron of Kraków Academy. He was also renowned for his command of Italian. As Jean de Laboureur noted, when the deputy chancellor of Lithuania, Kazimierz Leon Sapieha, went to meet Queen Marie Louise on 8 January 1646 he “welcomed her in the Italian language.”¹¹⁷

The example came from above and alongside. The knowledge of Italian proved a stable and desired element of a nobleman’s education. “I will do my best to make them acquire perfection in Italian very quickly”—declared Maciej Rywocki to the voivode of Mazovia Stanisław Kryski, of whose sons he was chaperone on their educational journey.¹¹⁸

Aleksander Ługowski—father of Jaś, travelling to school in 1637–1641—also put much emphasis on the knowledge of languages. Being the sponsor of travels, which were treated as a *sine qua non* of a possible career at court, Ługowski senior tried to track his son’s actions as closely as possible, and to supervise him through correspondence. Bearing in mind that there was another woman from the Habsburg line on the Polish throne, Cecilia Renata, and linking this fact to linguistic preferences at the king’s court, Aleksander Ługowski first commanded his son to concentrate on German (especially when he stayed in Ingolstadt and Innsbruck), and only later (when the travelling group reached Italy) he admonished his sons’ tutor that Johnny may be, “in Italian language...exercised by some Italian hired for a month, who could show him *fundamenta grammaticae*.” Not incidentally, Siena was chosen as the place for a longer stay in Italy, since, according to Ługowski senior “there cannot be a more beautiful Italian language in the whole Italy than in Siena.”¹¹⁹

Such adjustment of linguistic studies to the route of travel and connecting it with the language of the surroundings was not the rule, as instruction given by the tutors accompanying students often dominated the programme, but the core of the syllabus proved stable. “We had here a French master for fencing, another one for Italian language,” was noted in August 1662 in the educational travel diary of the Radoliński brothers, staying then in Graz.¹²⁰

Maybe it would be an exaggeration to claim that every inhabitant of the Commonwealth who counted could communicate in Italian, as it was mentioned

116 [Anon. 1598], *Relation of the State of Polonia...*, p. 77 – in the fragment presenting the makeup of the Senate, there is a note near his name: “learned, well languaged.”

117 *Cudzoziemcy o Polsce...*, vol. 1, p. 240.

118 [Rywocki], *Macieja Rywockiego księgi peregrynanckie...*, p. 190.

119 [Ługowski], *Jasia Ługowskiego podróże...*, p. 304, 331.

120 [Radolińscy], *Pamiętnik podróży odbytej...*, p. 22.

in the description of the Kingdom of Poland from 1624 dedicated to the Florentine court, as well as the estimation that among 230 Polish writers and poets of the 17th century, “one in three knew Italian or studied or travelled through the Apennine peninsula.” In any case, the position of the Italian language in the Commonwealth at that time was decisively high.¹²¹

Therefore, how should we interpret the words of Jakub Górski, who in *Rada pańska* (1597), encouraged the youth dreaming of civil service in future to learn languages with the words: “The Polish king needs men who could speak not only Polish but Latin, German, Muscovite, Tatar, Turkish, Spanish, Italian as well?”¹²² Candidates for civil service were expected to be polyglots, but why was Italian cited in the last, eighth place among languages recommended for studying? Surely the author valued knowledge of languages useful in contact with the closest neighbours such as Muscovy, the Tatars, Turkey, and Wallachia, with which relations would be strained and often required prompt and efficient diplomatic actions. If we also add German to the same category, then Latin, unrivalled in contemporary realities, and Spanish, would rank first. Thus, the latter would be the only language preceding Italian—one is tempted to say—“with no reason.” Nevertheless, Italian—as a fundamental instrument of external relations—was not highlighted in Górski’s list. Let us add that Valeriano Magni, a Cappuchin, beside his political-diplomatic activity, was also a preacher at the Polish court, and was famous for his expressive gesticulation, by which—in Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł’s opinion—he reached also those who did not understand Italian.¹²³

It should be borne in mind that Poles and Lithuanians must have been facilitated in communicating with Italians by Latin, which had remained a consistent base of all education in the Commonwealth. Alessandro Guagnin wrote “the folks are of sharp wit and know languages of many nations, and particularly speaketh Latin so well that one may saith they were born to it.” On the pages of his *Kronika*, he also emphasised the predilection of the inhabitants of the Commonwealth not only for Latin but for languages in general: “But also those are numerous that [with the knowledge of] German, Italian, Spanish, French and Hungarian language communicate with other nationalities living near those lands.”¹²⁴ Evidently the chronicler’s intention was to convince the reader of the refinement and linguistic qualifications of the Commonwealth inhabitants. If we also take a look at the order in which the languages were mentioned, then it appears that Italian yields only to German—traditionally and for generations present in the Polish reality.

121 “la lingua italiana è intesa da ogni cavaliere di conto” – quote from Rita Mazzei, *Itinera Mercatorum...*, p. 236; Julian Lewański, *Literatura włoska a literatura polska...*, p. 69.

122 Quote from Jan Stanisław Bystroń, *Dzieje obyczajów...*, 1960, vol. I, p. 86.

123 See *PSB* XIX, p. 138; Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł, *Pamiętnik...*, vol. 1, p. 542.

124 Aleksander Gwagnin, *Z Kroniki Sarmacyi Europejskiej...*, p. 33.

Sources not only contain confirmation that Italian was known among quite vast circles of Old Polish society, but also hints that unfamiliarity with this language was viewed negatively. Maciej Strykowski—presenting a thesis on the Italian origin of Lithuanians and quoting those who wrote about it earlier, Maciej Miechowita and Jodok Ludwik Decjusz—did so only with clear distance, for, as far as he knew, those figures, speaking on this subject, “did not understand Italian.”¹²⁵ It is worth adding, by the way, that during his courtesy visit, the Spanish diplomat, Francisco Mendoza—who on 18 January 1597 came to Kraków—spoke only Spanish. But this fact raised considerable astonishment in Sebastiano and Valerio Montelupi, which they expressed in a letter to their Florentine correspondent Belisario Vinta.¹²⁶

In the account of the Papal master of ceremonies, Giovanni Paolo Mucante, being a diary of the travel to Poland in 1596 and 1597 of Papal legate *a latere*, Enrico Caetani (architect of the failed attempt to form anti-Turkish league), there is mention of the Papal diplomat’s meeting with four Orthodox bishops, who came to Warsaw directly from the Synod of Brest. As supporters and co-creators of a union with the Latin Church, they could count on the best welcome by the Roman dignitary. “And since they could speak neither Italian nor Latin,” we read in the diary, “they asked Sir Legate to arrange interpretation on the occasion of their coming to Warsaw.”¹²⁷ Luckily, this was not difficult. Georgio Moschetti—Papal envoy of lower rank, staying in Poland for several months in the Commonwealth, having completed studies at the Greek College in Rome—served as a simultaneous interpreter.

The popularity of the Italian language—replaced from the mid-seventeenth century by French—had its end, though both languages for some time coexisted. The English traveller, Robert South, visiting Poland in Jan III Sobieski’s times and speaking only most favourably of the Polish king, stressed the French character of the monarch’s education and praised his linguistic talents. He pointed to his knowledge of Italian, which in South’s account was mentioned just after Latin and French, and before German and Turkish.¹²⁸

Bernard O’Conor, the king’s future court doctor, praised him: “Apart from his native tongue, he could speak Latin, French, Italian, German, and Turkish perfectly.”¹²⁹ If we again assume that the order of the languages mentioned is

125 Maciej Strykowski, *O początkach...sławnego narodu litewskiego...*, p. 79.

126 [Montelupi], *Korespondencja Sebastiana i Valeria...*, p. 132.

127 [Mucante], *Dwie wizyty legata papieskiego Enrica kardynała Caetaniego...*, p. 56-57.

128 “Besides his own tongue, the Slavonian, he understands the Latin, French, Italian, German and Turkish languages; he delights much in natural history, and in all the parts of physic” – quote from Norman Davies, *God’s Playground...*, p. 358 – (Oxford University Press, 2005).

129 [O’Conor], *Wyjątek z pamiętników...*, p. 395.

significant, then—disregarding Latin, unrivalled in the foreigner’s eyes—Italian yields only to French but precedes German, and so it still has the first-rank position. Jan III Sobieski’s knowledge of Italian can be of little surprise to us provided that we remember that his education was closely supervised by his father, Jakub, who paid particularly great attention to foreign languages. The role of Italian, especially in European diplomacy, seemed to dwindle very slowly; in Polish realities, the process must have been even slower.

Slower, but inevitable. Such an impression arises after reading the valuable source *Vademecum pro Nuntiis apostolicis in Polonia*, which Galeazzo Marescotti prepared for his successors around 1670. This elaboration—according to the title—was to provide future nuncios at the Polish court with possible important information, which would facilitate their diplomatic activity. At the very beginning, the author put the list of the most important dignitaries of state who should be informed immediately by mail of the new nuncio’s designation to office. The nuncio advised writing these letters in Latin, as—to the best of his knowledge—many representatives of the elite did not know Italian.¹³⁰

In this constataion, we may notice some astonishment, and so an indirect suggestion that previously the situation in this regard was better. The following advice of Marescotti, concerning the necessity to take linguistic qualifications into account when recruiting candidates for service in the nuncio’s entourage, does not leave any doubt as regards linguistic competence—at least of the inhabitants of Warsaw. The nuncio—pointing to the trouble in communication of his entourage with local folks, and simultaneously to the necessity of such contacts, at least on provisioning for the court or on gathering information—commended his successors on recruiting their personnel before coming to Poland. This was to guarantee professionalism and knowledge of German, which was, according to him, very useful at that time at the court (Michał Korybut’s wife was a Habsburg). At the same time, Marescotti thought it indispensable for a nuncio to have a group of people speaking Polish, for in Warsaw, best known to him, the folk communicated only in Polish, and the higher and better educated strata spoke Latin, while very few knew Italian.¹³¹

Irrespective of the intentions that guided the above evaluations, a fundamental tendency seems clear: in the 18th century, attractiveness of Italian and possible profits arising from knowledge of it, evidently diminished. A Livonian, Friedrich Schulz, travelling across Poland by the end of this century, criticised the Polish

130 “essendovi molti, che non intendono italiano” – Galeazzo Marescotti, *Vademecum pro Nuntiis apostolicis...*, p. 11.

131 “la gente bassa non parla che polacco... la gente civile e nobile in latino, trovandosene solo pochissimi, che parlano italiano” – Galeazzo Marescotti, *Vademecum pro Nuntiis apostolicis...*, p. 14.

lower clergy for lack of knowledge of foreign languages, which allegedly prevented its representatives from being tutors in the nobility's houses, and because "it is the done thing among them [the gentry] to know at least two foreign languages, therefore they are forced to fetch Germans, French, Italians..."¹³² The order of mentioning subsequent nationalities of instructors imported from abroad catches one's attention. The Saxon rule surely elevated the significance of German as the language of the court and elites, and hence its attractiveness in educational programmes. So it was German that could compete yet for some time with French in the Commonwealth; Italian had no chance against this competition.

Italianisms in Polish

In the context of the Italian interaction with the Polish reality, it is impossible to omit linguistic influences. Tracing them, however, proves to be no easy task. This is for a few reasons: first, Italian influences in this regard are difficult to distinguish from Latin impacts; secondly, some of the Italian borrowings reached Polish via other languages—particularly German, French, and Hungarian, and such mediation cannot always be identified precisely.

Another problem is the popularity of using particular words and phrases. Usually we have several or around fifteen records of words we are interested in, often in various and equivocal contexts. Our impressions about colloquial language must, by its very nature, remain hazy; hence, the following observations will rather pertain to the language of elites.

The impact and presence of foreign languages in Polish is a very wide subject. Only the semantic sphere will be of interest here; we address only the questions of the extent and subject-semantic range of Polish assimilation of Italian terminology and if or when it occurred. So primarily, we mean to signal what Italian notions and terms proved so useful and were so often applied that they secured a permanent place in the local language. It is also worth comparing the influences of Italian with the impact of other languages, such as Latin, German, French, Tatar, and Turkish.

Let us begin with the latter two, for identification and chronology of their impact seems relatively simple due to the relatively short period of the formation of the borrowings. The neighbourhood on the south-eastern borderland was usually antagonistic. The result of the conflict was a considerable respect of the Polish nobility for Turkish power, but it also led to captives, mainly Tatars, settling in Polish lands. Linguistic eastern influences could easily be noted in terms of the spheres of clothing and military—especially armour and horses. A vast majority

132 Friedrich Schulz, *Podróże Inflantczyka...*, p. 603, 610.

of them originated in the Old Polish period, but these influences had neither great nor long-term significance.

A far greater role was surely played by Latin and German influences: Latin, due to the constant presence in elite culture, such as in the educational system, and in colloquial language; German, due to the culturally dominating role of its correlating neighbourhood and exceptionally long interaction. German words had already entered Polish by the Middle Ages, serving to name devices, habits, and concepts. We encounter them in the sphere of municipal institutions, among entities connected with trade, with craft and building, among names of equipment and utensils, tools, machines, and among names referring to common activities as well as abstract terms.

The Italian influences in this scope have a clear starting point: the arrival of Bona and her numerous train, which was a serious impulse for later migrational processes. Of no little importance were also the educational travels of the nobility's youth to Italy, where representatives of Polish elites learnt the local language, and made use of this knowledge back home—chiefly with single words. The most significant semantic fields may be discerned in the domain of court culture—including its material and spiritual sides. They are primarily words from architecture and building, clothes and fashion, garden and kitchen, music, dance and spectacle, and court institutions. This list also includes horse raising and equine pursuits. There is a marked group of words pertaining to the army and navy, and to appliances and then modern institutions (newspapers, the post), and to the sphere of banking. Let us add to this list that nouns were prevailing, and that one of the few verbs to which may be ascribed Italian origin is “ryzykować,” ‘to risk’, which we would gladly take as a symbol of Italian activity in the Commonwealth.¹³³

The above hierarchy of languages was confirmed by analysis of *Pamiętniki* of Jan Chryzostom Pasek. This flagship of Old Polish memoirs, a position it owes both to the attractiveness of the text itself and its author, derives from the middle nobility. His unquestioned representativeness (he was from Mazovia and was Jesuit educated, he served for quite a long time in the army, and he was a rare and definitely incidental foray from Poland) allow us to assume that the borrowings used by Pasek, “entered the basic vocabulary of Polish as early as the 17th century.”¹³⁴

The internal structure of this set is as follows: 61% are Latinisms, 17% Germanisms; in the third, clearly distant place, are Italian and Czech borrowings, which make up, *ex aequo*, 2.8% each. Hence, Italian, in this competition, has a significant but not leading role; it recedes numerically to its most serious rival, namely French, and has an advantage only over the influences of languages of the eastern and south-eastern neighbours of the Commonwealth.

133 Antoni Adam Kryński, *O wpływie języków obcych...*, p. 59; part 2, p. 2-5.

134 Maria Borejszo, *Zapóżyczenia włoskie i francuskie...*, p. 116 and passim.

Quite recently Grzegorz Knapski's (Cnapius), *Thesaurus polono-latino-graecus* dictionary, published in 1621, has been analysed with regard to Italianisms. The compendium was well-chosen, since Knapski (a Jesuit humanist and philologist) was a proponent of his native tongue's purity; in addition, he gave priority to the Polish language in his trilingual dictionary: he translated into Latin not only particular words but also phrases and even sentences.

In Knapski's dictionary, one may find 124 verbs qualifying as Italian borrowings. Is this many or few? In comparison to over 30,000 entries in the *Słownik wyrazów obcych* by Michał Arct, this is less than half a percent, which is a negligible amount. However, Knapski himself, complaining about the excess of foreign influences, wrote: "it is indeed hard to believe how many expressions from Latin, Italian, German, Hungarian, Turkish (and I omit here Russian and other Slavic, not that different from ours) are used by Poles at every turn, instead of native words, and not only those who had been in those countries but everyone else, even women."¹³⁵ So, leaving out "neutral" Latin, Italian was named here in the first place among modern languages.

Thus maybe this is about not the amount but the quality? For, if the number of recorded Italianisms is not impressive on the whole, then the semantic range—observed from the perspective of a historian, and not a philologist—seems indicative of no little importance of the analysed phenomenon. According to Jan Stanisław Bystroń, the linguistic influences—Italian words and phrases—"expressly point to the character of Polish-Italian relations; they are lexical borrowings concerning courtly life, entertainment, knightly exercises, apparel and jewels, music etc."¹³⁶ This scope—in our opinion—should be complemented by the spheres of banking, transport, and forms of communication over distance. Thus Italian influences in the linguistic sphere were not prevailing, but as far as their semantic scope is concerned, they were not limited to courtly culture or elite entertainment and art; they also pertained to material culture, and also to very modern institutional solutions.

The Most Important Spheres of Italian Interaction

Intellectual Sphere

The Italian cultural interaction—in the most pure, humanist sense—has been long discerned by Polish authors. Stanisław Orzechowski emphasised that Poles could use Latin very elegantly. They, by no means, could be called barbarians,

135 Daniela Zawadzka, *Zapożyczenia włoskie...*, p. 121.

136 Jan Stanisław Bystroń, *Dzieje obyczajów...*, 1960, I, p. 92.

and they learned the arts of good manners from Italians.¹³⁷ In a fragment of Jerzy Ossoliński's memoirs concerning his rivalry with Adam Kazanowski for Prince Władysław's favours, this excellent memoirist cites the words, unfavourable for his antagonist, of Stanisław Żórawiński, a castellan of Belz, being evidently a quote from the poem *Pastor fido* by Giambattista Guarini.¹³⁸

The examples can be multiplied, because Italian quotations in Old Polish works appear quite often, but at the same time the problem of models remains elusive and immeasurable—at least due to their rather expanded declarative nature. In 1566—the same year in which *Dworzanin polski*, by Łukasz Górnicki, was released in print—Jan Żolczyński, so far untraced by historians, wrote to Piero Vettori, a famous Florentine humanist and classical philologist, “Everything of civilisation and sciences—all these we truly owe to your homeland and you, its scholars. These seeds were planted, alongside religion, to our predecessors by your ancestors, so that we did not search for elements of religion and culture and sciences anywhere else but among you, Italians. To you we acknowledge the head of religion, the Vicar of Christ, from you we learn noble skills and models of civilisation. Proof for that are the swarms of Polish youth, who flock every year to your academies...to study. We regard ourselves to be your pupils, you we see as our masters and best teachers.”¹³⁹ Even if we accept that the above fragment is “streaked with both rhetorical exaggeration and post-Trent fresh zeal,”¹⁴⁰ it is a declaration that cannot be wholly ignored.

Humanist Culture—Literary Influences—Translations

Italianism, Italianisation, Interaction

The first two above concepts require explanation. “Italianisation” seems easier to define; it means (broadly understood) Italian influence in culture, including language and social patterns and material culture. “Italianism,” used mainly by historians of literature, is clearly narrower and pertains to high culture: to the consequences of the influx of Italian literature to Poland in the 16th and 17th centuries, which—properly acquired and adapted—first co-created the Polish Renaissance (affecting

137 Orzechowski addressed Italians on behalf of Poles – *Panegyricus nuptiarum Ioannis Christophori Tarnovii comitis a Stanislae Orichovio Roxolano scriptus*, Cracoviae 1558, f. 1r.

138 Jerzy Ossoliński, *Pamiętnik...*, p. 62 – “O vilano indiscreto et importuno! Mezzo homo, mezzo capra e tutto bestia.”

139 Stanisław Kot, *Polska Złotego Wieku...*, p. 655; this author thought that the addressee must have been Francesco Vettori (1474-1539), a Florentine historiographer, diplomat and politician.

140 Jan Ślaski, *Uwagi o italianizmie Łukasza Górnickiego...*, p. 190, 205.

the Jan Kochanowski generation). It then accelerated the origin of the Baroque and seriously influenced the shape of this very important literary epoch.¹⁴¹ Let us add that most recent studies go in the direction of broadening the meaning of Italianism in the direction of Europeanness,¹⁴² which does not make it easier for a historian interested in the scope of Italian influences. Unfortunately, “there is no country in Western Europe, which would not work out its own type of humanism under the influence of impulses from Italy, and there is no humanism or Renaissance in Europe from which... Poland would not take something.”¹⁴³

Thus everyone takes from Italy and transforms it in local spirit; simultaneously, everyone gives something to everyone, piece by piece, in effect of which a common integrational mix is formed. Poland was influenced by Italian culture, but also many others, which in themselves had Italian elements. This is certainly true, but, in our view, is a cautiously formulated truth. The external observer from beyond the professional circle of specialists in Polish studies would like to know when and from whence came cultural impulses playing the most important role in the Commonwealth, and what the proportions of influences from particular centres that were setting the tone of transformations in contemporary Europe were. They would like to perceive Italian impacts in the context of European influences. This is not an easy task, but for the sake of drafting a complete picture here, undertaking such an attempt is required.

Literary Influences

Italian inspiration played an unquestioned role in the development of Polish Neo-Latin poetry. The researchers of this phenomenon argue that in this case, we deal not only with similarities of texts written in Poland and their Italian originals, but also with emulation of genre structures—primarily such texts as love elegies, allegories with personifications, *sylwas*, “*trumfs*,” and other infrequently occurring forms. It is indicated that these influences “permeated Polish poetry in a way typical for literature, by reading. But no less fruitful in this case proved to be personal contacts of Poles with Italy (and visits of Italians to Poland),” which may be attested by, amongst other things, a more mature output from those poets who studied at Italian universities than those who did not have such experiences.

141 See Jan Ślaski, *Wokół literatury włoskiej...*, p. 180. Polish-Italian comparative literature consists of works by very numerous authors, among whom – besides Ślaski – we may name Mieczysław Brahmer, Roman Pollak, Tadeusz Ulewicz, Alina Nowicka-Jezowa, Giovanni Maver, Enrico Damiani, Sante Graciotti, Riccardo Picchio, Pietro Marchesani and Luigi Marinelli.

142 Luigi Marinelli, *Rola Marina i marinizmu...*, p. 251-252.

143 Sante Graciotti, *Il rinascimento italiano...*, p. 311.

“Thus contacts with Italians influenced—hardly measurably but undoubtedly—the forming of new attitudes in Poland, a new way of living, an atmosphere not known till then, indispensable for the creation and functioning of Neo-Latin poetry. In this way these contacts also contributed to preparing readers, to familiarising them with books, to working out their literary sensitivities and needs.”¹⁴⁴

The processes of acquiring new ideas and a new outlook on the world—which were worked out by Italian thinkers of Trecento and Quattrocento—ran parallel. The process enabled adaptation and adjustment of patterns in particular spheres of culture, including literature. The reception of humanistic texts of Italian origin in the intellectual circles of Kraków appears before the middle of the 15th century and flourished in the third quarter. At that time, many texts were donated to local libraries, documents which were still handwritten and small in size, such as speeches and letters. Subsequently, “works from theory of language and style, as well as normative works on grammar and stylistics” appeared. Together with linguistic-literary interests, there appeared “a tendency towards ancient studies, especially to philological works of humanists, specifically of a commentary type.”¹⁴⁵

“The humanistic *Facetiae*”, a new literary form with an exceptionally clear Italian model, “appeared in Poland thanks to *Żywoty* by [Filippo] Buonaccorsi.” It was he called Callimachus who instilled here the humanistic love of ‘fun’ and ‘games’.¹⁴⁶ It is also known that as early as in the first half of the 15th century, there appear Latin texts of Boccaccio and Petrarca in manuscripts created in Poland. During the next century—with the influx of numerous groups of incomers from Italy—the Italian language also became popular, and from then on both languages coexisted in literary culture. Italian became the language of courtly speech, a language used willingly by representatives of the higher clergy as well as by humanists. This usage was closely connected with the popularity of literature of the remote Italy; apart from theological and philosophical works, there were legal and political treatises.”¹⁴⁷

In the anonymous collection *Facecje polskie*, published c. 1570, many threads from Boccaccio’s *Decamerone* and Lodovico Domenichi’s collection *Facetie* can be seen. By rendering his pieces in verse, Mikołaj Rej in his *Fraszki* referred directly to *Liber facetiarum* by Poggio Bracciolini. Rej’s famous *The Image of a Good Man’s Life* is based on *Zodiacus vitae* by Palingeni. Classical influences in Jan Kochanowski’s *David’s Psalter* and *Laments* have been a subject of separate studies;

144 Jan Ślaski, *Polscy poeci nowolaciniŝcy i Włochy...*, p. 166-168.

145 Juliusz Domański, *Początki humanizmu...*, p. 80; see also p. 51-85.

146 Sante Graciotti, *Od Renesansu do Oświecenia...*, vol. 1, p. 189.

147 Janusz Tazbir, “*Włoszczyzna*” w Polsce..., p. 359, 361.

likewise, in his output, signs of reading Petrarca's sonnets and Pontan's *Tumuli* were discerned. The direct dependence of Górnicki on Castiglione was obvious.¹⁴⁸

It was only Kochanowski—whose *facetiae* in verse can be found in some *Fraszki*, and written in prose in the posthumously printed *Apostegmata*—who reached the summit of contemporary writing and who, after some time, became independent of Italian influences. Thus he may be treated as so genial an author that it is hard to assess his works in terms of external influences and any direct impact. But this most excellent poet of the Polish Renaissance studied in Italy and to this period he referred by drawing on multifarious inspirations.

According to researchers of the turn of 16th and 17th centuries, Szymon Szymonowicz and Mikołaj Sęp Szarzyński were also influenced strongly by Italian poetry; the examples of such influence may be multiplied without even necessarily looking at the first line of the literary pantheon. In this view, the years 1580–1620 (the transition period between the Renaissance and the Baroque) deserve to be called golden, with regard to Italian influence on Polish literature.¹⁴⁹

Analysing the character of contemporary Polish-Italian literary connections, Roman Pollak concentrated on their mutual interaction, whereas later researchers tried to discern the wider European context and multi-directional character of mutual influences. Interestingly, Pollak highlighted imitation and dependence on Italian masters and was inclined to stress the difference in the artistic quality, which was difficult to bridge,¹⁵⁰ while Giovanni Maver, the Italian specialist in Polish studies, prized much more highly the accomplishments of Old Polish authors. According to the latter, in the 16th century, “Polish literature gave the first great proof of its unusual ability to imitate and assimilate other cultures. By establishing—on Polish and Italian soil—a direct contact with the culture of the Italian Renaissance [...] it acquires it in only several decades and almost entirely transplants to its own land. Undeniably, the speed and profundity of this assimilation is astonishing, as no less is the circumstance that this immersion of Poland in a foreign culture provides a decisive stimulus to create the first grand period in Polish literature, its ‘golden age’ [...]”¹⁵¹

The above generalisation, pertaining to the vast possibilities of assimilating foreign elements by Polish culture and of creative development of received patterns, gives satisfaction. But can Maver's opinion be extrapolated to other fields of culture?

148 See Sante Graciotti, *Od Renesansu do Oświecenia...*, vol. 1, p. 193-7, 201; Enrico Damiani, *Influssi di poeti e prosatori italiani...*, p. 337-338.

149 Jan Ślaski, *Dalla storia della poesia italianizzante...*, p. 347-350.

150 Roman Pollak, *Wśród literatów staropolskich...*, p. 175-183.

151 Giovanni Maver, *Literackie kontakty Polski...*, p. 69-70; see also Alina Nowicka-Jeżowa, *Jan Andrzej Morsztyn i Giambattista Marino...*, p. 110-125.

Translations

With the collapse of the medieval universalism of Latin, and with the final formation of national languages, the need for translations arose in Europe for the first time on a large scale.¹⁵² Translations were made in all European countries: in Italy and France, lay works translated from classical languages were dominant; in Germany—due to the intellectual role of Reformational circles—religious themes prevailed; in England and Spain there also appeared excellent translators of contemporary Italian masterpieces by Baldassarre Castiglione and Torquato Tasso. The heyday of the art of translation (observed particularly in the 16th century) and a natural consequence of linguistic divisions characterising the modern era, provide us with a unique chance to investigate directions of cultural influence, intensity of contacts, and strength of existing ties.

There is an opinion that in Renaissance Poland the numerical prevalence of translations over original texts was characteristic, which must have had a colossal impact on the shape of contemporary culture. Not many read belles-lettres in the original languages, and this fact naturally elevated the significance of translations. Regarding the number of translations in the whole period of interest to us, among modern languages Italian is at the lead, while the two next places—albeit clearly distanced—are taken by German (authors connected with the Reformation) and Spanish (mystics and political writers).¹⁵³ The primacy of translations from Italian is worthy both of note and of closer examination.

Three generations of translators acting between the beginning of the 16th century and the end of the second decade of the 17th century may be singled out. In the first, translators of bourgeois origin and late medieval narrative texts dominated. In the second, Mikołaj Rej, Jan Kochanowski, and Łukasz Górnicki reigned supreme. In the third, translation was fully professionalised, the title *rex interpretum Polonorum* earned by Piotr Kochanowski, who translated *La Gerusalemme liberata* by Torquato Tasso and *Orlando furioso* by Lodovico Ariosto, surely making these works more popular (though the translation of *Orlando* was not released in print until the 18th century). Let us add that the popularity of these two pieces should be ascribed to the fact that “Polish literature did not deliver its own epic poetry.”¹⁵⁴ In the 17th century, apart from Tasso and Ariosto, it was Giambattista Marino who won many admirers and imitators (Jan Andrzej Morsztyn): as many as six translators “undertook the effort of translating

152 Jan Ślaski, *Tłumaczenia w Polsce doby renesansu...*, p. 145.

153 See Jan Ślaski, *Spotkania literatury polskiej z europejską...*, p. 94-97.

154 Janusz Tazbir, “Włoszczyzna” w Polsce..., p. 361; Jan Ślaski, *Tłumaczenia w Polsce doby renesansu...*, p. 151.

the Neapolitan,” among whom three writers “occupied themselves with the crowning achievement of Marino’s output, the poem of Adonis.”¹⁵⁵

Initially, however, the most important translations of Italian literature concerned poetic texts written in Latin. *Wizerunek własny żywota człowieka poczciwego* by Mikołaj Rej (1558) is a translation / adaptation of *Zodiacus vitae* by Pier Angelo Manzolli, known as Palingenius; the basis for Jan Kochanowski’s renowned *Szachy* (c. 1564) was the *Scacchia ludus* of Marco Girolamo Vida. After some time, the attention of Polish authors turned also to works written in Italian. Presumably, the first Polish poet who translated Italian poems was Sebastian Grabowiecki, whose *Rymy duchowne* (1590) contained pieces by Gabriele Fiamma, Bernardo Tasso (Torquato’s father) and one stanza of *Vergine bella*, by Petrarca.¹⁵⁶ The first serious prose translator was undoubtedly Łukasz Górnicki, whose *Dworzanin polski* was based on Castiglione’s work.

In the 17th century, the already mentioned translations of masterpieces by Tasso and Ariosto, as well as other translation accomplishments, appeared; they must have had no lesser contribution to making Italian culture more available in modern Poland. First, let us note Marcin Błażewski, who translated *Cento favole bellissime*, by Mario Verdizzotti, as *Setnik przypowieści uciesznych*, printed in Kraków, 1608.¹⁵⁷ This group also included the chamberlain of Brześć, Krzysztof Piekarski, the author of the most profound Polish treatise opposing Machiavelli’s ideas: *Cnoty cel, nie ów, do którego zmierza Machiavell i inni w Akademiej onegoż promowani politycy* (1662)... . The treatise, planned as a fragment of a greater whole, was only part of Piekarski’s output; he was a soldier-writer, moralist, and translator of commedia *dell’arte* pieces.¹⁵⁸ There must have been more such admirers and successful propagators of Italian literature, but the scale of impact of popular literature is hard to estimate, least of all because a great part of translations remained in manuscript circulation.¹⁵⁹ In the 17th century, five Italian romance works were translated into Polish; they were to gain considerable popularity in the second half of the century and in the Saxon period.¹⁶⁰

In the whole period of interest, the relatively small number of translations of early lyric poetry (including Petrarca), then very popular in Europe, is conspicuous. Only a few of his poems, translated by Daniel Naborowski—certainly at Prince Władysław Vasa’s instigation— were available in Polish, whereas translations of

155 Julian Lewański, *Literatura włoska a literatura polska...*, p. 75.

156 Monika Gurgul et al., *Polskie przekłady włoskiej poezji lirycznej...*, p. 8-13.

157 Julian Lewański, *Literatura włoska a literatura polska...*, p. 75.

158 Mieczysław Brahmer, *Samochwał włoski...*, p. 64 et seq; Henryk Barycz, *Mysł i legenda Machiavellego...*, p. 280.

159 See Monika Gurgul et al., *Polskie przekłady włoskiej poezji lirycznej...*, p. 10-18.

160 Jadwiga Miszańska, “*Kolloander wierny*”..., p. 10.

Giambattista Marino's lyric poetry (of which, in 17th century Poland, Jan Andrzej Morsztyn was the greatest champion) were created relatively early. In the next century, described as "the age of theatre," the most prominent figures that set the pace were to be Goldoni and Metastasio.

A completely different cultural role was played by translations of Italian geographical-travel literature, with an ample body of travel accounts (from Marco Polo to Christopher Columbus and Antonio Pigafetta—a participant in and chronicler of Magellan's travels) leading the way. These accounts were compiled and published in the mid-16th century¹⁶¹ under the title *Delle navigazioni e viaggi* by Giambattista Ramusio; the famous *Relazioni universali* of Giovanni Botero were published for the first time in Rome in 1591.

Ramusio's collection was surely used, and a small number of its accounts were translated into Polish by Andrzej Wargocki, an enthusiast of such literature and the author of the first Polish description of pagan and Christian Rome. The descriptions in the collection *Delle navigazioni e viaggi* served as printed guidebooks, used also by Polish travellers, especially those who—like Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Sierotka visiting the Holy Land—travelled beyond Europe.

The history of translations of Botero into Polish is dramatic. In contrast to Ramusio, *Relazioni universali* were translated wholly into Polish: the first edition in Kraków in 1609, the second in 1613, and the third in 1659. The translator was Paweł Łęczycki (Lancicius), an Observant, surely of plebeian origin, studying initially in Vilnius, then in Rome, to whence he brought knowledge of language and a number of works written in Italian, including Botero's *Relacje*. In the spring of 1606, Łęczycki—in the train of Zygmunt III's envoys: Mikołaj Oleśnicki, castellan of Małogoszcz; and Aleksander Gosiewski, starost of Velizh—went to Moscow for the wedding of Dmitriy I ("Dmitriy the False," who was then on tsar's throne) to Maryna Mniszech. By the end of May, soon after these ceremonies, a bloody public rebellion broke out against the impostor and accompanying Poles. Dmitriy was murdered, while those of his entourage who escaped death were imprisoned. This also pertained to Zygmunt III's envoys and members of their train. Imprisoned for more than two years in Moscow in the so-called Ambassadors' Palace (not in very bad conditions), Paweł Łęczycki "entertained himself"—as he later put down in his dedication for Mikołaj Oleśnicki—"by translating various Italian and Latin booklets." When leaving Moscow he certainly must have had a complete translation of Botero's work.¹⁶²

A comparison of the translation with the original leads to interesting observations. In fragments devoted to Poland and Lithuania, the translator altered the text. First of all, he corrected and clarified dates, names, descriptions of nature

161 Subsequent volumes were released in 1550, 1553 and 1559.

162 See Alojzy Sajkowski, *Opowieści misjonarzy...*, p. 70-80.

and animals, and geographical place names. Furthermore, he spoke with a sneer about his own homeland and its inhabitants; for example, in a description of Kraków, he changed the original “huge city” to “not very big.” We do not intend to analyse here the possible reasons for such the translator’s critical and locally unpatriotic stance, only to highlight that translations of the time were characterised by their great degree of latitude. The criterion of fidelity to the original, applied today, had evidently not then been formulated, and was certainly not universally binding.

The World of Ideas

Callimachus

We have already introduced Filippo Buonaccorsi, also known as Callimachus, as a humanist and diplomat, tutor to royal sons, the first Italian included among the influential figures at the Polish court in the times of Kazimierz IV Jagiellon and Jan I Olbracht. He returns in the chapter on Italian influences, and not because of his humanist output (though it must have been remarkable), but due to his work titled *Rady Kallimachowe dla króla Olbrachta*, the original text of which has not survived, making its authorship and original content uncertain.

Nonetheless, it is undeniable that this interesting collection of pieces of political advice circulated in many copies and slightly different versions in the Commonwealth in the 17th century. Considering its content and political purport, it was rather a pastiche in the author’s intention, ridiculing the role of royal foreign adviser; hence, the work should be treated as a display of a broader anti-foreign campaign. The compilation of these several dozen suggestions, termed *Rady Kallimachowe*, addressed to Polish rulers (not necessarily only Jan Olbracht), was primarily part of a seventeenth century propaganda campaign against *absolutum dominium*, and surely had little in common with the opinions of the Jagiellons’ secretary and adviser from the end of the 15th century. The name Callimachus was merely a mask, from behind which someone could ridicule foreign influences.

Rady, clearly adjusted to the gentry state realities, is a manifesto for strengthening royal power and repudiating limitations within the system that prevented effective government. Reference to Jan Olbracht in the title, as well as two points directly concerning his person and family relationships, should not mislead us, as they are part of the historical camouflage.

The author primarily advises advanced discretion and taking all decisions independently or in a very small circle. The king should “have two or three for his secret council” who shun festivities and are disinclined to confide even in those closest to them (“because by drunken people and women the secrets are disclosed”);

it is, however, not recommended to reveal plans to senators. Further pieces of advice, if one really wanted to apply them, would, in fact, mean undermining the legal, political, and even social order of the Commonwealth.

The king, according to this advice, would promote new legislation (“Defend new laws, and thwart everything that blunts royal power”), and pay for the upkeep of his court and its armed *poczets* (soldiers) from the Commonwealth’s money, wholly disregarding the comments that his actions would stir up in the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. The ruler should maintain tension in the state by constantly warning subjects about foreign threat, and simultaneously skilfully fuel the existing conflicts between clergy and laymen. He should also follow highly restrained and clever policy of distribution and nomination: firstly, never bestow offices for free but only to those who pay sufficiently well; secondly, give offices of the Crown to “the good and not the crafty,” referendary posts to the “virtuous,” and offices at court only to those wholly at his service. The caution advised in distribution of offices was supplemented by two more points warning against leasing *starostwos* for life and against paying *jurgielt* (salary in cash) to subjects (“because it is a waste of the king’s money”). Sympathy and support of powerful families should be gained by granting their representatives voivodships and castellanies; in effect these families will be impoverished because they will suffer costs of representation, while they should never be given what could really make them rich. Finally, suggestions that vacant bishoprics be conferred to “the learned, and not the significant,” and also to admit plebeians to these dignities (“because they are better than the nobility”), should be regarded as targeting the foundations of the social structure; agreement with merchants, as representatives of major towns, should also be a goal, because “this will be very beneficial.”¹⁶³

In spite of evident repetitions and stylistic ineptitude, the image emerging from the above recommendations appears to be very clear: strengthening royal power; limiting the importance of self-governmental structures of the noble; relying on a narrow group of advisers, the secret character of political actions; exercising restraint in distributing benefices and offices; manoeuvring between pressure groups according to the rule *divide et impera*; and appreciating the secondary estates—the bourgeois and even the peasantry. In general, everything that appreciators of the existing system could possibly fear from the subsequent Vasas on Polish throne.

Simultaneously, this programme cannot be called absurd; it could certainly have been formulated by an external, foreign adviser. But at the same time, this was a set of postulates that must, in the nobility’s opinion (with a traditional, Sarmatian outlook) have been disgraceful. Comparing this text to Machiavelli’s

163 Kraków, Biblioteka Czarotryskich, MNK 86, p. 3-5.

output, we may say that *Rady*, “matching *The Prince* in that the former by principle drastically disregards ethical arguments, also surpasses the latter in pragmatism, namely that even in this pragmatism no postulates other than of immediate and concrete character are formulated.”¹⁶⁴

The question is whether a noble reader was ready to connect ‘the perfidy’ contained in this counsel with Italian influences or—in generalising the trend—whether they rather saw in them primarily foreign, external instigation. Intuitively, we choose the second possibility. The Italian origin of Callimachus was, in later political writing, only barely alluded to; rather, the generally ‘foreign’ character of this figure prevailed.

Callimachus—compared to two others—was the only author staying in Poland. He was read mainly there, and still—as we see—local reality was primarily influenced by his quite cynically fabricated legend. Niccolò Machiavelli and Baldassare Castiglione were the authors indisputably better known in Europe. However, some of the best known paraenetic works of Renaissance Europe—*Il Principe* of Machiavelli (written 1512-1520, published posthumously in 1531) and *Il libro del Cortegiano* of Castiglione (published first in Venice 1528)—were admittedly known in Poland, but in diametrically opposite ways.

The Prince, soon gaining fame as a compendium of cynical policy making, was not translated into Polish in the times of the Commonwealth. Thus, although there existed a Latin translation, it could be interpreted with some liberty, and this is what actually happened. *Il Cortegiano*—thanks to Górnicki’s translation several decades after its original publication—was known in Polish literature (it was published for the first time in Kraków, by Wierzbicka, in 1566, as *Dworzanin polski*). But let us begin with the certainly more famous, albeit infrequently read, author.

Machiavelli

Machiavelli is a symbolic figure, but not an unequivocal one, both with regard to the foreign, refined (and hence potentially dangerous) thinker, and in his way of presenting an argument—cynically and perfidiously, and so one that should be challenged by effective polemic. The priest in Łukasz Opaliński’s *Rozmowa plebana z ziemianinem*, published in 1641, speaks about “a perverse argument from Machiavelli taken.”¹⁶⁵ The problem was founded not upon the specific exoticism of the author and his ideas, but on a quite fundamental gap between these ideas and the views expressed, and between social perception of this, usually formulated not after reading the text but relying on second-hand opinions. This

164 Juliusz Domański, *Początki humanizmu...*, p. 172.

165 Łukasz Opaliński, *Pisma polskie...*, p. 8.

allowed for interpretational freedom linked with intellectual impunity. Machiavelli was used and abused in political clashes and discussions by various camps and ideological groupings. For a noble admirer of the Commonwealth's system, primarily identified with "the golden freedom," the Florentine thinker became the embodiment of evil, a symbol of perversity and perfidy, and of extremely immoral conduct. This highly negative stereotype lasted at least until the end of the noble Commonwealth.¹⁶⁶

Machiavelli's works—surely mainly thanks to the publication of Latin translation of *The Prince* (*De principe libellus*, Basel 1560)—were available in Poland, but known only in very narrow circles of the intellectual elite (such as Jan Zamoyski, Krzysztof Warszawicki, Abraham Zbąski, though it is worth remembering that the latter provided patronage for the mentioned translation of *The Prince* into Latin).¹⁶⁷ A wider group of readers did not have contact with the texts of the Italian thinker, which is confirmed by experts in Old Polish political literature. Traces of a direct influence of Machiavelli's writings were found neither in Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, nor Stanisław Orzechowski, nor even in Wawrzyniec Goślicki: the author of a political science treatise about an ideal senator (*De optimo senatore*, first published in Venice, 1567). Discussions were held about the influence of the Florentine's concepts' on Krzysztof Warszawicki's work.¹⁶⁸

Chancellor Jan Zamoyski,¹⁶⁹ his son Tomasz, and Feliks Kryski, one of the successors of the Great Chancellor, and hence the representatives of the top-ranking political-intellectual circle, may be positive examples here, but, on the whole, the influence of this work on sixteenth century social awareness in the Commonwealth may be assessed as insignificant.

This situation may be explained by the character of contemporary Polish political thinking, which was rather oriented towards settling practical issues and not theoretical considerations. For this reason, surely even the direct contact with Machiavelli's work that Polish students must have had while visiting Italy did

166 Henryk Barycz, *Myśl i legenda Machiavellego...*, p. 267.

167 Tadeusz Ulewicz, *Iter Romano-Italicum Polonorum...*, p. 272-274; see also Stanisław Kot, *Polska Złotego Wieku a Europa...*, p. 431-432.

168 Stanisław Tarnowski, *Pisarze polityczni XVI wieku*, Kraków 1886, vol. I, p. 82; Bronisław Dembiński, *Stosunek włoskiej literatury politycznej do polskiej w XVI w...*, p. 364-368; Roman Pollak, *Z dziejów Machiavella w Polsce...*, p. 257-260; Bogusław Leśnodorski, *Polski Makiawel...*, p. 257-279; Henryk Barycz, *Myśl i legenda Machiavellego...*, p. 267-280.

169 In the account of Bonifazio Vanozzi's, secretary to legate *a latere* Enrico Caetani, who in 1596 visited Zamość, to carry out negotiations concerning the Holy League, we may read that the chancellor "regards Machiawel as too liberal in opinions" – see *Zbiór pamiątek historycznych o dawnej Polsce...* [1822], vol. II, p. 266.

not have a lasting effect. Such a lasting effect had not been found in the circles of Queen Bona either. This situation was also unaffected by the short reign of Henry of Valois, who—as Catherine de' Medici's son—not only remained under his mother's Italian court influence (at which Machiavelli was known and had staunch supporters),¹⁷⁰ but was also grandson of Lorenzo the Magnificent, the Tuscan ruler to whose grandson, also Lorenzo, *The Prince* was dedicated.

In the 17th century, knowledge of Machiavelli, who could only be read in Latin, undeniably increased. Copies of his works are listed in the catalogue of one of the Kraków bookshops (1613), as well as in Old Polish book collections (Łukasz and Krzysztof Opaliński's, Lew Sapieha's). His opinions are referred to competently, sometimes with esteem, by Szymon Starowolski and Łukasz Opaliński. Władysław IV had supposedly, by the end of life, also become interested in the Florentine writer. However, no practical significance “was brought by this knowledge and studies on *The Prince's* author in terms of the art of ruling. The difference of political foundations and climate, critical differences in the political systems of the Polish and the West of Europe, the foreignness of the Italian way of thinking... prevented the use of Machiavelli's indications and their implementation.”¹⁷¹ This state of affairs naturally contrasted with the fame of his name and the frequency of quoting his works, or rather the opinions that he allegedly expressed.

Love of autocracy—and consequently the inclination to act according to Machiavelli's recommendations—was ascribed first to Zygmunt August. Under Báthory's reign, in the period of fierce conflict between the king, with his supporter Chancellor Zamoyski, and the Zborowski family, there were violent political arguments in the Sejm forum, and occasionally on the pages of news sheets. During stormy discussions of the Proszowice Sejmik, in autumn 1584, Krzysztof Zborowski described Zamoyski as “a Machiavellianist,” which must have been a very grave insult.¹⁷²

The chancellor's opponents were to use this term much later too—particularly during clashes between two antagonistic parties in the period of the third interregnum and at the beginning of Zygmunt III's rule, when a new lineup formed on political scene. One of the charges then formulated against the chancellor contained a suggestion that he gave priority to Machiavelli's theses and advice, thanks to which he gained his power, over Polish ancient laws.¹⁷³ In the first years of Zygmunt III's reign, the frequency of referring to Machiavelli's

170 A favourite of Queen Catherine was one of them – Baccio del Bene, described as “studioso del Machiavello.”

171 Henryk Barycz, *Myśl i legenda Machiavellego...*, p. 280.

172 *Diariusze sejmu roku 1585...*, p. 383.

173 *Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego...*, vol. IV, p. 393; also Waclaw Potocki referred to “Machiavellian skills.”

writings, typically in negative context, rose. Even “a myth of Machiavelli” was created, which was to successively supplant the old legend of Callimachus—“as a more fashionable and perhaps more spectacular way to level accusations of absolutist machinations and anti-nobility practices.”¹⁷⁴

The new form of polemic proved very useful: handy in fighting absolutist tendencies, but also as a weapon whose blade could be directed equally well against both dissenters (*Princeps Christianus* by Spanish Jesuit Pietro Ribandeneira) and Catholics (the concept of “Ignatian Machiavelli,” that is, a combination of Machiavelli with St Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits).

Nevertheless, it seems that the apogee of the phenomenon of formulating various charges of political-moral character by the use of this name-watchword occurred later. The absolutist tendencies of the court in Zygmunt III’s times were consistently ascribed to the influences of Machiavelli, and it found expression in commentary writing from the times of the Zebrzydowski rebellion. Its blade was turned towards Jesuits—influential at court—“professors of Machiavelli” and all those whom the sinister advice of the Florentine thinker favoured over ancient national laws (“they read him more eagerly than *privilegia* and *statuta* of the Crown”). The advice and recommendations were underpinned with deceit and lies; Andrzej Maksymilian Fredro warned that a “honey-coloured complexion” is often combined with an inclination to use poison, and indicates calculation and cynicism resulting from the reading of Machiavelli’s works.¹⁷⁵

In a collection of political writings from the time of Jan Kazimierz, we encounter a text entitled *Praecepta Machiavelis de principe*, dated 1662.¹⁷⁶ This memorandum, typical for this epoch, was full of political perturbations, comprised 34 points, and is not easy reading today. However, despite the Baroque (and in some places simply inept) language, its fundamental message is clearly intelligible. It is the apotheosis of autocracy.

According to Machiavelli’s recommendations—or rather, of their Old Polish interpreter—everything (that is, the political system and the entirety of social relations, not excluding religion and the Church) must be subjugated to strengthening the king’s position. Chronicle works and all other elements of the system of influencing social awareness were to serve this goal. The ruler should not listen to anyone’s advice or trust anyone, but must also hide this distrust. The foundation of power, relying on terror, ought to be the subjects’ fear, not their attachment to and love for the monarch. Hypocrisy and total amorality should be

174 Henryk Barycz, *Myśl i legenda Machiavellego...*, p. 284.

175 *Pisma polityczne z czasów rokoszu Zebrzydowskiego...*, vol. I, p. 301, vol. II, p. 161, 269, vol. III, p. 226; Andrzej Maksymilian Fredro, *Przysłowia mów potocznych...*, p. 60.

176 *Pisma polityczne z czasów panowania Jana Kazimierza...*, vol. II, p. 78-80.

accompanied by the invigilation of subjects: as a means to deceiving them, and, if need be, of leading them up the garden path.

The theses mentioned above prove unequivocally that we deal with a pastiche here, though, theoretically, a text of this kind could be regarded as a set of commendations formulated in earnest; admittedly cynical and calculated, but probably guaranteeing effective ruling. Doubts are dispersed by reading the following points, from which it is clear that the king should counteract the prosperity and wealth of others (that is, his own subjects) and the subsequent pieces of advice are of a no less calculated nature. A man of success, pursuing a career at the king's side, should be given tasks so hard to accomplish as to be impossible, and, consequently, to make him burn out while undertaking recurrent attempts, ultimately debilitating and eliminating him. Another method advised at this point—let us add, a method contradictory to Polish law and tradition—is bestowal of an office by the king, and then withdrawal from the decision, which would bring much trouble (including that of financial nature), to the brief beneficiary.

On the whole, Machiavelli's idea was clearly trivialised and exaggerated here in regard to its sinister meaning. Admittedly, one may doubt whether this simplification was intentional; however, the exaggeration of cynicism and duplicity that we find in advice addressed to the ruler was certainly the local author's intended objective. The goal is clear: the famous Italian theoretician of power was to be ridiculed and repudiated in the eyes of the Old Polish reader, who must by no means accept the presented way of thinking. It was one of the foreign culture symbols that was fought and ridiculed in this way, as, indirectly, the Italian presence in the Commonwealth must also have been.

The chronological context of the origin of the discussed piece is in accordance with the above interpretation. Soon after the Deluge, in a period of economic stagnation and growing social crisis, tolerance to foreigners decreased dramatically, and anti-foreign sentiment began to prevail. The mentioned text was not the only one; it did not function in a propaganda vacuum. The term "Machiavelli", and also "Machiavellian", appeared on the pages of many political writings from the times of Jan II Kazimierz, typically in a negative context: as a symbol of scheming and foul machinations.

But Machiavelli in the 17th century was not merely a symbol of evil, worthy of stigmatisation and rejection: "Machiavelli's wit is not disapproved of by great people," we read in one of the political writings from the Zebrzydowski rebellion, "about this book: *De Principe* one great man... used to say that it is like a meadow: it bears simples as well as poisons."¹⁷⁷ Thus it was realised quite

177 *Pisma polityczne z czasów rokoszu Zebrzydowskiego...*, vol. II, p. 317.

early that Machiavelli's ideas could be used in various ways. Łukasz Opaliński, quoted at the onset of these reflections as a declared critic of Machiavelli's concept and way of thinking, refers, in the later part of *Rozmowy plebana z ziemianinem*, to a fragment in which the author of modern political science points to the complementarity of law and good practice reinforcing each other. Either is rendered impossible if one is removed, "which, in my opinion, he hath well and wisely said," Opaliński acknowledged the relevant quote with the words of the landowner, with whom also the priest soon agreed.¹⁷⁸

Let us add that, at the turn of the 18th century, the motifs of Machiavelli's work and legend appear in quite a new context. Their blade is directed at magnate licence and the abuse of Golden Liberty, as for example in *Classicum wolności polskiej* (1703), by dissenter Wojciech Węgierski.

Therefore, Machiavelli's reception in Old Poland was complicated, perhaps mainly due to unacquaintedness with his works and the simultaneously undeniable attractiveness of the figure, which raised interest and influenced social awareness. For some reason, the Florentine thinker intrigued Old Polish authors, among whom some "knew him only because they heard of him or the legend, while others apparently did have some knowledge of Machiavelli's writings, but they distorted the meaning of his ideas, adjusting it to the goals of their own commentaries."¹⁷⁹

A separate phenomenon was Machiavelli's legend, created on the basis of hazy presumptions, and evolving as dependant on a specific author's views and the political demands of a given time. The Reformation supporters and ultra-Catholics drew inspiration from this, aiming to put down the ideological opponents. Then, there was a time—in the lifespan of the Machiavelli legend, the most important and the longest, spanning the whole 17th century—when the defenders of the Golden Liberty accused their opponents (who wanted royal power strengthened: the spectre of *absolutum dominium*) of acting under Machiavelli's influence. Finally, by the end of the century, it was to be shown that those objecting to the abuse of the Golden Liberty could also refer to Machiavelli.

"Is there anything more outrageous than this way of Callimachus, Machiavelli?," asked the anonymous author of *Skrypt jeden przyjaciela do przyjaciela*, dated 1662, lamenting that in such an environment it is money that decides about promotions and nominations of officials and not civic virtues or benefits for the country.¹⁸⁰ Thus Machiavelli had another partner in crime of the corruption of morals and undermining the foundations of social life in the Commonwealth, namely Filippo Buonaccorsi, already discussed, who successfully

178 Łukasz Opaliński, *Pisma polskie...*, p. 19-20.

179 Henryk Barycz, *Myśl i legenda Machiavellego...*, p. 286-287, 296.

180 *Pisma polityczne z czasów panowania Jana Kazimierza...*, vol. II, p. 146; see also p. 106, 239.

adapted to life in Poland and rather did not deserve his black legend. Callimachus, the Jagiellons' adviser, of rather local fame, was to be replaced with Machiavelli, renowned in the whole of Europe.

But did Machiavelli indeed prove to be Callimachus' "successor," replacing or superseding him in general awareness? Possible doubts in regard to chronology do not seem crucial here. What is important is the function of the two figures—compared to and associated with each other—and their legends.

Castiglione, that is Górnicki

Baldassare Castiglione (1478–1529), author of *Il Libro del Cortegiano*, was one of the leading figures of the Italian Renaissance. This soldier and diplomat, also a writer, published an important treatise in 1528, in which "he presented the ideal courtier, characterised by considerable qualities of intellect, nobility, courage, distinguished custom, wonderful articulation, faithfulness and loyalty to his protectors."¹⁸¹

Castiglione knew well what he was writing about; he spent much of his life at courts, of the Sforzas in Milan, the Gonzagas in Mantua, and the Dukes of Montefeltro and della Rovere in Urbino. It was the Urbino court, renowned in the whole of Italy for its high humanist culture, that became the setting of the *Courtier* written over a period of almost ten years—"a big court of a small state, 500 courtiers and a patch of land—these proportions seem to convey well the nature of elite courtly culture, or rather its aspirations, which was to form a type of harmoniously versatile Renaissance man."¹⁸²

The dialogues in *Il Cortegiano* involve 25 people. There are representatives of the clergy and knighthood, poets, artists, diplomats, and four ladies. The themes of their conversations are love, literature, language, and leisure, but also war and peace, and even the shape of the monarchic system. Still, it must be remembered that *Il Cortegiano* in its original version was not a guide to *savoir-vivre* useful at court, but a kind of manifesto promoting the courtly style of life.

Łukasz Górnicki (1527–1603) represented a later generation. He made a magnificent career for a burgher's son. He completed his studies in Padua, entered the royal court, and became a secretary, then a librarian of Zygmunt August. In 1561 he was ennobled, and ten years later the Tykocin *starostwo*—an office guaranteeing position and material status—was bestowed upon him. By befriending Andrzej Patrycy Nidecki and Jan Kochanowski, he belonged to an elite circle of aficionados of Italian culture. Górnicki was the author of an important historical study, a philosophical treatise, and political writings of precursory significance,

181 *Wielka Encyklopedia Powszechna PWN*, vol. 2, Warsaw 1963, p. 313.

182 Jerzy Ziomek, *Renesans...*, p. 382.

but *Dworzanin polski* is regarded as his greatest accomplishment, a piece that was created on the basis of the famous treaty by Castiglione. Let us add that Castiglione wrote this work near the end of his life and at the end of the epoch of the greatest bloom of Italian humanism (the publication occurred soon after the 1527 events of “*Sacco di Roma*”), whereas *Dworzanin polski* was a literary debut for Łukasz Górnicki, still in his thirties.

The Polish version of the Italian *Courtier* is obviously one of many proofs of Poland’s close cultural ties with the West, including Italy, at that time. Simultaneously—and this seems of more importance—the comparative analysis of both texts is a chance to study the cultural distance between both regions. As is generally known, Baldassare Castiglione’s *Courtier* was not translated by Górnicki, but Polished.¹⁸³ The plot of this dramatised treatise is set in Polish realities, some fragments were intentionally dropped, and others added.¹⁸⁴

Dworzanin polski is in fact a Polish book based on *Il Cortegiano*, namely, an Italian original provided Górnicki precious inspiration, but he basically wrote a new piece based on motifs drawn from Castiglione. This is indicated, among other things, by detachment of some qualities that Castiglione ascribed to his characters and using these elements in some different combination. As a result, the characteristics of the figures featuring in the dialogues were changed, which clearly affected the shape of the whole and its composition. We are not dealing with a translation to which some cosmetic and editorial modifications were introduced, but rather with Górnicki’s own narrative.¹⁸⁵

There are at least several reasons to view *Dworzanin polski* as particularly important and pioneering in Polish culture. It is the first oeuvre of foreign contemporary literature adapted into Polish from a vernacular, and at the same time the first translatorial remake in prose (the predecessors of Górnicki—Rej and Kochanowski transformed in verse from Italianized Latin, creating *Wizerunek człowieka poczciwego* and *Szachy*). *Dworzanin* is also the first “great translation

183 Karol Estreicher emphasised this with sadness, stating that the Italian *Il Cortegiano* was “unfortunately literally Polished, and not translated, because he [Górnicki] cut from the Italian original many wonderful Renaissance dialogues, and the rest he tailored to country-Sarmatian customs” – Giorgio Vasari, *Żywoty najslawniejszych malarzy, rzeźbiarzy i architektów...*, Warsaw 1979, p. XXXIV.

184 Arturo Stanghellini, *La cultura italiana in Polonia...*, p. 88; Sante Graciotti, *Od Renesansu do Oświecenia...*, vol. 1, p. 201; Jan Ślaski, *Uwagi o italianizmie Łukasza Górnickiego...*, p. 189; Anna Gallewicz, “*Dworzanin polski*” i jego pierwowzór; *Studium adaptacji*, Warsaw 2006, passim.

185 A similar opinion was formulated by Peter Burke, who did not classify *Dworzanin polski* as a translation but as a piece inspired by Castiglione’s book – Peter Burke, *The Fortunes of the “Courtier”*. *The European Reception of Castiglione’s “Cortegiano”*, Polity Press, Cambridge 1995.

being—and thanks to the introduction, theoretically sanctioning—a Polonising translatorial paraphrase.”¹⁸⁶

Therefore a question must be asked about Górnicki's intentions. Did this excellent humanist, conscious of the cultural distance between Italy and the Commonwealth, aim at Polonising Costiglione's book in his native country as a model of life and courtly culture in its most refined form? And if so, did the author of the Polish version have any didactic intentions? Or, was the realisation of such a cultural mission not his goal? Was he aiming primarily for clarity for the Polish reader of the piece? Let us remark that, if he has reasoned in this way, he would surely have eliminated from the Polish version all that, in his opinion, would put off the reader or make the text hard to understand. In the second variant, which we support, the Polish reader and not the Italian author, is dominant. And because differences of realities and cultural standards are plenty, there are many intentional omissions, partly replaced with Górnicki's invention. The main target remains popularisation of the courtly model, but in a considerably reduced form.

The Polish version of the work was adjusted to the tastes and perceptual possibilities of the Polish reader, or anyway, to what the translator thought these were. The issue of Górnicki's competence in this regard brings a positive answer. Educated in Italy, active at the king's court, happy to have many and various contacts and acquaintances, Górnicki was fully aware of the goal, namely assimilating the famous foreign work into Polish culture, and he had all the skills to accomplish that.¹⁸⁷

When undertaking the task of translating *Il Cortegiano* into his mother tongue, he faced a very difficult challenge, of which he was aware and—more importantly—he thought it useful to share his doubts on this work with the reader and justify the declarations and decisions about his translation. We want to apply them here in considerations of the cultural distance between the Renaissance Commonwealth and contemporary Italy, and more precisely, on the translator's ideas on this issue.

It may be said that only few fragments of the original were quite faithfully transferred into the Polish version. In the rest, the translator applied substitution; namely Italian realities were replaced with local ones, and reductions, thanks to which the Italian role model was adjusted to Polish conditions.

Literary scholars unanimously emphasise that differences between the two works are visible both in the characters' construction as well as in the structure of narration and mutual relations of dialogue participants. Social hierarchy, and distance between particular people, which in Castiglione is levelled by the convention of banter and pleasantries, remains in Górnicki's version far more

186 Jan Ślaski, *Uwagi o italianizmie Łukasza Górnickiego...*, p. 187.

187 See Jakub Dzdzisław Lichański, *Łukasz Górnicki...*, p. 28-32.

pronounced and inviolable, which must have been closer to the Old Polish realities. In the Polish text, the relations between characters are decisively clearer; the rivalry between some of them is express, which in the original is not to be found. There is more theatricality in the dialogues that take place in the Italian version.

Górnicki was evidently pleased with the results of his work, though he did not preclude that the same task would be undertaken by others with no worse effect, for they would have, he stated, with clear satisfaction, “the Italian *Kortegiano*, not spoilt by my Polish even in the smallest degree.” Referring to famous Latin translation of Plato’s dialogues, published in 1482, he also convinced his potential critics that “*Libri del Kortegiano* cannot be translated like Marsilius Ficinus translated Plato”¹⁸⁸—that is to say, faithfully.

By formulating the above thesis, Górnicki referred to the most spectacular departure from the original, superseding Italian participants of the dialogue with Poles, who “fit well to this conversation.” This change seems fully understandable, and still not the most crucial. From our point of view, far more significant are the departures from the original that pertain to the spheres of culture and customs (“some I don’t include, others I change”), for they were to facilitate the reading of the recipient through discarding the themes and associations that were culturally illegible, but also to serve some specific didactic function. The translator saw publishing some of the author’s theses as inappropriate. Let us therefore look at the translation decisions of Górnicki, about which he loyally informs the reader in the first book of his *Dworzanin*.

The introduction of Polish characters, interlocutors, is accompanied by elimination of women from this group—“because I can see this would be unpleasant to Polish ears.” This decision, evidently obvious to Górnicki, had its further consequences, namely elimination of themes “which will not be coherent with this conversation where there are no women.” The argument disavowing the position and intellectual capacity of Polish women is backed with a suggestion that it was necessary to introduce moral censorship. This was inspired—as it emerges from the context—not by the women who would be reading the book, but by the probability of stances and behaviour of participants in this literary conversation.

Among intentional omissions concerning the sphere of customs, the problem of homosexuality is foremost. Fragments about the “effeminate” (*de effeminatis*) were omitted, since this phenomenon, as we read, was not observed in Poland, hence it was all the more worthless to popularise it.

Górnicki also greatly reduced the reflection on male-female relations, which, in his view “could outrage decent ears.” This pertained both to the thesis drawn

188 Łukasz Górnicki, *Dworzanin...*, Warsaw 1950, p. 11.

from Aristotle that “man is like form, and woman—matter,” as well as to the debate about “the warm and cold element in man and woman.” The same was done to a digression about the enduringly positive attitude of women to those men to whom they had lost their virginity, and about the totally opposite stance of men towards those women to whom they had owed sexual initiation. Remarks concerning the licentious habits of women (including married ones), their engagement in flirtation, ways of seducing and coquetry, were considerably reduced in the Polish version.

Censorship also affected fragments devoid of moral purport, as for example mentions of poisoned bullets (*delle pallotte medicate*), as it was then that the world witnessed the use of this cruel weapon, and thus it should not be a topic of courtly conversation. On the other hand, the Polish translator assessed it pointless to quote the mention of bonfires on ice in the context of wonders of nature and unbelievable things, since “this is no wonder at all, because our eyes can see enough of this.”

Interference with the text and abridgements involved also the forms of spending free time: social games, play and dances. The fragments on duels (*de duello*), theatrical art (with which Polish reader could not be acquainted) and also making music, as rarely practised, were deleted. The sphere of music, admittedly, is not wholly omitted “because to sing or to play the lute is no shame,” but the author does not regard this activity as worthy of promoting and popularising.

Here we encounter the important problem of the attitudes of Górnicki and Castiglione towards art. In the former, the attitude is significantly more indifferent, which at that time was linked with the influence of Stoic philosophy and Seneca’s writings, which Górnicki also translated into Polish. Stoics, putting ethical considerations at the centre of their reflection, appreciated art as far as it served discovery of truth.¹⁸⁹ But we should search for the explanation primarily in the translator’s possible intention to transplant numerous elements of Italian intellectual culture to the Polish environment; to do this effectively, he must do it through selection and adjustment to the perceptual possibilities of the recipient.

However, the views of Górnicki himself should be taken into account too, as he—with this level of translation licence—could include his opinions systematically on the pages of the translated work. The attitude toward art may be a good illustration of this phenomenon, for the translator skipped the discussion “which *ars* is more fine, *pictura* or *statuaria*, which is unknown here.” Thus the motive of divergence from the original is here the unsatisfactory intellectual preparedness of the audience. Furthermore, the discussion about the need to know the principles of perspective and ability to sketch was removed. Górnicki’s courtier does not engage himself in painting, for “this would be distasteful to

189 See *Pisarze polskiego odrodzenia o sztuce...*, p. 80.

our Poles;” his domain would rather be rhetorics. Let us remember that, for the contemporary nobility, art was only a craft, an occupation that was not seen as a prestigious one. Górnicki himself tolerated art but did not esteem it: “He saw it as some embellishment of social talk but did not regard it as a serious and creative factor of culture.”¹⁹⁰

It has been pointed out that the famed *sprezzatura* (understood as irony) studied nonchalance, “an assumed air of effortless mastery in doing difficult things, making them appear to be done with no effort involved,” rarely appears in Górnicki. His text is less cheerful, “versed less towards play and amusement, but rather to solemn and higher aims directed.”¹⁹¹ When in one of few fragments on architecture Castiglione mentions “columns, architraves, high loggias and palaces,” Górnicki writes only of “shapely pillars.” Columns, architraves, and loggias were unfamiliar terms to the Polish reader. Castiglione devotes extensive fragments to admiration of excellent Italian artists: Leonardo da Vinci, Rafael, Michelangelo, and Mantegna. Assuming that—in Górnicki’s opinion—these names would say nothing to the Polish reader, we may ask why the translator did not mention here the Italian artists brought to Poland (such as Berrecci, Padovano, Cini) or their accomplishments widely recognised in the Commonwealth—Wawel courtyard, Niepołomice Castle, the Zygmunt’s Chapel and other Renaissance tombs that not only existed in Poland but were admired by Polish eyes.¹⁹²

The absence of such details compels us to think that Górnicki did not subject everything to his educational goal, but rather tried to please the noble reader, assuming that too much attention to Italian innovations would be inappropriate. Varied attitudes to Italian influences are sketched among the dialogue participants. They include ardent supporters (Andrzej Kostka, Wojciech Kryski), as well as staunch opponents (Stanisław Lupa Podlodoski), but also those who were very distanced to this phenomenon (Stanisław Wapowski). Undeniably, the positive approach to the Italian model is concordant with the intentions of the author of the Polish version. The problem remains only in the skilful administering of this model.

Consideration of the future influence of the translated piece forced Górnicki to eliminate critical remarks on the Catholic clergy, particularly monastic orders. Apparently he did not want to multiply unfavourable opinions about this estate and thus join the multiple attacks on it from dissenters’ circles.

190 Ignacy Koziński, *Lukasz Górnicki...*, p. 88; see also Jan Białostocki, *Polski i włoski dworzanin o malarstwie...*, p. 107; *Pisarze polskiego odrodzenia o sztuce...*, p. 84.

191 Łukasz Górnicki, *Dworzanin polski...* (1954), p. CV; Jan Białostocki, *Polski i włoski dworzanin o malarstwie...*, p. 107-108.

192 *Pisarze polskiego odrodzenia o sztuce...*, p. 85.

A separate (though unfortunately very broad) group of omissions is those caused by the belief in the intellectual inferiority of the Polish reader, or rather the reader's insufficient erudition. In the translator's view, the group that was knowledgeable enough and sufficiently well-read to comprehend some specific fragment was numerically very limited. Accordingly, he left out subtleties of scholastic philosophy he encountered in the text, as well as deliberations "about imitation" (*della imitazione*)—"since this wise discourse is of no use but to a learned Pole." Neither—as we remember—did he see the point in quoting the discussion about which art was finer, painting or sculpture. Likewise, he cut citations and literary borrowings from Boccaccio "for *Bokacius* may be known perhaps only to Poles who had visited Italy."

In Castiglione, territorial divisions and regional antagonisms—natural in the Italian context at that time—are easily perceptible, whereas in Górnicki, the state organism is homogeneous, revolving around the royal court and the capital Kraków. In the Polish version, the smaller number of mentions and foreign reference—among which Italian threads are dominant—are conspicuous.¹⁹³

It is hard to assume that Castiglione counted on publishing his work in Poland, more so that it would resonate with readers. The single Polish thread we find in *Il Cortegiano* seems to prove that he had rather little idea about the Commonwealth, and that his main associations with the Polish-Lithuanian state pertained to the harsh climate and—interestingly—trade by Italian merchants,¹⁹⁴ whereas Górnicki (taking cultural and intellectual distance into consideration) tried to convey the maximum content and models in a form that would be acceptable for a possibly vast audience.

By adopting such formula as regards the translator's intentions, we now need to ask about their addressee. Knowledge of Italian among the 16th century elites was quite common. Górnicki must have known this well, and so he must have realised that his work was not indispensable for most of those interested in the subject. Surely he wanted to expand this group considerably, but to attain this goal he had to proceed prudently. Hence the relatively wide scope of editorial—censorial actions of the translator. Maybe he wanted first of all to prove that remote Italian models could be successfully adapted on Polish soil? Thus, we were only able to touch upon the complicated problem of the reception of *Dworzanin polski*. The courtly way of life that it promoted certainly did not gain universal acclaim in Poland of the second half of 16th century. This custom pattern surely proved less attractive than "the life of the honest man" propagated in Mikołaj Rej's works. Górnicki's proposal, consistently regarded as elite, rather remained a postulate and point of reference for subsequent generations of Italophiles.

193 Cf. Anna Gallewicz, "*Dworzanin polski*" i jego pierwowzór..., p. 229.

194 An interesting episode about a merchant from Lucca – book II, ch. LV.

Artistic Inspirations

Architecture and Construction

One of the most spectacular influences in architecture and construction was Italian. Though the effects may be variously assessed, it is undeniable that they were also magnificent, and could easily compete with accomplishments in neighbouring states. Full discussion of this theme is impossible due to the breadth of the subject, about which subsequent generations of art historians speak. However, the Italian tendencies in architecture and construction cannot be omitted, so we will intentionally limit discussion to several spectacular examples.

We may formulate the opinion that the 17th century achievements of the so-called artistic avant-garde from Italy (predominantly Rome) were transferred exceptionally quickly to the Commonwealth; there—thanks to Italian contractors—they were adapted in the best possible style.¹⁹⁵ When speaking about this, the term “stylistic metastases” is used, emphasising the direct character of Italian influences, and simultaneously explaining the leading role of achievements in Poland in comparison to neighbouring countries and rest of Europe.¹⁹⁶

The first construction (which may be considered of symbolic character) is the Jesuit church in Nieśwież. Started in 1582, its construction was only a bit later than Rome’s Il Gesù church, universally regarded as the first Baroque style building in the world. Thus, right at the beginning of a new epoch in art, Poland was keeping pace with the most prestigious projects.

The second phase of influence is connected primarily with Matteo Castello, an architect from the Italian-Swiss border. Castello gained his qualifications in the best workshops in Rome, which were run by his relatives, Domenico Fontana and Carlo Maderna; he then worked on his own projects at prestigious churches of the Eternal City (Sant’Andrea della Valle, San Giovanni dei Fiorentini, and Santa Maria Maggiore).¹⁹⁷ For unidentified reasons, Castello ended his Roman career and went to Poland in 1613, at the invitation of Zygmunt III. There, already in the king’s entourage, was Giambattista Petrini from Lugano, working on the northern facade of Wawel Castle. Castello’s task was to continue and reorganise the construction of Warsaw Castle, which up until then (1601–1613) had been managed by Giacomo Rodondo from the Swiss canton Graubünden. Under the

195 Mariusz Karpowicz, *Trzy przerzuty do Polski rzymskiej awangardy...*, p. 40-54; Mariusz Karpowicz, *Włoska awangarda artystyczna...*, p. 15-45.

196 Mariusz Karpowicz, *Trzy przerzuty do Polski rzymskiej awangardy...*, p. 40, where “particularly early, preceding the rest of Europe, metastases of avant-garde Italian forms to our country [Poland]” are mentioned.

197 See Mariusz Karpowicz, *Matteo Castello – architekt wczesnego baroku*, Neriton, Warsaw 1994.

new architect's supervision, a rather chaotic, irregular complex of castle buildings became a homogeneous, harmonious, and symmetrical composition; most importantly, the castle's mass was integrated into the existing urban tissue (three towers of the western frontage placed on axes of three specific streets, thought out as finishing accents), which directly referred to the urban planning concepts of Domenico Fontana, rendering it "the first north of Alps, and at that time the only metastasis of avant-garde urban stylistics from Rome."¹⁹⁸

Further major projects by Castello—St Kazimierz chapel in Vilnius Cathedral, St Peter and Paul's Jesuit church in Kraków, the confession of St Stanisław in Wawel Cathedral, and Zbaraski chapel in Kraków Dominican church—all had very modern accents and innovative artistic solutions.

The Jesuit church in Kraków was not very fortunate at first. Its construction took quite a long time and was carried out unprofessionally, since in 1610 a site catastrophe occurred, in which the dome collapsed (or it was hastily dismantled). The new dome was not erected until 1613–19, and the whole church was finished under the supervision of "master of royal masons" Giovanni Trevano. But, according to the reported version, the architectural concept of the investment was already in Castello's hands. Using the experiences and solutions he had applied in the erection of the Sant'Andrea della Valle and San Giovanni dei Fiorentini churches in Rome, Castello created a mass corresponding exactly to these ultra-modern Roman constructions. The façade of the Kraków church proved to be a particularly remarkable artistic accomplishment, utilising solutions from the churches mentioned above, and also those implemented by Carlo Maderna in Rome's Santa Susanna church.¹⁹⁹

In reference to the altar-confession of St Stanisław in Wawel Cathedral (conceived as the most important altar of the Crown, erected from the most noble materials), a Roman original may also be indicated: St Peter's *Confessio* in the Vatican Basilica as in the engraving by Martin Ferabosco, Maderna's pupil and co-worker. It is similar to another prestigious foundation of the Polish Vasas, St Kazimierz Chapel in Vilnius, designed by Castello, completed in 1634–1636 under supervision of Constante Tencalla, Castello's nephew and successor at the royal court. In this case, beyond the already quoted works from Maderna's circle, examples may be found in the major basilicas of Rome—Santa Maria Maggiore and San Giovanni in Laterano. "In effect, the Vilnius chapel is an accomplished, top class monument of Rome transferred far north. The monument that would embellish any European capital, and beyond Rome, has no analogy in the whole

198 Mariusz Karpowicz, *Włoska awangarda artystyczna...*, p. 18.

199 Ibidem, p. 19, 22, where the whole building is described as "the most exquisite example of Maderna style Baroque metastasis north to the Alps."

Europe of its time.²⁰⁰ In turn, the Zbaraskis' chapel in the Dominican church in Kraków contained some spatial innovations by Castello (among others, topping it with dome ellipsoid in plan) modelled on his previous projects at the Rucellai and Barberini chapels in San Andrea delle Valle, and on other churches in Rome.

Let us add that the influence of another early Baroque style can be observed at the same time: that is, the less stylistically advanced Lombardian variant. Its most accomplished representative in Poland was Andrea Spezza, who was brought in 1615 presumably by the Lubomirski family, and who created one of the first two-tower churches north of the Alps—the Camadolese church in Bielany near Kraków, and also the Stry Wsińicz Church. This early-Baroque trend has its counterparts in Bohemia and Austria (the mausoleum of Emperor Ferdinand II in Graz, and Salzburg cathedral); in this instance, no Polish uniqueness or originality may be indicated.

Costantino Tencalla, already mentioned as Castello's successor as royal architect, was also the creator of a unique work—the Zygmunt's Column, which was commissioned by Władysław IV for his father in 1644, and which today is still one of the symbols of Warsaw. The sculptor, specially brought from Italy for this purpose, was a Bolognian, Clemente Molli. In this case the novelty did not rely on size or artistry but on the concept, for it was a lay person who was placed on the column in a place reserved in the Christian tradition for the Madonna and saints. This was a reference to ancient patterns, but the concept was, at the time, unique.

The third phase of Italian influence—another stylistic metastasis—happened in the first years of the reign of Jan II Kazimierz and pertained to Baroque in full bloom, derived from direct circle of Gian Lorenzo Bernini. It was about the experimental solutions concerning illusion of garments and enhanced expression. The main proponents of novel forms in Poland were the architect Giovanni Battista Gisleni and sculptor Francesco dei Rossi. Admittedly, Gisleni had been a long time in Poland (at the Polish court since 1630) but had the opportunity to become acquainted with novelties in the art of Rome when he was dispatched several times to Italy as artistic agent of Władysław IV and Jan II Kazimierz. One of the avant-garde achievements of Gisleni was the tomb of Remigiusz Zaleski (d. 1646) in St John's collegiate in Warsaw, with the wavy inscription plaque (the tomb was destroyed during the Second World War) and the cloth held between the teeth of two skulls. There also are elements of spatial illusion, and the whole is a quite express reference to a famous work by Bernini: a sculptural monument of Maria Raggi in Santa Maria Sopra Minerva Church, the date of creation of which is concordant with the dates of Gisleni's visits to Rome. Two busts of bishops—Jerzy Tyszkiewicz in Vilnius Cathedral (1653) and Piotr Gembicki in

200 Ibidem, p. 26.

Wawel (1654) by Francesco Rossi are the first examples north of Alps of the so-called snapshot portrayal, capturing instantaneous facial expression or gesture and inspired by Bernini.

The fourth phase took place immediately after the Swedish Deluge in the 1660s, and concerned Baroque Classicism, the centre of which was northern Italy (Lombardy). The central figure was Jan Kazimierz's architect Isidoro Affaitati the elder with the Camaldolese churches in Bielany near Kraków and Pažaislis near Kaunas as his most remarkable creations. The Bielany sanctuary belongs to "the great family of European domical churches built on an elongated octagonal plan with eight smaller spaces added around it." The creator of this model was, supposedly, Johann Bernhard Fischer von Erlach, who applied it in Viennese Karlskirche (1715); however a common source for both Fischer von Erlach and Affaitati may also be indicated: the now lost Santa Maria di Loreto Church in Milan. A particularly significant trait of the Pažaislis Church is a concave façade enabling a better exposition of the dome over the nave, centrally constructed on a regular hexagon. Here, Affaitati's work mirrors almost precisely that of Borromini, who at the same time designed such a façade for St Agnes' Church in Rome.

The fifth and final phase, still in the 17th century, contains quite varied adaptations of the greatest achievements of Bernini and the techniques that he applied, such as corrections of sizes (imperceptible differences in sizes causing various scenic effects), anti-architectural architecture (clouds and cloth as construction elements), and three-dimensional painting (combination of painting and sculpture, namely composing three-dimensional elements into a plane picture). Many of these techniques were used at their highest level by Baldassarre Fontana in St Ann's Church in Kraków; mastery in three-dimensional painting was displayed by the Florentine painter Michelangelo Palloni and Rome's Francesco Antonio Giorgioli.

Each time Italian originals and their Polish applications were juxtaposed, the creator emphasised the promptness of artistic metastases in comparison to other European countries. The first cloths with inscription appeared in Austria by the end of 1660s; snapshot portrait would be employed by Bernini himself during his visit to Paris in 1665. Hence, the Commonwealth had an "advantage" of around fifteen years. This gap seems to have increased in the second half of the century. The speed of influence was accompanied by highest artistic quality of local, Polish-Lithuanian solutions (and Italian, in the sense of direct execution of work).

Achievements in occasional architecture, marking only a single event, are assessed similarly. "A number of form and content solutions engaged by the artist were characterised by astonishing relevance in comparison to works created then in leading artistic centres of Europe, especially in Papal Rome," Stanisław Mossakowski concluded his remarks on Wawel Cathedral's decorations of January

1649—designed by Giovanni Battista Gisleni—at the ceremonies of Władysław IV's funeral (Friday, 15 Jan), Jan II Kazimierz's coronation (Sunday, 17 Jan), and the inauguration of Sejm session (Tuesday, 19 Jan).²⁰¹

If the effects were so perfect, successfully bearing comparison to European competition, the question of how to explain this arises. How can this phenomenon be justified in the historical context? In the quoted treatises, the explanation is reduced to the Thirty Years' War ravaging Germany and engaging other European powers, and the general instability of leading European states, which, in ordinary circumstances, used to outpace the Commonwealth in regard to reception of novel phenomena in culture.

This argument may be taken as sufficient in the earlier phase of the Italian effect (Matteo Castello), but the third phase—namely the influence of Bernini's circle—took place in the first half of the 1650s. Therefore, the remark that Europe then is recovering after long war, and the Commonwealth—as if devoid of concerns—can afford adaptation of the most advanced artistic currents, is totally unconvincing. In Poland, this was the period between the Chmielnicki Uprising and the Swedish invasion. It is hard to see this period as favouring new artistic initiatives, providing that we (consistently) regard political realities as superior.

The same doubts must concern the next phase: adaptation of the models of Baroque Classicism, developed in northern Italy (Isidoro Affaitati), which may be dated to the 1660s. The Commonwealth, immediately after the Swedish invasion—consistently regarded in historiography as a sad analogy to the Thirty Years' War in terms of the economic consequences and the scale of destruction—can by no means be seen as a land so devoid of concerns that its inhabitants may focus on novel trends in art and satisfy their needs according to these.

Thus, historical explanation is not possible and nor does it seem necessary. Those “stylistic metastases” important from the perspective of cultural history were of individual, elite character; they were played out on a micro scale. It is clear that wars and turmoil do not favour building, but has every investor relied on ending international conflicts to further their plans?

The Commonwealth proved absorbent regarding new currents, not because it was an oasis of peace and wealth (for it was no such thing in the mid-17th century), but because the subsequent groups of Italian artists had magnificent qualifications and the tradition of their work for Polish-Lithuanian patrons proved strong. In Poland in the 16/17th centuries, a specific tradition of openness to influences from Italy was formed. Subsequent generations of artists emerging from this source established a tradition of artistic services, which created a climate friendly to novelties. It is also of no little importance that the key source of stylistic influence

201 Stanisław Mossakowski, *Uroczystości wawelskie w roku 1649...*, p. 80.

was Baroque Rome, with which the Commonwealth, under the Vasas, was particularly strongly connected—both politically and emotionally, which must have fostered openness and receptiveness in the artistic sphere.

Architectural Treatises

One of the forms of Italian cultural and intellectual influence was treatises on architecture, which could even be included in the civilisational sphere.²⁰² Among these were the ancient oeuvre by Vitruvius (*De architectura libri decem*) and multiple Italian treatises penned over the 15th and 16th centuries (Sebastiano Serlio, Vincenzo Scamozzi), which—in contrast to the ancient pattern—were typically illustrated, and thus more simplified for practical use. We may consider the extent to which the sophisticated texts, requiring much preparation, were consciously made use of in Poland.

The text of the classical work by Vitruvius had been available since the mid 15th-century; at least two hand-written copies were stored in the library of the Canons Regular monastery in Trzemeszno, along with numerous copies of early publications, both Florentine (1496) and Venetian (1497). We may surmise that it was known in the circle of the bishop of Lviv, Grzegorz of Sanok, and surely also at the royal court in the times of the reign of Kazimierz Jagiellończyk's sons. Mikołaj Kopernik also read this treatise of Vitruvius.

Another theoretician of architecture whose ideas reached Poland and whose works (*De pictura praestantissima* and *De re aedificatoria libri decem*) could be easily found in Kraków libraries was Leon Battista Alberti (1404–1472). The application of his concepts is perceivable in the ideal, central architecture of Zygmunt's Chapel (1517–1533). Its creator, the Florentine Bartolomeo Berrecci (thoroughly educated, who also studied the architecture of ancient Rome before travelling to Poland), was undoubtedly acquainted with Alberti's texts. New architectural solutions and treatises on this subject were allegedly within the interest of Zygmunt the Old, who—while still a prince—in 1501 supposedly bought one such treatise in Hungary, surely from the future architect of Wawel, Franciscus Florentinus.²⁰³ Therefore, early forms of transmitting ideas and patterns were present alongside a climate of enthusiasm and people able to promote these patterns competently.

Around the mid-16th century, the representative of the Kraków elite—modelling on Italian pattern—developed an interest in *recreationis* architecture, which resulted in the rise of suburban villas in Roman and Venetian style (*villae*

202 Jerzy Kowalczyk, *Sebastiano Serlio a sztuka polska...*, esp. p 7-27, Zygmunt Mieszkowski, *Podstawowe problemy architektury...*, p. 11-25.

203 Adam Miłobędzki, *Architektura i społeczeństwo...*, p. 254.

suburbanae). The first and most famed building of this kind was built c. 1530 by royal secretary Justus Decjusz at Wola near Kraków, which after time was called Justowska after him. A little later, the villa of Kraków's bishop, Samuel Maciejowski, was erected at Prądnik Biały. The residence, built "in Italian form" on a cross plan and incorporating the most novel Venetian postulates of that time (of Sebastiano Serlio and Andrea Palladio), must have been one of the most Italian settings, since the plot of Łukasz Górnicki's *Dworzanin* (publ. 1566) was set there. Under Zygmunt August, in whose rich book collection were works of interest to us (amongst others, Alberti's treatises), these tendencies even deepened—both with regard to the grand scale of investments (Niepołomice Castle) as well as the scale of Italian influence in architecture and construction.

The second half of the 16th century was also the time of the most intensive education of Polish youth at Italian universities. The number of educated young people interested in art rose, and consequently, the group of Italophiles (understood as admirers of Italian influences but also people able to comprehend the meaning contained in them and to successfully adapt them to local conditions) broadened. Báthory's famous doctor, Wojciech Oczko, referred to Vitruvius in his learned treatise about medicinal waters, while also ascribing him a key role in preparing the mise en scene of *Odprawa posłów greckich* by Jan Kochanowski, a spectacle staged 12 January 1578 at Ujazdów Castle to mark the marriage of Deputy Chancellor Jan Zamoyski to Krystyna Radziwiłłówna. The organisers of this *theatrum* must have drawn on Vitruvius for inspiration, and, more importantly, they must have known Palladio's work, which in the circle of Zamoyski—a distinguished statesman educated in Italy and willingly staying under the Italian culture influence—is hardly surprising. The deputy chancellor (soon great chancellor of the crown) was planning the construction of Zamość, founded in 1580, exactly at that time. The city was built from scratch so its creator, Bernardo Morando, could apply any theoretical solutions (*città ideale*), and did so—by allegedly referring to Pietro Cataneo's treatise (based on Vitruvius and Alberti). Zamość is the clearest example of the effect of Italian treatises.

At the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, the group of readers of the text discussed here expanded remarkably as architectural treatises reached the libraries of affluent burghers (Gdańsk, Toruń, Poznań, Lviv). The Italian authors—Serlio, Vignola, and Palladio, who had been affecting countless works by lesser contractors—were joined at the beginning of the 17th century by yet one more name. The treaty *L'idea dell'architettura universale*, by Vincenzo Scamozzi was published in Venice in 1615. The author's rapport with Poland was exceptional because he knew the country from experience, having visited it at least once, and maybe twice (in 1588, and possibly 1592), in the retinue of the Venetian ambassador, Pietro Duodo. The experiences gathered on this journey are reflected in the treaty,

in which we encounter not only remarks on the harshness of the northern climate, but also concrete hints concerning marking out streets in such a way that houses are least exposed to icy winds. The visits also resulted in personal contacts. Going to Venice in 1612, Krzysztof Zbaraski commissioned from Scamozzi a plan for a fortified defensive castle, which the former intended to erect in Zbarazh; the Italian theoretician not only executed the commission but also included it in the following edition of his oeuvre.²⁰⁴ The direct influence of Scamozzi may be traced in the design of the Lanckorońskis' castle / villa in Brzezie, allegedly modelled on Villa Molini near Padua. However, in the first half of the 17th century, among lay architecture novelties in the Commonwealth, the palladian villas prevailed: palaces of Bishop Henryk Firlej in Czemierniki, Przybyszewskis-Gurowskis in Trzebiny, Radziwiłłs in Biała Podlaska. Vitruvius' work and the Italian treatises—especially those of Alberti, Scamozzi and Palladio—served also as guidebooks and manuals of construction techniques, depending on the material used, with inclusion of the timber most widespread in the Commonwealth. They were consulted by Łukasz Opaliński—who was trying to take account of local realities²⁰⁵—as well as by the Jesuit Bartłomiej Nataniel Wąsowski, the author of the first treatise on architecture and construction written (albeit in Latin), by a Pole.²⁰⁶

Are architectural treatises a good measure of Italian influence? It is open to discussion. Applying this measure speaks of elite character and high expectations as far as indispensable qualifications were concerned, since using such texts required good preparation, sound knowledge, and skills hardly accessible to an average person. In this view, it appears that the range of influence is crucial. Were “humanist architectural treatises used only by Italians and only those most outstanding ones” in 16th century Poland? Or is such a proposal “too pessimistic” due to the hardly rare instances of Polish humanists and art administrators using these treatises?²⁰⁷ If we concede the first point, we are dealing with a manifestation of hermetically-sealed Polish culture, which—in the production sphere, even in its artistic aspect—was not ready to assimilate intellectual-theoretical patterns, because its representatives and decision makers were oriented to external

204 This project is included in later works by Łukasz Opaliński (1659) and Bartłomiej Wąsowski (1678).

205 This is evidenced by the title of his most important treatise – *Krótką nauką budowniczą dworów, pałaców, zamków podług nieba y zwyczajui polskiego...* (1659), which was to be “a free adaptation of Italian architects' works” – Janusz Tazbir, “Włoszczyzna” w Polsce..., p. 360.

206 Bartłomiej Nataniel Wąsowski, *Callitectonicorum seu de pulchro Architecturae sacrae et civilis compendio collectorum*, Poznań 1678.

207 See Adam Miłobędzki, *Architektura i społeczeństwo...*, p. 242-243, Jerzy Kowalczyk, *Sebastiano Serlio a sztuka polska...*, p. 11.

execution. If we support the second opinion, it appears that we are dealing with another documented display of Italian influence in the sphere of high culture, to which the Polish recipients reacted positively and the Italian model was adopted willingly and quite broadly.

Ceremonies

As the Medicis' court artist, Giorgio Vasari was also involved in organising court events of spectacular character. In 1565, together with the humanist Rafeale Borghini, he prepared for instance the programme for the Olympus gods' parade on the occasion of Duke Francesco I and Joanna of Austria's wedding. Vasari's drawings—showing twenty carriages with mythological figures—have been preserved in Florence. A significant similarity may be observed between these celebrations and the festivities that took place in 1583 in Kraków on the occasion of Jan Zamoyski's marriage to Gryzelda Báthory. In Kraków, as in the Florentine original, figures of Saturn, Jupiter, Diana, Cupid, and Venus were carried on wagons, an element that indicates inspiration from Vasari himself or, more broadly, from the circle of the Florentine court, which seems likely to be hard to prove.²⁰⁸

Italian inspiration may be also noticed in previous celebrations (coronations, marriages, funerals) organised at the Kraków court, the main accent of which were pompous entries. The first entrance of this sort, connected with the arrival of Bona Sforza in Poland, occurred in 1518, and was attended by roughly 10,000 people. The subsequent wives of Zygmunt August (the Habsburg women, Elisabeth of Austria in 1543, and Catherine of Austria in 1553) also entered Kraków ceremonially. On the occasion of the coronation entrance of Henry of Valois in 1574, triumphal gates were erected for the first time, which henceforth were to adorn other ceremonial royal entries.

Only by the end of the 16th century did these entries—in the fashion of Italian “triumphs”—began to be transformed into para-theatrical shows with prearranged ideological and scenographic concepts. Evidence of such evolution may be drawn from the far more elaborate setting of the procession that was held in Kraków in 1592 on the occasion of Zygmunt III's marriage to Anne of Austria. In Kraków's main square, the *maskarada* type spectacle was staged on 7 June, accompanied by tournament in which the king and representatives of magnate houses also took part. Cecilia Renata was similarly welcomed to Kraków in August 1637, though the festivity occurred in absence of her royal consort, Władysław IV. In

208 This suggestion was formulated by Karol Estreicher in the introduction to his translation of *The Lives of the Most Excellent Italian Painters, Sculptors, and Architects, from Cimabue to Our Times*, by Giorgio Vasari (Warsaw 1979, p. XXXIV); see also Jerzy Kowalczyk, *W kręgu kultury dworu Jana Zamoyskiego...*, p. 122-124, 127-159.

this case, the place of coronation of the new queen—which took place on 13 September—was Warsaw, where, on the day after the church ceremony, a ballet spectacle *La prigion d'Amore* was held, with the participation of Princess Anna Catherine Constance Vasa and her maids. The spectacle resembled those held on the occasion of Jan Zamoyski's (1583) and Zygmunt III's (1592) marriages and included masquerades of expressly Italian origin. The festivities continued, and for the finale on 23 September, a tragicomedy (*La Santa Cecilia*) was staged in the new theatre hall, inaugurating the first permanent opera stage in Poland.²⁰⁹ The attitude of Władysław IV, decisive for the development of Polish opera theatre in Poland, was based on Italian models and inspirations from the period of the Prince's travels around Europe in 1624–1625.

Music and Theatre

In 1637, Queen Cecilia Renata (newlywed per procura in Vienna by Władysław IV) was leaving Kraków for Warsaw after a couple of days' stay, passing Stradom and Kazimierz in solemn procession towards Niepołomice. Along the route, the procession was cheered by crowds and a salute was fired as “Italian music” was played from the windows of kamienica houses.²¹⁰ Is this confirmation of the universality of the Italian style of music making, or was this a spontaneous spectacle of quite exceptional nature?

Discussing theatre under the Vasas and Saxons, we cited some very enthusiastic opinions of contemporary audiences, to whom we ascribed the right to judge the artistic level of spectacles. But the opposite also happened. In a fragment of a letter by Leonard Szwykowski, a clerk of the Radziwiłłs, written in Warsaw on 23 February 1716, we find mention of a theatrical performance that the author saw the previous day: “On Sunday I happened to be [...] at comedy in which I saw few funny things.”²¹¹ This opinion concerned a *commedia dell'arte*, and hence a show addressed—at least from today's perspective—to vast audiences and of rather indiscriminating taste. The suggestion arising from the letter—that Szwykowski did not get the plot—seems to be proven by the following sentence: “The words of this comedy were not very praised by those who understood them, because there was nothing special in its discourses.” It follows that the author had problems with grasping the theme of the play and the exchange of remarks with those who understood the story did not influence his critical evaluation.

The presumption that we deal here with the opinion of the ignorant is undermined by another sentence assessing music in the play: “music is terribly

209 *Wjazd, koronacja, wesele Najjaśniejszej Królowej...*, p. 16-18, 35, 37-39.

210 Michał Rożek, *Uroczystości w barokowym Krakowie...*, p. 68.

211 Andrzej Ryszkiewicz, *W warszawskim teatrze nadwornym...*, p. 21.

well played, beyond comparison to that played in Italy.” It is clear praise with simultaneous reference to Italian models, suggesting that the author was quite well oriented in theatrical matters.

This is only one of many possible examples, but even if we multiply the number of assessments, we will be no closer to a definite answer to the question of the scale of social acceptance for what were then novel theatrical presentations. Admittedly, we may say that court theatre did not lack an audience, but this audience was a limited group and was somehow forced to emulate the monarch’s preferences; the first serious attempt undertaken to establish a theatre company outside the court, funded from tickets, quite soon ended in bankruptcy.

Let us remark that identifying external inspirations is quite an easy task, while it is far more difficult to speak of the reception. Just as to the researchers of educational studies, the question of the reception of art and related artistic-intellectual experiences remains open, so also to a historian interested in cultural influences the problem of social reception of works or performances remains most elusive, due to the small number and incidental character of accounts.

When we read, for example, *The Lives of the Most Excellent Italian Painters, Sculptors, and Architects* by Vasari, it seems that the reception of this work in Poland—as the first compendium of Renaissance painting—is more interesting and important than Polish themes in this book. Vasari’s book was available in Poland; two volumes of the second edition of *Lives*, previously in the university Collegium Maius collection, have been preserved in the Jagiellonian Library, though “not much read, which is revealed by the condition in which they preserved.”²¹² Other copies of this edition are stored in the Raczyńskis’ library, and at Kórnik and Płock libraries, and later editions in Warsaw and Wrocław. Antonio Possevino—not only an experienced traveller and diplomat, very active in Poland under Báthory, but also an author of the aesthetical treatise *De poesi et pictura*—was influenced strongly by Vasari.

Civilisational Sphere

Innovations

In Genoese Archivio di Stato, Jan Ptaśnik recorded a contact with Nicolò di Noali, who decided to stay four years in Poland to manage and modernise farming on the estate of the bishop of Poznań, Uriel by planting orchards and gardens (“piantarzy

212 See Giorgio Vasari, *Żywoty najslawniejszych malarzy, rzeźbiarzy i architektów...*, Warszawa 1979, p. XXXIV-XXXV.

dei giardini e delle viti”).²¹³ We cannot assess the effects of the work of di Noali, one of the first Italian specialists intentionally brought to Poland for their qualifications with the express aim of influencing Polish reality through modernization. Queen Bona was also a great lover of gardening; she set and cultivated gardens in all her residences (at Wawel in 1541, in a spot formerly occupied only by a small menagerie, a garden and aviary were founded). Awe-inspiring and eagerly copied Italian gardens were also planted in Łobzów and Ujazdów at the Queen’s behest.²¹⁴ Bona and her entourage’s modernising influence seem undeniable but similar innovative ideas were to be presented by Italians staying in Poland in several more instances.

Prospero Provana, who was granted the three-year leasehold of Kraków salt mines under Báthory (with company effectiveness in mind) sought methods for improving salt extraction, and guaranteed a share in the profit to the inventor whose proposal was implemented. A certain Rocco Marconi—“inventor of an instrument for cheaper extraction of salt blocks [Lat. *bankuses*] from beneath”²¹⁵—tended his proposal. His device was allegedly approved by the king himself, and though we do not know whether or not this proposal was implemented, the way of thinking and Italian provenance of the innovator is still crucial to us.

Provana was also the first organiser of Polish post, the later activity of which is—quite rightly—linked with Montelupis; but these two families do not exhaust the list of those involved in the development of advanced forms of long distance communication. Girolamo Pinocci gave rise to the first Polish newspaper *Merkuriusz Polski* (1661), treating it—though he also hoped to make a profit from the enterprise—as a vital means of propaganda. In it, he placed texts edited and inspired by the king’s circle, by this means providing occasion for the centre of power to effectuate modern political commentary.

It may be held that the role of Italians in constructing a modern system of information transmission and dissemination (and also in modernising forms of political propaganda) was exceptionally great. Let us put together the most important themes: pioneering work in diplomacy; employment as ambassadors-informers—quite frequently providing services to several courts at a time; organising the post and the first newspaper in Poland; and in Europe great contribution to the development of the transmission of hand-written reports, the so-called *avvisi*. These are the fundamental Italian accomplishments in this regard. A necessary predisposition in this case was activity and freedom of movement, which consequently resulted in access to information. Rising interest on a Europe-wide scale also created a stable and growing demand for news from remote lands,

213 Giovanni Ptaśnik, *Gli italiani a Cracovia...*, p. 68-69.

214 Maria Bogucka, *Z dziejów stosunków polsko-włoskich...*, p. 23.

215 *PSB* XXIII, p. 527.

which the mobile Italians took advantage of perfectly. Their recurrent appearance on the pages of narrative sources in the role of mobile informers, well-aware of the worth of the service they offered, is so frequent that we may even speak of their occupation in this field as the rule, not the exception.

The list of institutional solutions does not end here, though a considerable part of them forever remained on the drawing board. When arriving at Jan Kazimierz's court in 1659, Paolo Del Buono formulated a project of founding a Military Academy that would be located "on some large island on the Vistula," and thus in an inaccessible place. The syllabus would cover (apart from maths, artillery, and the art of fortification) much Latin as the language of communication; surely, the international character of this school was taken into account. Pierre des Noyers, whose correspondence provides information on this initiative, also recorded a manifest lack of enthusiasm on the hosts' side.²¹⁶ It is certainly worth remarking upon the idea of the Italian scholar who, in seeing the potential use of such an institution, must have noticed the organisational-educational backwardness of the Polish-Lithuanian army, and reacted to it with a reformist proposal. However, Del Buono's prompt death in the same year (1659) ruined these plans definitively, which was lamented by the idea's probable co-initiator, Tito Livio Borattini, and also by Pierre des Noyers.

Moreover, the idea of creating some military school was proposed several times over the 17th century. The military engineer Andrea dell'Acqua—who had headed the royal school of artillerists (*Scuola di bombardieri*) since 1622—prepared a project of establishing a knight's academy that would provide education in artillery and fortification, and presented its tenets in a specialist treatise called *Praxis ręczna o działach* (1632)...

Some ideas were also formed in the entourage of Stanisław August. Marcello Bacciarelli worked out another educational project: founding a fine arts academy. Giacomo Casanova proposed to the king the creation of a raffle, which would bring profit replenishing deficits in the monarch's coffers. Gaetano Ghigiotti, the king's adviser and supervisor of the Polish diplomatic service, was also allegedly one of the champions of starting the raffle, called "Genoese," in Warsaw. Royal chamberlain Pietro Grozmani, a mason and adventurer, was interested in this subject, too.²¹⁷

Ideas and projects—implemented to only a small degree—could not have had a significant impact. Influence through establishing patterns and setting an example was much more powerful. This category would cover basic spheres of Italian activity: entrepreneurship, artistic activity (including the sphere of engineering-architecture), secretarial and diplomatic models, and elite manufacture at highest

216 Antoni Hnilko, *Włosi w Polsce...*, p. 82-83; cf. *PSB* V, p. 59.

217 *PSB* VII, p. 418, IX, p. 33.

level. Nevertheless, we should remark that in none of the above spheres were the models accepted or universally assimilated. Secretarial-office skills and the mysteries of diplomacy were learned by Poles only much later, from the Russian, Prussian, and Austrian partitioners. Indeed, Poles adopted only what actually appealed to the noble elites. A Polish version of Vida's poem *Szachy* [Chess] by Kochanowski, apparently did not popularise the difficult and refined game requiring high-level brain gymnastics, in the Commonwealth. The influence in clothing, custom, and cuisine had no real importance. As regards cuisine, "the influence manifested not in increased consumption of vegetables but in popularising such meals as pâtés, aspic, and cakes quite intensively seasoned with spices."²¹⁸ However, surely it was not a revolution to the Old Polish menu.

"Concerning the apparel and Polish costume, they wear dress of various countries, namely Italian, Spanish, French, German, Czech and Hungarian," wrote Alessandro Guagnin from Verona, linking this diversity of dress with Poles' foreign travels, "For they many lands visit, and various habits bring back to their homeland..."²¹⁹

Political Culture

Apart from *Dworzanin polski*, Łukasz Górnicki penned two more dialogues: *Demon Socratis* and *Rozmowa Polaka z Włochem*. It is needless to explain why the latter work—a conversation of a Pole with an Italian—particularly aroused our attention.

Rozmowa Polaka z Włochem was written at the threshold of Zygmunt III's reign, and was published anonymously in 1587 or 1588. Its subject is the reform of the Polish-Lithuanian state. The Italian formulates a programme for a political system and the reconstruction of the law of the Commonwealth, whereas the Pole is an opponent and comes up with counter-arguments; this may be seen as the marrow of the traditionalistic attitude of the gentry.

The dialogue is static in character; monologues of both interlocutors prevail, and do not always give the impression of consistency. The work is divided into three parts, revolving around the issues of the concept of the freedom of noblemen, Polish law and custom, and possible annulment of the *neminem captivabimus* principle. During the debate, other themes such as trade, the problem of towns and townsfolk, and the idea of establishing a central treasury regularly supplied with tax revenues, also appear.²²⁰

218 Janusz Tazbir, "Włoszczyzna" w Polsce..., p. 360.

219 Aleksander Gwagnin, *Z Kroniki Sarmacji Europejskiej...*, p. 33.

220 Jakub Zdzisław Lichański, *Łukasz Górnicki...*, p.54-55.

From our perspective, Górnicki's allocation of the character roles in the dialogue—the Pole and the Italian, and, more specifically, the latter's position—is more interesting than the reform programmes presented. The question of genesis and significance of ascribing the foreign collocutor these policy opinions—reformatory in nature, and as it may be surmised, conveying the message of the oeuvre—is only natural. Many years ago, Stanisław Tarnowski read this anonymous dialogue and remarked that the Italian represents the author's opinion and, as it may be supposed, the opinion of the ruling people, supporters of law and order. Why is he an Italian and not a Pole? Is that because a foreigner had more authority than compatriots? Or because an Italian then represented in the north a civilisation at the pinnacle of its development? Because it was appropriate to reproach the faulty state of Polish mechanism by a citizen of the land whose politics was so, and had for so long been, developed that it had worked out a theory of the art of ruling, composed in a whole collection of writings, which will always be one of the most genial of its kind?

Certainly, the Italian's remarks are characterised by a wider perspective and an ability to synthesise, as in the fragment in which he states that “republics and kingdoms, just like human bodies, have their beginning, youth, maturity and old age, after which they meet their death and end.” Therefore, the Italian is not only competent by virtue of having lived long in Poland, but also because he was authentically and benevolently interested in the Polish-Lithuanian reality. He was ready to analyse it constructively, to criticise it competently, and even to amend it. In effect, Górnicki's Italian is a typical reformer, while the Pole represents a conservative attitude. “And what are you speaking about, Italian? And is it true that such freedom is nowhere else as in Poland? Hence we freely elect our lord, he is not born to us like in Spain, France, England or elsewhere. Election is everyone's thing, and the poorest nobleman is worth as much as of the greatest lord. Tell me, where in the world is such freedom?”— Here is a sample of the Pole's argument and proof of his complacency.²²¹

The apotheosis of freedom is opposed to the Italian's critical assessment of realities, in which practice is contrary to theory. Therefore he argues that *viritim* election is only a semblance of equality and freedom, and not true liberty, because election is decided by the one who brings the greatest number of military troops with him. The Italian does not flatly oppose the election of rulers, but he would like to see it in its original form, from the Jagiellonian times, or—even better—to apply foreign models, namely “where sovereigns are properly chosen, like in Rome or Venice, and where they do not choose in the field but within walls [of a chamber], and also where those who elect the sovereign are well locked in so that

221 See Stanisław Tarnowski, *Pisarze polityczni XVI wieku...*, p. 680-681.

they do not leave this place until they pick the lord.” Thus, the emphasis of Italian advice is on the practicality of solutions, with clear reference to the election of the Pope at conclave, a core principle of which is keeping the electors in seclusion, locked in “with a key,” until they fulfil their duty. Another piece of advice in which analogous pragmatism may be spotted directly concerns ruling techniques. According to the Italian, the king should not, for example, engage himself in war, but instead commit a hetman to leadership on the battlefield.

In the Italian’s advice there is a clear inclination to unmask semblances. He points out the conditions without which freedom—the central concept of the whole discourse—may easily turn to its negation: “Freedom is a beautiful thing and a great good of man, but true freedom cannot last without government and law.” Ample, vivid fragments are devoted to the impunity of lawbreakers, weakness of judicial system, and lack of means to execute the law. There is a postulate to limit noblemen’s personal and financial immunity, to which the Pole reacts emotionally with outrage.

Likewise with taxes: Exemption from payment is profitable to those who benefit, but only in the short term, since it permanently debilitates the state in which they live. The postulate of limiting individual freedom for the sake of social interest seems obvious in this context, but the Polish interlocutor remains unyielding: “There is nothing that could not be praised here, and freedom is sweet ad nowhere better, and law so good that no other kingdom has.”

Models of Political System Solutions—Venice

Venice had a special place in the awareness of the Polish nobility. This was an effect of factors such as the political system and culture, but also the geographical location. Venice was the first major centre reached by Polish arrivals in Italy—if they took the shortest and relatively comfortable road. Location was also one of the key reasons for the popularity of nearby Padua University among Polish students.

But location is not all. Polish observers evidently relished finding similarities in the systems of the two states described as republics: Venice and Poland-Lithuania. The relatively weak position of ruler (king / doge) and the great importance of collegiate bodies (The Senate / Council of Ten; Chamber of Deputies / the Council of Hundred) wholly justified such comparisons. It is uncertain who first remarked upon this. The city in the lagoon was not spared superlatives by Enea Silvio Piccolomini—an author undeniably known in Poland—and also numerous contemporary writers, who often repeated his views. Maybe priority should be given to Callimachus, who in *Życie i obyczaje Grzegorza z Sanoka* comprised a description of the Venetian system and his own affirmative comment on Venetian

institutions. Maybe such observations were made (often independently) by students who were attracted to the Padua University's fame. Nonetheless, it is not the authorship of this comparative trend that is noteworthy; it is instead the fact of an increasingly widespread conviction about the similarity between Venice and the Gentry's Republic, and Polish observers' satisfaction about this perception.

Stanisław Orzechowski was also among the admirers of Venice. He got to know the city during his studies and—due to numerous attractions of contemporary life there—these experiences were strong and remained with him for long. “Venice is a city...in everything praiseworthy,” Orzechowski wrote in his chief work, *Rozmowa albo dialog okolo egzekucyj Korony Polskiej*, published in 1561, in which he expressly suggested that Poles should take example of Venetians and introduce their solutions and institutions. Discussions in a similar vein were being held by the end of Zygmunt August's rule. Oligarchic conceptions then promoted by senatorial circles adopted the Venetian way of making key political decisions—with the participation of several (4–7) of the highest officials as the starting point.²²²

Voices were also raised in appreciation of the organisation of Venetian social life and the effective execution of law. “Venice we call a free city not because killing, extortion, or violation is allowed but because they are not”—wrote renowned Kraków publisher Jan Januszowski in 1603, having stayed in Padua as part of his education.²²³

Anzelm Gostomski spoke favourably about Venice in his *Gospodarstwo*, the first manual of farming that appeared in Poland, published in 1588. In relevant fragments, one may easily notice the deep respect and admiration of the noble economist, aware of the difficulties in maintaining provisions that must have accompanied such a large human assembly, in view of which he was incited to greater appreciation of city's prosperity.

Poles of this era were not unique in their opinions. The city's attractiveness was also appreciated by other foreign visitors, and the Venetians realised this. Neither did the specificity of Polish-Venetian references escape their notice. “From all foreigners, the biggest inclination towards the Italian nation—especially to Venetians—is shown by Poles,” Giovanni Correr reported to the Senate in 1574. The Venetian diplomat was also able to explain this phenomenon: “It is because they think that between Poland and Venice there is similarity as regards form of governance—here a republic, there a republic, here a senate, there a senate—as well as because almost all sons of noble families come to study in Padua, and from this, so pleasant school life for all youths, and moreover from studying itself, they take some satisfaction, which commands them to keep in grateful memory this

222 See Waclaw Sobieski, *Trybun ludu szlacheckiego...*, p. 64.

223 *Paradoxa koronne publice i privatim potrzebne szlachcicowi polskiemu*, Kraków 1853, p. 61.

state [Venice].”²²⁴ The fundamental cause of this sympathy was fond memories from student times, since resemblance between systems of government was, according to Correr, illusory.

The Papal diplomat Giovanni Antonio Facchinetti, nuncio in Venice, proved even more insightful. On 25 October 1572, when reporting to his supervisor, Cardinal Tolomeo Galli about the political talks he carried out due to interregnum in Poland, he indicated the existing similarity between the systems. However, in Facchinetti’s view, the republican system of government in Poland was far looser, which found expression in (amongst other things) tolerating contacts between senators—hence people making laws and taking crucial decisions—with foreign diplomats. In Venice, according to the Papal envoy, such private and half-private contacts would not be allowed.²²⁵

It is not our aim to prove the existence of these similarities or negate them. What is important are the contemporary opinions: subjective, and simultaneously universally formulated in the Commonwealth. They constructed the myth of Venice and documented the inclination to treat it as a model by representatives of various circles.

In a document dated 30 April 1636, Karol Ogier noted the dialogue that had allegedly taken place between the representatives of the city authorities in Gdańsk and Gustav II Adolf. The sovereign of Sweden, persuading the burghers to cut free from the Commonwealth, reasoned: “Take a look at Venice and the Republic of Venice: why couldn’t you achieve the same as Venetians?” When Jan Keckerbart, city secretary and syndic “with greatest humbleness answered that his compatriots had too little regard for themselves to dare comparison with Venetians, Gustav Adolf said: “then be like Genua!”²²⁶ Regardless of whether or not this dialogue and its subsequent account are authentic (representatives of the city authority holding negotiations with Swedish king in slightly jocular tone), the role of the Venetian model—as well as the interesting hierarchy according to which Genoa yielded decisively to Venice in power and independence from a mainland supply base—are worth remarking.

Role Models—models of norms and behaviours

A plural is necessary here, for the Italian model had many forms and various contents. There were individuals who managed to gain authority, though among

224 Lech Szczucki, *Humanizm włoski...*, p. 43-44.

225 “... il regno di Polonia si governa a modo di repubblica, ma non però con la strettezza che si fa questa di Vinetia” – *Nunziature di Venezia*, vol. X..., p. 306.

226 Karol Ogier, *Dziennik podróży do Polski...*, part. II, p. 111.

the Italians in Poland they were not so frequent. Surely Callimachus was one of them, not only as a friend and tutor to Kazimierz IV Jagiellon, but as a person whose views were respected in Polish opinion-forming circles—and also at aristocratic courts. Not incidentally did royal secretary Jan Pot, when speaking in 1495 to the Senate of The Republic of Venice, mentioned Callimachus, who “in the Polish kingdom is important not because of wealth and gifts but great respect he has been given by rulers of this land.”²²⁷ Can it be indicated that other Italian figures enjoyed similar authority? Until the second half of the 18th century, when Giovanni Albertrandi, Gaetano Ghigiotti and Scipione Piattoli were active in Enlightenment Warsaw, it would be difficult. Such a position could not be aimed at by artists, and less so by merchants, entrepreneurs or foreign diplomats; the authority of dissenters was by the nature of things limited only to these circles.

However, the Italian intellectual model combined with authority did exist and was accessible to Poles behind the walls of Italian universities. Hence, for decades, this model was natural and obvious in the context of the fashion for foreign studies and the prominent position of Italy on travel routes. We should treat the milieu of the Roman Curia and its influence on the Polish-Lithuanian clergy, and through it—on a substantial part of Old Polish society—likewise. Giovanni Paolo Mucante, visiting Poland in the retinue of Cardinal Caetano in 1596–1597, stated by the end of his stay that “very beneficial for prelates from Poland are travels to Rome, for it is visible that those who had been there easily understand and acquire good ritual observances and propagate Roman Church models in their own churches.”²²⁸

The importance of models was appreciated—unsurprisingly—by the authors and animators of long-term activity of Papal diplomacy, the functionaries of which were, by assumption, to influence with their own example. The instruction for Berardo Bongiovanni, from 1560, contains ample recommendations that the nuncio tried to prove “with exemplariness of his life” that he is “a worthy minister of Holy See and such great Pope.” Later, the author of the instruction wrote: “Let your whole court set an example to this kingdom with ascetism, so that anyone taking example from the nuncio’s house learns how to live in a Christian way. May he shun games, plays, dissolution, blasphemies and other smuts.” The nuncio himself was to show openness and approachability, as well as modesty and lack of greed, and it was particularly emphasised at this point that he was recommended not to accept gifts, which must have been hard to implement.²²⁹ The question

227 *PSB* XI, p. 497.

228 [Mucante], *Dwie wizyty legata papieskiego...*, p. 116.

229 *Relacje nuncyuszów apostolskich...*, vol. I, p. 78-79. Similar recommendations were included by Galeazzo Marescotti in his *Vademecum* for nuncios, written c. 1670.

is, to what extent did Papal envoys want and were able to execute the received instructions and obey the rules which they were obliged to follow?

Not many Jesuit arrivals from Italy participated in founding Vilnius University,²³⁰ but the role that the provincial superior, Lorenzo Maggio, from Brescia, had in this process is worth highlighting. He had been residing in Vienna, but in the summer of 1570, he personally brought a group of his fellow brethren to Vilnius as “an initiative group.” Let us add that the dean of the university in 1615–1618 was Father Michele Salpa from Apulia, who spent almost 30 years in Lithuania. Superiors of provinces, and visitors sent from Rome were typically Italians. Moreover, all deans of the collegium and university in 1570–1605 had previously stayed in Italy, which considerably determined their religious and intellectual formation.

In the context of the influence of people of the Church, we should not forget Italian intellectuals and religious reformers. The most outstanding were Lelio Sozzini, Giorgio Biandrata, Valentino Gentile and Bernardino Ochino, who—in the 1560s—decisively contributed to the creation of intellectual ferment among Calvinist believers, the consequence of which was the foundation of the Arian Church. This activity, leading among other things to internal divisions, did not gain general approval in the circle of dissenters either. Teodor Beza, a Calvinist activist, allegedly commented upon this with an exclamation: “Fatalis Italia Polonis videtur” [Italy seems pernicious to Poles], and Paweł Gilowski, in a letter to Henryk Bullinger, wrote in this context about “Gangrena italica.” Jan Łasicki wrote in a similar vein several times, in letters to Teodor Beza, Jan Wolf, and Jozjasz Simler.²³¹

Irrespective of the bluntness of these declarations, the activity of radical reformers in the Commonwealth could help increase Italophobic moods. In turn, the Polish doctrines of tolerance and freedom of conscience, forming in Arian circle, was influenced by concepts of such Italian authors as Jacopo Aconcio and Celio Secondo Curione.

Dissenting circles—this time rather unanimously—accused Catholics of intolerance. There were especially severe charges levelled against nuncios and Jesuits. In such polemics it is hard to weigh arguments, but surely both institutions had foreign, that is Italian, character (the nunciature was assumed to permanently be Italian, while the Jesuits were seen as Italian only in the initial period of their presence in Poland). “Thus it may safely be said that both the Catholic Church as well as its most fierce opponents acted to a great extent by Italian inspiration.”²³²

230 Paulius Rabikauskas, *Italia-Lituania nei secoli XV-XVI...*, p. 306.

231 Theodor Wotschke, *Der Briefwechsel...*, p. 270, 297-298, 348-349.

232 Janusz Tazbir, “*Włoszczyzna*” w Polsce..., p. 363-364.

Historians of economic thought also perceive Italian influences in Poland. In an anonymous treatise from 1648, entitled *Dyszkurs o pomnożeniu miast w Polsce*, the influence of Giovanni Botero's can be seen clearly, specifically from his work *Delle cause della grandezza e magnificenza delle città*, published 1588. The theses comprised in the latter, however, were adjusted to the "specific Polish conditions" by the local author.²³³ However, it is worth remarking at this point that, in contemporary Europe, travels and contacts within the continent were so intensive and run on so many planes that one has to be most cautious when formulating opinions on influences of particular authors or works. If the anonymous author of *Dyszkurs o pomnożeniu miast w Polsce* was interested in economic thought, then he must have read some books in this field. Certainly Botero's treatise must have been among them, but its influence, 60 years after publication, was not necessarily crucial. Anyway, economic thought was surely not one of the most important spheres of Italian influence on Polish reality.

Italian models must have permeated Polish diplomacy, though at a slow pace, due to the Italian execution of diplomatic tasks, which has been underlined here on many occasions. Practice affected custom. When Chancellor Jan Zamoyski was to host Muscovite envoys in the Polish camp at Pskov, he went out to meet them so as to welcome the envoys "in Italian." That is, he would follow the custom of meeting guests halfway.²³⁴ Supposedly, what was meant by this gesture was neither the costume nor the language, but rather the courtesy of going out to meet guests; this may be treated as symbolic confirmation of the spread of Italian manners, or at least of manners regarded as Italian.

The adaptation of models occurred also in liturgy, a vast subject on which we wish only to touch here. In Giovanni Paolo Mucante's account, we find a description of a ceremonial mass celebrated on Monday, 24 February 1597, in Warsaw's Collegiate Church of St John by the bishop of Płock, Wojciech Baranowski. Because of the Sejm session, the church hosted numerous representatives of elite lay and church circles, and the king and queen were also present. The beginning of Lent imbued the meeting with a solemnity that deepened the religious dimension of the ceremony. The honour of conducting the service was conferred upon the highest ranking clergyman. The question of whether, in the Roman diplomat's opinion, the bishop of Płock rose to the occasion, must be answered in the affirmative. According to Giovanni Mucante, "the prelate sang very well, applying the Roman pattern, which is not so easily done by other Poles; for he was in Rome the previous year and...conducted ceremonial mass in His Holiness' Chapel, so

233 See *Merkantylistyczna myśl ekonomiczna...*, p. 350.

234 See Waław Zarzycki, *Dyplomacja hetmanów...*, p. 107.

he knew how to give appropriate tone to his voice and avoid this striking hardness and unbalanced sound, as typical of Poles.”²³⁵

Therefore, it was exactly thanks to the acquaintance with the Roman (meaning: modern and currently binding) style of singing that Bishop Baranowski deserved such high praise and distinction in comparison to his compatriots. He owed this skill to his visits to Rome, and thus to personal experience. We deal here with direct influence, and the clear assumption of the superiority of the Roman model of religious chanting.

Effectiveness of Influence

“In medieval Italy, the glassworkers of Murano and the shipwrights of the Arsenal in Venice emigrated only on pain of death.”²³⁶ Does the quoted sentence by an American historian—pointing to so early signs of valuing professional qualifications in production, even resulting in a ban on emigration—refer also to Polish-Italian relations? Was modern era Italian migration to the Commonwealth regarded as “sharing qualifications”?

Such a problem was rather not encountered, though the significance of the spread of professional qualifications since the Middle Ages had risen considerably. Modern European migration, including religious peregrinations, strengthened the economic potential of, for example, the Netherlands and France. In Eastern Europe, the problem was all but non-existent, although the value of qualifications that incomers possessed must have been somehow appreciated. A French diplomat residing for several years in the Commonwealth, M. de Mongrillon, writing before the end of the 17th century, made an interesting digression on the position and status of foreigners in the Ottoman state, drawing attention to the lack of qualified engineers there. According to the diarist, the realisation of their worth incited Turks “to create such good conditions for Cornaro, who had been an engineer in emperor’s army.” Cornaro was an engineer from Crete, who, after being captured, provided services to Turks. From them, he received “very high remuneration” and freedom of religion.²³⁷ Therefore, the professional qualifications of foreigners were also appreciated in regions that were, in some sense, peripheral. This remark—formulated by a Frenchman, but one who had been residing for some time in Poland and who was writing mainly about Poland—appeared worthy of attention because it concerned an empire of interest to the Commonwealth, with which it bordered and fought, and with which it was still obliged to take into account.

235 [Mucante], *Dwie wizyty legata papieskiego...*, p. 115-116.

236 David S. Landes, *The Wealth and Poverty...*, p. 280.

237 Mongrillon de M., *Pamiętnik sekretarza ambasady francuskiej...*, p. 104.

In Polish-Italian relations, despite the immense potential of qualifications that Italian arrivals could offer—from medical and engineering to artistic²³⁸—this problem was very rarely perceived. There were several reasons for this. From the perspective of Italy, economically waning and over-populated, migrational steps were surely welcome (treated as a factor mitigating local social tensions). In this situation, possible losses connected with the export of skills and qualifications were pushed to the background.

More important were the realities of the Commonwealth, where the arrivals were, from the beginning, treated as attractive artisans without interest in the secrets of their arts, as typically they were based in a sphere that was socially disregarded. Later, the economic crisis arrived, resulting in soaring social tensions and a deteriorating attitude to foreigners: as exploiting Polish-Lithuanian weak points, treating their new homeland as an instrument for gain and getting rich at its inhabitants' cost. With such an attitude, it was the more difficult to appreciate the Italian arrivals' skills and qualifications and to treat them as a quality that—if acquired—could stimulate development.

It was completely different with Italian cultural influences. There is an opinion that this sphere also encountered serious obstacles of a structural nature in modern Poland, including decentralisation of the state, lack of powerful centres, the short reach of the royal court, and the ephemeral character of such educational enterprises as the Zamość Academy.²³⁹ However, the profound Latinisation of local culture and education system, which facilitated and guaranteed readiness for acquiring novel models, seems of greater importance. Not incidentally did Gottfried Schramm, comparing the literary achievements of Polish and German culture in the early Baroque period, indicate clear advantage of the former (as drawing inspiration directly from Italy and simultaneously assimilating Italian novelties easily). Nevertheless, it is not only the quality and attractiveness of models that decides the effectiveness of their influence, but also the openness of the recipient to new stimuli, and inclination to accept (as well as ability to acquire) them.

Therefore, of crucial importance to our topic is distinguishing between influence in the spheres of high culture and of civilisation. As far as the former is concerned, we may say that the elites of the Old Polish society were an informed and eager consumer of the Italian-imported cultural offer, and the processes of acquisition of these novelties was considerably effective. In addition, in the sphere of civilisational influence, the same consumers proved astonishingly immune.

Although Italian cultural influence found rather favourable soil in the Commonwealth, the assessment of long-term consequences of this influence causes considerable trouble. Susceptibility in this case should mean not only openness

238 Rita Mazzei, *Itinera Mercatorum...*, p. 280.

239 Jakub Zdzisław Lichański, *Lukasz Górnicki...*, p. 26.

and readiness to accept new proposals, for example architectural solutions, but also the intellectual co-participation of locals. This chiefly pertained to those patrons commissioning works who were actively engaged in the process of giving the final shape to an investment. The active involvement of Jan Zamoyski, cooperating with the architect Bernardo Morando in planning Zamość (c. 1580), is beyond doubt, as is the vital influence of the Grand Chancellor on the final form of the entire *città ideale*.

Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Sierotka and the Jesuit architect Giovanni Maria Bernardoni—creator of Corpus Christi's church and monastic collegium, who worked for the prince on Nieśwież commission—both were similar to Zamoyski and Morando, and they started from around the same time: 1586. The involvement of Sierotka in conceptual work, and his intervention in the original plans (presented to him for approval), have been proven. Actually, Radziwiłł imposed on Jesuits the concept of a bigger and more imposing church than the Jesuits themselves wanted. Having had Italian experience, he successfully insisted on erecting a dome, which in the north was a pioneering idea; he also categorically wanted to have a matroneum in the church.²⁴⁰ The final effect—in the artistic and functional senses—was a synthesis or rather a product of the actions and conceptions of an Italian artist and the taste and artistic sense of those who financed the particular investments.

The relation of civilisational advance to Italian influence is not only—as one could suppose—a historiographical observation, since some contemporary authors—surely the most insightful ones—perceived its effect themselves. Admittedly, Łukasz Opaliński, around the mid-17th century, wrote, in *Obrona Polski*, that “other nations surpass us with a great number of buildings,” however, the situation was fundamentally changing. He continued that, recently, and in short time, “numerous buildings” had been erected “with royal splendour,” and this process—according to Opaliński—will proceed quickly, which was to be confirmed by a particularly competent person: “A skilled and famous architect, Italian of origin, when seeing some of the recent buildings in Poland, said that if this country, would continue building in the way that it had commenced, then, within one century, it would catch up with Italy and even surpass it in this respect.”²⁴¹

240 Mariusz Karpowicz, *Niezwykły ołtarz w Nieświeżu...*, p. 62; Tomasz Kempa, *Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Sierotka...*, p. 150-152.

241 Łukasz Opaliński, *Wybór pism...*, p. 165-166.

Chapter V
Reaction
To Italian Emigrants

“*Primarius inter alios fructus* of peregrination is: learning foreign languages [...],” wrote Jakub Sobieski in educational instruction for his sons. “[...] it will be of use at the lord’s court *et in Republica* for various legations, for various services for the lord and the Commonwealth. And if there was nothing else but this: among foreigners, who are plenty in Poland, do not sit dumb. . . .”¹

Whether Poland was in fact full of foreigners may be justifiably doubted. This excellent politician, one of the first senators of the Commonwealth, was looking from the perspective of the royal court and the elites gathered around it. Besides, the text was of didactic character, a father spurring his sons to intensive study, including foreign languages. Apart from obvious usefulness in foreign contacts, languages were to serve the young Sobieskis in relations with foreigners staying in their homeland. Therefore, the natural conclusion is that there must have been no small number of them, but that they were not Polish, because clearly conspicuous, and formed their own separate groups.

The question of distinctness of groups of foreigners in Old Polish society, as well as the ability and willingness of this society to assimilate them, are naturally issues crucial to our reflection. The long term presence of representatives of subsequent waves of settlement flowing from the West, chiefly from Germany, practically resulted in their assimilation. In some sense, it also concerned other nationalities arriving later, such as the Tatars, the Dutch, the Scots or, specifically, the Italians. However, defining them was an easy task. In the times of Jan II Kazimierz, that is in a period of profound crisis gripping the Commonwealth, we encounter—in one of political memorials distributed at the beginning of 1666 by the opposition group of Jerzy Lubomirski’s adherents—an interesting expression regarding the necessity to carry out an investigation and find out the true intentions of two chief mint masters of the Commonwealth: Tito Livio Burattini and Andrzej Tymf. They had to swear an appropriate oath publically, and in the presence of witnesses “similar to them.” Specifically, their mantra was, “the Italian with Italians, the German with Germans.”²

Thus the inquiry was to be based on testimony (given under oath) by parties accused of iniquity and devious intentions. The effectiveness of the inquiry was to be secured by the public nature of giving evidence under oath and in the presence of witnesses of the same nationality. Was the goal the possibility of precise verification of the evidence given (thus overcoming a linguistic barrier?), or was a better guarantee of truthfulness perceived when testimony was given before representatives of one’s own social group? In any case, here the accused were assigned to two separate nationalities, and hence we have confirmation of the

1 Quote from Jan Stanisław Bystrzeński, *Dzieje obyczajów w dawnej Polsce...*, p. 86.

2 *Memorial eksorbitancji główniejszych*, in: *Pisma polityczne z czasów Jana Kazimierza...*, vol. III, p. 134.

ease of identifying these groups, and clarification about distinctions of this kind. Another question addressed the causes of a possible slowdown of assimilation processes for foreign groups in Old Polish society.

Attitude to Foreigners

The attitude of a particular society to foreigners is one of the topics under discussion that cannot reach clear conclusions. Too much depends here on context, individual situations, social conditioning, willingness, and possibility to articulate one's own opinions in this regard. The existing stereotypes blur the image further, and we should remember that they evolved too. We assume that, in the early Middle Ages, the attitude to foreigners was generally positive, due to the qualifications and skills introduced to the society in this way.

In this context, historians often quote a fragment of a 12th century treatise (attribution of which to Stephen I of Hungary is, allegedly, mistaken) on a monarch's duties, the author of which claimed that "the kingdom of one language and custom is weak and frail," whereas foreigners bring with them a diversity of languages and ways of life, and also a wide knowledge as well as technical and military skills. Reportedly, Bolesław I Chrobry had a particularly warm attitude to foreigners entering Polish military services, at least as Gallus Anonymous presented it.³

It also has to be remembered that such an image is certainly a result of limited source material, which, in reference to early the Middle Ages, reflects primarily the perspective of the ruler and his closest entourage. For, it cannot be excluded that the fear of foreign competition was present in lower social strata, and that it may have caused a much more negative attitude in this section of society to foreign arrivals. The theme of competition and variety of attitudes depending on position in social structure surely appeared quite early.

Much has been written about the openness of the Old Polish culture, and also about xenophobic tendencies. Available examples illustrate both phenomena in parallel. On the one hand, it is confirmation of the consistent presence of foreigners in Old Polish society, which would point to the existence of lasting conditions favouring such a presence. On the other hand, there are numerous examples for anti-foreign rhetoric, in literary texts as well as commentary, as well as resolutions by state authorities against foreigners; let us add, though, that the resolutions were made repeatedly, which could prove their ineffectiveness.

Nonetheless, it seems that Old Polish society, and more precisely its dominant, noble part—in the 16th century, devoid of complexes about the West—was ready to

3 See Marek Zybur, *Niemcy w Polsce...*, p. 17-18.

accept the civilisational impulses coming from there (including religious novelties as well as later anti-reformation activity). The lack of complexes led, in this case, to receptivity and openness, while simultaneously a lesser scale of emotional and intellectual involvement. The impulses from outside were not repudiated *a priori*, but neither were they treated seriously.

At the same time, we may state that the attitude of inhabitants of former Poland to foreigners was rather distrustful. This opinion—as any at this level of generality—only indicates the prevailing tendency. A distrustful approach to foreigners, formulated in general categories, did not, by default, mean a negative attitude to foreign models. Neither did it contradict a sometimes very positive way of treating some specific incomers.

Yet the stereotype of Polish hospitality and a warm, open attitude to foreigners showed much vitality; enough to last for generations. “Poles are honest and upright [...] kind and hospitable to foreigners, and not only invite them and like to live with them, but often want to emulate them. Many I have seen... Polish lords who at their homes kept French, Italians and Germans for no other reason than that they were poor and had no idea what to do with themselves,” stated Bernard O’Conor, Jan III Sobieski’s Irish doctor.⁴ Attitudes to foreigners surely evolved. A surge of xenophobic moods is caused by two fundamental factors: firstly, objective deterioration of the economic and social situation, resulting in lower tolerance for “others”; and, secondly, an increasing number of foreign arrivals, which highlighted competition and threat to the interests of local people. If the first factor played an increasingly greater role, the second—it seems—was only a subjective impression. Anyway, anti-foreign accents are more and more easily encountered in sources from the 17th century, though criticism and allegations also concerned facts that happened before. Until spheres of activity of foreign arrivals and noble hosts were essentially separate, and such a state was the consequence of clear social class barriers, real conflicts between representatives of the two groups broke out rarely, and fundamental conflicts of interest were merely potential. Hence, it was most irritating, apparently, to the nobility, when foreigners assumed roles reserved for nobles, so blending in the ranks of this privileged estate.

There is much evidence that national identification did not play a leading role in Old Polish society. In this context, the first place should be ascribed to estate association, then religion, and only thirdly to national-geographical identity. An inhabitant of the Commonwealth certainly had not the slightest difficulty in determining who was a noble, who a burgher, and who a peasant. Surely it was also clear who was a Catholic, who was Lutheran, and who was a schismatic. Nationality classification was far less evident. Maybe many Poles were satisfied

4 [O’Conor], *Wyciątek z pamiętników...*, p. 425-426.

with the term ‘foreigners’, not inquiring as to the precise place of their origin. This could be evidenced by enumerating—in one breath—several nationalities who were ascribed particular traits or attitudes—as if it was not specifically about Italians, Germans, the Spanish, or the French, but about some broader foreign community. Simultaneously we find no less numerous examples of opinions about particular nations and their stereotypical features. The Commonwealth territory, and therefore its population, was also exceptionally varied. Such a state of affairs had tremendous consequences for attitudes to foreigners, especially Italian arrivals.

As regards self-presentation, namely remarks on the subject we are investigating, the situation is quite clear in basic compendial studies about Early Modern Poland written by Polish authors. According to Marcin Kromer, Poles “eagerly copy habits of those who they make contact with, and particularly foreign models.”⁵

Szymon Starowolski also chimed in with the views of his great predecessor in the field of compendia, who presented the Commonwealth to foreign readers. In Starowolski’s opinion, Poles are “so keen for company, courtesy, generosity, and hospitality that they not only willingly welcome strangers and foreigners, but even invite them and show great respect.”⁶ This is the image of openness, showing interest and readiness to draw from foreign models.

A completely different image arises when we analyse individual instances, especially when they relate to politics and economic realities. Here, caution and reserve are emphasised, while friendly openness is pushed to the background.

Undoubtedly, foreigners began to irritate Polish-Lithuanian hosts quite early. “Expelled from among Italians, banished from among Germans, in a little corner of our homeland without justice, without rights and freedoms we have settled and are regarded inferior to foreigners,” complained Marcin Zborowski in 1537 in the period of the so called Chicken War, a serious political confrontation of the middle gentry with Zygmunt Stary, during which opponents of the crown also formulated anti-foreign postulates, demanding, among other things, that foreigners should not be admitted to offices.⁷

Further acts of the Sejm also contained anti-foreign overtones. In 1553, it was demanded that offices and leases were granted only to locals, and not to foreigners. It was categorically demanded that the latter were eliminated from diplomatic service. Also, those foreign arrivals whose stay protracted and betokened permanent settlement were problematic. It must have been this group that was in the mind of the authors of a Sejm act of 1565 when they appealed to the king to keep an eye on those foreigners who “to their homes, or to their lords

5 Marcin Kromer, *Polska...*, p. 61.

6 Szymon Starowolski, *Polska...*, p. 121.

7 Stanisław Orzechowski-Okszyz, *Kroniki polskie...*, p. 201-202.

already had forgotten the way.”⁸ In *Artykuły podane królowi zmarłemu* [Zygmunt August] *od Stanów*, the content of which has been preserved in a cartulary of political speeches from the turn of the 16th century, we read about “sending away foreigners from the crown and not conferring them leases and offices.”⁹

During the first interregnums, the problem of foreign candidates for the Polish-Lithuanian throne was discussed particularly ardently. Their main deficiencies—as was quite universally feared—were foreign habits, inclination to belligerence, and ignoring ancient rights and privileges, namely absolutist tendencies.¹⁰ The perspective of committing the throne to a stranger also aroused declarations about the superiority of the native language over all others. The author of one of political texts from the period of the first interregnum argued, among other things, that Polish cannot be equalled by other languages, “neither German, coarse and haughty, nor cunning Italian, or venomous Spanish.”¹¹

The Valois’ escape surely reinforced anti-foreign moods; similar consequences brought a manifest presence of Hungarians to Báthory’s court, and maybe also—though historians are not unanimous about this—of Swedes in Zygmunt III’s entourage. Anyway, official Sejm records from the beginning of 1590s show that the postulates of removing foreigners from court and country, and categorical demands to cease paying for their keep are encountered very frequently.¹²

The same theme was present in commentary from the time of the Zebrzydowski’s *rokosz* because satisfying effects—in the opinion of noble writers of that period—still had not been attained. The author of a series of rebellion leaflets tried to convince the population about the injustices of the king, who “foreigners of both sexes keeps at his court and makes them rich, and does not care for us, Poles.” Moreover, in the words of another representative of the opposition, “it was vowed to make no peace with any foreigners: neither Swedes nor Italians nor even Germans.”¹³

Regardless of the commentators’ clear irritation, visible in the above expressions and connected with non-fulfilment of political promises, it is worth noting the enumerated nationalities and their order. The first position of the Swedes is understandable and natural, since the ruler was Zygmunt III Vasa. But the

8 See *Diariusze sejmów koronnych 1548, 1553 i 1570...*, p. 42-43; *Diariusz sejmu piotrkowskiego R. P. 1565...*, p. 321.

9 Biblioteka Czartoryskich – Muzeum Narodowe in Kraków, manuscript 1897 IV, p. 53.

10 See Janusz Tazbir, *Początki ksenofobii...*, p. 372-373.

11 *Pisma polityczne z czasów pierwszego bezkrólewia...*, p. 496.

12 See *Diariusze i akta sejmowe r. 1591-1592...*, p. 367-8, 131, 139, 78, 110-1, 117, 120, 121, 127, 200, 78.

13 *Pisma polityczne z czasów rokoszu Zebrzydowskiego...*, vol. II, p. 53, vol. I, p. 358; see also vol. I, p. 291, vol. III, p. 401.

blade of polemic is pointedly directed at Italians as the next foreign association; Germans, coming next, are treated somewhat more mildly.

On the one hand, the recurring anti-foreign declarations proved the ineffectiveness of such postulates; while, on the other hand, they indicated the most important spheres of foreign penetration. If we assume that the rebellion-time publication is representative of feeling during Zygmunt III's reign, then it may be stated that, at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries, the royal court was still such a sphere; for the protest concerned primarily the foreign presence in the king's entourage.

It appears that, with the passage of time, the scope of allegations, also political, was broadened. Nobility assembled in summer 1621 at the Sejmik in Wisznia stated, for example, that foreigners staying in Poland "destroy *pacem publicam*."¹⁴ This was not a concrete accusation, but nevertheless, its importance could not be made light of. By the second half of the century, the nobility's grievances became more precise—alleging the weakening of state and a real increase of the threat of foreign intervention. In the subsequent envoys' instructions, the postulate to preclude representatives of foreign courts from Sejm sessions appeared.¹⁵

Did the political centre react to this pressure? "Foreigners of all standing *ad consilia nostra*, nor to any power will we admit, nor any dygnitates, nor starostwos, leases, and offices will we give them," declared the Vasas, Władysław IV (it is his promise that we quote here) and Jan Kazimierz, in their *pacta conventa*. The number of foreigners admissible at royal courts was to be defined each time by senate.¹⁶ An effort was also made to enforce control over drafting foreigners into the army. *Artykuły żołnierskie*, issued by Hrehory Chodkiewicz, castellan of Vilnius and hetman, noted (point 21): "no-one is allowed to admit a foreign person or an unknown arrival to military service without the hetman's agreement, on pain of heavy punishment."¹⁷

Unrest against foreigners consistently swelled. On the one hand, it attracted some excellent writers, on the other hand, the scope of resentment also spread to cover negative influences on habits and economic competition. "In Poland I hear not of foreigners in glory falling / Only that to gather filthy lucre is their calling," was the bitter statement of Waclaw Potocki; and Piotr Zbylutowski, in *Przygana wymyślonym strojom białogłowskim* (1600) reproached Polish women who preferred garments in foreign styles.¹⁸

14 *Lauda sejmiku generalnego wiszeńskiego...*, p. 195.

15 Biblioteka Czartoryskich [Czartoryskis' Library] – Muzeum Narodowe in Kraków, manuscript 2577 IV, p. 258, 287.

16 *Volumina Legum*, vol. III, p. 364, vol. IV, p. 94-95.

17 See Aleksander Gwagnin, *Z Kroniki Sarmacyi Europejskiej...*, p. 175.

18 Waclaw Potocki, *Dzieła...*, vol. II, p. 267; Jan Stanisław Bystroń, *Dzieje obyczajów...*, 1960, vol. I, p. 89.

Andrzej Maksymilian Fredro—castellan of Lviv and voivode of Podole, primarily a writer, and author of often printed collections of *sententiae*, in which he encapsulates, among other things, the apotheosis of Polishness, noble traditions, and an attitude towards foreign things that is full of reserve—seems a particularly representative author in this context. “Truly, Polish habits have more severity and simplicity in them but less softness and depravity, less light-heartedness and debauchery,” he claimed in his collection *Przysłowia mów potocznych*. Appealing for a patriotic stance and restraining from an overly-critical attitude to relations in Poland, he also wrote: “I will reiterate: something bad is happening to you, Poland! Because it is hard to find a true Pole, these foreigners surely will not support you.” A patriotic creed was, for Fredro, a successful remedy for negative content and models flowing in from abroad with foreigners: “it is more necessary to reconcile with own people rather than ally with strangers.”¹⁹ Let us highlight that this evil—resulting from opening up to external influence—relied on blurring ancient Polish norms of conduct and custom.

Jan Chryzostom Pasek spoke in a similar vein. In his widely known *Pamiętniki*, he recorded dialogues he had had with the voivode of Trakai Mikołaj Stefan Pac, in 1661, in a military camp near Kobryń in Lithuania. He wrote about the merits and duties towards one’s homeland—distancing himself from all foreignness. Pasek uttered his conviction that military merits and spilling blood for one’s country may hardly be appreciated by one who “ate oysters, snails and truffles, while comfortably resting at home.” Mediterranean Italian food was surely intended by the speaker to add further emphasis to the contrast between the recommended patriotic, military attitude, passivity and preying on the merits of others.

A negative attitude to foreign travels and their educational consequences is expressed in the same context. The author’s attitude to subtle, almost effeminate manners, and studying—from the perspective of the nobleman’s ethos, of secondary importance—versus providing service to the homeland, military pains and readiness to spill blood, is obvious; later, we read about learning “ballets, *capriolas*, and dances” on the one hand, and on the other hand, “harkening to the clangour of Mars’ orchestra,” for “spilling sweet liquors is different from spilling blood.”²⁰ Hence, the general anti-foreign rhetoric had some clear Italian accents.

But there were also works in which this theme was not highlighted, even though there was every reason to include it. In *Pacierz dworski*—one of best known satirical texts, criticising Jan Kazimierz, published in 1665 and circulated in manuscript form—there appear an Italian, Tito Livio Burattini, and Andrzej Tymf, most certainly of German origin, but the Italian provenance of one of the alleged perpetrators of the economic disasters crippling the Commonwealth is

19 Andrzej Maksymilian Fredro, *Przysłowia mów potocznych...*, p. 50, 54, 68, 46.

20 See Jan Pasek, *Pamiętniki...*, p. 210-211.

not at all recorded.²¹ Nevertheless, “Tymf and Burattini’s money” became for a long time a synonym of evil, hostile trickery, and the negative interference of foreigners in Polish matters.²²

A similar construct is found in a later satire written at the beginning of the 18th century. Called *Questiones Polonico morales...*, the work has a Pole as its object of ridicule. The Polish characteristic emphasised in this work was the disposition to take on the features of various nationalities and in effect become a pathetic cultural hybrid.²³ Let us add that the attitude described in this work as “amicus extraneis,” namely “a friend” or rather “favourable to foreigners,” was also considered worthy of condemnation. Therefore, neither friendship with foreigners nor emulating them was acceptable.

However, it is harder to specify anti-foreign moods and point to specific nationalities against which the harshest judgments were delivered. Strong anti-French moods were ignited by the composition of Marie Louise’s court, but when speaking about specific instances, we encounter the nobility’s dislike of “fraudsters, who hold [royal] post” (Montelupi, Bandinelli), “newspapers ex arbitrio et pro utilitate [under terms of provisions and to the benefit] formed” (Pinocci), and those who “supervised mints” and “manufactured coins” (Burattini, Tymf). However, the most outstanding figures were Italians; this was simultaneously a solid basis upon which to formulate a negative stereotype pertaining to national background.²⁴

It should be added that unfriendly declarations were also addressed to other specific nationalities, among whom the best reference point may be—due to similarities of social status and motives of coming to Poland—Scots and maybe possibly the French.

Charges formulated against Scots, especially those concerning the economic sphere, resembled the grudges against Italians. According to noble commentators, representatives of this nationality, previously very poor, had, by the first half of the 17th century, become radically enriched. The Scots “relentlessly reap money and take it to Scotland..., and other hungry ones they send to Poland,”²⁵ and so another waves of incomers will exploit the Commonwealth. Łukasz Opaliński expressed similar views in *Obrona Polski* (1648). He noticed that Scots, previously travelling on foot, now “distribute goods they carry on wagons, and frequent

21 Juliusz Nowak-Dłużewski, *Okolicznościowa poezja polityczna...*, Warsaw 1972, p. 301.

22 See *Poezja Związku Święconego i rokoshu Lubomirskiego...*, p. 104.

23 “and so a Pole is not an Italian nor French / not even a Pole but a gutless stench”; Biblioteka Czartoryskich – Muzeum Narodowe w Krakowie (MNK), manuscript 264, p. 307, 304.

24 Bożena Fabiani, *Warszawski dwór Ludwiki Marii...*, p. 89-90.

25 The speech of Adam Grodziecki, castellan of Międzyrzecz, at the Sejm of 1639 – Kraków, Biblioteka PAN, manuscript 367, f. 13v.

town fairs,” practising a profession allegedly regarded by Cicero as “a degrading occupation.”²⁶

The French, far less numerous, did not present any economic competition, although they were closely watched in the political sphere. First, the unfortunate episode with Henry Valois occurred, and two French queens later sat on the Polish throne. We have to state clearly that both royal consorts, Ludwika Maria and particularly Maria Kazimiera, rather failed to win the hearts of subjects. Allegedly, none of Ludwika Maria’s predecessors “worse dislike of *populi* experienced” (this was an expression used by Reverend Piekarski, who delivered a sermon at the queen’s funeral).²⁷ Even worse was the social image of Maria Kazimiera, who—if we believe diary notes by her secretary M. de Mongrillon—was universally hated in Poland.²⁸ Declarations of a political nature were accompanied by literary-poetic voices, not always of the highest artistic and intellectual level, but invariably considerably emotionally charged: “Having short brains, long hair / whence shame and ignominy of all nation,” wrote Wojciech S. Chrościcki about the French queens.²⁹ Let us add, for the completeness of the image, that both, especially Ludwika Maria, had their champions (such as Jan S. Wydźga, or the queen’s secretary Pierre de Noyers).³⁰

However, starting from Ludwika Maria, queens with their own views and political ambitions returned to the Polish political scene. Thus, the association with Queen Bona was inevitable, as was the natural desire of noble subjects to protect themselves from repeating the scenario from the previous century and the over-interference of royal consorts in affairs of the state.³¹ From the beginning of the 17th century, the potential threat from French arrivals primarily meant influence at the royal court. Jan Chryzostom Pasek complained that, in the seat of monarchs in Warsaw, “a Frenchman may always enter the rooms, while a Pole must wait at the door even half a day.” From the same period (the 1660s) came the opinion that the French did not let a Pole earn much in service, but they took money from Poland.³² Hence, in the French case, an asymmetry of opportunities was noted.

26 Łukasz Opaliński, *Wybór pism...*, p. 158-159.

27 See Bożena Fabiani, *Warszawski dwór Ludwiki Marii...*, p. 88.

28 M. de Mongrillon, *Pamiętniki...*, p. 44.

29 *Poeci polskiego baroku...*, vol. 2, p. 447.

30 Jan S. Wydźga, *Opisanie niektórych poważniejszych rzeczy...*, p. 206; Pierre des Noyers, *Portofolio królowej Maryi Ludwiki...*, vol. 2, p. 331.

31 This tendency was particularly conspicuous during free elections. Jan III Sobieski in *pacta conventa* gave the assurance that he would not promote on the instigation of “women and foreign people”: and that the queen’s court would be uniquely Polish-Lithuanian; August II had to vow that the queen would keep no more than “four women from her country” in her bower – *Volumina Legum*, vol. V, p. 12, 139, vol. VI, p. 16.

32 See Bożena Fabiani, *Warszawski dwór Ludwiki Marii...*, p. 90.

This created a sense of injustice because the West did not repay the inhabitants of the Commonwealth by creating analogous opportunities to work and earn.

It is dubious whether feelings of reluctance towards specific nationalities can be placed in chronological order, but surely “the decisive role in the formation of xenophobia was played by fear and envy,” the consequence of which was “incessant, pathologically exaggerated suspicion of strangers.”³³ However, it should be added that xenophobic moods are by nature expressed boldly, are pronounced and conspicuous, and their historical manifestations leave a suggestive impression on readers even today. Social attitudes do not always translate into concrete action, which is well illustrated by the realities that interest us. In the 17th century, and even later, foreigners in the Commonwealth were still present and arriving; they were also seen in critical spheres connected with the functioning of the state.

It should not be forgotten that, in European tradition, a foreigner is not only an intruder and potential rival, but also an obvious attraction and object of interest. He is a guest to who proper welcome and treatment is due. Stage directions for a feast prepared in Florence in 1608, in relation to Duke Cosimo II’s marriage, describe “a theatrical spectacle for those of noble stock and foreigners who came to see it.”³⁴ The foreigners were the only group apart from nobility mentioned in the description; evidently, they deserved a prominent place during the depicted ceremony. Polish-Lithuanian standards were similar, and forms of manifesting hospitality were sometimes very expressive. Besides, the noblemen’s xenophobia also had its counterparts in the West: in France, in Italy, in the Netherlands, and in Germany.

If, in conclusion, we limit our reflection to the Germans, the French, the Hungarians and the Italians (namely, the representatives of these nationalities, “whose penetration in the country could be directly observed and regarded by nobility as particularly dangerous for its social position”),³⁵ then it is worth accentuating that the enumerated nationalities indeed differed between themselves as regards the character of their presence in Poland. Germans had been here since “the year dot,” especially in towns; therefore, in that period, they could be treated as foreigners but not as incomers. The problem of Hungarians and its consequential antagonism was only manifest during Stefan Báthory’s reign, whereas the French—beyond the episode connected with Henry of Valois—did not come to the Commonwealth on a numerically significant scale. So, the clearest example of foreign arrivals marking their presence in various spheres and on large scale—and simultaneously distinct in their otherness and easily definable for the external observer—proved to be Italians.

33 See Janusz Tazbir, *Początki polskiej ksenofobii...*, p. 401-402.

34 “il Teatro per li nobili et forestieri chi vi sono per vedere” – see Ilaria Ciseri, *Diplomazia dell’effimero...*, p. 23-24.

35 Janusz Tazbir, *Początki polskiej ksenofobii...*, p. 369.

“Italophilia” and its Practitioners

The distinction between Italophiles and Italophobes—that is, supporters and opponents of Italian influence—was outlined many years ago by Henryk Barycz. Later, cultural researchers and literary scholars added their voices, pointing to the better usability of the term “Italianism” (naturally, with the option of negating it as “anti-Italianism”) as a term describing “a certain attitude, which is comprised first of all of three overlapping elements: primarily, the knowledge of Italian culture, followed by the repercussions of this culture in Polish artistic production, and finally the actions aimed at transplanting Italian culture to Polish ground.” In this concept of Italianism, three more crucial elements appear: 1.) a “positive emotional attitude to Italian culture and its propagation”; 2.) “open activities, eagerly recommending themselves under an Italian banner”; 3.) “the frequency of action, providing for their intensity but also continuity.”³⁶ However, with so ‘demanding’ a definition, the adherents of Italianism and its propagators would naturally be people actively engaged in culture. Thus, the most renowned Polish humanists connected their actions with Italy, and thence drew inspiration. Among them were Jan Kochanowski and Mikołaj Sęp Szarzyński, as well as numerous representatives of the humanist ‘second league’—they all were the ‘pillars of community’ that we refer to here. To the list, we should also add the creators who were intentionally adapting works of Italian culture to Polish realities, among them Łukasz Górnicki, who familiarised Poland with Castiglione’s work, and Piotr Kochanowski, translator of Tasso’s and Ariosto’s masterpieces (he spent “around 14 years in Italy that is one fourth of his life”).³⁷

Social position played a key role in the propagation of a positive attitude to Italianism, which required a community of high culture consumers and potential patrons. They were no less important than an elite group of creators. This group, decisively more numerous than the creators, shared similar experiences, intellectual level, tastes, and erudition. Italian culture influenced Polish reality through its Polish admirers, which—due to insufficient sources—cannot be precisely recreated, but the mechanism of this influence may be imagined.

In this context, it is hard to overestimate the significance of educational travels, both as regards the knowledge and orientation in the world (thus intellectual formation) that they afforded, as well as contacts with foreigners (and no less important, compatriots). For it may be assumed that, from the beginning of the 16th century, a clear majority among the Polish-Lithuanian political class had completed educational travels, and Italy was a key element in this. In many cases, contacts made during studies surely influenced their later lives.

36 Jan Ślaski, *Uwagi o italianizmie Łukasza Górnickiego...*, p. 176.

37 Henryk Barycz, *Z zaścianka na parnas...*, p. 220.

Contacts in youth resulted in long-lasting friendships, or at least a sense of generational community. This served as a basis for the formation of Italophile societies, and this process began quite early. Maciej of Miechów—later a renowned historian, cartographer and doctor, author of the quoted *Traktat o dwóch Sarmaczach* (Kraków 1517), when staying in Rome on the occasion of the jubilee year 1500—met Mikołaj Copernicus and Piotr Tomicki, who studied there at the time.³⁸ Later, it was in Padua that student contacts were most often made.

The phenomenon should, nevertheless, be analysed in political and social categories—it pertained to the most highly regarded politicians of the turn of the 16th century. Jan Zamoyski, already when he was royal secretary, was strongly linked with other Padua University alumni, and in his further brilliant career, he repeatedly made use of his contacts from student times and connections resulting from similarity of intellectual background. This may be evidenced by his close cooperation with Bishop Piotr Tylicki, and the future hetman Stanisław Żółkiewski. According to Nuncio Caligari, Zamoyski's associate, Piotr Dunin Wolski—bishop of Płock, envoy to Rome in 1580—declared his fervent feelings about Italian nationality.³⁹

Italian experiences from youth also connected outstanding figures of Polish public life of the 17th century. Jerzy Ossoliński, whose entry as envoy in 1633 supposedly enchanted and most importantly made a lasting impression of Roman public opinion, studied first in Graz then in Leuven. After a year's stay there, he toured Europe. After visiting England, the Netherlands, and France, he went to Italy. He visited—among other places—Torino, Venice, and Bologna, and stayed for several months in Padua, Rome, and Naples. He studied Italian and horse riding, and polished his Latin.⁴⁰ The friendship book of a Swiss guard, Giovanni Alto, records—in the 1630s—the stays in Rome of, among others, the young sons of Stanisław Lubomirski: Aleksander Michał and Jerzy Sebastian, future leader of the *rokosz* (rebellion). Stanisław was, at that time voivode of the Ruthenia, and later of Kraków, and had himself toured Europe in his youth. Władysław Dominik Zasławski, the future equerry of the crown and voivode of Kraków, also featured in Alto's record.⁴¹ Jakub Sobieski—father of Jan, the crown carver, voivode of Belz and Ruthenia, and by the end of his life castellan of Kraków—left behind not only attractive descriptions of his travels around Europe, including Italy, but also educational instruction to sons going to university (1646), which established the direction of foreign education of the subsequent generations. A significant number

38 Waldemar Voisé, *Pierwsza książka polskiego autora przełożona na włoski...*, p. 166.

39 *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. IV, p. 197. According to the nuncio, Wolski was ready to spend longer at the Papal court “perché ama la nazione et viver nostro in extremo.”

40 *PSB* XXIV, p. 403.

41 Wojciech Tygielski, *Turyści zza Alp w siedemnastowiecznym Rzymie...*, p. 230-232.

of former students later played an important role in their community; they created an atmosphere favourable to spread of Italian culture.

It is worth remarking that Łukasz Górnicki, brilliant adapter of Castiglione's book, resided in the countryside during work on *Dworzanin polski* and did not have many contacts with Italians (a couple of days meeting with Alessandro Comuleo, Papal envoy heading to Moscow, was significant enough to be recorded in correspondence), and Zygmunt August's court, potential backup for Górnicki, was often on the move. The translator could have trouble with access to material other than that in his own specialist library, and only limited access to published novelties from Italy. Difficulties which typically arise in translation could be overcome by the community of local Italophiles, with whom—as correspondence indicates—he kept regular contact, and whose personal ties with Italy and arriving Italians were more intensive.

This group included Paduan graduates: Jan Kochanowski, Andrzej Patrycy Nidecki, Stanisław Fogelweder, Piotr Myszkowski, and primarily Jan Zamoyski. Krzysztof Warszewicki may be also counted among them, as he studied in Bologna but maintained close relations with the rest and often visited Italy, though—as far as it may be judged on the basis of his published letters—he did not master Italian.⁴² Górnicki's career proves that Italianists should also include Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Sierotka, author of *Peregrynacja do Ziemi Świętej*, and also the acclaimed publisher Jan Januszowski. The latter began to apply “new typing” in his prints, applying a font resembling an Italian one.⁴³ To the translator, such a group could be a successful substitute for Italian travels and regular contacts with Italian world. This community will be characterised by presenting selected episodes from the lives of several figures who were included in this group or were regarded as part of it.

It is undeniable that the first numerous and influential generation of Polish Italophiles was active as early as in the beginning of the 16th century. Bishop Piotr Tomicki, perhaps the most accomplished figure among them, was born in 1465, and at 35, he gained a doctorate in law. This remarkable figure of the Polish Renaissance was even called “Italus” by his contemporaries, and the exceptional character of emotional attachment of this deputy chancellor with Italians was also confirmed suggestively by his student, the future cardinal: Stanisław Hozjusz.⁴⁴

Wojciech Kryski may certainly be seen as one of the Italophiles too. He was one of the most colourful figures of cultural life under Zygmunt August. This royal

42 See Andreas Dudithius, *Epistulae...*, part IV, p. 454-455; [Warszewicki], *Krzysztofa Warszewickiego niewydane pisma...*, p. 155, 157-166, 177-178, 193, 196-199.

43 Jan Ślaski, *Uwagi o italianizmie Łukasza Górnickiego...*, p. 183-185.

44 [Stanisław Hozjusz], *Vita Petri Tomicki...*, p. CIII; see Jerzy Miziołek, *Opus egregium ac spectandum...*, p. 303, 328.

secretary, educated in Padua, successfully engaged in diplomacy. His premature death was lamented by Jan Kochanowski in a special epitaph: “Humanity and courtliness with you / buried side by side in this tomb too.” It is interesting to note that Kryski featured in Górnicki’s *Dworzanin*, in one of leading roles, which in the original by Castiglione was ascribed to Pietro Bembo. The family tradition was continued in next generation by Szczęsny Kryski, notable at least since the time of the Zebrzydowski rebellion (he was the referendary of the crown and later great chancellor). His two-year educational tour of Italy in 1585–1587 is particularly well known thanks to the diary left by Maciej Rywocki, his chaperone. Kryski is acknowledged as one of few having a profound acquaintance with Machiavelli’s writings (surely via Italian original), and is also ascribed authorship of some important polemical texts from the time of the rebellion, written in a royalist vein, with quite precise and competent reference to the outstanding Florentine’s ideas.⁴⁵

The generation active at the turn of the 16th and 17th centuries was full of similar outstanding individuals, but then opponents of Italianism also flourished; among the nobility’s commentary, the characteristic nickname ‘*Włoszek*’ was an epithet addressed to native Polish lovers of Italian culture, and especially its political system. This is the way that Szczęsny Kryski, Zygmunt Myszkowski, and Mikołaj Wolski were described. Moreover, contrary to ‘*Italus*’—used in reference to Piotr Tomicki—*Włoszek* was a strongly pejorative term.⁴⁶

Consecutive parts of *Z Kroniki Sarmacyi Europskiej*, published in Polish translation in 1611, were dedicated by Alessandro Guagnin to three senators: Zygmunt Myszkowski, grand marshal of the crown; Mikołaj Wolski, grand court marshal; and Jan Karol Chodkiewicz, hetman. This dedication was allegedly motivated by their links with specific provinces of the Commonwealth (a section on Ruthenia was dedicated to Myszkowski, as starosta of Gródek; a chapter on Livonia and Samogitia was dedicated to Chodkiewicz, as he was administrator and starosta there). However, this was only a pretext. The author—a Polonised Italian and extraordinary intellectual, knowing a lot about the contemporary state of Polish-Italian relations—simply referred to three influential figures who were evidently favouring the influence of Italian culture on the native Polish one.

By doing this, Guagnin indicated to us a group of outstanding and powerful Italophiles. The profiles of two of them—supplemented with the case of the Pac family, aspiring to prove a common bloodline with the Florentine Pazzis—are presented below.

45 *Pisma polityczne z czasów rokoszu zebrzydowskiego...*, vol. II, p. 313-328, especially p. 316-317.

46 Janusz Tazbir, *Początki polskiej ksenofobii...*, p. 383-384.

Mikołaj Wolski

Mikołaj Wolski from Podhajce, founder of the illustrious Camaldolese hermitage and church in Bielany near Kraków, was certainly one of the most colourful figures on the Polish scene at the end of the 16th century and beginning of the 17th. Born in 1550, his parents were Stanisław and Barbara Tarnowska (Stanisław was Grand Court Marshal of the Crown). Mikołaj accumulated a very sizeable fortune consisting, apart from estates he inherited, of five *starostwos* and also houses in Warsaw, Kraków, and other towns.

He was promoted in the hierarchy of officials because of Henry de Valois (in 1574, Mikołaj became sword-bearer of the crown), then to Zygmunt III (in 1599, Mikołaj became court marshal, and in 1615, grand marshal of the crown). At the age of 10, he was sent by his father on an educational journey: he stayed in Vienna and Graz, at Archduke Maximilian's court. Then he visited Germany, the Netherlands, England, and Italy.

As an ardent supporter of the Habsburg candidate, after Stefan Báthory's election, he left the Commonwealth and settled first in Vienna, then Prague (here was at Emperor Rudolf's court). He was welcomed cordially and with honours. He did return to Poland, but only under Zygmunt III's reign, on whose order he completed a mission to, among others, Pope Clement VIII in 1602. Wolski was also sent on an important courtesy-propaganda mission of 1609–1610. Three years later, in autumn 1612, he went on a congratulatory mission to the court of the newly elected Emperor Matthias.⁴⁷

Thoroughly educated, he preferred men of science and artists as his company, whom he invited from abroad. He kept an excellent ensemble at his court, collected books and paintings, and was interested in alchemy, in which he was partnered by Emperor Rudolf, and later Zygmunt III. According to Stanisław Tomkowicz, a historian, the marshal "had two main interests in his life: in intellectual occupations and travelling."⁴⁸ The latter predilection was also noticed by contemporaries. Paweł Piasecki, bishop of Przemyśl, stated that Wolski "until 80 was a peregrinator, famous abroad, so that there was no single year that he would not visit Italy or Germany."⁴⁹

After the already mentioned mission to Rome, in 1602, Wolski regularly contacted Italian diplomats arriving in Poland, which in fact was within the scope of his duties as marshal. He was, for example, the first official person contacted by the

47 See AGAD [Central Archives of Historical Records], *Metryka Koronna (Metrica Regni Poloniae)*, Libri Legationum 28, f395r-400r, with Zygmunt III's letter to the emperor, dated 14 October 1612, and the envoy's instruction for Wolski.

48 Stanisław Tomkowicz, *Bielany...*, p. 7-9; see also Roman Bugaj, *Nauki tajemne w dawnej Polsce...*, p. 130, 277.

49 [Piasecki], *Kronika Pawła Piaseckiego...*, p. 348-349.

Venetian envoy Alvise Foscari, arriving in Kraków in June 1606, who expected instruction from Wolski on the organisation and date of his ceremonial entry to town, possibly in co-ordination with the king's presence.⁵⁰

The envoy's account of these meetings was full of superlatives. Reportedly, the marshal, right after learning that Foscari was in Tyniec, visited him and showed all courtesy desired in such situations ("mi fece tutte quelle più cortesi, et amorevoli profferte, che si havessero potuto disiderare") and declared his commitment and reverence to Doge Donato. Moreover, the marshal, referring to his several visits there, declared his positive and very emotional attitude to the Republic of Venice, and mentioned connections he had with patrician Zuan Zane, as well as the many friendships he made there, with, among others, Antonio Foscari. The offer of accommodation with full upkeep (in a residence half a mile from Kraków), which the marshal made to the Venetian incomer (who did not accept it anyway), was only a natural consequence of the previous declarations.

Another envoy from Italy—burgrave Luigi Bevilacqua, a Tuscan, sent to Poland with news that the new Duke Cosimo II assumed the Florentine throne—did not have so much luck in his relations with Wolski. Though the marshal visited the envoy right after his arrival to Kraków, invited him for dinner and presented the current political situation in the country, and also instructed him on the further journey in the direction of Vilnius, the Polish minister did not make a good impression on the Italian envoy, who in his short diary of this mission presented Wolski as haughty and not very kind. This individual's assessment must have been caused by differences of character, because the marshal's general attitude to Italy and those who came from it was already at that time very positive, and subsequent events of his life could only enhance it.⁵¹

Another mission of great importance in cementing Wolski's positive attitude to Italy and its inhabitants was conferred upon him by Zygmunt III. The king was undertaking a very difficult military operation that was to lead to the Commonwealth regaining Smoleńsk and was attempting to secure international political and financial support for his actions. The visit of the Polish envoy to Rome, the propaganda effect of which was certainly counted upon, was to be a key step towards attaining this goal.

The choice of envoy was not incidental. Wolski was well oriented and well known at European courts, which allowed the hope that he would prove persuasive enough.⁵² It has to be stressed that both the marshal's journey and his visit to Rome

50 *Fontes Rerum Polonicarum e tabulario Reipublicae Venetae...*, II/1, p. 271-272.

51 See Wojciech Tygielski, *Dyplomacja – informacja – propaganda...*, p. 26, 38 and passim.

52 Nuncio Francesco Simonetta held the best opinion of Wolski and his diplomatic qualifications. In two letters, from 1 and 25 September 1609, the nuncio reported to Cardinal Scipione Borghese that the marshal was preparing to leave on an obediencial

was recorded many times in Italian *avvisi* (handwritten news, the equivalent of today's newspapers) and sometimes in great detail. So, it must have been a major event for both parties.

The grand court marshal's visit (representing the crown) to Rome lasted from 16 January to 5 March 1610. The meeting was rich in contacts and diplomatic gestures. It started with a ceremonial welcome by a group of Polish nobility and numerous local "gentilhuomini" at Porta del Popolo.⁵³ The visit continued with private audience with the Pope at Montecavallo; during this time, there were an impressive number of visits to representatives of the Roman diplomacy and the elite of the curia, such as the Spanish ambassador, Cardinal Secretary of State Scipione Borghese, and other members of the College of Cardinals and diplomats residing in the Eternal City. There was also a visit to Prince Michele Peretti and the Great Constable of the Kingdom of Naples, Marcantonio Colonna. Typically, each of these meetings resulted in a return visit. It should be underlined that the Roman hosts tried to provide as dignified a setting as possible for the visit, and from the beginning accommodated Wolski "come Ambasciatore," though with the omission of certain elements of diplomatic protocol, such as ringing the bells wherever the envoy appeared.⁵⁴

Wolski also obtained many proofs of Papal favour in form of privileges, pardons, blessings, and various gifts of devotional nature. He was also to hand his king a gilt dagger and red beret embroidered with golden thread and rimmed with ermine, with which he was presented upon his departure. This special Papal distinction, called „stocco e berretto," was bestowed on rulers who earned merit for their defence of faith. After the stay in Rome, full of prestigious and social successes, Wolski continued his mission in Florence, where, on behalf of the Polish king, he congratulated the young Duke Cosimo II on the occasion of his ascension to the throne.

Omitting the political context of this mission, we linger longer on this episode from Marshal Wolski's life to reflect on the consequences of this trip for the attitude of one of the leading senators to Italy and its inhabitants. Since the visit was diplomatic in nature, Wolski was treated to a luxurious welcome. He met

mission, and he assured him that it would be difficult to find a more worthy, more tactful person, who was also devoted to Pope and Apostolic See – ASV, Segreteria di Stato, Germania 114A, f. 152r.

53 They were mainly courtiers of Cardinal Protector of the Kingdom of Poland, Montalto; the envoy stayed at the elegant Palazzo Nardino in Parione, where eight pages and eight hajduci assisted him – Urb. Lat. 1078/I, f. 41r: "Di Roma, 16 I 1610."

54 Urb. Lat. 1078/I, f. 56r. Let us add that the Polish envoy's retinue was fully kept by the curia ("le è stata da Palazzo assegnata la parte solita darsi alli Ambasciatori de Principi"), and Cardinal Protector Montalto additionally cared for its provisions.

with the Pope and representatives of the Roman elite. He also visited places of significant religious experience for Catholics (Rome, Loreto). Neither is there any record that the envoy encountered the inconveniences or dangers typical of travelling at that time. So, if we accept that there were no bad memories at all, or any clearly negative associations, the outcome of this trip was most positive. The willingness to belong to the western world was cemented in the awareness of one of the most important representatives of the Polish elite. Admittedly, this was on an individual level, but nevertheless, the tendency to openness towards and acceptance of the Italian civilisational model and its cultural setting is reinforced. This stance, however, could coexist with attitudes that were very sceptical of the local social and political system.

Zygmunt Myszkowski

When recording the death of burgrave Zygmunt Myszkowski in 1615, chronicler Paweł Piasecki described him as a “man with excellence of mind, wisdom, and the best refinement of habit second to none, not only among Sarmatians but also among the foreign courts of Italian dukes, with whom he was in close contact, [he] was adopted to the Gonzaga family by the Mantuan Duke Vincenzo, and honoured with the title of burgrave by Pope Clement VIII.”⁵⁵ The quote contains all the most important elements of Myszkowski’s life, which secured a place for him and a few representatives of his family among the most ardent Italophiles.

Interestingly, the two most important—from our perspective—cofounders of the Pińczów entail, Piotr (future voivode of Rawa) and Zygmunt (future grand marshal of the crown), were raised in the Calvinist creed. When orphaned by their father, they were taken care of by their uncle Piotr, bishop of Kraków and staunch Italophile. After Piotr’s adoption, these children converted to Catholicism. This occurred in November 1578, in the king’s presence. Soon after this, heading to the Jesuit college in Siena to study, the young Myszkowskis, equipped with letters of reference addressed to the Grand Duke of Tuscany Francesco, entered the sphere of Italian experience. They did so more fully and intensively in the case of Zygmunt, who, after his studies, stayed for some time at the Florentine court, and then toured Italy, visiting Rome, Bologna, and other cities.

In the first decade of Zygmunt III’s reign, the brothers were active on the Polish political scene; they did not forget to build up their financial status either, but the Italian theme in their lives was continually present. It is known that in the 1590s Zygmunt travelled to Italy where he visited Mantua and other places. During his stay at the court of Duke Vincenzo Gonzaga something extraordinary happened:

55 [Piasecki], *Kronika Pawła Piaseckiego...*, p. 258-259.

Myszkowski gained the king's favour and an exceptional position at his court. So, with Myszkowski's two brothers, Piotr and Aleksander, surely in 1597 or 1598, was admitted to the Gonzaga family, the consequence of which was a burgrave title for Myszkowski, bestowed by Pope Clement VIII. This coincided with Polish senatorial promotions, as Zygmunt received the castellany of Wojnicz in May 1598, having already been nominated burgrave of Mirów; a month earlier Piotr had been promoted to voivode of Rawa. Soon a plan was formed to found the entail, the centre of which would be Książ Wielki with Mirów Castle. From then on the Myszkowskis started to use the double-barreled name Gonzaga-Myszkowski and a coat of arms in which the emblems of Jastrzębiec were combined with the Gonzaga eagles.

The Myszkowskis' Italian inclinations were displayed not only by Piotr and Zygmunt. Their half-brother, Władysław (d. 1658), future voivode of Kraków, studied in Bologna in 1622, and 20 years later visited Italy again (he signed on to the Paduan University roll on 3 May 1642). However, it was Zygmunt, one of the few individuals to whom—as we remember—Alessandro Guagnin dedicated his work *Z Kroniki Sarmacyi Europejskiej*, who had a leading role in this context. The burgrave was universally regarded as an Italophile and a person specially connected with Italy.

Close contacts with Mantua did not preclude connections and influences at other Italian courts, including the Papal palace. The burgrave also maintained his influence in Rome in the reign of the following pontiff, Paul V Borghese, indicated by his letters addressed directly to the Pope in which he tried, admittedly with reference to King Zygmunt III's will, to influence the appointments policy of Curia.⁵⁶

In the abovementioned dedication of the book on the beginnings and history of the Ruthenia nation, Guagnin stressed that he expected "protection and splendour" from the "excellent and noble Myszkowski family," but he also admitted that this choice was influenced by the fact "that you have always been a special protector and benefactor of our Italian kind, for you became related and have intermingled thanks to great virtues of yours with grand Italian dukes and signores."

The question as to what prompted Zygmunt Myszkowski to form such spectacular bonds (in the form of adoption) with an Italian ducal family must remain without a clear answer. The gesture, since it is symbolic importance that is meant here, could be regarded as ostentatious and, as such, badly received in Poland. Although it is hard to say whether this was a calculated move and a well-thought-out one, it surely reflected strong Italian sympathies, and, at the same time, it satisfied the vanity of the Polish magnate.

56 ASV, Fondo Borghese IV 79, f. 113r-v.

However, the consequences of this gesture in the Polish arena were negative. There was a reserved response from the noblemen towards the initiative to create an entail as a legal-financial formula (which would strengthen the integrity of familial *latifundium*, and all the more so the Italian title and surname). This was a display of ostentation and irreverence to the universally approved rule of equality among *szlachta*. Myszkowski, close associate of Zygmunt III, roused strongly negative emotions. He was accused of denying his coat of arms and was nicknamed ‘*Włoszek*’. These moods became clearly visible during the Zebrzydowski rebellion, namely in the period of the sudden revival of political polemics. Arrogance and haughtiness connected with serving as marshal, and the provocative attitude of the burgrave towards Mikołaj Zebrzydowski, were said to precipitate the outbreak of rebellion and were regarded as one of its direct causes.

The problems in Poland proved to be an advantage outside of the country. For example, during diplomatic missions undertaken by the marshal himself—who went to Rome and Prague to negotiate a marriage of the king to Archduchess Constance—he met with Emperor Rudolf, and to Graz, where the future queen resided. His connections with the Gonzaga family could also be turned to advantage successfully during another of Myszkowski’s diplomatic-propaganda tours of Europe. The marshal began this trip in spring 1608, with a visit to Italy. He then headed to Paris to Henry IV’s court, where he also enjoyed good contacts, and finally to England.

The preserved correspondence of Zygmunt Myszkowski and people from his entourage (Pietro Franco) with Mantuan court, as well as the account of Duke Gonzaga’s chancellor Ferrante Persia, reveal the scale and particular proximity of these contacts—both in private and political-informational terms; from solicitously edited reports on the current situation in Poland, to plans for the election of a Gonzaga to the Polish throne.⁵⁷

For instance, in a letter to the Mantuan Duke—written from Warsaw on 12 March 1600—Myszkowski stressed that he awaited the promised portrait of Duchess of Ferrara impatiently, also requesting that depictions of the most important women at the Mantuan court—the royal consort and younger daughter—be sent, so that he could display the whole series of their portraits in his residence.⁵⁸ In further letters he repeated his request for the paintings of the three aforementioned women, and, growing impatient to receive them, he decided to end his own painter directly to Innsbruck without sparing the horses in order

57 See Biblioteka PAN/PAU in Kraków, Teki Cieszkowskiego 8712, f. 1-2 – a letter of Pietro Franco to the Duke of Mantua, written from Kraków, 6 II 1600.

58 Teki Cieszkowskiego 8712, f. 3, where Myszkowski requests “il ritratto de la Ser.ma Madama Arciduchessa e de la figliola minore nipote di V. A.”, which he will receive with gratitude, because he will be able to “metter questi ritratti presso gli altri di casa sua.”

to satisfy what was evidently a very urgent need of his.⁵⁹ This lordly gesture was surely intended to impress the addressee, and the theme of the correspondence underlined the social closeness and intimate character of mutual relations. It is difficult to avoid noticing a certain vanity in the burgrave, but one may wish to believe that his original motive was fascination with Italian culture, and readiness to be its ambassador; for such was Italophilia in its purest form.

Pacowie—Pazzi

This family was a special case of Italophilia; Stefan Pac, in his diary of Prince Władysław's travel, dated 6 February 1625, noted: "in the evening we went to the Florentine noble Pac family to see the ballet, who knew that their ancestors had in Lithuanian lands gone (fleeing home turmoil), and so they believed that I was of their stock, to which I did not oppose, as I have always had it *per traditionem* from my forefathers that our house came from Italy. Hence I willingly made friends with them, and they did all honours and to please me had prepared this festivity."⁶⁰ We learn from the following words of the chronicler that "this is a prominent house in Florence, *emulus* [rival to] Medici" and that—precisely due to conflict with the Medici—"they are well-established but not as rich as they used to be," though "even now they are in a pretty good condition."

The representative of Lithuanian stock referred—intentionally and with conviction—to the popular theory of the Lithuanians' Italian origin, promoted by at least several chroniclers, and in the fullest version presented by Maciej Strykowski. The chance to underline a shared origin with a famous Florentine family evidently proved very attractive to Pac. From another fragment of the same account, we also learn that Pope Urban VIII Barberini referred, during the parting audience of 19 January 1625, to Prince Władysław and his companions. Stefan Pac noted: "He told me, when I was kissing his leg, that he is happy that I am from an Italian family, of the Florentine Pac noblemen. . . , and I did not *inficiabar* [deny]."⁶¹ It is indeed very likely that Pac "did not deny" even though he had doubts himself (which he did not admit for social reasons), for in both contexts such connections were interpreted in a wholly positive light. Similarity of names and the heraldic lily undeniably invited such reasoning. The usage of such a rationale was found among serious authors of armorials, such as Wojciech Kojalowicz and Kasper Niesiecki.⁶²

59 Teki Cieszkowskiego 8712, f. 3v-4v, letters from Warsaw, 22 III 1600, and Kraków, 6 V 1600.

60 *Podróż królewicza Władysława Wazy...*, p. 348.

61 *Ibidem*, p. 326.

62 See Elżbieta Kulicka, *Legenda o rzymskim pochodzeniu Litwinów...*, p. 17-18.

We do not intend to make a judgement about this case; it is enough to say that the whole theory of the Pacs and Pazzis sharing a common cradle must be approached with natural caution. It is important that the awareness / myth of Italian origin was—at least in some circles of Old Polish society—solicitously nurtured; that it was a factor strengthening prestige at home and could also be turned to one's advantage abroad. Maintaining correspondence contacts with the court of the Medici, and sending sons to Perugia University, may prove that the Pacs did not neglect this. A little later, an attempt was made by the Sapiehas to construct an analogous pedigree (based on their alleged derivation from the once renowned Italian de Sapiis family), which proves that the Pacs were not the only ones to follow such a course.⁶³

Thus, the Italophile community in modern Poland consisted not only of individuals (although the role of outstanding figures such as Mikołaj Wolski or Zygmunt Myszowski, distinct enough and so influential on the environment, is hard to overrate). There were also whole families that co-created communities that are of interest to us, and increased their sphere of influence. In the Milanese Biblioteca Ambrosiana, in the collection of the Borromeo family, some Polish correspondence has survived. One document is a letter from Jan Branicki (1568–1612), castellan of Biecz and starosta of Niepołomice, to Cardinal Federico Borromeo, and dated Niepołomice, 4 October 1610.⁶⁴ In this, the author asks for a relic of St Charles Borromeo to be sent, as he intended to place it in Niepołomice Church. Branicki also emphasised the universality of his worship in Poland and mentioned the king, queen, and many other dignitaries, as well as his own wife “burgravine Anna of Mirów,” who was actually Anna Myszowska, burgrave Zygmunt Myszowski's sister.⁶⁵ And so, once again, we encounter the same, pro-Italian community, focused and keeping close watch on all events in Italy.

Let us add that the cult of St Charles—the most recent saint at that time, elevated to altars in 1610—very quickly permeated the Commonwealth, a fact that may be regarded as among the important evidence of contemporary links with Italy. In reports of Giovanni Battista Solari, then residing in Poland, to Cardinal Federico Borromeo (and dated 12 July 1611), we find mention of Prince Władysław's fever, the recovery from which was ascribed (in courtly circles commenting on the situation) entirely to the intercession of St Charles.⁶⁶

63 Nuncio Giovanni Andrea Caligari wrote with respect about the Pacs as a powerful family – see *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. IV, p. 224.

64 Biblioteca Ambrosiana, G 205 inf., f. 552r-v.

65 See Adam Boniecki, *Herbarz Polski...*, vol. II, p. 103.

66 “Il Serenissimo Prencipe Vladislao, figlio di essa Maestà, ha havuto sei parocismi di febre terzana, il quinto de quali fu molto gagliardo, et poi il sesto, fuor d’ogni aspettatione, fu leggerissimo et quasi insensibile, che perciò quei Serenissimi l’attribuiscono piamente

A little earlier, Queen Constance—then staying in Vilnius, very remote from Milan—thanked Cardinal Federico for sending St Charles Borromeo’s stole. In the same letter, the Polish ruler commended Giovanni Battista Solari specifically to the addressee’s mercy.⁶⁷ Again, we move in the circle of the same figures and their closest environment.

Towards Italophobia

It is beyond doubt that Italophilia and Italophobia coexisted and were not mutually exclusive; so, the two trends should be analysed together. It is worth remarking that local Italophiles, defined in the previous chapter, did not have to have a positive attitude to Italians in Poland and to the whole Italian diaspora. In order to study the accumulation of anti-Italian moods—for such phenomenon surely occurred in the 17th century—we must analyse it consistently. While simultaneously trying to keep terminological differences under control, we must place the research dedicated to anti-Italian sentiment within the context of anti-foreign attitudes. This is not easy, because if we look in sources, then both tendencies occur in parallel. Here, we will find that broader and narrower terms are used interchangeably, blurring the differences between them.

The Queen and Her Compatriots—In a Different Light

In the formation and enlargement of negative aspects of the Italian stereotype, no small part was played by Queen Bona, whose significance in the intensification of Polish-Italian relations has already been discussed. Now, let us consider the legend of “the Italian woman on the Polish throne”; this was a black legend that already arose during her lifetime, but which was elaborated and cemented after her departure from Poland. Among the reasons for the dislike of Bona, three key traits are mentioned: she was a foreigner, a woman meddling in politics, and a proponent of strengthening the monarch’s power.⁶⁸ Her manifest involvement in politics so displeased and surprised future rivals that they decided from the start to fight the queen, using propaganda as one means to this end. Her foreign origin allowed for

all’intercessione di Santo Carlo, da loro invocato, havendo dopo recuperata interamente la salute” – Biblioteca Ambrosiana, G 209 inf., f. 67r-v.

67 Biblioteca Ambrosiana, G 208 inf., f. 529r: Queen Constance to Card. F. Borromeo, Vilnius 6 VI 1611.

68 Janusz Tazbir, “*Włoszczyzna*” w *Polsce...*, p. 362-363.

charges of open scheming and plotting, even of poisoning. The Queen's departure from Poland to Italy near the end of her life added to this image. People accused her of robbing the country of all wealth and jewellery, and the financial scandal of the "Naples sums"—which continued for decades—only perpetuated suspicions of opacity in financial matters.⁶⁹ Therefore, the black legend was created quickly and had all the hallmarks of one that would persist long.

Nuncio Giovanni Andrea Caligari—when describing what was not the best rapport between Stefan Báthory and Anna Jagiellonka—stressed that the king did not trust his wife and feared poisoning “which art very well knew her mother, queen Bona,”⁷⁰ and in this, the nuncio was repeating opinions he encountered at the Polish court. Such an image of Bona proved very suggestive, surely meeting the expectation—“indeed, still today Italian arts which Bona brought with her are known among us”—and could be read in political writing from the period of the first interregnum.⁷¹

Accusations and charges are infectious. We may thus assume that—from the beginning of the 1550s on, for the majority of nobles—Queen Bona had negative associations. She was seen as a person who acted without the best interests of the Polish state at heart, using trickery, poison, and elaborate intrigues.

The stereotype of Bona was not favourable, but proved exceptionally durable. Yet for Władysław IV, the figure of this ruler was a warning to pay heed to his own wife's actions, so that she did not extend her power too much within the courtly structure.⁷² Bona also features in commentary from the times of Jan Kazimierz—alongside other “evil queens.” Both Ryksa (Mieszko II's wife) and Christina (alleged to have been Władysław II's wife) had common German origin. Due to such clichés “foreign nations [are] enriched with our wealth: Germans, Italians and others”—as we learn from erudite political writings rich in historical examples, hypothetically dated 1668.⁷³

An analogous text, satirical in tone and written soon after Jan III's death, contains allegations against another foreign queen. *Rozmowa Królowej Jej Mości Maryi Kazimierzy z Królewiczem Jakubem, synem swoim...* alleges that Maria Kazimiera declared that she was ready to abdicate, provided that she may take the money abroad, to which her son, the prince, allegedly said: “this is what Poles fear, recalling Queen Bona, who in a similar way, having gotten angry with her son, took all treasures away.”⁷⁴

69 See *Diariusz sejmu lubelskiego 1566 roku...*, p. 51.

70 *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. IV, p. 43.

71 *Pisma polityczne z czasów pierwszego bezkrólewia...*, p. 277.

72 It is mentioned by Albrycht Stanisław Radziwiłł, *Pamiętnik...*, vol. II, p. 142.

73 *Pisma polityczne z czasów Jana Kazimierza...*, vol. III, p. 286, 298.

74 Biblioteka Czartoryskich – Muzeum Narodowe in Kraków, manuscript 264, p. 175.

In this context, it is worth presenting a remark on the Old Polish mentality. As it is clear that Queen Bona made such a profound and lasting impression on Old Polish society's awareness, we may risk suggesting that she had no competition in this field, for we get the impression that the collective imagination of that time lacked similarly attractive themes; that it was deprived of vivid figures; and, namely, that this awareness among members of the nobility must, from this perspective, have been poor.

Political revival in the period of the first interregnums, and the consequent polemical clashes, provided a great occasion for voicing opinions on the Italian presence in Poland and presenting various hues of Italian image, but—judging from contemporary political texts—nothing of that kind happened.

In the extant texts, Italians rarely appear as an independent nationality, but they occur in characteristic pairs: with the Spanish (when further unspecified “people from the south” are meant) and with Germans (when a certain author makes a general comment on foreign peoples). To this one may add only the recollection of Queen Bona, who applied “Italian arts” and took away treasures.

In the period of the Zebrzydowski Rebellion, and this was another big occasion for articulating views on the public sphere, the material of interest is much more abundant. In the commentary about the time of the rebellion, we find clear anti-Papal accents, pointedly directed most often against the nuncio's presence and his influence, along with that of many other Italians at court: “A bad counsel it is, oh King! Pay heed! / In nothing take from Italians the lead / What's the use of a legate here? Let him go to Rome...”⁷⁵

The anonymous author of the quoted text, titled *Sumnienie mówić*, gave an exceptional amount of space to Italians. Apart from persistently admonishing the king against Italian manipulation, duplicity is exposed as a dominant feature of Italian arrivals, which for their Polish hosts practically precludes coexistence with them (“It is a difficult friendship, for Poles with Italians false”). Their stay in the Commonwealth proves wholly pointless: “An Italian has nothing to do here, for nothing you keep him” (this is appeal to the king). In this situation, it would be best to oust them from Poland (“*Via, via*, Italian from Poland go with speed / we release you from your service, of which we have no need”) and dispatch them extremely far. The execution of this postulate would be at the same time the fulfilment of a political promise, recalled by the author of *Trąba wolności*: “We swore with foreigners to make no affiliation / neither Swedes, Italians nor even German nation.” The removal of strangers would restore peace and harmony in the state, torn (presumably) by internal conflicts: “May the Spanish in Spain reside / Italians in Italy, and so they cease thorn-pricking our side,” and the introduction to this

75 *Pisma polityczne z czasów rokoszu Zebrzydowskiego...*, vol. I, p. 23.

remedial action would eliminate the Italian aspect (“Therefore, it’s best that first Italians we oust / Let others suffer the pestering of their endless grouse”).⁷⁶ Having considered for a moment this early example of the “Poland for Poles” postulate, we observe—now absolutely seriously—the first signs of linking the internal difficulties of the Polish-Lithuanian state with the stay of Italian immigrants, and, typically in later years, of indicating foreigners as a reason for one’s own home troubles. The 30 years that followed the first interregnum, important for Polish history and formation of its modern image, also proved vital from our perspective, as the end of the 16th century is even regarded as a “breakthrough and turning point for Polish Italianism.”⁷⁷ It was precisely then, in the closing decades of the golden age, when the position of Italians in Poland became embedded. It is during this time that the Old Polish society could start treating the Italians as a stable element. It is on this basis that one could develop a more reasoned attitude. At about that time, the habit of going abroad to study also took hold and became widely popular (the goal of most travels being Italy). The Italian influence on the key segments of Old Polish society was thus reinforced. This must have simultaneously prompted its representatives to articulate their attitude in this regard.

Formulations that may be found in the Sejm and Sejmik materials are less categorical in their judgments, but the *spectrum* of charges is wider, as it covers social and economic issues to a greater degree. It is reported that, as early as at the Sejm of 1563, there were claims that cities fall in ruin because Italians “having taken over all trade, destroy the common folk of Kraków.”⁷⁸ Economic competition, though not immediately threatening the noble class, was hence noticed quite early. Later, this thread was dominated by the theme of mints, in which activity the Italians—as we remember—were involved on a large scale, and which caused the greatest hail of economic accusations against them.

The issue of *indygenat* is an often a recurring theme in Sejmik materials, but we usually encounter approving remarks about some specific people receiving this status, albeit in conjunction with and in contrast to general anti-foreign accents.⁷⁹ Since the mid-17th century, postulates of removing Italians from the royal secretariat and barring them from diplomatic missions are also repeated increasingly often.

With an increase of numerous utterances, the criticism of Italian habits intensified, as did the distance from all civilisational influences emanating from

76 Ibidem, p. 358, 294.

77 Henryk Barycz, *Italofile i italofofi...*, p. 62.

78 Kazimierz Morawski, *Wskazówki do poszukiwania źródeł humanizmu...*, p. 78.

79 There are many mentions of this kind in the *lauda* of Kraków voivodeship – see *Akta sejmikowe województwa krakowskiego...*, passim.

Italy. Jan Dymitr Solikowski grieved, “how Poland has become so Italian, you may well see / as it is now full of shamelessness and depravity.”⁸⁰

In a truly great number of contexts, criticism of Italian culinary habits surfaced, though Old Polish authors spoke about this in a rather good-natured tone, not devoid of humour. Mikołaj Rej mocked, “froggy, pussy cat, a wee snail are the game they eat / then they drink vodka, add wine—that’s their treat!”⁸¹ “An Italian likes frogs with lettuce leaf / but a Pole needs a joint of meat”—chimed in Daniel Naborowski.⁸² This playful tone is also found in Waclaw Potocki, in whose poems appear plenty of Italians not used to alcohol and encountering trouble because of this. We may likewise interpret the declaration *Do włoskiego bankietu na czczo nie usiądę*: “I will not go to an Italian feast on an empty stomach.” This expressly implied that, after such a banquet, the inexperienced feaster is still hungry.⁸³

Jan Żabczyc also treated Italian banquets with slight reserve.⁸⁴ Burgher and picaresque literature echoed to him and stressed the meagerness of the Italian style of the feasts then being organised. During these feasts, one stands rather than sits. There was dancing, instead of eating, and the low calorie meals served there were given the name of a shameful plague, *Morbus gallicus*, sometimes also called “Italian disease.”⁸⁵

Marcin Bielski went even further in criticism of Italian influence in the social-culinary sphere, suggestively formulating a charge of general effeminacy and spreading venereal diseases as well as eccentricity of habit and attire.⁸⁶ And Andrzej Maksymilian Fredro, did not stop with the famous and oft quoted sentence: “An Italian feeds on lettuce, a Pole wastes away on it,” as in the next sentence he adds: “If government is from there, it’s doom to us, believe me”; therefore, these differences could have fundamental and inauspicious consequences. The good-natured remarks on such distance and differences, combined with a small tinge of irony, was unnoticeably becoming a form of mockery and a demonstration of hostility, as the ‘innocent’ culinary theme became a pretext to formulate quite serious accusations and concrete conclusions. Fredro, once again, says “He who says Poland is misruled, himself is misruled in his head. Go to Rome, leave to us

80 Jan Dymitr Solikowski, *Lukrecya...*, p. 10; see also Jan Żabczyc, *Polityka dworskie*, Kraków 1617, f. A2r.

81 Mikołaj Rej, *Przemowa krótka do poćciwego Polaka stanu rycerskiego*, l. 223-226, in: Mikołaj Rej, *Pisma wierszem...*, p. 431.

82 Daniel Naborowski, *Bankiet in folio...*, l. 1-2, in: *Poeci polskiego baroku...*, vol. I, p. 179.

83 Waclaw Potocki, *Ogród fraszek*, in: *Moralia...*, vol. I, p. 36.

84 Jan Żabczyc, *Polityka dworskie*, Kraków 1616, f. A2v [Kraków 1617, f. A2r].

85 See Karol Badecki, *Polska fraszka mieszczańska...*, p. 131-132, 257-258.

86 Marcin Bielski, *Rozmowa nowych proroków dwu baranów*, Kraków 1587, quote from Ignacy Chrzanowski, *Marcin Bielski...*, p. 163.

villages and a proverb instead.” By this call, Fredro definitely joins the group of radical publicists voicing their opinions on the Italian presence.⁸⁷

Lukasz Opaliński also ascribed the negative evolution of Old Polish habits to Italian influences: “And I say that ugly and unpleasant is in my eyes this Poland gone Italian...” he wrote in the dialogue *Rozmowa pana z ziemianinem* from 1641, expressing hope for return of old good nature and asceticism or even thrift. “Because the over prodigality proliferates increasingly, nothing good to Poland, our homeland, can it bring.” So it turns out that holy parsimony—namely frugality, along with kind-heartedness—were driven out of the country due to Italian influence.⁸⁸ “When a Pole becomes Italian, a Masurian gets courtly and a Ruthenian becomes Polonized—nobody will be able to equal them” wrote Jan Żabczyc. This author’s remarks—though one may be tempted to interpret it the other way round—were intended to symbolise unnatural and improbable but not necessarily only wrong changes.⁸⁹

Under Jan Kazimierz Vasa

The two-decade reign of the last Vasa on the Polish throne is regarded as a landmark in the history of the Polish-Lithuanian state and the beginning of deep, irreversible crisis of its structures and economy. The most ill-natured—not without reason—even wondered whether the Latin royal initials I.C.R., Ioannes Casimirus Rex, should not be more aptly read as *Initium Calamitatis Regni*, The Beginning of the Collapse of the Kingdom. This period is also of crucial importance to our subject. Society, wracked by wars and economic crisis, evidently changed its attitude to strangers, showed increasing irritation to foreigners, viewed more often as the causes of all calamities, troubles and difficulties. This attitude is most clearly seen in the pages of political commentary. Interpretation of available texts,⁹⁰ though reading them is not easy due to the complexity of the Old Polish language, is not a very difficult task. The authors wanted to be understood by as wide an audience as possible, and so they presented their theses in a rather straightforward fashion. It is worth adding that a caesura around the mid-17th century seems obvious as regards deterioration of public opinion regarding foreigners—due to the Cossack-

87 Andrzej Maksymilian Fredro, *Przysłowia mów potocznych...*, p. 50-51.

88 Łukasz Opaliński, *Pisma polskie...*, p. 19.

89 Jan Żabczyc, *Polityka dworskie*, Kraków 1637, p. 12; quote from Andrzej Litwornia, *Le „Delizie italiane”...*, p. 342.

90 *Pisma polityczne z czasów panowania Jana Kazimierza Wazy, 1648-1668. Publicystyka – eksorbitancje – projekty – memoriały*, compilation Stefania Ochmann-Staniszevska, vol. I: 1648-1660, vol. II: 1661-1664, vol. III: 1665-1668, Wrocław-Warsaw 1989-1991.

Polish wars and Swedish invasion, causing ruin and impoverishment of society and dwindling tolerance to strangers. At that time, anti-foreign overtones appear in the commentary texts on a mass scale, and in part they display anti-Italian moods. We do not deal here, however, with basically new content, but rather with an intensification of the trend and a certain shift in accents.

The presence of foreigners in the army was criticised harshly. Their being given officer ranks, which allegedly threatened the privileges of nobility, was thought particularly objectionable.⁹¹ Publicists of that time were even more irritated by diplomatic mission being conferred upon foreigners. During the interregnum that followed Władysław IV's demise, some noblemen asked why, in breach of the "new law on foreigners," Francesco Bibboni (from Bologna) was nominated as an official representative of the Polish court in Madrid, where he was to replace a native Polish diplomat, Stanisław Mąkowski, abbot of Lubin and royal secretary; The noblemen also demanded explanations to why there continued the "residence at court" of similar "foreign fraudsters."⁹²

In the 1660s, another professional diplomat, Lodovico Fantoni—canon of Warmia and royal secretary, who went several times on missions to France, where, amongst other things, he tested the water regarding the chances of Prince de Condé's candidacy for the Polish throne—stirred the irritation of public opinion with his services to the Polish court.⁹³ Interestingly, even those reluctantly disposed towards Fantoni never questioned his professional skills, which he had allegedly demonstrated since the times of Władysław IV. Therefore, Jan Kazimierz conferred French missions upon a prepared and experienced diplomat, "who the laws and habits of the Kingdom [France], also the interests of its most prominent Houses, knew well," as was written in *Relacyja szwedzkiej wojny* (certainly written in 1662). But in other texts of this time, many highly unfriendly remarks concerning his foreign origin were formulated.⁹⁴

Among the posultates formed at the 1672 Sejm by the nobility, one could read: "Envoys will not be sent in legation to foreign nations, but only Polish nobility." It followed, "HRH keeps Siri at imperial court in Vienna, Mancini in Rome, de Berau in Paris, and pays them considerable salaries each year..."⁹⁵ We should note that in two cases (out of three) the criticism concerned Italians who

91 *Pisma polityczne JKW...*, vol. III, p. 85, 113, 137.

92 *Ibidem*, vol. I, p. 4.

93 See *Memorial eksorbitancji główniejszych...* (1666), *Pisma polityczne JKW...*, vol. III, p. 135.

94 "There have been several missions to this Condé, but *novissime* went Fantoni, an Italian, canon of Warmia, often *exul et deprehensus* in many disgraceful things" – *Pisma polityczne JKW...*, vol. II, p. 49, see also p. 124.

95 *Pisma do wieku i spraw Jana Sobieskiego...*, vol. I, p. 987.

were entrusted not only with positions as Polish ambassadors in Rome but also at the emperor's court.

It is also worth noting at this point that, although the words of outrage quoted above are directed against foreigners meddling in Polish affairs, they also highlighted the perceived natural superiority of the native diplomat over someone from outside providing these services (Mąkowski vs. Bibboni). Thus one may get the impression that Polish opinion was opposite to that which prevailed in Europe at that time, where little attention was given to the nationality and origin of a diplomat, as it was his knowledge of the diplomatic art that mattered. Whereas, in the view of the Polish nobility, loyalty to a lord, which was to be guaranteed by native descent of a diplomat, prevailed over these professional skills. Hence the applied criteria of trust, reliability and professionalism were different.

So, those coming to Poland were untrustworthy; there arose even the term “foreigner charlatan” (*ciarlatan cudzoziemiec*). This word described a man always lying (and not knowing local realities), pursuing material gains at the cost—which is obvious when reading between the lines—of the local people.⁹⁶ The eternal accusation of getting rich is joined by the issue of the infiltration of local social structures by foreigners by taking advantage of weaknesses in the system.

A negative character in *Awizy z Warszawy do jednego ziemianina 1667 anno* is Bianchi, who “still not satisfied with his fortune from ell [meaning ‘trade in textiles’], bought the *Supremus Notarius Thesauri* office, by which he shamed Poles as if there was no one among them appropriate for these things.” The clerk at the crown treasury, Jacek Bianchi (Bianki), is the real person described here. He was a financially successful merchant, but this “fortune from ell” (a term not deprived of scorn) was not enough for him. He spent part of his money on obtaining the office of clerk at the treasury, by which he disgraced Poles because such an office should be given to one of the locals. Hence, an Italian merchant, who got rich by trade, and permanently linked himself with Poland, became an official of the Commonwealth. Later, the text displays easily recognisable propaganda: Bianchi did not pay money due for the upkeep of the army (which in any case was probably not done by any grand treasurer in that time), yet maintained before his superiors that he had; and, by participating in machinations on financial market (“he hid gold and good coin and paid a forfeit”), he also raised a “horrendous profit, visible to everyone.”⁹⁷ In the period of stormy monetary perturbations, this “horrendous profit” resulted from paying dues in bad money, namely in coin with a face value significantly higher than its commodity value.

96 “they butter up our arses well” – *Pisma polityczne JKW...*, vol. II, p. 32.

97 *Ibidem*, vol. III, p. 213.

The specific case of Bianchi in the next paragraph is generalised; some other foreigners are mentioned who did similar things. Another element is added here, or rather is highlighted, crucial from the perspective of infiltration processes into Old Polish society by foreigners: “who has a village and being a simple peasant made himself a foreign nobleman—received *indygenat* through such fraud.” Namely, a foreign noble title (meaning: of no value) and purchase of some estate (which done by a non-noblemen is legally dubious) grants admission to the nobility of the Commonwealth. Such dealings must have particularly irritated noble observers, who reacted with righteous indignation and demanding that any such fraudster should be taught a proper lesson.

So he should be deprived of property, “to give all of his to the army, and tie him on a rope under a barge haul from Warsaw back to Kraków by the Vistula River so that he may see himself reflected in his family of Italians.” This due penalty, therefore, was to be elaborate and refined. To indicate to the intruder his rightful place in society, he was to forfeit all possessions, being tied under a punt (a symbol of righteous trading by noblemen) and hauled by the line (upstream). Disregarding justice itself (confiscated property would go to military men, deprived of due pay) and the elaborate punishment, it is worth noticing that the culprit was to be hauled “back to Kraków” to make him “look at himself in his family.” It is beyond doubt that the Italian community is meant here, as still then unequivocally associated with Kraków. It is as well to mention that this literary and very vivid vision, published in an occasional news sheet, proved not only utter exasperation with the described dealings, but also the helplessness of disgruntled parties to do anything about it.

We draw attention to this because—in our opinion, precisely at that time, in the second half of the 17th century—two complementing tendencies may be observed, which dramatically aggravated the image of Italians in Old Polish society: first, the growing anti-foreign moods, the reasons for which have been mentioned; second, it was the Italians who were in the foreground of social awareness among groups of foreigners. Quoted fragments of political commentary frequently contain examples that are in content generally anti-foreign, but raise primarily anti-Italian associations.

“I know that Italian terms he does not like to apply.” This remark, made by deputy chancellor of the crown Andrzej Olszowski about Stanisław Suchecki, the castellan of Rozprza, was meant to be a definite compliment, pertaining—in this instance—to an important figure on the political scene of that time, and signifying—first of all—that the castellan was an honest person, hence a trustworthy political partner.⁹⁸ This sentence may be treated as a reflection of the apogee of the negative

98 Ibidem, vol. III, p. 194.

Italian stereotype, the important element of which—concerning dishonesty and unreliability—used to be applied in common parlance in total detachment from the factual Italian context.

Such terms as Rome and Venice, symbols of Italian power, and also—especially in the case of Rome—tradition, also take on a new light. Venice still occurs in neutral contexts—as an economic power or potential political partner in the struggle with Turkey, and an important point of reference and comparison, especially in the scope of the organisation of social life. “They say that in Venice senators are not rich”—stated an anonymous advocate of quarter army (mercenary, standing army) in 1662, appealing in this way to representatives of the local authority elite to pay not too much heed to the value of material goods. But simultaneously, Venice as a potential political partner aroused growing distrust. The treachery of the Venetian envoy Giovanni Tiepolo was pointed out. He persuaded the Commonwealth to allocate great sums for army recruitment; he then withdrew from his commitment and broke his obligations to the Polish-Lithuanian party. Mistrust, observed since the end of the 16th century, appeared enhanced.⁹⁹

Rome, in the Old Polish period always had two meanings, and more precisely two chronological references: ancient and contemporary—associated mainly with the Papacy. Ancient references are clearly positive, but are of far less significance for our topic. In the Old Polish opinion, there was no clear correlation (and probably rightly so), between ancient Romans and the contemporary inhabitants of Italy, who need not have the same virtues and values as their great predecessors. Antiquity remained a model and point of reference. The phrase, “Look to Rome” (and similar examples from ancient history and references to ancient heroes), can be found in many authors and in many contexts. From the same cultural sphere come maxims also worth quoting, starting with the words: “For, as it has been said in Rome. . . .”¹⁰⁰

Contemporary Rome had a much worse press. We may read in the manifesto of one of the confederations formed in 1662: “Here, it’s not Rome, where lampoons they hide by day – though at night display.” Thus, the core of Roman custom was perceived as mendacity and duplicity. Any models flowing from that source only deepened the negative tendencies contributing to the decline of the homeland, as for example the distribution of crucial state offices to representatives of the clique of magnates, to which foreigners on the Polish throne were especially predisposed and in which they resembled Popes distributing bishoprics *in partibus infidelium* (devoid of value as lying in lands occupied by infidels).¹⁰¹

99 Ibidem, vol. I, p. 35, 40; vol. II, p. 61; vol. III, p. 212.

100 Ibidem, vol. I, p. 65, 122, 169; vol. II, p. 84, 151; vol. III, p. 234.

101 Ibidem, vol. II, p. 106; vol. III, p. 290.

References to the modern history of Rome are also less frequent,¹⁰² which seems to testify that the role of this centre as point of reference (historical, intellectual and emotional) existed, but on lesser scale. Contemporary Rome was, to Sarmatians often a symbol of remoteness. Andrzej Maksymilian Fredro, in the context of the expected *interregnum*, appealed for the nobles “to attend to Crimea, and not Roman and Parisian doings,” which in free translation meant that the interests of the state should be attended to in order to secure it from the real threat (the Tatars), and that political machinations in European high society should not be a consideration.¹⁰³

Only once, in a mini-treatise on political systems, we find a reference to a modern author as an authority: the historian Paolo Giovio da Como and his history of 1492–1547, which spanned 45 books. But this treatise, dated 1660 (exactly 100 years after the publication of Giovio’s treatise), is ascribed specifically to Andrzej Maksymilian Fredro, which would account for its intellectual level and considerable number of erudite references.¹⁰⁴

Burgher Literature

Less is known about the attitude to foreigners in burgher communities, as their representatives did not express their opinions on political and social issues in written texts so extensively. An interesting Italian motif is found in Adam Władysławiusz piece entitled *Historia trefna*. The author delivers an amusing case of a burgher’s son who went with merchandise to Gdańsk “for some gain,” namely to trade.¹⁰⁵ During his stay in lodgings an unpleasant and—as it followed—costly event occurred. While sitting down on a bench, he did not notice a puppy hidden by a cushion, and inadvertently killed it. Its owner showed little understanding and—backed by a court judgment—enforced the confiscation of the merchandise to cover the disproportionately high, 600 zł fine. So, in this way, the business trip of an inexperienced Masurian man haplessly ended.

The following part was written a few years later, after a longer, educational stay in Italy. The stay abroad was not only intended to furnish the youth with knowledge, but also to instil some shrewdness (“so that he practices the sly Italian art”). After some years, the character, now “walking in the Italian way,” returned to the fateful inn, where he struck a deal with the innkeeper that he will keep some

102 Ibidem, vol. I, p. 78.

103 Ibidem, vol. III, p. 234.

104 *Dyskurs o mianowaniu na Królestwo Polskie...* – ibidem, vol. I, p. 252-254.

105 Adam Władysławiusz, *Krotofile ucieszne i żarty rozmaite*, in: Karol Badecki, *Polska fraszka mieszczańska...*, p. 19-21.

merchandise for a couple of days. This merchandise proved to be a hundred well-fed hounds, surreptitiously brought to the stockyard, and then left unattended by the owner for several days. Closed in and deprived of food, the beasts started howling and made such a noise that neighbours protested so much that the innkeeper was forced to set free the whole pack.

Now was the time for revenge. The innkeeper was accused of not keeping his agreement and also the depraving of precious property—a pack of dogs that were allegedly to be given as present to closer unidentified “overseas kings.” The court to which this accusation was filed had to—willingly or not—refer back to the ruling from several years before. The claim, therefore, proved successful. After a short period of bargaining between the parties, a suitable compensation was settled, many times more than the loss from years before (“for each dog 300 zł they agreed”). The Masurian, having earned “around fifteen thousand,” returned comfortably home. This is how effective Italian education was! It is nonetheless unclear whether the significance of this story was positive (resourcefulness) or negative (shrewdness verging on cunning) in reference to the Italian image. However, it is easy to find a general warning in this story, against Italian cleverness and effectiveness in pursuing their rights as businessmen.

Straightforwardly—very ironically, and not wholly parliamentarily—a certain Baltyzer from Kalisz district spoke about Italian education, lamenting the plight of a betrayed husband, who—despite foreign travels—could not curb his cunning and misbehaving wife (“She was more smart, though she has not been in Italy”).¹⁰⁶

In the same author, we also find a rhymed criticism of different culinary customs, by all means resembling mocking texts created in the noble environment. During the “Italian feast,” one could hardly wait for the dishes to be served, and when they finally arrived at the table, they proved to be meatless. Later, a representative of Italian nationality, to whom the author spoke directly, learned how a proper banquet should look, namely, how “in Poland we feast.” This topic became the subject of a very characteristic reproach that, in the Italian version, the form completely dominated the culinary substance.¹⁰⁷

However, the most interesting fact proves to be the poem of Jan of Kijany, *Różność nacyj z ich własnościami*. This poem is a further compilation that is analogous to the previously quoted text of the features and characteristics of various nationalities (“Turkish Trait,” “A Hungarian,” “An Italian,” “A German,” “A Spaniard,” “Englishmen,” “Arabs,” “Poles,” “A Muscovite,” “A Lutheran,”

106 Baltyzer z kaliskiego powiatu [Baltyzer from the district of Kalisz], *Biesiad rozkosznych część wtóra* – ibidem, p. 255.

107 Ibidem, p. 257-258.

“A Ruthenian”).¹⁰⁸ We will not discuss it in detail here. Emphasising the rather gentle tone of the whole, and the insignificant number of highly negative evaluations and biting remarks, we wish merely to compare our Italian to others. To start off, we can compose a short list of descriptions: Ruthenians were probably the worst of all, their characteristics are limited to pervasive thievery; Muscovites were enemies of Poles but yielding to them on the battlefield; Lutherans (the only group distinguished according to purely religious criterion) are unusual and different; Germans were haughty and arrogant, comprehensively presented but with a prevalence of reluctance and disdain; Turks were rich, powerful, armed, and, for the time being, not dangerous; Arabs were merchants, wealthy, and assessed without emotion; similarly, the Hungarians were thrifty, with good merchandise, and the only distinction was that they were from a different creed. Finally, the Englishmen and Spaniards were assessed highly. The former were seen as courageous merchants, trading with Poles to mutual benefit, while the latter were perfect in military art.

How does the Italian look in comparison? Definitely positively: he looks like a maker of beautiful buildings and artistic artefacts (“Italian stone planes and cuts / Beautiful buildings he constructs / Churches, castles, towers / and to make splendid pictures is in his power.”), and a man of great ability, agile, and brightness (“Whatever he takes up has a successful end / And he can embellish anything with his hand.”). But, nonetheless, an element of scorn is also present in this characteristic that pertains to the frailness of body and lack of belligerence, and is satisfied with simple fare.

However, in bourgeois literature, the frequency of the occurrence of Italian threads proves relatively small, and the blade of criticism much blunted. This is, let us remark, contrary to our expectations (for it seems that the bourgeois opinion on Italians and their interaction in Poland would be decisively unfavourable), that representatives of this class were inclined to see in Italians rivals, and, moreover, to perceive all dangers flowing from their presence. However, we notice neither fierceness nor strong anti-Italian emotions in the quoted literature. Even “Italian diseases,” which are mentioned in a poem of the same title by Jan of Kijany, are only a result of an unhealthy diet, and not of some morally whimsical behaviour. Bourgeois literature thus, in the contexts of interest to us, followed noble literature, adopting a lenient tone with elements of irony and even disrespect, but devoid of frontal attack and outright criticism.¹⁰⁹

108 Jan z Kijany, *Fraszki sowirzala nowego*, in: Karol Badecki, *Polska fraszka mieszczańska...*, p. 169-175.

109 See Jan z Kijany, *Nowy sowirzał abo raczej nowyrzał*, in: *ibidem*, p. 131.

Attitudes to Foreign Education

The negation of foreign influences and condemnation of any submission to them particularly concerned young people. This conservative attitude assumed the idealisation of native, preferably ‘ancient,’ customs, which were set against external and thoroughly detrimental ‘novelties’. Yielding to them—it was argued—destroyed a sound moral construction, and led to decay and fall. Hence the critique of foreign educational travels.

Wacław Potocki showed concern in observing the trend for travelling: “As if ashamed of Old Polish habits were we / to fetch foreign ones travel oversea.”¹¹⁰ Andrzej Maksymilian Fredro echoed, “New Poles—applying foreign advice—became disgusted with home order.”¹¹¹ This author was most unequivocal in his fight against imported novelties, in which he showed much orientation and erudition: “What’s the use of knowing what happened in foreign lands or in Rome, and not knowing what happens home. It is a curiosity to know foreign things, and a necessity to know one’s own... Livy is more beautiful but to us Kromer and Długosz are more needful, more subtle is Tacitus, but Orzechowski more useful to Polish issues...” Coming from Fredro, this was not a frontal attack, which would undermine values available abroad, but rather a refined argument proving that these values did not match Polish realities. And since they did not match, then their final outcome must prove harmful: “thus foreign habits imported to Poles, though good in themselves, are truly evil; if they are not adjusted to the Polish government in Polish fashion, they will disfigure or harm Poles more than help. There will be more depravity from abroad than knowledge; more permissiveness and softness than kindness; more mischief than amusement.”¹¹² Irrespective of the moral traditionalists’ voices, the fashion for studying abroad and the relatively mass scale of educational travel by the Polish noble youth is undeniable. Clearly, arguments for usefulness of qualifications acquired abroad for future careers and activity in the public forum prevailed, and a foreign education, especially one obtained in Italy, was consistently highly valued. Importantly, such attitudes to foreign peregrination were not confined to circles of the noble financial elite. Maciej Vorbek-Lettow—future doctor of Władysław IV, from a German but Polonised family, born in Vilnius, studying first at schools in Königsberg and Gdańsk—although surely not rich was nevertheless (due to his father’s determination) able to make an educational journey in his youth. However, on his tour of Europe, he

110 Wacław Potocki, *Cudzoziemskie ćwiczenia*, l. 3-10, in: Wacław Potocki, *Pisma wybrane...*, vol. II, p. 103.

111 Andrzej Maksymilian Fredro, *Przysłowia mów potocznych...*, p. 50.

112 Ibidem, p. 3, 48; see also Mikołaj Bobowski, *Wychowanie panicza polskiego za granicą...*, p. 29; A. J. [Aleksander Jelski], *Zarys obyczajów szlachty...*, vol. I, p. 153n.

fell into financial troubles in Paris, which forced him to take on occasional jobs as a means to make his living abroad.

In such circumstances, working for other travellers—who were heading in the same direction but were devoid of material worries—was a chance to continue the tour. Such a chance soon occurred, and Vorbek-Lettow continued to travel unhurriedly via the Netherlands to Italy as servant of Fryderyk and Alexander Sapiehas, sons of Mikołaj, the voivode of Brześć. As he put it in his diary, he served—“only for bread” since magnate young masters “paid nothing for service and I had to buy my clothes.” However, when after some time, Lettow attempted to negotiate his situation, the tutor and chaperone of Sapiehas gave him the categorical answer: “it is enough that you can see foreign lands at the masters’ side.”¹¹³

It is worth adding that foreign legations were also an important part of a dream career. In his educational instructions for his son, Jan, Aleksander Ługowski pointed to the necessity of studying foreign languages (in this case, German), underlining that this is a condition of success in public diplomatic service: “and also public legations to foreign lands, those maketh who foreign languages speaketh.” Analogous arguments, which is understandable because of his high social standing, were used by Jakub Sobieski in his educational instruction.¹¹⁴

Instead of a Conclusion—Gabriel Krasiński

When reflecting on the conclusion to be drawn for this complex process of clash and gradual replacement of Italophilia by Italophobia,¹¹⁵ we would like to mention yet another text, a model for Italophobia, as it formulates all of the fundamental charges and grievances, and simultaneously cements the basic sequence of events. We mean here the verse treatise by Gabriel Krasiński *Taniec Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, specifically the part entitled *Lament Korony Polskiej*, in which Terrygena (a local man, long-settled) gives Peregryn (a wanderer, and a foreigner) the *Lament* to read.¹¹⁶

The whole text was written piecemeal, in 1655–1669, while the fragment of interest comes from c. 1657. The adopted form of dialogue is actually fictitious and only has to justify the close detail of narration, required by Peregryn’s lack of knowledge. In fact, it presents a homogeneous and copious argument by

113 Maciej Vorbek-Lettow, *Skarbnica pamięci...*, p. 40.

114 [Ługowski], *Jasia Ługowskiego podróże do szkół...*, p. 120; Jakub Sobieski, *Instrukcja synom moim...* p. 33-34.

115 Henryk Barycz, *Italofile i italofobi...*, p. 65.

116 Gabriel Krasiński, *Taniec Rzeczypospolitej...*, p. 120-133.

Terrygena with merely trite answers by Peregryn. Let us investigate the line of this “lamenting” argument.

First we learn that the Commonwealth is threatened by foes from every side: “Muscovite from the east, Swedes from the north, Italus from the west.” Italians are hence mentioned in one line with the Muscovite and Swedish threat... and this is only the prologue.

The motive of coming—we read—is the poverty of Italians, who “have no relief in their Italian land,” contrasting with Polish abundance. An Italian arriving in Poland can effectively beguile influential people, and, often applying deceit, engage in trade and all other profitable activity, namely taking mines and mints on lease. Starting from a deplorable condition (“He drags himself here, poor, gaunt and pale”), the Italian advances socially and financially (“And just after six months have passed since he has come / even father would not recognise in such a lord his son.”), and group solidarity helps him to reinforce his position (“They like to flock together, like shoemakers do”).

Successful assimilation leads to change of attitude and image (“Only after spending a few years in Kraków... / he trimms and styles his moustache / makes his face pleasing with hair iron and by perfume splash”). The negative traits of the Italian immigrants’ character, systematically enumerated, are also revealed: false piety (“...when they pomposly go to shrine / it’s not for worship but to feed their eyes on ladies fine”); promiscuity (“To seduce a fair maid, to live with her non-nuptially / They can”); self-importance (“So high is their self-conceit / have all nations in disregard complete”); haughtiness and self-seeking (“before a common man an Italian will not doff his cap”); cunningness and slyness (“Italian cunning is profuse / Always makes profit and never lose”); secrecy and duplicity (“By all means he is like a Jew / Equally great swindlers that may trick you”); disloyalty and reluctance to do anything for the common good (“And when Mars triumphs, terror and fright / Italians with their stock promptly resort to flight”); lack of inclination to any charity acts (“this nation is so stone-hearted that it’s hard to see it ever giving something”) and to military art (“For I’ve not seen any Italian that would experience severe Mars here yet...”).

When undertaking minting—the author continued—Italians do not meet their commitments; they lead to the outflow of bullion and debasement of local currency (“My gold, alas! is taken away from me... while all better coins are hidden deep / and I’m left only with copper coins clinking”), by which they ruin the country like a foe (“Because our treasury is small and lean / not only foes’ loot / but a *Machiavel’s* too”). The accumulated wealth gave the Italian arrivals a disproportionately strong position (“Polish youth prefer to serve an Italian / than sons of Polish land”); with bribery they acquired influence at royal court (“They charm with Midas, Phrygian king’s, meals”), and equally fatal proved to be the

trend for studying in Italy, which should be stopped (“They should to Podolia more attention pay / and with sabres keep the enemy at bay”). This harmful activity should be prevented before it is too late (“Oh, may your lord’s mint no longer has he / but let *Italus* be sent straight to the gallows tree”).

This quite simple line of thought is complemented by another grievance, namely that despite the evident inequality in Polish-Italian relations, Italians treated their stay in Poland as temporary (“In Kraków they do not want to establish houses / but prefer to rent kamienicas there”). With cold calculation, they accumulate treasures in order to take them back upon their return to their homeland (“What he first hid in hose and sacks / now from my Kraków on wagons stacks / and takes this fraud to his country”), and these dealings were repeated by next waves of immigrants (“Though ones, with well stuffed purses, leave me / soon others in their place I see / who come with empty pouches instead”). In this situation, the desire to get rid of Italians is the more obvious and understandable (“May Italy you all swiftly embrace / so that in my memory of you there is no trace”), and the wish to remove the intruders—in the final part of the text—takes the form of a prayer (“Oh Jesus, you have trading Jews expelled / from your holy house, let us be so helped / drive away these traitors from Kraków mine”).

What, then, would happen when this were done? Actually, it is not clear. One suggestion is that trade would return to Polish hands, but this suggestion is very delicate and cannot be considered a realistic proposal. In fact, no such proposal is contained in the treatise, which ends rather with a declaration of the author’s lack of trust in the effectiveness of measures that could be taken against Italians, due to Polish lack of consistency (“we speak a lot but no action is taken / Though we make a decision, soon it is forsaken”). Thus, powerful emotions are accompanied by accents proving helplessness and resignation.

Kraśiński’s treatise in its anti-Italian part may be viewed as a subjective description of three main phases characterising the arrivals of Italians to Poland: a) they came impoverished, with no property or background; b) they enriched themselves at the expense of local people, and did not give anything in exchange (there is no use for them, they bring only losses—material but also in social models and the sphere of morals); c) having accumulated wealth, they left the exploited country and returned to their native land. The Italian stays in Poland therefore resembled a repeated enemy invasion. This trend, though naturally detrimental, was, as a matter of fact, unavoidable, since Polish society lacked the determination to counter it. Such was the bitter conclusion of one of the staunchest Italophobes.

In the Circle of Stereotypes

The literary and commentary texts we quoted, irrespective of environment they were written in, undeniably referred to popular ideas and stereotypes active at that time. An attempt to recreate this stereotype is necessary, though not an easy task.

A researcher of human behaviour, psychologist or sociologist, will say that one's attitude to strangers is an element of building one's own identity. There are several ways of constructing images of outsiders, in the framework of the so-called ideological schemes. Basically, however, all of them assume ascribing to foreigners certain traits, which action is conditioned by the emotions and attitudes of a given group, and often reflects its own complexes, uncertainties and frustrations. Also, a negative projection of one's own set of values onto the perceived nationality's image often takes place. In this case, the projection tends to exhibit traits contrary to those that are valued in one's own group.

Though the process of updating research methodology undeniably advances, national stereotypes, especially those formulated and functioning in the past, seem a mystery. On the one hand, stereotypical images are influenced by outstanding figures, universally known and easily identifiable; on the other hand, the sum of all individual experiences occurring in private sphere. However, these individual experiences are not a necessary factor. A stereotypical image may be irrational, constructed uniquely on the basis of hearsay, which, spreading in a given community, reinforces the common conviction of its validity.

In any case, a historian interested in stereotypes is condemned to rely only on interpreting written texts created and functioning in a historical and, therefore, poorly lit context.¹¹⁷ In reconstructing a stereotype, a multitude of instances and their ambiguity may pose a problem, as may the variety of contexts in which they appear. For there is no single image of an Italian, French person, or German, detached from social context, from a community expressing generalised opinions and—importantly—unwilling to verify them.

Let us remark at this point that stereotypes, despite their semblance of permanence, are not timeless; they evolve and change sometimes radically.¹¹⁸ Hence, the reason why there is trouble with recreating them in reference to particular historical epochs. Aphorisms may be used to only a minor degree, for their creation

117 See Aleksandra Niewiara, *Wyobrażenia o narodach...*, p. 14-15.

118 One of the most vivid examples of such an evolution is the stereotype of a German, who as late as in the 18th century was still associated with a cultural, slightly naïve and good-natured person with a poetic streak, rather than a non-commissioned officer in Prussian style. Brutality and a soldier's coarse manner was then associated primarily with the French – due to frequent military interventions by Louis XIII and XIV France, which touched many regions.

and popularity cannot usually be dated precisely, and the representativeness of literary voices is even more difficult to assess. Nevertheless, attempts should be made time and again, as stereotypes are of crucial importance for our topic.

The Stereotype of an Italian

The Old Polish stereotype of an Italian was surely created and functioned according to the above rules, though individual experiences must have been of great significance for its formation. This stereotype was made of the contemporary opinions on some excellent, generally known, representatives of the Italian nation, who may also have had no unmediated contact with Poland. Also, the opinions about Italians held by those of the Commonwealth who visited Italy (as students, for example) were influential. Finally, the stereotype of interest to us was formed by impressions and observations concerning Italians who came to Poland in successive generations.

The problem of the image of an Italian in the Commonwealth first requires one to pose a question about the degree of the new arrival's identification with ancient tradition. Namely, whether contemporary inhabitants of Italy were regarded by members of the Polish nobility (for their opinion was of crucial importance) as heirs of their ancient predecessors, for if so their image would automatically profit. However, it appears that this was not the case. Ancient Rome and the achievements of its citizens—unquestioned by Old Polish opinion—was a separate reality, associated with modern Italy mainly in geographical categories (as antiquity left its major traces there). But material remains were not much cared about at that time, nor were ancient ruins approached with the veneration of later generations, especially as they basically represented a pre-Christian world. Of greater importance was the historical and intellectual tradition, which, however, remained a separate phenomenon, as suggested by, among other documents, the records of an anonymous traveller, who visited Italy and Spain in 1595.¹¹⁹

Since the respect with which antiquity was treated had no immediate consequences for the modern image of those who lived in Italy, then we should go back to realities of that time and examine the factors forming the stereotype. In reference to outstanding individuals about whom opinions of a general type were formulated, we deal with a rather small group of just a few people: Queen Bona, Callimachus, and Machiavelli. Opinions about them were mainly negative due to the black legend of the queen (a crafty poisoner), which developed much later; the image of *Rady Kallimachowe*, fixed in commentary as cynical advice to the king;

119 [Anon. 1595], *Anonima diariusz peregrynacji włoskiej...*, p. 68.

and the general (and in most cases not based on reading the text) conviction of the cynicism and perfidy of Niccolò Machiavelli's instructions.

If we add to this group Queen Catherine de' Medici—symbol of cruelty and religious intolerance—then it will show that well-known and widely recognisable figures contributed decidedly badly to the Italian stereotype. This situation will look better if we include, besides politicians and advisers, several of the most distinguished creators of culture (mainly poets like Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and later Tasso, Ariosto and Marino, as well as thinkers, erudites, and theologians like Enea Silvio Piccolomini, Giovanni Botero, and Cesare Baronio), and thus respectable individuals, even though the associations they aroused were not very precise. Their names typically resounded in a positive context, albeit in the guise of erudite ornaments that proved education and orientation in European culture of those who cited them, but without considerable significance to the formation of the stereotype.

An Italian in Italy

What was important for the problem of rapport with Italians and possible social acceptance of their mass arrivals was, on the one hand, the attitude of the courtly-intellectual elite, and on the other hand, group opinions formulated by representatives of the nobility in particular regions of the state. In the 16th century, both groups had access to foreign education, hence the question: what, from this perspective, were the consequences of the younger generations of magnates and the gentry going to Italy to study?

On a mass scale, we are condemned to guesses, which in the initial period rather suggest a positive answer (by the way, the recollections of foreign studies by the wealthy young are invariably and timelessly fond). Intensive travels for knowledge and experiences lasted incessantly from the mid-16th century, and so at least several subsequent generations accepted this trend and even believed that peregrination across Italy and a longer stay at one of its universities was an indispensable element of a sound, comprehensive education. But, in addition, impressions and recollections linked with the Italian hosts could not only have been positive, especially as—for obvious reasons—we deal here with conflict-provoking relations, connected with necessary supplies (the price of purchased products), accommodation services (renting a lodging—its price and quality), and the possible cost of educational services. Here, indeed, loomed a real danger of a negative stereotype formation.

We imagine that, regardless of those prosaic things, respect prevailed for the inhabitants of this land of high culture, who were creating matching goods and implementing interesting political system solutions. Therefore, models remained

objectively attractive in both the 16th and 17th centuries, but over time their attractiveness to the Polish-Lithuanian youth and their parents must have waned, and so the scale of their influence. It seems that reasons for the dropping off in the number of educational travels were on the Polish-Lithuanian side. Dwindling financial resources related to the economic crisis, as well as the transformations of Sarmatian culture, concentrating more on “selfness” and its apotheosis, and not on “foreignness,” lay at the core of the gradual withdrawal of the gentry (but not magnate elites) from foreign education. This was not caused by some sharp deterioration of relations with the inhabitants of Italy, which would result in the change of the direction of travels and more frequent avoidance of the Peninsula during route planning. Such a trend is not observed, despite the objectively progressing marginalisation of Italy and Italian centres in relation to alternative centres on the Old Continent, such as, first of all, France and the Netherlands, and, after some time, England too.

So what were the impressions and recollections that Polish travellers brought from Italy, and to what extent could they influence the stereotype we are investigating? Interestingly, relatively few descriptions of looks survived—insignificant height, a lean body shape, swarthy complexion, dark eyes. Generally, this was a banal and hard to question image, in so far as we mean representatives of southern Italy, because northern Italians surely did not draw attention with any difference of physiognomy at all.¹²⁰

Italians were quite often recalled as fond of merriment, music, and singing; generally, they were seen as a “merry people,” explained by their good climate; they also had artistic talents that were particularly recorded by Jakub Sobieski. A straightforward demeanour, combined with kindness and politeness, were also often enumerated as Italian qualities.¹²¹

Frequent raptures over climate or beautiful landscapes were accompanied by remarks on the abundance and wealth of particular towns and entire regions (especially in the north—Lombardy, Liguria, and Piedmont). Wealth was usually related to high prices of goods and services, and this was, in fact, an ever present concern for those touring Europe from east to west. Maciej Rywocki, writing of “Rome’s expensiveness,” was one of many, since travel accounts and letters

120 See the remarks of Anon. 1595 – *ibidem*, p. 18, and also Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki czasów moich...*, vol. 1, p. 287, with a portrayal of ambassador Lucchesini, saying that a glance would suffice to “tell that he is Italian, thin, olive-skinned, with big and dark eyes.”

121 [Anon. 1595], *Anonima dziennik peregrynacji włoskiej...*, p. 18; Jakub Sobieski, *Peregrynacja po Europie...*, p. 236, 255; see also Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki czasów moich...*, vol. 1, p. 213, vol. 2, p. 15, with mentions of “Italian kindness” and the opinion that Italians are “very polite to foreigners.”

were often penned by the chaperones of young men going to study. Their duties included arranging accommodation, meals, and everything else indispensable to an educational journey, as well explain the expenditure to the father, who paid for the journey. Laments on over-pricing were hence included, in order to prepare a parent who decided to invest in his son's career in this way for additional expenditures.¹²²

The travellers also paid attention to the mercantile character of their Italian hosts. They write about it very suggestively, in a tone not devoid of superiority; “none of them desires to know more but how to write, read or count. Counting is their foremost dignity [...] this nation is very covetous for money,” these observations come from the already cited anonymous traveller in Italy in 1595.¹²³ “Italians served eagerly but fleeced us handsomely” was how Stanisław Oświęcim depicted the innkeeper in the Carynthian-Venetian borderland when heading to Rome in 1645.¹²⁴ The remark was formulated with distance and without emotion, though it should be stressed that terseness is a hallmark of this author. This brief comment, after meeting the first representative of Italy on his route, must have been an effect of the consistency of Oświęcim's impressions with previous ideas about Italians: resourceful, ready to serve, but also very greedy, extorting more than due amounts. In 1646 Sebastian Gawarecki reported in his diary that the young Sobieskis were “not cheaply tended” by an Italian innkeeper near Montmelian, in Sabaudia.¹²⁵ This may be regarded as yet another example in the source material of Italian greed, but we may also treat this sort of remark as a banal example of timeless relations between client—from whose perspective prices are always too high—and those who offer goods or services and are of a completely different opinion about their worth.

It is beyond doubt that this down to earth, very mercantile, contact resulted in a whole bunch of grievances from clients, and consequently travel texts—though not devoid of accents pertaining to learnedness, courtly manners, elegance, and worldliness—emphasised Italian greed, cunningness and unreliability. The multiple reminiscences of Italian shrewdness and perfidy did not spare the hosts. The anonymous writer of 1595 used the term “Italian trick” in the context of self-interest and lack of honesty; Maciej Rywocki warned that one could not expect loyalty from an Italian employee, and, as late as the 18th century, Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz wrote about a “perfidious” Italian, who “had all Italian courtesy and cunning.”¹²⁶

122 [Rywocki] *Macieja Rywockiego księgi peregrynanckie...*, p. 190.

123 [Anon. 1595], *Anonima diariusz peregrynacji włoskiej...*, p. 55-56, 68.

124 [Oświęcim], *Stanisława Oświęcimsa Dyaryusz...*, p. 191.

125 Sebastian Gawarecki, *Droga do Francyjej...*, p. 125.

126 [Anon. 1595], *Anonima diariusz peregrynacji włoskiej...*, p. 34; [Rywocki] *Macieja Rywockiego księgi peregrynanckie...*, p. 189; Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki czasów moich...*, vol. 1, p. 294.

From the perspective of the Polish noble, restrained dining habits could be off-putting. This was mainly in terms of abundance that did not meet Sarmatian expectations (“plentitude of everything, not in Italian style, was served”),¹²⁷ the lack of encouragement to the guest to eat also received negative comment for, as is known, an imploration to ‘tuck in’ (an important element of Polish noblemen’s hospitality).

Jakub Sobieski was also critical of the mercantile attitude of Italians, but the future leading senator of the Commonwealth—showing his characteristic propensity to synthesise—was rather full of admiration for the visited country, which in another place he described as “a compendium of all Christianity,” adding immediately that “the Italian land is a small world in this world.” Sobieski’s travel diary makes us realise yet another, not marginal, problem of the Polish-Lithuanian travellers’ reactions to the political system differences discovered in Italy, which were often negatively assessed. Sobieski deplored the shuttered state structure of Italy (“this Italian land disinclines a bit by not being ruled by one lord”), which forced the traveller to the constant adaptation to new laws, customs, and currencies, as well as exposing him to repeated customs fees and tolls for crossing borders. But, simultaneously, he formulated an interesting opinion that “under one lord this whole Italian land” would be an unimaginably powerful state organism.¹²⁸

An Italian in Poland-Lithuania

An image not wholly identical was formed in Poland, certainly primarily on the basis of experiences from contacts with incoming Italians, though the mingling of the two images (the one being formed in Italy with that arising in the Commonwealth) must be regarded as highly probable. We should also remember that we have a clear change of perspective here. In Italy, at home, Italians are rather perceived as hosts of respect and representatives of an awe commanding civilisation, whereas Italians arriving in Poland are first of all men of action (merchants, craftsmen, artists, and so on). From the perspective of the Polish nobility, these people were representatives of professions that did not inspire respect.

Bearing in mind anti-Italian commentary texts, in our further discussion, we will refer to two other pieces of evidence that are quite similar to each other. The first piece is the literary and very typical (for the time) enumeration of traits of various nationalities on the basis of the shortest possible descriptions; the other texts are proverbs with Italian motifs. Both kinds of text are very concise. The superiority of compilations of national traits is that these works are in greater part

127 [Lubieniecki], *Diariusz drogi tureckiej (1640)*..., p. 127.

128 Jakub Sobieski, *Peregrynacja po Europie*..., p. 168, 181.

not anonymous and also may be quite precisely dated. In the case of proverbs, however, the social resonance must have been incomparably greater. The trouble is that usually the time of their origin and fixation in common awareness is hard to establish (a serious drawback from our viewpoint). This is because only some of the maxims containing Italian threads (and these hard to distinguish precisely) were created in the period of interest to us. Taking this into account, we will treat the collection of proverbs as a whole, and, only in specific cases, we will stress chronological doubts and indicate a possible later evolution of the reconstructed stereotype.

Stanisław Kot was a scholar interested in the interpretation of modern era texts in which traits of particular nationalities were compared. He published his most valuable texts on this subject—after the Second World War, in Rome and Oxford—under meaningful titles: *Descriptio Gentium* and *Nationum Proprietates*; the latter contains, unfortunately, more remarks on Poland's neighbours than on Italians.¹²⁹ In manuscript texts compared by the scholar, the nationality we are studying was ascribed the following qualities: "The Italian is witty but proud and vindictive.," "Italus—a lover, cherishing," "Italian for lute," "Italian—doctor."¹³⁰ This is rather unsatisfying for this research; the two middle characteristics concern readiness for flirtation, the latter indicates the medical profession (indeed quite frequently practised by Italians), and only the first imparts some image of wit, conceit, and vengefulness.

The copious poem *Cug celnych narodów* comes from a manuscript by Andrzej Lubieniecki, and so it was written in a dissenters' circle.¹³¹ Epithets pertaining to Italians abound, and surely they do not make a coherent whole. An Italian is "merry," "frolics and can make laugh," is "of graceful body," but is neither "handsome" nor "ugly," with "a bit savage" looks. He speaks "as if played in a comedy," but also in secrets "speaks little," "subtle but lazy," "eats little," "ready to woo," "significant in love," "leading in ceremonies," "proud of churches," and "a doctor," "keeps government" in the army, "will not digest easily a failure," "quick to good things but also vengeful," in his wit, he is "merry, unfaithful, cruel, jealous"; he is also compared to a fox and it is hard to imagine his image "without poisons and sodomy." On the whole, the Italian has an appealing physiognomy and quite keen intellect, but is psychologically rather stiff, obstinate, and deceitful.

129 These literary studies, together with the third dissertation, *Old International Insults and Praises* (Harvard Slavic Studies, vol. II, 1954), have been published in Stanisław Kot, *Polska Złotego Wieku a Europa...*, p. 693-873.

130 Stanisław Kot, *Nationum Proprietates...*, p. 8-9.

131 Stanisław Kot, "*Descriptio Gentium*"..., p. 177-182.

We get a slightly clearer image from fragments of the famous piece by Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski, *Descriptio gentium*, entirely devoted to descriptions of various nationalities, the Polish version of which we owe to Daniel Naborowski:

Italians full of grace, / with serious face,
 Sly at heart, / vile speaking is their art.
 Far they can see, / soon disgusted be,
 They act inconstantly, / right and wrong alternately.
 They can greatly yearn, / grudges nursed, not to be discern'd.
 Of envy full, / secretly spiteful,
 They lie in wait, secretive / planning to deceive,
 Though openly will not confront, / by ruse they kill and take what they want.¹³²

This is, undeniably, a portrait, and not so favourable, since what is emphasised is greed, instability, envy, secretiveness and vindictiveness. In the latter part of the quoted fragment (here, the fourth part has been quoted) the image improves a little—dinners, desserts, jokes, curiosity, hospitability, helpfulness, but there remain distrust, greed for distinction, and lack of military inclination. If we supplement this picture with *Sztuka rymotwórcza*, by Franciszek Ksawery Dmochowski, then “the bunch of traits” will be completed with “a malicious Italian,” but the basic image will remain unchanged and rather uncomplimentary.¹³³

However, we get the impression that not all stereotypical qualifications contained in such works were well-thought-out, unequivocal, and obvious for the authors. They very often lacked adequate and precise definitions but still had the ambition to present as rich a palette of nationality types as possible. Some nations are therefore ascribed some traits with no great conviction; hence the inconsistencies, quite frequent in such compilations. Perhaps proverbs will prove of more use. They are generally no less concise, but far richer in meaning and less one-sided as regards evaluation.

In the collections of Polish proverbs, painstakingly created since the 19th century,¹³⁴ Italian motifs appear quite rarely. In more than 15,000 records, several dozen with meaning and significance of interest to us may be indicated. An Italian of proverb has several roles manifesting certain national traits.¹³⁵ Our aim is now to group them.

132 Daniel Naborowski, *Descriptio gentium...*, l. 69-76, in: Daniel Naborowski, *Poezje...*, p. 153. Full text in – Stanisław Kot, “*Descriptio Gentium*”..., p. 161.

133 Franciszek Ksawery Dmochowski, *Sztuka rymotwórcza...*, p. 108; see also Zofia Mitosek, *Literatura i stereotypy...*, p. 58.

134 See Oskar Kolberg, *Przysłowia...*, p. 8-31, with basic biographical instructions and an outline of Polish paremiographical history, and *Nowa Księga Przysłów...*, vol. I-III, PIW, Warsaw 1969, 1970, 1972.

135 Oskar Kolberg, *Przysłowia...*, p. 37, 73, 94, 354-5, 409, 433, 441, 451; *Nowa Księga Przysłów...*, passim.

Sagacious, Learned, and Prudent

The proverbial Italian is sagacious, learned, and cautious. Young noble sons were advised by Szymon Starowolski to “learn sagacity from Italians.”¹³⁶ “Who wiser than an Italian, in war and peace, can there be?” was the rhetorical question posed by Krzysztof Warszawicki in his poem *Wenecja*, from 1572, having been impressed by the victorious Italians at the battle of Lapanto.¹³⁷

High intellectual position is also ascribed to Italians by quite numerous (characteristic to proverbs) enumerations of national traits: “Every Italian is a doctor, every German a merchant, every Pole a hetman,” “What an Italian invents, a Frenchman will do, a German sell, a Pole buy and a Tatar snatch.”¹³⁸ It is worth adding that there is a version of a particularly old saying about a Pole that became wise after the event. This saying indicates that an Italian is the opposite of this Polish imprudence (“An Italian before the event, a German during it, a Pole after it comes to his senses”).¹³⁹ Other taunts, “what an Italian invents and a German makes, a Pole buys,” and even more literal, “A German will play and give the beat, an Italian sing, a Frenchman to this music move his feet, an Englishman profits by merchandise, a stupid Pole will buy everything, paying a steep price.”¹⁴⁰

There is also a large group of adages starting with “Italians say [...]” Regardless of what follows, such constructions may be seen as a collective compliment to Italian wisdom, or rather prudence.¹⁴¹ Likewise, reference to the Italian origin of an aphorism was to highlight its aptness (“An Italian saying: if you cannot swim, don’t jump into water,” “a young wife to an old man, as an Italian says, is like a coach to heaven”).¹⁴²

Artful, Cunning, Devious, and Insincere

These are no less significant elements of the stereotype, which in Polish opinion were reinforced by the sphere of activity in which Italians operated intensively, trading negotiations, bidding, meeting or not the terms of contracts, being foremost among these.

136 Judyta Freylichówna, *Ideal wychowawczy szlachty polskiej...*, p. 93.

137 See Stanisław Kot, *Nationum Proprietates...*, p. 10.

138 *Nowa Księga Przysłów...*, vol. II, p. 1002 [1600]; see also vol. I, p. 785; Oskar Kolberg, *Przysłowia...*, p. 354. Another version: A hetman must have Italian head, French heart, Polish hands, Spanish legs...” – *Nowa Księga Przysłów...*, vol. I, p. 783 [1650].

139 Oskar Kolberg, *Przysłowia...*, p. 451; *Nowa Księga Przysłów...*, vol. III, p. 400 [1618].

140 *Nowa Księga Przysłów...*, vol. II, p. 1003 [1699, 1929].

141 Ibidem, vol. II, p. 1006 [1650], p. 1088 [c. 1670]; Oskar Kolberg, *Przysłowia...*, p. 73; see. Krzysztof Opaliński, *Satyry*, np, 1650.

142 *Nowa Księga Przysłów...*, vol. II, p. 968 [1625], vol. III, p. 957 [1650].

“And cunning, ruffled—as brass covered with grease what you find under may greatly you displease,” wrote Mikołaj Rej about an Italian, pointing out the idea that cunning is combined with secrecy.¹⁴³

Therefore, Italians opened the stereotype list of nationalities one had to be wary of (“Italian redhead,” “Beware of a ginger Italian”),¹⁴⁴ but we should stress that in another version of this proverbial counting rhyme, Italian slyness and cunning is very modest in comparison to other nationalities (“a Pole by a German, a German by an Italian, an Italian by a Spaniard, a Spaniard by a Jew, and a Jew by only a fiend may be tricked”).¹⁴⁵ In this context, the term “Italian arts” should also be mentioned. It appeared as early as in 16th century texts and had a long life due to the long lasting association of Italians who practised diplomacy with refinement.¹⁴⁶ “So he said, but these words of a true Italian...” a young English aristocrat and the future diplomat James Harris assessed thus the words of Nuncio Durini in 1767, accusing the Papal envoy of evasiveness of reasoning and two-facedness.¹⁴⁷ The term “true Italian” and the possible universality of its use could be taken as proof of the fixation of this element of the Italian stereotype, which may be described as the reverse of uprightness.

Greedy and Covetous

Greed had to be singled out here as it is one of the most frequent charges, and one easy to envisage, taking into account prevailing Italian professions. It carries an undertone of the expense of foreign travels, but the dominant note is that of class and civilisational dissimilarity: on the one hand, there was early capitalist thinking; on the other hand, there was the manor house, an idyllic existence to which merchandise and its price hardly match, whereas Old Polish commentators could exploit this stereotypical aspect effectively. In the period of animated political debate on the succession to throne after the abdication of Jan Kazimierz, there were, for instance, warnings against the candidacies of Italian dukes, not only because of their indolence, but also their greed, understood in purely material terms.

The accusation of rapacity was formulated straightforwardly in proverbs (“among Italians friendship follows money”), or by reduction to absurdity and

143 Mikołaj Rej, *Przemowa krótka do poćciwego Polaka stanu rycerskiego*, l. 33-34, in: Mikołaj Rej, *Pisma wierszem...*, p. 423.

144 *Nowa Księga Przysłów...*, vol. III, p. 370 [1874]; Oskar Kolberg, *Przysłowia...*, p. 441.

145 *Nowa Księga Przysłów...*, vol. II, p. 1007 [1840].

146 See Jan Piotrowski, *Dziennik wyprawy Stefana Batorego...*, p. 208.

147 James Harris, *Dziennik pobytu w Polsce...*, p. 292.

play on opposites (“Spanish simplicity, Italian generosity, Polish rule, ... German humility...—these are all suspicious things”).¹⁴⁸

Sensual, Artist, Shallow Religiosity

This part of the stereotype was not drawn with uniquely dark colours; it also has elements that, in the stereotypical version have survived until today. The Italian was (is?) associated with sensuality, which finds expression in a series of proverbs, at least some of them from the Old Polish period (“The devil deluded Eve in Italian fashion...”; “Eat in Poland, drink in Hungary, sleep in Germany, be a lover in Italy”).¹⁴⁹ A logical complement to these amorous, sensuous inclinations is in this view a general carelessness, and also—for which there was immeasurable proof in Poland—artistic proclivity. This image was perpetuated for example in another list of national preferences: “A Pole is good for advice, with a Lithuanian a feud will arise, a Mazurian has fighting bravery, a German has clothing finery, an Italian well plays the lute, a Ruthenian is a seducer astute,” and also a comparison depicting the way of reacting to inconveniences: “a Pole is angry when hungry, a Frenchman whistles and an Italian sings.”¹⁵⁰

This image may also be complemented with a lack of seriousness and religious shallowness (another interesting rhyme: “a Polish bridge over a river vast, a German Lent or fast, Italian worship and devotions—all these are antic notions”),¹⁵¹ manifesting itself by, among other things, noisy behaviour in church and general absentmindedness, lack of concentration on religious mystery at mass, and preying on devout ladies’ beauty. The same proverb was quoted in his memoirs by an educated Dutchman, Ulryk von Werdum, who in January 1671 was crossing Poland as a companion of Lisieux canon Jean de Courthonne, on a spying-diplomatic mission aimed at provoking a pro-French faction during Michał Korybut’s reign. Werdum formulated his remarks in the context of the severe criticism he had exposed himself and companions to by eating cheese on a Friday—a fast day.

Polish bridge construction, as it is known, was the universal and natural object of derision at that time. Reasons for ridiculing German fasting have been presented, and the argument about Italian worship concerned over-expression,

148 *Nowa Księga Przysłów...*, vol. II, p. 1130 [second half of the 16th century]; Jan Żabczyk, *Polityka dworskie*, Kraków 1616, f. B4v, Kraków 1617, f. B3v and other versions from the 17th century.

149 Oskar Kolberg, *Przysłowia...*, p. 37; *Nowa Księga Przysłów...*, vol. II, p. 1010 [1650].

150 *Nowa Księga Przysłów...*, vol. II, p. 1006 [1640, 1894].

151 Oskar Kolberg, *Przysłowia...*, p. 355; *Nowa Księga Przysłów...*, vol. II, p. 1008 [1514, 1618].

which—according to this version—was said to characterise Poles to an even greater degree.¹⁵²

Hence the image of the Italian, recreated on the basis of lapidary descriptions and proverbial associations, is not positive. Apart from prudence, artistic qualities and the ability to live life to the full, pejorative traits and qualifications prevail. Even wisdom and learnedness, brought to the foreground and rather indisputable, often turn in this stereotypical view into slyness and cleverness, and consequently lose their positive tone. The rest is all dark colours: deceitfulness, cunning and covetousness. Indeed, an Italian partner and potential neighbour appeared as a very difficult one. As a consolation, let us recall that this is only part of a very elaborate, specific stereotype. This is not only because popular proverbs and sayings intrinsically simplify the image (they are ready to expose defects and flaws, to exaggerate them, and make eager use of distinctive traits and categorical statements), but also because this is an application of some clumsiness of construction and random application of the epithets. Was the stereotypical image of Italian that functioned in the Commonwealth different from opinions about this nation in other countries? Exploration of this theme is too vast to be undertaken here. We will limit ourselves to a few suggestions and hypotheses. Surely many common elements existed, since there were similar mechanisms forming and affecting social awareness. Italian émigrés—artists, craftsmen, and merchants—reached other European countries. They were present in the Habsburg courts, in France, and England. As people of business not lacking acumen and cunning, they must have caused similar reactions in these places, including negative ones. For instance, there were very strong anti-Italian moods in France, where the role of Bona was played by Catherine de' Medici, associated with an extremely intolerant confession policy (the St Bartholomew's Day massacre), repressive measures, cynicism, and calculation.

In England, there was a quite benign, though not very flattering, image of an Italian—a minstrel, a poor artist not having stable support and therefore roaming the country. But this model Italian could also be—like in Robert Burton's treatise—an expert in hunting quails and building special gardens that were necessary to practise this elite sport.¹⁵³ However, the English stereotype referred mainly to the black legend of Machiavelli. This was partially caused by Marlowe's drama *The Jew of Malta*, which included the stereotype of Italian greed and cunning exactly

152 Xawery Liske, *Cudzoziemcy w Polsce...*, p. 91.

153 [Robert Burton] Democritus Junior, *The Anatomy of Melancholy...*, p. 265: "Fowling – catching of Quails. The Italians have gardens fitted to such use, with nets, bushes, glades, sparing no cost or industry, and are very much affected with the sport."

as prescribed in the “arts” of *The Prince*. Due to the wide popularity of this book, Machiavelli’s character was well known and developed in a rich way.

Admittedly in Elizabethan England, there were also admirers of the Florentine’s ideas, among them Richard Hooker, Robert Parsons, and Peter Whitehorne—who in the 1580s translated Machiavelli’s reflections on military art (*Dialoghi dell’arte della guerra*). However, against Machiavelli stood Cardinal Reginald Pole, and also influential figures among the Scottish and English Calvinists.¹⁵⁴ The Florentine’s ill fame (also for example in the circle of French Huguenots) was evidently of key importance for the shape of the Italian stereotype in the whole of Europe.

***Italia*—“Italian delicacies”**

Let us reiterate, the attitude of Commonwealth inhabitants to Italy as a land, and to Italians as two distinct things. Unfavourable opinions that we quoted referred, in greater part, mostly to Italians and mainly those staying in Poland. Italians in Italy were criticised too, but far less. Italy as a land is another story. In short, a deeply positive attitude to Italy dominated: the country was seen as a beautiful and rich land of great tradition and achievements in culture, a bond that was eagerly admitted in Poland.¹⁵⁵

Besides, this attitude did not necessarily draw on personal experience and require personal travel experiences. Some Poles who were well-renowned glorifiers of Italy’s beauty, such as Stanisław Grochowski, and Andrzej Wargocki, had never been there.¹⁵⁶ The positive attitude towards Italy did not spread to Italians as a community inhabiting Italy, and even less so to those coming from there. Separate treatment of the rapport of the inhabitants of the Commonwealth to Italy and to Italians was hence a necessity.

Let us add that the Old Polish opinion proved stable in its positive attitude to Italy as land, and that this stance was generally in accordance with the pan-European trend. “*Italia promittit*” and “*In Italia palatia et antiquitatis monumenta*” are the basic and most important associations with Italy, the promised land of magnificent buildings and monuments of antiquity. They were so important that the Scottish lawyer William Bruce included them (along with the characteristics

154 See Alfred Leslie Rowse, *Anglia w epoce elżbietańskiej...*, vol. 1, p. 405, 424-425, vol. 2, p. 315-316.

155 Claude Backvis, *Jak w XVI wieku Polacy widzieli Włochy i Włochów...*, p. 687.

156 Andrzej Litwornia, *Le “Delizie italiane”...*, p. 335-336.

of other countries) in his *Ad Principes Populumque Christianum...*, published at the end of the 16th century.¹⁵⁷

Italy, with its artistic accomplishments, leading the way in culture in the Renaissance period, became more than just a model and point of reference. During this time of prosperity, a long lasting process began, which eventually resulted in countries treating Italy as a common, pan-European treasure. Admittedly, it was still a long way to today's care of the world for monuments of antiquity, or the international efforts to save Venice threatened with flooding by the Adriatic Sea, but the process of cultural identification with Italian heritage commenced. The political waning both of particular states of the peninsula as well as Italy as a whole undeniably accelerated this process. In modern Europe, no one feared Italian dukes and armies.

The plunder of Rome by imperial armies during famous "sacco di Roma" (1527) was the last spectacular act of aggression and vandalism (interestingly, directed against a city combining functions as a religious and political centre). Around this time, a particular way of reasoning appeared, which may be seen as a germ of the future term of cultural heritage. This way of thinking, for instance in reference to Florence, found expression in the conviction shared even by its foes that this city was off limits—too beautiful and rich to be destroyed.¹⁵⁸

Italy gradually became a common treasure, naturally, in the metaphorical and not prosaic, political-administrative meaning of this term. Numerous European nationalities drew on the attractions of Italian art and intellect, and the inhabitants of the Commonwealth surely belonged to this group and maybe even led the way in it (due to the already mentioned frequency of direct contacts and openness of the nobility's culture at that time).

However, a specific asymmetry of these contacts existed. Polish stays in Italy were temporary (which does not deny their high number or belittle their significance), usually devoted to studies and getting some social refinement; so, these stays were generally intensive and short. Singular cases of long stays, sometimes of several decades, in Rome, by distinguished representatives of the Polish clergy (such as Cardinal Stanisław Hozjusz, and, much later Cardinal Jan Kazimierz Denhoff), only confirm the above rule. It was the same with Polish diplomats and residents. The best known—mainly thanks to the preserved correspondence to Marcin Kromer and the Radziwiłłs—is the stay of Jerzy of Tyczyn on Tiber and in Naples, which lasted for over three decades in the second half of the 16th century. We know much about the contemporary actions of Stanisław Reszka, Stanisław Kłodziński, and several more clergymen engaged in recovering

157 Stanisław Kot, *Nationum Proprietates...*, p. 11-12.

158 See *The Diplomacy of Art...*, p. 10.

the so-called “Naples sums,”¹⁵⁹ most active in the last decades of the 16th century. Permanent representation in Rome was also required by the interests of Polish church. On higher levels, this role was fulfilled by the cardinal’s protectors—curia dignitaries, who often had stays in the Commonwealth as Papal diplomats in their portfolio, and in whom the Polish ruler showed sufficient trust. Representatives of lower rank tackled smaller but certainly more numerous matters. Were the clergymen (sent specially from Poland and residing in Rome) or local Italian curia workers employed ad hoc? The answer requires further investigation. At this stage the second option would be indicated, for it seems that, in comparison to the second half of the 16th century, Polish representation on the Tiber weakened over the following decades. For the whole period of our interest, Italy remained a repository of wisdom, which is confirmed by the proverb “If one lacks reason and acts stupidly, he won’t get wiser even in Italy,” and another rhyme characterising various European countries, “Learn in Italy, [...] discourse in the French land, and feast in Poland.” An indirect proof of this stereotype may also be the saying “Not everyone is wise, though in Italy has been.”¹⁶⁰

Simultaneously it was also a hardly accessible repository if one takes distance and travel hardships, not to mention dangers, into account. The contrast between the beautiful and wealthy Po Valley—stretching out before incomers from the Commonwealth who managed to cross the dangerous Alps—was very memorable. Records of joyful experiences connected with reaching the desired Italy are found in the travel notes of Jerzy Radziwiłł, the future cardinal, who compared his descent from Alpine summits towards the Italian plain to hell and heaven.¹⁶¹

University stays of Poles in Italy present a separate problem, though one strictly related to our topic and not only because these travels on their relatively mass, sixteenth-century scale, meant collective approval of Italy as a land-symbol, and a fundamental point of reference. Indirectly, they also meant affirmation of Italian models, and thus also those men who created them. The relation to these travels signified, therefore, not only approval or disapproval of educational novelties, but

159 420,000 scudi, which Bona lent to Philip II of Spain. The inheritor of this liability after King Zygmunt August’s death, became the treasury of the Commonwealth. The money admittedly was never retrieved (for some time only interest was paid), but the efforts to recover “the Naples sums” greatly contributed to creation of the first Polish diplomatic structures in the form of permanent representations in Naples and Rome.

160 *Nowa Księga Przysłów...*, vol. II, p. 1010 [not. 1894] vol. III, p. 85 [not. c. 1570, 1843]. It should be mentioned that, in the whole period concerned, Paris became an analogous point of reference.

161 Descending “ex illa incredibili asperitate Alpium in amoenissimam illam planiciem Italiae” he got the impression that he “ex inferno in paradisum quandam” – see Oskar Halecki, *Problemi di collaborazione italo-polacca...*, p. 84.

emanated from far more serious premises. It was a consequence of a worldview attained, the expression of the most deeply understood cultural awareness.

“In Italy he acquired politeness, in Germany uprightness, in France kindness”—such a vision of studying abroad would be eagerly welcomed by many a parent dreaming of a career for their offspring.¹⁶² In addition, “I have seen many who brains lack / Italy visited, still flighty came back.” One could read this in an opuscle published at the end of the 16th century; the work was signed by Andrzej Rymnsza, a Lithuanian nobleman from Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Sierotka’s circle.¹⁶³

Italy lastingly remained a country of splendid cities, among which Venice was particularly beautiful and—despite its great number of citizens—efficiently governed. Simultaneously, as a political entity, it was famous for modern governance solutions, and was a leading centre of science (thanks to the Paduan university) and art. Rome did not cease to be the capital of Christianity and, at the same time, a symbol of greatness. The city also represented inaccessibility, the confirmation of which survived in the saying “your tongue may take you even to Rome,”¹⁶⁴ and also in the now barely intelligible “to go to Kołaczyce from Rome,”¹⁶⁵ which should read “from as far as Rome” to some Kołaczyce (a hamlet on Wisłoka River).

Apart from this, Italy was one big garden, “Giardino d’Europa.”¹⁶⁶ It was a land where time passed merrily (which may be ascribed both to the character traits of the inhabitants and to youthful recollections of ex-students). “Good is France, glorious Spain, merry Italy...” though it should be added that this record comes from the 19th century.¹⁶⁷

We are not, therefore, required to prove the attractiveness of Italy in the 16th and 17th centuries. The demise, if it existed, was very slow. A view from a distance, which we would like to offer in conclusion of this discussion, convinces one of that. We’re thinking of the series *Wiadomości o stanie niniejszym krajów włoskich*. In 1787–1789, it was published in *Pamiętnik Historyczno-Polityczny* magazine in Warsaw, in no short a run of around 500 copies.¹⁶⁸ This ambitious periodical, edited by an ex-Jesuit, Reverend Piotr Świtkowski, one of the leading animators of scientific and educational life of contemporary Poland, may be

162 See Judyta Freylichówna, *Ideal wychowawczy szlachty polskiej...*, p. 93.

163 See [Anon. 1595], *Anonima diariusz peregrynacji włoskiej...*, p. V.

164 Franciszek Korab Brzozowski, *Przysłowia polskie...*, p. 144.

165 *Nowa Księga Przysłów...*, vol. II, p. 103 [1698].

166 See Andrzej Litwornia, *Le “Delizie italiane”...*, p. 340.

167 *Nowa Księga Przysłów...*, vol. II, p. 1003 [1888].

168 See Zdzisław Libera, *Obraz Włoch w oczach “Pamiętnika Historyczno-Politycznego”...*, p. 227-242.

viewed as representative of opinions and moods of the elite and simultaneously of the opinion-forming circles supporting political, social, and economic reforms in the spirit of the Enlightenment.

The author remained anonymous. We are unsure of the text origin—whether it was commissioned by the editorial board or proposed by the author, or maybe it was a reprint and translation. What is certain is that the theses expressed by the author of *Wiadomości* faced the polemical wrath of Grzegorz Piramowicz (in the same paper), a representative of the same Enlightenment circles.

The essence of the new perspective—and this may be regarded as a natural effect of the continuation of changes on the European scale that were unfavourable to Italy—was recording signs of Italian decadence and reference to a glorious, though not very distant past. It was from Italy that those “beautiful arts” came and were used by the whole Europe, but the past tense applied in this sentence had special force. In contemporary Italy—we read—some elements of continuity may be discerned, but in confrontation with a bygone age, the present day came out poorly. Here are some examples from the *Pamiętnik* magazine.

The once mighty Republic of Genoa declined in comparison to olden years, though it is still no poor country. The collections of paintings and sculptures are well kept and secured. Inhabitants, people of sometimes strange manners, wear black and have a predilection to ceremonies and processions. Naples “is homeland to castrates, the only home of lazzarones, the capital of bandits.” Let us add loyally that—according to the same source, in the same city—there existed “almost universal honesty” and citizens who were “merciful to the poor.” In addition, excavations of Pompeii and Herculaneum, then a novel but intrinsically encouraging look at the past, were named as the greatest attraction of Naples. The accounts from other centres may be interpreted similarly. In the description of Ferrara, Ariosto’s tomb is much highlighted, since the present day was bleak—fine palaces stand empty, as if “bad air had ravaged” them recently.

Even Venice raises mixed feelings; the city is, admittedly, described as “big, beautiful and splendid,” like particular palaces and churches—these are works of great artists, but come from an older time. Gondolas, gondoliers and their marine art are worth attention too, whereas the nobility is typically poor here, but proud and audacious; the government is despotic in nature, and “domestic inquisition” compels citizens to silence and caution. Even the unquestioned attractiveness of local women is challenged, as “Italians cannot associate freely with women” and have to amuse themselves in other men’s company.

Milan presents itself slightly better; it is a wealthy city that is under the influence of Spanish and French culture; besides, Lombardy and Piedmont impart, in entirety, the impression of a fine and affluent land. Lucca gives its citizens “equality” and “freedom for all.” Livorno impresses with the grandeur of

its shipping industry and the scale of its cargo transfer; fine houses and cafeterias (“nearly the most beautiful in Europe”) are prominent, and the great role of Jews in trade, “who experience great liberties here,” is conspicuous.

But perhaps most superlatives were formulated about Tuscany, “wise laws, flourishing trade, augmenting culture and very fine climate are its particular pride.” Also highlighted were the marvellous palaces, streets, houses, and churches of Florence; the beautiful language, stable social relations, and lack of aggression in mutual relations.

Rome also maintains its former position as the “most excellent city of Europe, with which no other may compare.” It is an ideal place for “art-enamoured” creators, for admirers of antiquity and any “enlightened man of any creed and nation.” Obviously, we encounter here the lavishness of churches and church ceremonies, impressive public squares, palaces, fountains, and sewage system, but also the penury of Trastevere’s inhabitants. The once famous Accademia di San Luca, no longer evoked the best opinion due to uncertain criteria and lack of transparent procedures in giving awards. On the whole, contemporary Rome, though magnificent, “cannot compare to the olden.” This sort of sentiment also seems to be the main message of *Wiadomości o stanie niniejszym krajów włoskich*.

Let us add that, in recreating the image of interest to us, we tried to disregard those opinions in *Pamiętnik* that proved disputable and stirred polemic. There is a reason for signalling these threads, not forgetting about their subjectivity. The author of the presented study deplored, for instance, the lack of hospitality on the Italian part, and the decline of basic forms of social life (“there are no societies, clubs, picnics, balls in this country...”); he assessed Italian academies and universities very severely and negatively (“they are a true satire on skills, sciences and arts”), and even accused Italians of being devoid of patriotism, which “ancient inhabitants of Italy were famous for.” Grzegorz Piramowicz strongly refuted—particularly (and unsurprisingly) easily – the viewpoints that included the charge of scientific backwardness and lack of social life. Referring to the objection of lack of hospitality, he wrote: “there is no country, save for Poland, where mankind and hospitality would be more familiar than in Italy.” The tendency to stress Polish-Italian similarities survived—as we may see—to another epoch; this tendency evidently stood the test of time despite the significant changes in the Polish mentality that occurred in the last decades of the 18th century.

Thus, irrespective of unfavourable changes and advancing decadence, which the Enlightenment observers did notice, Italy in Polish eyes did not lose its attractiveness and still maintained an important point of reference. The respect for land, so important for European civilisation, proved a lasting element of Old Polish awareness.

In this context, it worth recalling the Old Polish term *włoskie delicje*, Italian delicacies or delights, which—in our opinion—should be understood more broadly than only in culinary categories. Admittedly, Sebastian Petrycy from Pilzno, in his *Etyka Arystotelesowa* of the early 17th century, stated that “Hannibal was brought to destruction by Capuan delights, and likewise Bolesław the Brave was spoilt by Kiev delicacies.” And, in *Dworzanki*, Stanisław Serafin Jagodyński devoted a whole chapter to this term, enumerating—with distance and clear reluctance—Italian meals and the doubtful attractiveness of specialities,¹⁶⁹ but there was also the work *Delicje ziemie włoskiej* [...], which was the first Polish guide to Italy, admittedly translated from German, and by no means a cookbook.

“Italian delicacies” is a term we would, therefore, like to see applied in describing a whole range of Italian associations: from the richness of the art and architectural achievements that could be admired in Italy, through to cultural models both material and spiritual, willingly transported from and adapted beyond Italy, and—crucially—typically positively assessed.

Hence, to conclude, we ask about the way in which the thus understood Italian accents were perceived in the Commonwealth. After Báthory’s death, a Tuscan court informer residing in Poland, Simone Genga, engaged in promoting the candidacy of Grand Duke Francesco de’ Medici to the Polish throne. In the account that Genga gave to the Tuscan ambassador in Vienna, in January 1587, he presented the arguments he had been using in Poland to convince his Commonwealth host to accept this candidate. Genga allegedly drew the attention of his Polish interlocutors to, among other things, “the great conveniences flowing from the situation in which Polish nobility would go to Italy to learn the language—just as they generally do—as to their own state,” and in conclusion he reminded them that “when they have something good [in Poland], they promptly boast they had got it from Italy.”¹⁷⁰

Modern Italy, even if past its greatest glory, was then deep-rooted in awareness; it was a magnet for the rest of the continent, including the Commonwealth, and a constant challenge as well as a point of reference and of clearly evaluating comparisons. This is confirmed even by the prominent place of the peninsula on the routes of contemporary travels; for any self-respecting youth—or for a parent planning a *Grand Tour* itinerary for his son, Catholic or Protestant—it was out of question to exclude Italy.¹⁷¹ This intellectual style was particularly close to the inhabitants of the Commonwealth; Stefan Pac, Prince Władysław Vasa’s companion on his European tour, commented with admiration: “the gardens and fountains of Salzburg, and the palace with a garden in Munich, which if they

169 See Andrzej Litwornia, *Le „Delizie italiane” ...*, p. 340-341; Stanisław Serafin Jagodyński, *Dworzanki...*, f. D4r.

170 Quote from Lech Szczucki, *Humanizm włoski i kultura polska...*, p. 46.

171 See Antoni Mączak, *Peregrynacje...*, p. 128-132.

do not surpass then at least surely equal all Italian arts *in eo genere*.” So Italian architectural solutions as a seemingly (though, as this case demonstrates, not entirely) unattainable model were a point of reference, by which Pac could give the highest marks to Bavarian achievements.¹⁷²

However, it is also worth noting the following part of Pac’s comment, for while consistently complimenting the Munich princely palace and surrounding gardens, he added that it was praiseworthy that “to so fine structure, [...] no foreign engineer or even painter contributed in slightest degree.” The highest level, up to Italian standards, was hence attained without the aid of foreigners, under which term Pac surely understood Italian architects imported from Italy. As if unintentionally, a certain blueprint was sketched: after the period of modelling architecture on the most accomplished Italian achievements, a phase of artistic breaking-free takes place, which does not necessarily mean a deterioration in standards.

It was not necessary to go as far as Munich to admire the influences and works of Italian geniuses. During his stay in Gdańsk in November 1635, Karol Ogier, the French traveller and author of the exceptionally valuable *Dziennik*, paid a visit to—as he wrote—alderman Schwartzwald, an affluent and influential man belonging to local the intellectual elite. The host evidently wanted to make a good impression in his guest’s eyes (even to impress him). To this end, he presented the arrival from remote France with pieces of art that he had amassed in his private collection: first, there were “pictures by formidable painters brought from Italy,” then there were sculptures “of a swimming boy, carved in silver according to wax original by Michelangelo” and “a silver horse, work by an excellent Florentine sculptor.”¹⁷³ As we can see, the Gdańsk burgher had a taste for art that nowadays we would call “high,” and still, almost uniquely Italian, or at least none besides the Italian elements presented were noted by the chronicler. For both men, Italian origin was evidently a clearly positive recommendation. Here, artefacts are the works of the highest class; it is not only good to have them (they enoble, and add prestige), but to treat them as models. If that was the way of thinking in the northern Hanzeatic Gdańsk (which was open to German and Dutch influences), then it must have been even stronger in Kraków, Lviv, the new capital Warsaw, Vilnius, and Poznań—or in the noble-magnate countryside.

This was testified by the profile of local consumption, universal appreciation, and desire for Italian products, as well as the structure of magnate courts willingly employing Italian specialists. Refuting Barclay’s negative opinions on Poland, Łukasz Opaliński sketched, in *Obrona Polski* (pub. 1648), an attractive image of the magnate court. He tried to make it a symbol of power, wealth, and splendour, as well as a centre of luxurious consumption (and of imported goods). Among

172 *Podróż królewicza Władysława...*, p. 110.

173 Karol Ogier, *Dziennik podróży do Polski...*, part I, p. 341-343.

these, the first that are mentioned are silks from Italy, which are clear proof of the sufficient European character of a local client.¹⁷⁴ An “Italian garden” was also high on the list of generally demanded goods. This term appears in Old Polish letters as a widely desired solution, and the fact of employing Italian gardeners by Polish magnates is also confirmed numerous times in the sources.¹⁷⁵

“Italy I admire but homeland I venerate / that one dazes me, this one I love,” declared Klemens Janicki (naturally, in Latin).¹⁷⁶ The poet of peasant origin was able to reconcile these two feelings in his heart, which—let us remember—his many compatriots failed. Irrespective of fervent disputes on “familiarity” and “foreignness,” we may safely risk a conclusion that the “delights of the Italian land” (including those that, in material form, were transplanted to Polish-Lithuanian soil) raised decisively positive associations in Old Polish society. This was in contrast to the people inhabiting Italy and coming from there. To these people, the attitude was more complicated and subject to, as consistently described here, evolution (from avuncular approval to aversion resulting from obvious competition and conflict of interests).

174 “What luxury in clothes, Italy may witness, which provide us with silk in great mass...” – see Łukasz Opaliński, *Wybór pism...*, p. 230.

175 See *Nowa Księga Przysłów...*, vol. I, p. 690.

176 “Italiam miror, patriam venerorque coloque, / Afficit illius me stupor, huius amor.” – *Variae Elegiae VII*, l. 85-86, Klemens Janicki, *Carmina...*, p. 118.

Chapter VI
Consequences and Contexts
The Lost Chance for Modernization

“A foreigner’s advice they are ashamed to follow, though they know it’s beneficial,” Pierre Des Noyers wrote to Ismael Bouillaud in a letter dated Toruń, 14 January 1659.¹ The author, a renowned observer of the Polish political scene, had in mind the realities of war operations being waged in Pomerania, accusing Poles of carrying out military actions without the necessary foresight. But, we want to use this sentence as a theme of another part of our discussion. It will be an attempt to comprehend the whole of the phenomenon of the Italian interaction with Polish-Lithuanian reality, which—as we will try to justify—proved to be one of missed chances for the civilisational advancement of Polish state.

In analysing the manifestations of the Italian presence in the territory of the noble republic, we formulated a suggestion that in narrative sources this presence was slightly exaggerated, because Italians—as a naturally vivid and distinct group—were conspicuous and easily noticeable in Old Polish society. They also drew the attention of Old Polish writers, who devoted relatively much space to them, irrespective of the particular writer’s attitude to Italian immigration.

Where they were found in higher concentrations, they imparted the environment with flavour and specific colour, but they were not treated wholly seriously by those inhabiting these surroundings, for they were no competition for the szlachta, who had a rather benign attitude to them (with a degree of distance but a tinge of indulgence). When Italians occurred individually—not as an organised group—then the element of rivalry did not appear at all. What was left was the attractiveness of certain exoticism and manifold qualifications, which remained attractive in the eyes of the Polish milieu. However, the mechanism of imitation or possible adaption of the newly arrived models had not started.

Continuing this argument, one could imagine the following mechanism. First, in the second half of the 15th century, Italians searching for opportunities to act as merchants, entrepreneurs, craftsmen—in a word, as specialists—appeared in Poland. Their offer was accepted with interest. The work conditions, salary, and business realities proved satisfying enough. Good experiences stimulated the next waves of Italian emigration and the trend lasted incessantly until the deterioration of social-economic situation of the Commonwealth, namely until the second half of the 17th century, when this decline objectively limited the opportunities for Italians and radically exacerbated the local society’s attitude to foreign arrivals. In this way, further arrivals partly stopped and Polonisation of those already in the country accelerated greatly.

Previously, we stated the great ability of Italians to cope in the declining Commonwealth. Economic turmoil that followed the ruinous wars of the mid-

1 “Ils ont honte de prendre conseil d’un étranger, bien qu’ils connaissent qu’il a raison” – [Noyers], *Lettres de Pierre des Noyers...*, p. 484, Pierre des Noyers, *Portofolio królowej Maryi Ludwiki...*, p. 208.

17th century provided some of them with the opportunity to enrich themselves, and others, seeing examples of these financial careers, surely chased their chance too. Pinocci's initiative of launching *Merkuriusz Polski* and attempt to make this enterprise self-financing is one example. The qualifications of some Italian incomers continued to be appreciated by the royal court and representatives of Polish-Lithuanian elites, also in Sobieski's times (Cosimo Brunetti, Tommaso Talenti). However, the economic situation and demand for Italian work significantly deteriorated, as the Polish-Lithuanian partner became impoverished, which sooner or later had to result in the stream of commissions drying up. Italian architects and builders in the second half of the 17th century still headed eastward, where magnate patronage was still strong, especially that of the Pac and Radziwiłł families. In the capital, they restructured Wilanów and erected new residences; their theatrical and musical activity did not disappear; Italians still acted as secretaries to the king and influential magnates and still rendered diplomatic services; the importance of the nunciature, now constantly resident in the Commonwealth, did not dwindle.² And yet, the main mechanism of the phenomenon we are studying—Polish demand for Italian services—must have functioned worse, as financial resources of potential patrons and clients decreased nationwide.

Thus, one of the pillars of the Polish-Italian partnership was markedly debilitated. But significant evolution was taking place on the Polish-Lithuanian side, as factors inclining Italians to leave their native land surely did not relax.

The second half of the 17th century would therefore have two phases. The first stimulated Italians to an even more intensive penetration of social and economic structures of the debilitated Polish-Lithuanian state. In the second, the Italian presence in Poland dwindled, which means that we deal here both with the departures of those who did not find the expected conditions for work, and the faster Polonisation of those who, despite everything, settled permanently.

However, if we accept that the Italian presence in Poland gradually weakened at that time, then the question of who may have taken the place of Italian incomers arises. In some centres, such as Lviv, an increase of Jewish activity was noted, primarily connected with trade and craft, but this observation is hard to generalise.³ Later sources shed some new light and invite further reflection.

2 Over twenty years ago I hypothesised that diplomatic relations of the Papacy and the Commonwealth intensified exactly in the second half of the 17th century and were characterised by exceptional harmony. The importance of these ties for both partners – then losing position and influence in other fields – increased objectively. This thesis has not been questioned; see: Wojciech Tygielski, *Z Rzymu do Rzeczypospolitej...*, part I: *Partnerzy*, especially p. 44-51.

3 Władysław Łoziński, *Patrycyat i mieszczaństwo lwowskie...*, p. 191-195.

“Predilection to splendour and construction, shown by the first of Saxon kings, attracted the more a crowd of Saxon artists and craftsmen for whom Poland seemed a golden mine to Warsaw, since they counted on great remuneration and not on high cost of living here,” wrote Friedrich Schulz, a Livonian travelling across Poland in 1791–1793.⁴ Let us remark that, if we replaced the mentioned Augustus II the Strong with Zygmunt I the Old, then Italians could well take the place of the “crowd of Saxon artists and craftsmen,” and the text of the account would perfectly match the context of more than 250 years earlier. If we accept Schulz’s version, then the role of Italians from Renaissance times was now played by Saxons, the difference being that they became disillusioned quicker. The Saxon episode was shorter and far less complicated than the Italian one, which nevertheless by no means denies the existence of the next trend of migrational waves.

The waves of foreign migration coexisted and overlapped. In an early fragment, the Livonian complains about the low qualifications of Warsaw craftsmen, who—in his opinion—were more suited for simple and by no means artistic tasks, for which these workers from abroad should be employed. “Those attracted by the king’s great liking in fine arts and his concern for the state and Warsaw are in greater part—particularly artists—Italian and French, while craftsmen and manufacturers are to a greater extent German and Saxon.” However, the 18th century traveller ascribes different life strategies to the arrivals, and the difference is very keen: “while the former, as soon as they earn something with their work and save, return to their homeland, the latter nearly all stay here and increase the number of useful inhabitants, they earn their living by work, continue to practise their crafts together with the household servants and children.”⁵

Therefore Italians—according to this version—returned to the strategy of temporary visits, the length of which was determined by demand for the services they offered, and the trend for settling down was displayed by other nationalities.

***L’Italianità*—Model of Italian Influence**

“*Iter Romanum* [Roman trail] of Polish culture has been its main artery for centuries.”⁶ In this discussion, we have tried to describe the Italian immigrants’ activity in the territory of the Polish Commonwealth, to indicate spheres of their particularly intense activity, and to deliberate on the consequences of this

4 Friedrich Schulz, *Podróże Inflantczyka...*, p. 601.

5 Ibidem, p. 601-602.

6 Jan Stanisław Bystron, *Dzieje obyczajów...*, 1976, vol. I, p. 81.

phenomenon, both for foreign arrivals and, chiefly, for the community playing the part of host. A paucity of sources hindered these reflections, but did not undermine them. Still, our main goal was placing the concerned phenomenon in the broader context of social and civilisational processes occurring then in the Polish-Lithuanian state, and an assessment of its consequences—both short and long term. In conclusion, we will therefore try to embrace the whole phenomenon synthetically and find a proper background for comparison by referring to several opinions drawn by our excellent predecessors in this field.

Roman Pollak

In 1929, Roman Pollak published a short book entitled, *Pagine di cultura e di letteratura polacca*. Published by the prestigious Istituto per l'Europa Orientale, in the Piccola Biblioteca Slava series, edited by the famous Ettore Lo Gatto, it contained transcripts of lectures at the Royal University of Rome and those delivered on various occasions in Rome, Florence, Padua, Milan, and Turin.

When, over 70 years later, I happened to unseal pages of the only available copy of this book in the libraries of the Eternal City,⁷ I had mixed feelings, because the role of “the first reader” in this case could testify to the marginality of the subject. Consoling myself that there must be other copies, and maybe that some of them were dog-eared, I now move to repeating the most important theses included in the lecture *L'italianità nella cultura polacca*.⁸

Pollak, who understood the term *l'italianità* as the impact of Italian culture, expresses the belief that this phenomenon should not be limited to some chosen period or subject. The figures of Mazzarini (he wrote about the Polish theme as if he identified with it) and Garibaldi (as a symbol of struggle for independence) should be seen in the full historical perspective—from the year 1000 until the 19th century. Formulating a thesis about the constant, unbroken influence of Italian culture, the author drew attention not only to the fundamental role of Italian elements in important fields of Polish culture, for example poetry, but also to the fact that, in periods when direct contact was broken, artistic works and buildings retained their influence on Polish culture. The uniqueness of the Italian effect also relied on the fact that they were never challenged in Poland, as happened with

7 More precisely: the only one recorded in central computer catalogue of Rome's URBS network, and stored in Libera Università Maria SS. Assunta library.

8 Lecture delivered in March 1926 at the University of Turin and at the forum of Circolo Filologico Milanese (first published in *Rivista di letterature slave* I, brochure 1-2, Roma 1926) – Romano Pollak, *Pagine di cultura e di letteratura polacca...*, p. 199-214.

French or Russian influences, and moreover, that the Polish party accepted the constant influx of people from Italy.⁹

To the question on the genesis of this sympathy and special treatment, Pollak answers that Italian culture had never been aggressive, and because of that it was an attractive alternative to other, more aggressive cultures—such as the German one. Besides this, Italian culture offered “double value” as it combined elements of antiquity and Latin culture with that of later Italy. On the other hand, he describes the Italian interaction as a “universal influence” because it encompassed various spheres of life and social groups. Simultaneously, Poles adapting Italian culture did not assume a passive attitude towards it, but interpreted it creatively, an example of which is Jan Zamoyski as political practitioner.

Further deliberations are devoted to specific Polish-Italian contacts, symbols of mutual relations; the author also includes the first Christian missionaries coming from Italy, the first visits of Polish clergy to Rome and, later, the “incessant exchange of people, documents, letters.” He ascribes a great role to Latin, the knowledge of which, since the 15th century, rapidly popularised Poland, which was confirmed by foreign visits to Poland.

Latin laid the foundations for Italian influences, the apogee of which can be dated from the 15th to the mid-17th centuries; it facilitated the acquisition of Italian language and literature, and also enabled translations of Ariosto’s and Tasso’s poems in the beginning of the 17th century, and their reception on an impressively grand scale. In no other country had Tasso gained such fame; *Gierusalemme liberata*—marvellously translated by Piotr Kochanowski—became so popular that it was called “regina polonorum poematarum”; in turn, *Goffredo* was to function as a Polish *Iliad*, playing a leading role in Polish culture until the creation of Mickiewicz’s poems.

Of crucial significance was also Italian education, chosen by Polish-Lithuanian elites. According to Pollak, the separation of Polish youth from German universities for over 200 years, in favour of Padua and Bologna, was of immense importance. Educational stays in Italy impressed on students the language and material culture; the ground was prepared for future successes of Italian theatre and music, especially at the royal court and some magnate centres. The extent of Kraków’s Italianisation must have shocked the incomers. The greatest conquests of Baroque in architecture were to be observed precisely within the Commonwealth borders. As a matter of fact, all new intellectual currents, apart from Romanticism, reached Poland via Italy.

Pollak continued his considerations in the context closer to contemporaneity, observing that Italian culture made a positive impression on Polish national

9 Despite the anti-Italian voices we have quoted above, it must be admitted that objections and reservations were of lesser gravity in this case.

traits; it allowed for the fighting of passivity (typical for Slavs), and developing the cult of beauty and inclination to various initiatives. According to this view from the 19th century, the essence of mutual relations was no longer material, artistic, or scientific culture, but “national spirit” (“anima nazionale”), stimulating joint striving for independence. The community of spilt blood in the fight for freedom bonds particularly strongly. It was then that the European discovery of Dante happened. His output fascinated Poles too, and had a great effect on Polish Romantic poetry. At that time, Italy also became anchorage, spiritually too, for Polish emigrants, epitomised by Adam Mickiewicz.

In his later studies, Pollak placed even bigger stress on the uniqueness of the Italian interaction with Poland: “When we compare various European cultures, closer or farther geographically, with which we have ever kept some relations, then it will turn out that none of them can compare to the Italian in terms of the scale of these relations and their duration.”¹⁰ The author then tried to justify his opinion comparatively, and this comparative study seems to be the effect of another phase of his considerations. He highlighted that animated contacts with France began quite late (and for good only around the mid-17th century); that relations with England “are of a sporadic and singular nature,” while historical relations with Spain are even more faint; that contacts with Swedes “are of episodic, dynastic-wartime character,” and finally that relations with Czechs were very strong, but only in the Middle Ages, and contact with Russia intensified only “from the end of the 18th century.” Against such a background, Polish-Italian relations therefore have an “unusually ample scale and centuries-old tradition.”

Arturo Stanghellini and Enrico Damiani

Arturo Stanghellini presented his synthesised views several years later in the quarterly *Romana*, where he reiterated Pollak’s most important findings, adding some contemporary political accents connected with the Italian ideology of Mussolini’s times.¹¹ To Stanghellini, Poland had been fascinated by Italian culture. This trend lasted over part of the Middle Ages and the two first centuries of modernity, and its effects could be noticed in literature, politics, and art. Also the role of Latin was emphasised (initially used mainly in ecclesiastical circles). It prepared the ground for the influences of the Italian Renaissance.

The fundamental—according to this non-original version—elements of influences are: the Italians incoming to Poland since the beginning of the 15th century (Callimachus and Bona among them), and variously motivated travels of

10 Roman Pollak, *Związki kultury polskiej z Włochami...*, p. 583.

11 Arturo Stanghellini, *La cultura italiana in Polonia...*, p. 87-91.

Poles to Italy; the knowledge of Latin, which prepared the cultural ground and enabled the penetration of Italian language in the 16th century; the fame that Italian culture (“*civiltà raffinata*”) secured during the Renaissance; and the particular influence of certain Italian authors, such as Petrarch, Boccaccio, Ariosto, Tasso, Machiavelli, Castiglione etc.

The author also mentions Polish study travel, underlining the significance, symbolic in this context, of Padua and Bologna, and quoting Jan Zamoyski’s famous “*Patavium virum me fecit*” [Padua made me a man]. Educational arrivals of young Poles started as early as the 13th century, and the apogee of this trend commenced around the mid-16th century (Stanghellini quotes often cited findings by Stanisław Windakiewicz, that in 1560–1570, 40–60 Polish students were recorded annually at the Faculty of Law of Padua University). He recalls men of letters: Klemens Janicki, Piotr Kochanowski, Łukasz Górnicki, Andrzej Patrycy Nidecki, and Stanisław Orzechowski (who studied in Padua and at other Italian universities). Neither does he forget Kopernik, who, apart from Padua, studied in Bologna and Rome.

A similar version was constructed in the same time and place by Enrico Damiani, who mainly concentrated on literary influences.¹² The author analyses them in the context of location of Poland as an intermediary in contact between Europe and Orient, and also emphasises the significance of historical pressure by Russia and Germany. It created the necessity to establish close ties with the West, develop Catholic Church structures, and rely on Rome’s protection. Damiani repeats the thesis about Padua and Bologna as centres in which the Polish elite were educated, simultaneously stressing that the most important Italian cities—Venice, Florence and Rome—became a specific cognitive challenge for any Pole with cultural ambition.

As regards literary interaction, Stanghellini stresses the special influence and Polish attempts at copying Petrarca and Boccaccio. He also appreciates the role of Górnicki and his Polish version of *Il Cortegiano* by Castiglione. He shares the thesis of specialists in Polish studies, that, for the 17th century, translations of *Orlando furioso* by Lodovico Ariosto and *Gerusalemme liberata* by Torquato Tasso, done by Piotr Kochanowski, remain the most important from the literary perspective; he also discerns the strong impact of Marino—mainly in Jan Andrzej Morsztyn’s output.

Enrico Damiani sees clear Italian influences as early as in the work of Mikołaj Rej’s, but he specially underlines the significance of the trinity of Jan Kochanowski, Piotr Kochanowski, and Łukasz Górnicki (all three were Padua graduates); he discusses classical influences in *Pszalterz Dawidowy* and *Treny* by

12 Enrico Damiani, *Influssi di poeti e prosatori italiani...*, p. 335-348.

Jan Kochanowski, and discerns the impact of Petrarch's *Sonetti* and of *Tumuli* by Giovanni Pontano. He is an apologist for Piotr Kochanowski's achievements as regards adapting masterpieces of Ariosto and Tasso to the Polish language. When discussing the significance of Górnicki's translation achievements, he underlines the rising demand of Polish readers for works in prose. Thanks to the translators' talent, such change and adjustment to the readers' needs took place, and Polish versions (*Jerozolima* and *Dworzanin*) proved so literarily accomplished that they entered the Polish literary canon permanently. According to the Italian author, this is an undeniable claim to fame for Italians, as a manifestation of unequivocal and indisputable influence on the literature of one of the biggest Slav people.

Arturo Stanghellini does not favour any sphere of interaction, but he regards influences in architecture and plastic arts as most marked. The Italian artists, mainly from the Renaissance, whose influence is best visible in Kraków, are Giovanni Maria Padovano, Baldassare and Francesco Fontana, Francesco Fiorentino, Bartolomeo Berrecci, Giovanni Cini and Santi Gucci. Their accomplishments testify to, in Stanghellini's view, "the exceptional vigour of our nation, even in sad times of political decadence."¹³

In the 18th century, he continues, Polish culture reached out to French sources, which nevertheless does not mean that there was a complete suspension of Italian contacts. This is proven by the figures of famed painters such as Bacciarelli and Canaletto, and architects—the creators of numerous neoclassical palaces and churches, most of which may be admired in Warsaw. However, it should be admitted that these contacts decreased sharply.

For the 19th century, the most important prove to be political-patriotic associations relying on the community of romantic aspirations and revolts. The Polish legions in Italy and the Garibaldians under General Francesco Nullo (involved in the Polish January Uprising of 1863) became major symbols of brotherhood and the fight for a common cause. The postulated model of a new, contemporary phase in Polish-Italian relations (of the inter-war period) was to be Sebastiano Ciampi. Although he worked 100 years earlier, he remained a symbol of intellectual influences and scientific interest in the common past.

Damiani also brings out the similarities between the two nations' history in the 19th century (including topics such as the partitions and reunification). But, he crowns his essay with deliberations on the scale of Dante's intellectual and literary influences on the Polish elite, starting with Adam Czartoryski—whose stay in Florence in 1798–1799 and reading of Dante were to result in the release of a new version of *Bard polski*—continuing to all three of the greatest Romantics

13 Arturo Stanghellini, *La cultura italiana in Polonia...*, p. 89.

(Mickiewicz, Słowacki, Krasiński) and Norwid, to Asnyk, Konopnicka, and Lenartowicz, and to prose writers (such as Sienkiewicz and Julian Klaczko).¹⁴

The synthesised views recapitulated here, usually concentrating on connections and interaction within the cultural sphere, underline the uniqueness of these relations—based on the durability of Polish fascination with Mediterranean culture. A lack of conflicts, which could result from two neighbouring states, as well as a certain similarity of political history in the following centuries, were crucial for the character of mutual relations. However, the most significant seems to be the specific, almost timeless character of these relations, in which Italy acted like a magnet, attracting members of the Polish elite and interacting through them.

The Essence of Mutual Relations

Maciej Rywocki begins his lavish account of an educational journey of the Voivode Kryski's sons (whom he took care of) with the statement: "We left Drobin for Italian peregrination in year 84 *die 2 Novem.*" (2 Nov. 1584).¹⁵ It may be assumed that this "Italian peregrination" could now be identified with travel around Europe. This was a *Grand Tour* that meant going abroad to learn about the world, and gain knowledge and the necessary refinement in places most suitable for such development. And yet, the great majority of foreign study travels undertaken by the Polish youth of the 16th and 17th centuries had in their programme a longer stay at least in one Italian university, and included visiting several of the most important Italian cities. The climate was by all means favourable for this. "Truly, Italians to foreigners, and particularly to our people *verba bona dant* [say nice words] and *ex largitate* [out of largesse] praise our nation to the skies," stated Aleksander Ługowski, caring father of Jaś, a student in 1639–1643.¹⁶

The following generations reinforced this positive stereotype. In the travel diary of Castellan Radoliński's sons, we find the following explication of the etymology of the name Venice: when Attila, ruler of the Huns, plundered Italy in the 5th century "there were several fishermen living on islands, who invited the fleeing people to them by Italian *venite qua*, thence later Venice *dicta*."¹⁷ We have moved far from the rational judgments of Ługowski senior, but the emotional attitude and intellectual message had similar significance.

Foreign studies by the youth of the Commonwealth, though primarily concerning the szlachta, were a mass scale phenomenon. They required no

14 Enrico Damiani, *Influssi di poeti e prosatori italiani...*, p. 341-346.

15 [Rywocki], *Macieja Rywockiego księgi peregrynanckie...*, p. 191.

16 [Ługowski], *Jasia Ługowskiego podróże do szkół...*, p. 333.

17 [Radolińscy], *Pamiętnik podróży odbytej...*, p. 25.

little parental commitment due to the high and inescapable cost of such travel. Expenses were to be paid in cash, which was disproportionately scant in the noble economy in relation to their real level of wealth. The parent of a potential student-peregrine—acquainted with supporting himself, his family, and his servants on the basis of allowances in kind—had to make great effort to gather appropriate means, which—as follows from extant correspondence—were always short. “Now, that Your Lordship is abroad, one song I sing and honestly repeat to myself, namely that I truly to my son spare no cost and expenditure for learning and practice, but I detract my own income,” Aleksander Ługowski wrote in July 1641 to Reverend Szymon Naruszowicz, preceptor and chaperone to Jaś, then studying in Innsbruck.¹⁸

Maciej Rywocki, referring the realities of a stay in Padua to Voivode Kryski, especially the financial aspect, often had to mention “Paduan costliness,” nothing in comparison to the cost of staying in Rome, which allegedly inclined the tutor to prolong studies in Padua, and shorten the stay in the Eternal City, reserving only a couple of weeks for now not so exhaustive sightseeing.¹⁹ However, irrespective of this, and of many other thrifty measures, the cost of foreign travel was relatively high; and neither should we forget the risk of travelling itself. Hence parental commitment must have been considerable.

The consequences of this trend are hard to measure, but they are hard to overestimate too. Several generations of representatives of the most influential groups of the Commonwealth had a certain set of educational experiences, containing a characteristic exposition of European diversity. The question that we can ask is what consequences did this boom in educational travelling have on Old Polish realities? There is a general conviction that those studying abroad returned to the Commonwealth markedly transformed or, rather, clearly formed. This is accompanied by an awareness that, as regards the essence of the studies, general “experience of the world,” realising the scale of existing differences, and the potential acquisition of attractive, modern civilisational solutions were then far more important than acquiring knowledge and skills in specific fields (from law and rhetoric, through foreign languages, and ending with the art of dancing, fencing and horse-riding).

But can sufficient proof be found in the Polish-Lithuanian reality of the 16–17th centuries for such a revival of interaction? Allegedly, Prince Władysław Vasa’s tour (1624–1625) of many, culturally varied and differently organised European courts (among other things, he visited fortifications in the Netherlands and attended opera in Italy) laid the foundations for the tolerance of the future monarch, his flexible policy, and interest in collecting and militaria. His experiences abroad

18 [Ługowski], *Jasia Ługowskiego podróże do szkół...*, p. 333.

19 [Rywocki], *Macieja Rywockiego księgi peregrynanckie...*, p. 190.

were certainly behind the effective measures that resulted in the establishment of court theatre. Foreign education may have played its part in the life successes of grand court marshal Mikołaj Wolski, of his junior the chancellor Jerzy Ossoliński (both politicians and diplomats influential in the first half of the 17th century), and of their contemporary Jakub Sobieski (who near the end of his life was castellan of Kraków) and his son, Jan, the future king. We may surmise the same about Jan Zamoyski, Zygmunt Gonzaga Myszkowski, and the elite of the Radziwiłł family. Such a list, naturally, may be easily extended.

But it may also be noticed that able representatives of magnate families would make political careers anyway, without the necessity of travelling to foreign universities in their youth. It may be argued that graduates of foreign universities, as well as all those who completed the European *Grand Tour*—though generally belonging to the social and financial elite, and by all means being the most powerful and influential part of Old Polish society—did not reform their homeland according to Western models, which may be proven indisputably by the later fate of the Commonwealth. Learning the differences surely increased the flexibility of thinking, but not so much as to creatively question native institutions, structures and habits and the hierarchy of values approved for many generations. This immunity to Western models, to political systems and institutional solutions flowing from there, will be discussed further.

Therefore, were the acquaintances and friendships (made during studies) with other students coming from the Commonwealth not the most precious asset gained in that time? Were the connections of that time not of crucial importance to the creation of political configurations in which these student travellers participated in later political life? Did not shared student experiences and acquaintances made in specific conditions, and the similarity of lives and educational experience play a key role here?²⁰ This issue, like the theme of the cultural consequences of modern era educational travel, surely calls for further research.

The strength of Italian influence also resulted from the tradition of this phenomenon in Polish-Lithuanian state realities (just as the way was, to some extent, paved for new artistic currents by previous works of analogous provenance). This is pointed out in the context of Jan III Sobieski's achievements in culture and artistic patronage. The education of young Sobieski, especially its foreign part, which we know particularly well thanks to Jakub's parental instruction and the diary of the tutor he employed for his sons, Sebastian Gawarecki, was oriented towards Dutch and French achievements. In the Netherlands, the future king and his older brother Marek were primarily to explore the mysteries of military construction; in Paris and its surroundings, they saw the palaces of Louvre and

20 Stanisław Windakiewicz, *I Polacchi a Padova...*, p. 13-14; see Claude Backvis, *Jak w XVII wieku Polacy widzieli Włochy...*, p. 693-694.

Versailles as well as other residences with their gardens and equipment. However, when Sobieski was to act as a founder, he referred to “the tradition of local artistic development, which in Poland of the second half of the 17th century expressed itself through the definite hegemony of Italian art.”²¹

A similar phenomenon is revealed by analysis of the output of Tommaso Poncino, an Italian architect whose paramount achievement is the Palace of the Kraków’s bishops in Kielce. Unlike his contemporary, outstanding artists, such as Andrea Spezza, Matteo Castello, and Costante Tencalla, Poncino did not come to Poland as an educated, artistically shaped architect but as an aspiring stone-cutter and stuccoist. No influences of any of the then important Italian artistic communities (Rome, Venice, and Genoa) are traceable in his work. Rather, there is a strong local element. In developing his craft, Poncino owed most to “guild craft, the modest artists of Kraków, Lublin, and Chęciny, who in major part were also Italian and the sons of the lakes region.”²² Through this, he attained artistic mastery of the highest level.

Therefore, regardless of his undeniable talent and extraordinary briskness and entrepreneurship, as well as the favourable external situation resulting from a large group of educated Polish patrons with artistic tastes,²³ Poncino owed his success to the works of his distinguished Italian predecessors. The Italian gained artistic qualifications in Poland thanks to previous accomplishments by other Italians who created remarkable bodies of work that could serve as his model. And so another impulse of Italian influence became possible because of previous achievements (and the artistic tradition built upon them).

In studies on Polish culture, including the Old Polish time, familiarity and foreignness are often opposed (the two terms are typically of evaluative character) though there appear voices questioning this dichotomy and challenging the point of opposing what is familiar to what is foreign.²⁴ Civilisational influences of the West did not have to be more valuable by assumption than domestic cultural achievements. But still, 1000 years of Polish history proves that the chances that influences of that kind would bring elements of advancement and modernity were considerable, and the Old Polish period was no exception here.

21 Juliusz Starzyński, *Dwór artystyczny...*, p.139.

22 Mariusz Karpowicz, *Tomasz Poncino...*, p. 75-78.

23 Karpowicz mentions in this context the Ossoliński brothers – Krzysztof, voivode of Sandomierz, and Jerzy, great chancellor of the crown, the Opaliński brothers – Krzysztof, voivode of Poznań, and Łukasz, grand court marshal, and also hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski, primate Maciej Lubiński, and bishop of Kraków Jakub Zadzik.

24 *Swojskość i cudzoziemszczyzna w dziejach kultury polskiej...*, especially p. 68-112; see Alina Nowicka-Jeżowa, *Jan Andrzej Morsztyn i Giambattista Marino...*, p. 410-411.

It is beyond doubt that the “Poland of the humanism period is characterised at least as clearly by what it had discarded from the Italian lesson, as by what it had taken from it,”²⁵ but there are opinions that this lesson, in the sense of “didactic material,” was not homogeneous. For instance, two successive phases of Italian influence in Poland may be identified—Florentine and Venetian. According to this concept, Florentine influences impact the royal court, spiritual and lay dignitaries, and outstanding burghers; whereas Venetian influences allegedly originated and prevailed due to the “outbreak of the nobility current”; and Venetian humanism was said to be characterised by “superficiality, sensualism, and pomposity.”²⁶ However, we discern the meaning of such deliberations only in reference to elite culture, while it would be hard to apply them to broadly understood Italian influences.

The interaction of two social and cultural subjects is usually mutual, though rarely equal, or ideally symmetrical. Polish-Italian relations in modernity confirm this rule. Despite rising interest in the Polish-Lithuanian state in the west, and thus also in Italy, the influence of Poland on Italy must be considered minimal.

Admittedly, things like “Polish stockings of the Duke of Tuscany”—to be discerned in Rubens paintings depicting the marriage *per procura* of duchess Marie de’ Medici to Henry IV of France on 5 October 1600 in a Florentine cathedral—were possible.²⁷ Polish motifs may be traced in contemporary western iconography, as for example the presumably *par excellence* Sarmatian figure in the portrayal of the Last Judgment in the cathedral church in Reggio Emilia.²⁸ In this context we may also remark on an interesting record concerning a *cubiculare*, a Polish servant called Mikołaj, employed around the middle of the 17th century at Roman Barberinis’ court, who “garbed in Polish style” and for whom such elements of clothing as overcoat, boots and jacket “*alla Polacca*” were specially commissioned, which may be explained by their desire to highlight the diversity and multi-ethnicity of the employed servants.²⁹ Here, originality was an asset, which indirectly confirms that Polish motifs in the Roman milieu were still regarded as exotic.

Therefore, there was a curiosity and fascination with a certain exoticism. More specifically, there was an undertone of the foreign found in the particularly

25 Claude Backvis, *Jak w XVI wieku Polacy widzieli Włochy...*, p. 722.

26 Stanisław Windakiewicz, *Padwa...*, p. 12-13; cf. Stanisław Grzybowski, *Trzynaście miast...*, p. 133-136.

27 Juliusz Chrościcki, *Polskie pończochy księcia Toskanii...*, p. 230.

28 Jakub Sobieski, who noted this, ascribed its origin to the will of the local bishop, Claudio Rangoni, former nuncio to Poland – see Jakub Sobieski, *Peregrynacja po Europie...*, p. 175.

29 Markus Völkel, *Römische Kardinalshaushalte...*, p. 170.

numerous Italian reports on the Commonwealth's political system, social structure, and impressive size. Moreover, it included references to its internal differentiation, and even natural resources. However, there is no sign at all that any models were used or acquired.

Therefore, these models, the existence of which was undeniable even if their attractiveness could be disputable, had an influence only in one direction. Western governance solutions, relations between estates of society, ways of administration, educational systems, and finally varied technical (militaria, machines, and optical devices) and organisational novelties (information flow, functioning of chancery and diplomatic services, postal services and banking) could be valued to a greater or lesser degree in the Commonwealth, depending on the horizons and social position of specific people voicing their opinions; they could even be definitely renounced by extremely dogmatic representatives of the szlachta's parochialism, but nevertheless they could never be completely ignored.

A synthetic representation of the role that Italian immigrants played in the Commonwealth is not easy. It may be exaggerated by ascribing the fundamental influence on civilisational development and the gradual modernization of the state to the Italian arrivals, or unjustly belittled or even entirely marginalised. For a historian, this is nothing new; indeed, it is typical. Insufficient sources mean that the conclusions of the conducted deliberations depend greatly on the choice of material, which proves either incidental, or, often subconsciously, is the expression of the author's preferences, and reflects his scale of values and beliefs. The awareness of the above limitations does not free us from the obligation to try to conclude and formulate a working hypothesis.

The first would concern the genesis of such great interest of Italians in the Polish-Lithuanian state. Let us, therefore, once again recall Łukasz Górnicki and his most important political dialogue, generally known as *Rozmowa Polaka z Wlochem*. Right at the beginning of this conversation—in which the role of traditionalist satisfied with the Commonwealth's state was ascribed to a Pole, and that of critic and reformer to an Italian—we encounter a characteristic passus in the Pole's utterance: “were there a good governance in Poland, then, Italian, you would be less numerous here and money you'd be prohibited to take away.”³⁰ The charge of accumulating wealth and taking money abroad is one that we know perfectly well, and we are inclined to classify it as banal, but we find the formulation of the expression “you would be less numerous here” original and penetrating. If, therefore, there was “governance” in the state—understood most broadly as the efficient organisation of social life—the influx of Italians and their activity would be automatically curbed. Foreign infiltration of social structures

30 Quote from Łukasz Górnicki, *Rozmowa o elekcyey...*, p. 19.

of the Commonwealth was facilitated (as we understand Górnicki, and a view that we share) because the state institutions were weak and consequently not very repressive in general. Vast spheres of social life remained beyond from the reach of the state, which gave the immigrants freedom and much room for manoeuvre. And so, would a strong Commonwealth mean a lack of space for Italians? This is the suggestion we propose.³¹

However, this is yet not all. In 1563, Antonio Maria Graziani, who knew Poland and was the experienced secretary to Nuncio Commendone, formulated the general remark that Poles, during stays abroad, were inclined to adopt local (that is foreign) habits and customs, while after their return to their native land “not easily they can stand foreigners and like to mock their foreignness.”³² The popular view is usually cited by historians in discussions of Polish xenophobia,³³ but it seems that this sentence should come under closer scrutiny from a slightly different perspective.

A reluctant attitude to foreigners and making a laughing stock of differences is banal; such voices are plentiful in sources, although the one formulated by Graziani is one of the earliest. What is interesting is the whole of the cited comparison: Poles abroad absorb foreign habits, and are ready to accept and assimilate them, whereas later, at home, they adopt a xenophobic stance. This means—here begins our interpretation—that they are open to and interested in novelties and they can adapt them, while showing themselves simultaneously to be indisposed to adopting them permanently. Hence, the reason why there is opposition in the attitude abroad and the one in motherland. The explanation of this duality does not seem difficult—there, abroad, the models were wholly non-committal, which stimulated interest, maybe liking, but at home and hearth the same cultural position was far more difficult to accept, as it could entail interference with the social system and difficult changes of it, for which, on a mass scale, there was no consent.

Graziani noticed at this moment—early and penetratingly—an important trait of Old Polish culture. Did he not? He formulated one of the major conclusions of our deliberations, namely that Italians—in the 16th and 17th centuries still at the avant-garde of social solutions and civilisational advance—were willingly seen by the Polish szlachta as performers / providers but not as influencers. Perhaps the mentioned ‘class inferiority’, characterising most Italian incomers, was decisive in that it allowed the szlachta to look at Italians with superiority, and to treat them in a friendly manner, albeit not wholly seriously. As long as the szlachta could

31 Cf. Jerzy Wyrozumski, *La Géographie des migrations en Europe centrale...*, p. 191-192.

32 *Cudzoziemcy o Polsce...*, vol. 1, p. 152.

33 See Janusz Tazbir, *Początki polskiej ksenofobii...*, p. 405.

afford to use the services of Italians, they did so willingly; but the deteriorating economic situation and approaching crisis forced them to re-evaluate this attitude.

The conclusion of our reflection in reference to the sphere of civilisational influence is as follows. The influence of Italian immigrants on Old Polish society was relatively small. Italians were primarily the performers of particular professions, which were as attractive and necessary as they were inaccessible to the general population due to lack of qualifications. They were performers but not influencers. They themselves—for obvious reasons—did not have such ambitions, while the skills and models represented by them somehow failed to find worthy progeny in Poland. Hence, although the effects of Italian incomers' actions were praised and desired, the skills necessary to render them redundant were not acquired on a greater scale.

Though we have noted above numerous anti-Italian accents, their activity did not cause protests as strong as could be expected. The answer to the causes of this relative tolerance, extinguishing easy to envisage confrontational attitudes, should be sought in the nature of the Italian minority's relations with representatives of particular classes of Polish-Lithuanian society. In the Commonwealth, the partner of Italians—representing in the majority the burgher class, and more importantly, having qualifications and practising professions typical to this class—was, basically, the *szlachta*. The Polish bourgeois, who could truly feel threatened by Italian competition, was too weak to articulate a vociferous protest, or even to see any reason for it. For let us note that, for a long time, at least until the mid-17th century, municipal authorities demanded “settlement” from Italians, that is, that they would mainly purchase real estate as a sign of their long-term, and not temporary, plans.³⁴

Neither did the *szlachta* in general notice any reasons for concern, as competition occurred in spheres fundamentally disregarded by the armigerous community. The advancing marginalisation of the bourgeois in the Commonwealth debilitated a group that could have sound grounds for anti-Italian expression, while the *szlachta* basically disregarded this potential rival, as operating in the scope beyond their interest.

Initially, this is why the *szlachta*, especially its magnate strata, used the qualifications of Italian arrivals so willingly, and was apt to discern modernity in services provided by them and accept them as an additional symbol of prestige. However, the spirit of paternalism prevailed against the admiration for organisational proficiency, and the intellectual and artistic mastery of Italian immigrants. With the passage of time and deterioration of the nobility's material condition, this friendly—though slightly depreciating—attitude towards Italians evolved. Italians, as a quite vivid foreign group, gradually began—especially

34 Władysław Łoziński, *Patrycyat i mieszczaństwo lwowskie...*, p. 190-191.

in the awareness of the financially diminishing szlachta—to play the part of co-authors of troubles ailing the Commonwealth. In many fields, Italian activity—positively assessed and bringing measurable profits—came to be veiled by their alleged, excessive self-aggrandisement (namely dishonesty, at the expense of partners) and, worse still, the notorious export of their accumulated wealth. From the middle of the 17th century, the problems of maintaining state sovereignty placed the issue of loyalty on the agenda, the requirements of which Italians were often not ready to meet.

Finally, because the process was clearly expanding, foreign arrivals started to be blamed for all evil. Their presence and activity became an easy scapegoat for increasingly serious troubles afflicting the noble community. The cunning and clever Italian, wholly devoid of signs of local patriotism, getting dishonestly rich at the expense of his good-hearted and credulous Polish-Lithuanian hosts who subsequently fall to ruin, became the prototype of the stereotype for various minorities, later accused of all the evil in this world by narrow-minded national-Catholic rhetoric: the archetype of “Jews,” “gypsies,” and “masons.” If the grudges against Italians were still moderately formulated, then it was only because, as mentioned several times, they represented no serious social challenge.

*

From 25 February to 1 March 1939, Galeazzo Ciano stayed on an official visit in Poland, visiting Warsaw, Białowieża, and Kraków. In a diary entry dated 25 February, we find remarks that this Italian count—descendant of an illustrious family, and at that time the foreign minister of Fascist Italy—wrote about the necessity to change the hitherto existing image of Italians in Poland. Ascertaining the strong anti-German attitude of Polish society, Ciano wrote: “in relation to Italy however there are positive elements of quite vague liking, little active in fact. Poles prefer our art to our lives. They know our monuments better than our history. Basically, they do not assess us as we would like to be assessed. Too many painters, sculptors and architects represented Italy in the past and they did so with the unavoidable servility of an artist, who in a remote country finds a patron. They more value in us the skill of the brush than force of arms, in which they do not yet believe. We have to work hard to amend this bad reputation that three centuries created for us.”³⁵ Ciano noted these reflections in a commemorative

35 Galeazzo Ciano, *Pamiętniki...*, p. 34. Here is the original: “Per noi, italiani, vi sono invece elementi positivi di una simpatia generica quindi inoperante. Amano più la nostra arte che la nostra vita. Conoscono meglio i nostri monumenti che la nostra storia. In fondo, non ci considerano quali vogliamo essere considerati. Troppi pittori e scultori e

book during his visit in Poland, surely at Warsaw Castle.³⁶ This would mean that the Italian minister wanted to share his current observations with Poles; he treated these words as a political declaration, and he certainly hoped that they would be disseminated widely.

Let us disregard here the dissatisfaction of a Fascist dignitary with the fact that the image of his compatriots was not then “militarised” enough on the Vistula; that among stereotypical associations relating to Italians, the artistic was dominant; and that the traditional affinity towards them clearly prevailed over respect.

What makes the impression is the aptness of the remark pertaining to this “unavoidable servility of an artist, who in a remote country finds a patron.” We deal here with another yet indirect confirmation of social and cultural asymmetry, to which we have devoted so much attention. Ciano (or someone from his circle with responsibility for the public relations) thought that very modern solutions and qualifications, including artistic talents, had over the last three centuries been brought to Poland by people of rather humble stock. It is precisely for this reason that the services provided by them could not be appreciated adequately, and so their undeserved and durable depreciation occurred. This also caused a depreciation of a nationality that for so long offered such services.

Let us remark that these are obvious statements for the count and his circle at the end of the fourth decade of the 20th century. The Fascist dignitary, dreaming of dominating the world and of the glory of Italian arms, is aggrieved by this stereotype and hopes for its radical change in the near future. Nevertheless, he has no illusion as regards the shape of this image and its historical genesis.

Contrarily, we may also try to show that Italian influence, though it contributed many attractive models and numerous valuable artistic and intellectual achievements, still constituted a civilisational trap. The numerous Italian immigrants meant bringing foreign models to Poland, alongside people ready to apply them on site, people of high qualifications and willing to provide various services. What was left to the hosts was only to provide material resources, which they were able to secure without any special effort, due to the prosperity period. This situation evidently promoted passivity.

A parallel of the Early Modern history of Spain and Poland, formulated two centuries ago by Joachim Lelewel, comes to mind at this point, and this association seems fully justified. Let us recall that the Nestor (of Polish historians) discerns

architetti hanno rappresentato l'Italia in Polonia durante il passato, e la rappresentarono con l'inevitabile servilismo dell'artista che trova, lontano, il mecenate straniero. Amano in noi più la poesia del pennello che la forza delle armi, nella quale non credono ancora completamente. Bisogna faticare per rimontare la cattiva fama che per secoli ci hanno fatto.” – Galeazzo Ciano, *Diario...*, vol. I, p. 46.

36 Ray Moseley, *W cieniu Mussoliniego...*, p. 35.

similarities of unfavourable lines of development of the two peripheral—here stressed—European countries: Spain and Poland. In Spain, the influx of great amounts of easily (cheaply) acquired gold and silver from the Americas caused not only a revolution in prices (noticeable on the whole continent) but also (in the longer term) a stifling of local craftsmanship and the whole of national production. Consequently, Spain—“made indolent” with constant influx of cash, devoid of internal developmental stimuli—entered the 18th century with a dated economic structure, becoming (in the European continental scale) a truly peripheral state.

The Commonwealth likewise connected its economy in the modern era with grain export by the *szlachta*. By gaining a dominant position in the state during the 15th century, the *szlachta* were able to get rid of potential rivals and—alongside political solutions unique in Europe—to organise an economic system, the pillar of which was a serfdom-based *folwark* (farm). This used a free labour force that peasants, devoid of rights and liberties, were obliged to provide. The excess of agricultural produce—mainly grain, obtained at practically no cost—allowed for export; moreover, an appropriate transport system, and business exchange via Gdańsk as intermediary, was organised in the Vistula basin. To simplify the picture, the sale of crops yielded profits that could be spent on luxurious consumption. To maintain the profit level in deteriorating grain markets, one only had to expand one’s *folwark* acreage (this was possible for a long time, but not indefinitely) and the amount of *soccege* enforced from peasants. In this way, the *status quo* was preserved and perpetuated. The stimuli to conduct the necessary structural reforms and modernise the social-economic system were missing. Even the reconstruction of the state after wartime damages in the mid-17th century proved to be merely the restoration of the old system. The effect was economic and structural backwardness, progressing the weakening of the Polish-Lithuanian state, and finally its fall and partitions.

Seeing the analogy with the impact of Italian immigrants, we do not claim that their role had such crucial or negative significance. We only draw attention to the paradox that the influx of new ideas—models in the scope of material culture, consumption and artistic currents appearing in the West, combined with an influx of people ready to carry out particular commissions—could have had a somniferous effect on Old Polish society. The rising drive to innovate was satisfied by foreigners; therefore, there were no incentives to search and take modernising action among the domestic population. The fact that potential service providers came to the spot, so they were easily accessible, must have been especially conducive to idleness. Rivalry between commissioning parties could concern qualifications and fame of the imported workers, but this did not work out a mechanism guaranteeing their replacement with a local workforce. However, this state could not last forever. The resources of the Polish economy—with the

lack of reformist stimuli—were quickly depleting, and so the attractiveness of the Commonwealth for next generations of Italian immigrants must have dwindled; also, the internal climate and the level of acceptance of Italian arrivals gradually deteriorated. What the Italian masters left behind were their oeuvres, but not their progeny.

Lack of Worthy Progeny

The thesis that Italian masters did not live to see Polish followers may be illustrated most easily in artistic circles. The first generation of architects and constructors realising grand scale projects, co-operating with Bartolomeo Berrecci in Kraków (Giovanni Cini from Siena, Antonio da Fiesole, Niccolo de Castiglione, Guglielmo da Firenze), are joined by another group, active in the 1530s and early 1540s (Filippo da Fiesole and Bernardino de Gianotis). This équipe, which mostly died out in the 40s, was still completely Italian. Only later, around the middle of the century, did local artists become visible in the group of our interest. Tomasz Lwowczyk, who settled in Kraków in 1544, was a royal constructor from 1548; Tomasz Marosz of Cieszyn was the oldest in this group of Kraków builders; in addition, there were the artists Wojciech Piekarski, Stanisław Flak, and Ambroży Pempowski. However, these are by no means figures who went down in history of architectures and Polish construction; they were commissioned in the main by Kraków burghers and not royal court.³⁷

Later it was similar. Zamość architect Jan Jaroszewicz (1575–1670) learnt from Bernardo Morando and continued his works, but he did not match him. It is also known that the local architect Ambroży Przychylny (along with Paolo Dominici) was under the supervision of Pietro di Barbona (from a town near Padua), an architect and builder active in Lviv, but nowadays it is hard to establish his class.³⁸ We may only surmise the impact of Italian masters on Jan Michałowicz, or on military architect Krzysztof Mieroszewski.

Certainly, better didactic effects were achieved when co-operation occurred within monastic structures. The excellent Jesuit architect Michał Hintz, who erected, among other things, the collegium in Sandomierz, learned the art of construction at the feet of his Italian co-brother, Giuseppe Brizio; in this context, we may also mention Jan Frankiewicz as a student of—allegedly—the best Jesuit architect, Giovanni Maria Bernardoni.³⁹ Surely, several more examples could be found, but as regards the scale of the phenomenon, these would be statistically negligible.

37 Maksymilian and Stanisław Cercha, *Pomniki...*, vol. II, p. 204.

38 *PSB* I, p. 299.

39 See [Graciotti/Kowalczyk], *L'Architetto Gian Maria Bernardoni...*, p. XII.

Thus, the group of Polish students of Italian masters obliges the formation of pessimistic conclusions, and several positive examples seem only to confirm the rule that Italian workers in Poland rather did not leave Polish progeny, neither could they boast students who would equal them in artistry.

Temporary and Long-Lasting Consequences

Intensive contact with Italy, including Italian immigration in the modern period, was a chance for the Commonwealth to modernise; this was a unique chance and, frankly speaking, it was a missed one. It was unique because rarely in its history had Poland had such intensive and unmediated contact with a centre of European culture and civilisation. This was possible thanks to coincidence, including the favourable political situation; one of its elements at that time was the lack of real dangers from the south-west, and it was exactly from this direction that inspiring currents could come. This convenient configuration was primarily a consequence of the German *Reich*'s weakening, first with religious divisions, then with the Thirty Years War. In consequence, contemporary Germany did not pose real competition or threaten Poland's direct contacts with Italy. Second, a reasonable economic situation allowed some inhabitants of the Commonwealth to undertake educational travel to Western centres, and also for qualified people to be brought to Poland, where they could render the services desired.

Immediate adaption of early Baroque architectural solutions can serve as a perfect illustration of this thesis. Let us recall that Rome's *Il Gesù* church—an unquestioned Baroque prototype—was completed in 1585. Only 10 years later, thanks to royal patronage, a decisive phase of construction began of Kraków's (also Jesuit) Saints Peter and Paul Church, a sanctuary of artistically outstanding Baroque construction. The Jesuit church in Nieśwież was begun even earlier (the plans were prepared in 1586), on commission of Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Sierotka. It is included among the earliest Baroque buildings in Europe.⁴⁰ Thanks to The Society of Jesus and its architects, Poles experienced a direct adaptation of a new style and new models, soon to be disseminated around the whole continent.

A similar situation may be noticed in the literary sphere, especially poetry. Comparing Polish and German achievements in this area, according to Gottfried Schramm, the better mark should be given to the former, since no German poet of the turn of the 16th century equalled either Jan Kochanowski or Mikołaj Sęp-Szarzyński. This was, presumably, the effect of weaker contacts with Italian culture, whose influence on German language culture was then impeded—at least

40 See Mariusz Karpowicz, *Włoska awangarda artystyczna...*, p. 19; idem, *Kiedy i jak wyprzedziliśmy Europę...*, p. 40.

due to the Reformation and internal conflicts. Such barriers were non-existent in Poland-Lithuania at that time.⁴¹

What the Commonwealth did have was a continuity of contacts for a longer time, and hence a guarantee of access to a more advanced circle of civilisation and a real possibility of direct application of the models offered. The chances for effective cultural and civilisational influence were increased by religious community, surely facilitating contact and understanding in a situation where differences and distance (geographically speaking as well as culturally) persisted.

The integrational role of Papal Rome, which by no means had anything but admirers in Italy and the Commonwealth, was also of great importance; the role of this specific institution, being a spiritual authority in shaping the supranational community, must have been colossal. Moreover, linguistic issues facilitated rather than hindered rapprochement. This was true despite the differing national languages. Latin—almost universally known in the Commonwealth and vividly present in the modern Italian language—was taking a dominant position at the time. Latin foundations also fostered the adaptation of Italian influences in the Old Polish language. Primarily, however, the long-lasting functioning of Italian as a language accepted and as far as possible used by Polish-Lithuanian elites, in the king's entourage, and in intellectual and diplomatic circles, was a major facilitator of the most comprehensively understood cultural impact.

Why, then, did long term contacts and the Italian presence in Poland not bring lasting effects of the same calibre as the existing opportunities? The subtitle of this chapter “The Lost Chance for Modernization” contains the main thesis, which we would like to justify more broadly now, namely, that Old Polish society, and specifically the *szlachta* (dominant and imposing models on other groups), proved astonishingly resilient in contact with models and inspirations brought directly from Italy. The reasons for this trend should be sought mainly in the culture and mentality of the *szlachta*, and more precisely in those of its negative traits that were covered by the concept of Sarmatism. Deep traditionalism combined with conviction of one's own perfectness resulted in general reluctance to changes, and poisoned the ground against innovation.

However—beyond this Sarmatian immunity to external impact, based on patriotic megalomania of the noble estate—there must have operated some additional, specific causes of the relative weakness of the Italian impact and its lack of vivid, far reaching consequences.

There is, too, much proof of economic hardship troubling the Commonwealth since the mid-17th century. The deluge years are seen as a caesura after which the breakdown of the state's structures inevitably progressed, and its economic

41 Gottfried Schramm, *Rozłam wyznaniowy i kultura szesnastego wieku...*, p. 191-193, 198-201.

performance worsened. But should this period be treated uniquely as the first phase of the long-lasting civilisational crisis, which—despite energetic but doomed attempts to carry out Enlightenment reforms—would lead the Polish-Lithuanian state to the partitions? It is hard to argue against this thesis in reference to political system and policy, but while it is fitting to agree with such an interpretation of Polish economic history, the situation is just the opposite in terms of culture.

Admittedly, there are objective indications, such as, for example, the decline in the book trade, observed in the second half of the 17th century, on the representative Kraków's market,⁴² which must have meant a decline in demand from readers, and intellectual regression. But, should a specific self-sustainability of culture, emphasis on its "familiarity," and lack of interest in the outside world, be viewed as this culture's strength or weakness? Supporting the latter option, we have to acknowledge that a different evaluation is also possible.

Taking a close look at the lives of Italians then coming to Poland, we get the impression that they were not involved in or were engaged for the modernization of the Commonwealth. If they were architects and builders, they worked on magnate and szlachta's investment commissions, and after completion took the agreed remuneration. If they came as merchants, they provided goods for consumption, valued on the market and finding clients. If they were bankers or post masters, they provided money, credit or communication services. If they acted as diplomats, advisers, or secretaries then their knowledge of the world, foreign courts, and chancery techniques was used, but their presence did not translate into the Commonwealth inhabitants' acquisition of these qualifications. The local, noble client was interested in the service provided and its final outcome, and not in his own activity in the same field; thus understood, civilisational chance was wasted.

In addition, it is exactly because of the disparate nature of actions and life aspirations that there were, for a long time, no reasons for Polish-Italian conflict, an observation that may also be extended to other foreign incomers. Let us remark here that the same factors that allowed for the quite harmonious co-existence of the Polish-Lithuanian szlachta with immigrants—such as Italians, Scots, and Dutchmen—did not perhaps contribute to stable good relations on the Cossack-Ukrainian side. This situation could, and in fact soon was, changed by the radical deterioration of life conditions of Old Polish society, a fact that affected its relation to any foreign elements, not excluding Italians, negatively.

Immediate-temporary and long-lasting consequences... The former were favourable as motivating and innovative, the latter were rather civilisationally somniferous. This is our proposed assessment of the consequences of the Italian presence in Poland if we adopt the distinction of immediate and long term impacts

42 See Renata Żurkova, *Księgarstwo krakowskie...*, p. 233-234.

considered in the *longue durée* scale (Fernand Braudel). The immediate Italian impact invigorated and brought new points of reference into Polish society, as well as unknown elements of culture, different tastes, and hierarchy of values. This culturally promising confrontation did not bring with it the expected effects. It did not shake up social barriers, or modernise the state in terms of administration or economy. In fact, the Italians working in professions requiring concrete qualifications, indeed, delayed the development of these fields in Poland.

This conclusion by no means values the Polonisation processes that Italian immigrants underwent. Neither does it pertain to high culture radiating from Italy itself. The impact of this culture on Polish elites has existed for a long time and was incessant. The influence became particularly intense during the Renaissance, transposing new values and creating foundations for mutual interest on Polish soil.

In 1817, Sebastiano Ciampi, a learned Tuscan antiquarian and classical philologist, native of Pistoia, addressed Congress Poland authorities. He sought to be employed as a professor at the University of Warsaw, which was then being established. Ciampi's application was positively appraised and for the next five years Ciampi held the Warsaw chair of history of literature and antiquity. His stay in Warsaw—though including plenty of conflicts with peers, and not devoid of personal disillusionments, along with his later intensive contacts with the Polish scientific community—resulted in a monumental oeuvre *Bibliografia critica*. This work was a compendium of information about the Italian activity in Poland, which is also indispensable to today's historian of Polish-Italian contacts.

“As regards Italians in Poland,” Ciampi wrote in May 1820 to his friend Galeone Napione, “with greatest effort I collect materials because no one cares about them, nevertheless I have prepared a sufficient collection. But this is not an oeuvre which could be printed here, as the statement that the whole civilisation of Poland comes from Italy would stir great outrage.”⁴³ Stepping back from such a categorical declaration, and from the author's bitterness resulting from lack of interest in his painstaking work, we want to first of all draw attention to the Warsaw fragment of Ciampi's biography, which may be seen as another chapter of the compilation he worked on. He confirmed that the possibility of searching for work and settlement in Poland was still an option considered in Italy. The durability of this trend, surely no more on such a massive scale, was based on sound foundations; on traditions of mutual contacts, in part due to the physical presence of Italians on Polish lands.

43 Quote from Henryk Barycz, *Spojrzenia w przeszłość polsko-włoską...*, p. 396-397.

Comparative Views

Italians in France, Russia, and England

Let us start with France, as the point of comparative study in this case seems obvious. This is an occasion to see the phenomenon of interest in a different political system (monarchy drifting towards strengthening and centralisation of royal power) and economic realities (higher level of production advancement, stronger cities, etc). We also deal here with shorter cultural and geographical distance, so one could assume that decisions on emigration to France were made more easily by Italians than happened in relation to departures to Poland. But still, the question of where immigrants more easily found employment, adaption, and—possibly—settlement remains open. The choice of France, in comparison to Poland, as a destination for Italian travels, is enabled by the satisfying state of research.⁴⁴

Older French historiography tended to disregard Italian immigrants, emphasising that only a few names were remembered and immortalised in sources. According to this vision, Italians—“not known to anyone and of no importance,” though from the onset having inclinations to banking and finance—primarily came to France as lesser merchants, charlatan doctors, glassmakers, stablemen, and second rate artists. What they all shared was rather low material status. Another significant element of this stereotype was the statement that Italian arrivals “lunged at France” to live at its inhabitants expense.⁴⁵ And they proved effective in this by squeezing in everywhere, showing solidarity in helping one another in their new surroundings, and inviting other relatives and friends from Italy. They were flexible, smart and skilful, and scheming; in effect, soon they attained lucrative positions and offices.

44 As in the case of Polish historiography, this is the effect of two fundamental phases of study; the first may be dated to the beginning of the 20th century, the second to its end. The most important works of the first phase were: Émile Picot, *Les Italiens en France au XVIe Siècle*, introd. Nuccio Ordine, Vecchiarelli, Roma 1995 (first printing: Bulletin Italien, vol. I-II, Bordeaux 1901-1918) and, *Les Français italianisants au XVIe siècle*, H. Champion, Paris 1906-1907; Jules Mathorez, *Les Italiens et l'opinion française a la fin du XVIe siècle*, Bulletin du Bibliophile, 1914, no. 8, p. 96-105, no. 12, p. 143-158, and also Louis Fournier, *Les Florentins en Pologne*, Lyon 1893; of the second: Jean-François Dubost, *La France italienne, XVIe-XVIIe siècle*, Aubier, Paris 1997, idem, *Les Italiens dans les villes françaises aux XVI et XVII siècles*, in: *Les immigrants et la ville. Insertion, intégration, discrimination (XV-XX siècles)*, ed. D. Menjot and J-L. Pinol, L'Harmattan, Paris 1996, pp. 91-105 and Jean-François Dubost, Peter Sahlins, *Et si on faisait payer les étrangers? Louis XIV, les immigrés et quelques autres*, Flammarion, Paris 1999.

45 Jules Mathorez, *Les Italiens et l'opinion française...*, p. 96, 100.

Effectiveness in these actions was facilitated by the internal situation of the state, ruined by the policy of the House of Valois, which created a country of weak authority structures that could easily be manipulated with material means. Financial resources were more often becoming associated with Italian arrivals, since class ethos obliged the French nobility to shun trade. And it was precisely trade that allowed for quite swift enrichment. Italians took advantage of this and, thanks to trading activity, built their fortunes in major cities: Lyon, Bordeaux, Nantes, Rouen, and Paris.⁴⁶ They established contact with the court, became creditors of kings (simultaneously clients and partners), which in turn allowed them to influence politics, and obtain rights and privileges.

The reinforcement of the Italian immigrants' position in France was also linked to Catherine de' Medici. It was under the rule of her sons that the discussed processes accelerated; thanks to her intercession, Italians received offices in exchange for money, and they became clients of royals. Those who gained an appropriately high position had their own clients. This ladder of dependencies gradually extended, strengthening the whole Italian community and the possibilities of its impact on modern France.

The ease and speed with which these foreign arrivals forged careers must have bred envy and aversion of locals, especially as—according to contemporary opinions—these fortunes often piled up at the expense of the royal treasury. Thus, the catalogue of negative features ascribed to Italians expanded.

It was precisely at Catherine de' Medici's court that the black legend, in Poland called "Machiavellian," was born (seen as the quintessence of cynicism and lack of any rules in public life). The legend was an expression of, and at the same time crowning, Italophobia (but, this time it was among the French). Among the causes was intolerant religious policy, of which the St Bartholomew's Day massacre became a symbol; character traits—with proverbial greed at the top of the list—asccribed to this nationality in the framework of the stereotypical image were another reason.⁴⁷ Negative opinions of Italians spread fast. This was especially true for the Florentines, who, in French realities of that time, were the synonym of all Italians.⁴⁸ In the images spread by rumour (and surely constantly embroidered), there were "cities governed by an Italian, administered by a bishop from Florence, oppressed by a financier from the peninsula and a judge who did not speak French"; these people shared one trait: being Catherine de' Medici's favourites.⁴⁹

46 Simonetta Adorni-Braccesi, *Le "Nazioni" lucchesi nell'Europa...*, p. 366.

47 Henryk Barycz, *Mysł i legenda Machiavellego...*, p. 281.

48 Though earlier they had been identified rather as inhabitants of Lombardy, and thus originally Italians were called *les Lombards* in France.

49 Jules Mathorez, *Les Italiens et l'opinion française...*, p. 98-99.

This state of affairs must have raised deep concern among locals. French authors of numerous pamphlets and pasquils did their best to open the eyes of their fellow Frenchmen to the wickedness that was subjugating the kingdom. At the end of the 16th century, Florentines were accused of usury, which—due to their money lending activity—was not far from the truth. They were accused of the premeditated demoralization of the French nobility, to whom they allegedly lent cash too easily. A peaceful conquest of France, connected with imposing fashion and habits, and with the spread of the Italian language, was also rumoured.

Representatives of the bourgeois and clergy also vented their dissatisfaction. As early as in the first half of the 15th century, grudges were formulated against Rome due to multiple nominations of foreigners to bishoprics and abbacies. This primarily related to Italians, who were traditionally given bishoprics in southern France, as well as other lucrative benefices. The positions that these priests gained in the province, and their wealth and attitude to dependant people, were severely criticised and additionally extended the social basis of anti-Italian moods. In towns, new barriers were created within guilds to impede infiltration of Italian incomers, but these efforts proved successful only in a few professions.

The outburst occurred several months after the St Bartholomew's Day massacre. The attacks were directed both against Catherine de' Medici (blamed for bloody slaughter) and specific influential families (Sardini, Gondi, Rucellai, Bonnisi, and Adjaceti) from Florence, Venice, Genoa, and Lucca. They were also directed against those—as they were called—Italo-French people spreading over the entire country.⁵⁰ Enmity towards Catherine and her favourites was, if we consider the tone of political writings, particularly fierce. No other queen would raise such negative emotions in future. She was accused of the most horrendous crimes; she was said to have had an evil character since the youngest age, to have poisoned her son and many of her political rivals. She was accused of having countless lovers and it was demanded that she be closed in a convent.⁵¹

At the end of the 16th century, anti-Italian moods—directed mainly against Florentines—appeared still to be exacerbating both in major cities as well as in the provinces. The anti-Italian groups were joined by students and their university teachers, for there emerged ferocious competition on the specialised professions' market, especially in medicine. In France, more and more often, doctors (in fact quacks and charlatans) of Italian origin could be found because of the growing problem of assessing professional qualifications. Italians coming to France held

50 “Italogalles qui totam Galliam permerdarunt” – see Jules Mathorez, *Les Italiens et l'opinion française...*, p. 100.

51 Henri Esteinne, *Le Discours merveilleux de la Vie, de Actions et Déportements de la reine Catherine de Médicis...* (1575) – see Jules Mathorez, *Les Italiens et l'opinion Française...*, p. 101-102.

degrees they allegedly obtained at the universities of Padua, Turin, and many other Italian cities. The possibilities for checking the authenticity of these documents were limited, and the acuteness of the threat that the incomers posed to graduates of Paris or Montpellier universities was obvious.⁵²

Therefore, in all social strata, the image of an Italian as cunning but cowardly fraudster—the one who will squeeze in everywhere and take a position that was by right somebody else’s—was becoming fixed. The image of the Italian was the image of a man ready to attain his goal by all accessible means: cleverness, deceit, and bribery. All of these would be the co-author of the state’s ruin. Italians hence not only showed irritating life effectiveness but also brought bad habits and a bad example to France; they should be punished for it and not emulated.

One of the most popular literary reflections of this attitude and anti-Italian moods was Pierre de l’Estoile’s *Mémoires*, kept since 1574. In the author’s opinion, French people faced clear alternative: either they could get rid of the incomers or they would have to leave the country themselves. If they chose the first option, they would be obliged to use force and all available, even drastic, means, as—reasoned the author—there was no place for legal actions (it was a popular conviction that foreigners bribed not only the king but also judges).

A propaganda war was also waged via posters, pasted on the city walls of Paris, with anti-foreign slogans to which the targets responded in kind. Such propaganda confrontation in the streets and on the walls of the capital could be observed in September 1578. In de l’Estoile’s diaries, a description of one of the posters survived. It was directed against Sardini and his “hellish company.” The attacked took up the gauntlet—at the same time and on the same spot, one could soon see a poster about the all the benefits that Italians brought to France.

The issue of taxes was one of the most stirring. Public opinion, especially in bourgeois and folk circles, treated the Italians as inventors and initiators of new taxes. This could provoke aggressive anti-Italian outbreaks of all who were struggling to cope with the fiscal expectations and simultaneously witnessed the rises of foreign fortunes. The arrogant bearing and fortunes of certain immigrants could make one jealous. A certain Zamet, Henry IV’s favourite, stood out in this group—a symbol of Italian advance, who could afford a sumptuous palace in Paris, and also Ludovico Adjaceti, who bought himself Château-Villain County.

The provinces shared Parisian opinions and frequently tried to stop immigration by administrative measures. For instance, in 1570, deputies in Blois demanded that the king limited naturalisation procedures and residence permits for foreigners, which was, to all intents and purposes, addressed mainly against Italians. Anti-Italian moods could be observed in Lyon too, where the Italian colony was

52 This trend is confirmed, among other sources, in Pierre de l’Estoile’s diaries, which are discussed below.

particularly numerous, and where the growing outrage of townsmen was caused by observing the incomers from Florence who instantly got rich through trade. On the wave of these spirits, in 1576, city authorities introduced additional fees that foreigners had to pay.

In the propaganda campaign in France, the comparison of Italians with ancient Romans—in which the arrivals from the peninsula naturally did very badly—played a very important role. Their ancient predecessors were upright, dignified, noble, as well as brave and accomplished with the sword. Contemporary successors of the ancient men were cowardly, devious, and knavish, incapable of chivalry or open confrontation with an opponent.⁵³

Starting from the second half of the 16th century, voices against the Italian language could also be heard with increasing frequency. It was then that the battle lines between pro-Italian language proponents (those who thought of the language as symbolising modernity) and its opponents (those who tracked down all influences and ridiculing new expressions that could be associated with the impact of Italian) were drawn. In 1565, Henry Estienne, erudite and pamphlet writer, published his major work *Apologie pour Hérodote*, in which he compared the French language to Greek, which was to ennoble his native tongue effectively. Soon, he had penned two dialogues about language that had become Italianised and hence—as he proved—distorted. These humorous and attractively written texts became undeniably popular among readers.

Estienne had numerous imitators, but it was he who was hailed the leading defender of French culture and language against Italianisation. It was he who pointed out the Italians' impact in culture and language, the scale of this phenomenon, and the controversial consequences of this impact. Intellectuals' discussions were used in propaganda. For instance, it was argued that words such as charlatan, buffoon, and assassin must derive from Italian, since such words had not originally—nor ever could have—occurred in French because the situations in reference to which these terms would be employed simply did not exist.

The propaganda campaign, waged on so many fronts, must have had effects. However, for the condition of Italian immigrants the climate at royal court and the attitude of the ruler himself was especially important. Catherine surely favoured them, and Henry III—despite many complaints and anti-foreign voices that were reaching him—had no intention of either disposing of Italian or formally limit their opportunities, and certainly not of oppressing them. The Italian presence and activity guaranteed him a certain income and, valued by this sovereign, provided opportunities to borrow money.

53 See *Discours de la fuyte des impositeurs italiens* (about the flight of the wicked Italians), cited by Louis Fournier, *Variétés historiques et littéraires...*, vol. VII.

Notwithstanding, after Catherine's and Henry III's death, Henry IV removed Italians from his court. First, he did this because they did not support him at the moment that he assumed power, but also—as the new king was well oriented in the realities of his predecessors' court, especially in Catherine's entourage—he was not going to tolerate so many influential foreign courtiers. Anti-Italian tendencies were, admittedly, soon to wane after Henry IV's betrothal to Marie de' Medici. But, still, when the Grand Duke of Tuscany prepared a considerable retinue to accompany his daughter on her way to France, it is alleged that Henry sharply opposed the coming of so numerous a “pack of Italians.” The king decided to tolerate in his entourage only a few well-tried courtiers and limit the access of foreigners to this group. However, these declarations were not, as was typical, consistently implemented.

However, a certain poor, unknown Italian, Concino Concini, slipped through the net, among others, and arrived with Marie de' Medici's court. Soon he married the queen's lady-in-waiting and so sneaked into the group of royal courtiers. Now, close to the king, he forged a stunning career. In no time, he had become a mighty figure at court: he was chamberlain, superintendent of queen's house, marshal of France; he would certainly also become *duc* and *pairie de France*, thus introducing his family to the French aristocracy, had it not been for formal obstacles that prevented such promotion.

This episode, however, was of capital importance for the Italians' position in France, as—once again in the kingdom's history—fuel for anti-Italian moods was provided. Concini's career—observed with greatest envy—and his advancement to heights of power contributed to the recurrence of reluctance to Italians, re-establishing the situation from Henry III's times.⁵⁴ A new wave of pasquils and satirical poems referred to the impressive career of precisely this incomer, though at face value their character was an unknown Italian, with no money or connections, who got rich through deceit and made his daughter a princess.⁵⁵ Old polemical themes returned, as did satires against Catherine de' Medici, an Italian who “poisoned France.” Concini's story had a dramatic finale: on 24 April 1617, he was killed by the head of the royal guards, Nicolas de L'Hospital marquis de Vitry, who acted in Louis XIII's name, and who with his deed—to maintain the vernacular of French historiography from the early 20th century—“unyoked the country, and the people sighed with relief.”⁵⁶

Soon after, the process of elimination of Italians from important spheres of public life began in France. This trend, which could be observed simultaneously

54 Jules Mathorez, *Les Italiens et l'opinion française...*, p. 157.

55 See Louis Fournier, *Variétés historiques et littéraires*, vol. V, p. 157.

56 Jules Mathorez, *Les Italiens et l'opinion française...*, p. 157-158. Soon after that, Concini's wife was accused of sorcery and sentenced to death.

in many places, reached a grand scale. Within just a couple of years, trade, finance, and the army and navy, as well as church offices, had returned to French hands. This did not mean the end of foreigners' presence in France. In the coming centuries, numerous arrivals, especially Italians, Spanish, Portuguese, and Dutch could still be found on French territory, but they never gained a position as prominent as that of the Italians in the 16th century.

Recent historiography slightly corrected this image, and first of all complemented it with quantified, though to a great extent approximate, data on the number of Italian arrivals, their territorial origin, and the numerical proportions between the professions they represented.⁵⁷ However, despite incomparably better preserved sources in France, the fundamental limitations remain common. French historians also fail to estimate the number of the Italian population, and in this matter, no breakthrough should be expected.⁵⁸

But, numerous, albeit fragmentary, discoveries have been made mainly about the geography of Italian migrations. Insightful research based on the tax censuses of primarily two centres, Lyon and Paris, admittedly showed the dominance of incomers from Florence, Lucca, Genoa, and Milan in the 16th century, but it has also been ascertained that the image was not static. The tax census from 1639 revealed the predominance of Italian incomers from Lucca, while the following, from 1657 and 1697, noted a markedly greater influx of arrivals from northern Italy.

Inhabitants of Lucca who settled in Lyon were a particularly dynamic group, agile in business and flexible to the demands of the market. After gaining great influence in the banking sector, the Luccans concentrated on trade. Their merchant companies, which operated in the key Lyon-Lucca-Antwerp triangle, employed numerous and specialised auxiliary staff, who were occupied in selling specific goods (such as cloth, spices, books) and also reorganised production of silk and other merchandise then launched on the market. Particular firms had also a group of professional couriers and agents.⁵⁹ So, as in Poland, in France, several clear-cut groups and centres of settlement could be identified (in the capital it was a clearly demarcated quarter), and the numerical prevalence of incomers from regions geographically closer was a general rule.

The latter factor was surely of great importance and must be taken into account in all comparisons. Fundamentally, the scale of the journey and of decisions taken differed depending whether Lyon was the target or Paris. In the first case, one had to travel 330 km from Milan, 520 km from Genoa, 800 km from Florence, and 1,050 km from Rome. Respective distances to Paris were 860 km from Milan,

57 Jean-François Dubost, Peter Sahlins, *Et si on faisait payer les étrangers?*..., p. 275-276.

58 Jules Mathorez, *Les Italiens et l'opinion française*..., p. 156.

59 Simonetta Adorni-Braccesi, *Le "Nazioni" lucchesi nell'Europa*..., p. 366.

960 km from Genoa, 1,200 km from Florence, 1,500 km from Rome and, finally, a massive 1,700 km from Naples.⁶⁰ Naturally, it was farther to Poland, but this distance must have been counted not only in kilometres but also in cultural differences.

Comparing French and Polish realities, it must be ascertained that Italian assimilation in France was faster and probably on a much larger scale—at least in the ranks of the elite. In a literary description of major figures of the French Revolution, which was sketched by Chateaubriand in his famous “Memoirs from Beyond the Grave”, we may learn (with some surprise) that Mirabeau came from a banished Florentine family, naturalised in France.⁶¹ The French history of the Gonzagas from Mantua is also worth attention. Let the measure of their success and effective assimilation be the figure of Marie Louise, wife of Władysław IV and Jan Kazimierz, who in the Commonwealth was universally and unequivocally seen as a Frenchwoman on the Polish throne. Here, we may also bring in the figure of Cardinal Giulio Mazarini, for there is no report that the famous successor of Richelieu had to explain his foreign origin.⁶² One of the most trusted men of the cardinal was Alessandro Bichi—also a cardinal and diplomat of Italian descent (b. in the end of 16th century in Lyon, where—as we recall—there was an immense Italian colony), who was in French court service and greatly contributed to making peace in Florence (1644). The Caravaggio family, native of Milan, also triumphed in France, mainly in Lyon, allegedly due mainly to high official administration qualifications.⁶³

Thus it seems that France provided Italian arrivals with relatively better opportunities for advancement, and this was owed to easier access to noble aristocratic circles, which were barely accessible to foreigners in Poland. In the Polish-Lithuanian state, this meant long-lasting exclusion from a privileged estate, which in turn—irrespective of qualifications and life achievements—blocked a true career. As regards France, the factors undeniably facilitating Italian adaptation were relatively close in terms of culture and geography.

However, some similarities may be discerned between Polish and French realities, as regards the chronology of the phenomenon. Admittedly, in the 15th century, Italian migration to France began earlier. But, this is not a fundamental difference and may be treated as a natural sequence of events. Italian emigrants start to penetrate the closer country earlier, but the essence of the process remains the same. Yet, it is interesting that the apogee of anti-Italian manifestations in

60 Jean-François Dubost, *La France italienne...*, p. 122, 128-129, 140-141, 171-173.

61 François-René de Chateaubriand, *Pamiętniki z za grobu...*, p. 107.

62 Giovanni Pizzorusso, Matteo Sanfilippo, *Prime approssimazioni per lo studio dell'emigrazione italiana...*, p. 271-272.

63 Jean-François Dubost, *La France italienne...*, p. 167-169; see also p. 252-253.

France is dated to the last three decades of the 16th century, which is decisively earlier than in Poland.⁶⁴ It seems that the clash of forces supporting and opposing the Italian presence occurred in France much earlier, and that decisions in this matter, namely limitation of the scale of Italian expansion, were taken faster too.

Chronological analogies are clearer when we consider the end of the phenomenon in question. In Poland, one can point to the second half of the 17th century and the economic crisis and say that it is a caesura of vital importance in considering the Italian presence in the Commonwealth. Immigration from the peninsula did not end then, but it was reduced and only certain professions remained attractive, but primarily the attitude of public opinion to Italian arrivals deteriorated. It was similar in France, but a bit later. Economic crisis, accompanied and aggravated by natural calamities, afflicted France after 1680 and brought the discussion of foreigners' status back on the agenda, the tone being expressly unfavourable to them. One of the immediate effects was a dramatic rise in taxes due from foreigners, which could have a long-lasting impact on their arrivals.⁶⁵

The list of similarities also includes strong bonds that Italians in France kept with their native land. The arguments and stylistic diversity of anti-Italian commentary also seems similar in both countries, though in French propaganda, contemptuous voices were probably more often heard, whereas in Poland the prevalence tended to be emotional grumbling.⁶⁶

Finally, the position of this subject appears similar in both historiographies. Beyond interest in historical accounts and relations between various parts of Europe, the life stories of Italian emigrants, in the intention of some contemporary researchers, were to indirectly describe the states and societies that Italians tried to infiltrate—their culture, mentality, and economic and governance structures. This aspect of the trend of interest to us has also recently been noticed and appreciated in France.⁶⁷

Can the case of France be taken as the European norm, provided that such a term (which should be doubted) has any point in reference to the Early Modern Era and social phenomena? Can we speak of “Italians in modern Europe” or only—separately—of Italian emigrants in particular states of the Old Continent? Before we answer this question, let us ponder, very briefly, the realities of the Italian presence in Russia and England.

64 Émile Picot, *Les Italiens en France...*, p. XLVIII-L.

65 Jean-François Dubost, Peter Sahlins, *Et si on faisait payer les étrangers?...*, p. 368-377.

66 Jean-François Dubost, *La France italienne...*, p. 121-128; Jules Mathorez, *Les Italiens et l'opinion française...*, p. 98.

67 See Jean-François Dubost, *La France italienne...*, p. 386, where the author recognised histories of Italian immigrants in France as a litmus test for the condition of the French state and the possibilities it offered.

As regards Russia, the essay study *Russia italiana* rectifies the image flowing from Italian propaganda publications from Mussolini's times, and allows us to see the multifariousness and many threads of the phenomenon across a very broad time scale: from the medieval Franciscan traveller (13th century) Giovanni da Pian del Carpine, to the genial builders of St Petersburg (Rastrelli, Quarenghi, Rossi). There was also an array of excellent singers, actors, and circus artists that performed in many spots in the vast Russian territory. There appear, alongside one another, the creators of the Kremlin: Aristotele Fioravanti, Giuseppe Verdi, and Amalia Riznič (nee Ripp—Pushkin's beloved), as well as the Decembrist group members: Giuseppe and Alessandro Poggio, whose Piedmontese father, Vittorio (he was a doctor by profession, and he settled in Odessa) was a friend of Marshall Suvorov himself.⁶⁸

Let us add that Pian del Carpine was not (naturally) the first traveller from Italy to the future Russian state territory, but the first to describe it. It follows from his account pertaining to his stay in Kiev, 1246, that he met there other Italians, certainly Italian merchants from Genoa, Pisa and Venice.⁶⁹ When Ambrogio Contarini, travelling in 1476 to Kaffa, a Genoese colony in Crimea, wrote the first Italian description of Moscow, he included numerous mentions of Italians staying there. So, in the 15th century, trade contacts certainly existed though their intensity—especially regarding the scale of the Muscovite state—was insignificant.

The Italian presence in Moscow in the next century may be associated with the activity of architects and builders, though there survived but scant biographical data on most Italian incomers.⁷⁰ In effect, we have to resort to interpreting creations and buildings if they are preserved, and we rarely have a chance to analyse the lives of their creators. Slightly better possibilities are offered by source material pertaining to Italian artists working in St Petersburg, but also in this case we note a disproportionate weight of sources. The well-known figure of the Florentine architect Francesco Bartolomeo Rastrelli, whose individuality and artistry made a deep impression on the image of the new Russian capital, clearly stand out from the rest, of whom little is known.⁷¹

The synthetic image that thus arises is not far from the already known Polish-Lithuanian realities, although the Italian presence in Russia seems much less intensive, which must have resulted from both the remoteness and the enormity of the Russian state, and also the incomparably greater religious-cultural distance. However, the scheme and core of Italian penetration seem alike. In the Middle

68 Natan Ejdelman, Julij Krelin, *Russia italiana...*, p. 223.

69 Michele da Genova, Nicola da Pisa, Bartolomeo e Manuele da Venezia.

70 See Fernand Braudel, *Grammaire des civilisations...*, p. 582.

71 Natan Ejdelman, Julij Krelin, *Russia italiana...*, p. 33, 66, 99.

Ages, merchants, adventurers, and explorers arrived, sometimes guided by missionary motivation. In the modern period, these were architects and builders, but also other artists reacting to demand; therefore, they were clearly perceptible in 18th century St Petersburg. Other forms of presence were less developed, but their core remained, thus offering services requiring high-level qualifications. However, Italian entrepreneurship and production on the scale that we find in the Polish-Lithuanian state is not indicated, which may also be easily explained by the geographical and cultural distance. The court and aristocratic circles was the main, if not the only, partner and commissioning party of Italians. Their condition and needs determined, to a decisive degree, the intensity of contacts. Russia, though undeniably attractive, remained a challenge for Italians; thus, they never settled there on the same scale as was found in Poland.

Quite the opposite is the image of the Italian presence in England (also in Scotland and Ireland), for this was influenced by the book by Raniero Paulucci di Calboli, secretary of the Italian embassy in London, about Italian roamers, pedlars, and minstrels, published in the end of 19th century, which had its diplomatic resonance and contemporary references.⁷² The author, evidently troubled by the unfavourable image of his compatriots that was fixed on the British isles, deplored the fact that—in contrast to English and German emigration, made up of sound and ambitious individuals—Italian emigration was composed mainly of people from the margins of society (“*marchio del vagabondaggio*”), and vagabonds playing the harmonica, icemen and others of that sort, usually forced to emigrate. Thus, Italians typically set off impoverished, disorganised, and unprepared, and they believed that change for the good would be easy and fast. Paulucci di Calboli, however, had historical ambitions, as his contemporaneity contrasted with previous realities. The presence of Italian merchants in England was strongly marked early as by the end of 16th century, and this mainly concerned cloth trade. For instance, all traders in cloth on the British Isles at that time were Florentines, Luccans, or Lombardians. They were affluent people, making up a numerous and respected colony, who settled and purchased real estate. Therefore, it was not the English merchants, through profitable to both sides on trade exchange, who co-created the wealth of Italy at that time, but the Italian merchants investing in England who contributed to the increase of its prosperity. What then affected the situation, and what caused the later impoverishment of Italian immigration? Simply, in the 16th century, the process of Italy's decadence began, and hence the Italian emigrants' wealth and attractiveness also started to dwindle. There were still outstanding individuals whose exceptional talents made the image of the Italian community more attractive, but, nevertheless, its structural debilitation progressed; in the 17th

72 Raniero Paulucci di Calboli, *I girovaghi italiani in Inghilterra ed i suonatori ambulanti. Appunti storico-critici*, S. Lapi Tipografo-Editore, Città di Castello 1893.

and 18th centuries, most arrivals in England, Scotland and Ireland were pedlars. Among them, the foremost as regards numbers were minstrels, street acrobats, and buskers. Their activities were met with reserve, which gradually, but irreversibly, turned into reluctance and irritation.⁷³

The case of England would therefore be an illustration of the thesis about the permanence of Italian emigration, combined with the dramatic change of its make-up and social functions. An arrival from Italy, initially playing the role of mighty pump-priming investor, would become a representative of the poorest strata on the social margins. Disregarding the fact that, in the version presented by Paulucci di Calboli, this change happened abruptly, the whole construct seems close to the truth. The English conditions would prove more hermetic than would those in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth; the English social structure became, after some time, unwilling to absorb new Italian immigrants, and left them only marginal places and spheres of activity, and then only to the most persistent. This is, naturally, only a hypothesis, but, in the context of interest in the position and role of Italian emigrants in Europe, it is one to be considered seriously.

Italians and Other Groups of Foreigners

While focusing on Italian immigrants, we should not forget that, in the Polish landscape, there were representatives of other nationalities as well—sometimes more conspicuous than Italians; “in many places you will hear no other language but German,” Fulvio Ruggieri remarked in the second half of the 16th century, though this particular observation of the popular and often cited official of Papal diplomacy was formulated by the occasion of discussing the condition of Polish crafts, and in the next part of the bulky account, the author noted the broadness of Italian influences.⁷⁴

It is also worth quoting, in this context, a special guild resolution from 1678, which was to curb the malpractice of admitting, as masters, those candidates failing to meet traditional conditions. It was decided there that anyone who wanted to become master, be they a Pole, an Italian or a German, must still “follow two customs.”⁷⁵ Disregarding the nuances of guild realities and doubt over whether the term quoted referred to master crafts or to subscription fee, and treating all members of the guild to dinner (additional obligations of a candidate), we want

73 Samuel Johnson even wrote: “London, the needy villain’s general home. – The common sewer of Paris and of Rome” – see Raniero Paulucci di Calboli, *I girovaghi italiani in Inghilterra...*, p. 2, 21.

74 *Relacye nuncyuszów apostolskich...*, vol. I, p. 127-128.

75 Stanisław Tomkowicz, *Przyczynki do historii kultury...*, p. 30.

to focus on the three nationalities mentioned in this document, and the order in which they are noted.

Sensible conclusions require comparative study. Comparisons to the French impact were quite recurrent due to similarity of its direction and character. The differences concerned chronology. The impact of French civilisation came a little later and became dominant among foreign influences since the middle of the 17th century, precisely when France emerged on the political map of Europe as a world power. French cultural models were, to some extent, to replace the waning influences of Italy.

The crucial difference was that a strong and—for a certain time—powerful state structures operated in the background of French influence, which can by no means be said of Italian impact. The fact that French immigration to Poland was primarily on an individual basis and practically never took mass form seems to be even more important. Thus, in France, the model of emigrational expansion to Polish lands had not developed, and the French impact in this region correlated to the chronology of this trend in the European scale, meaning that (apart from the Henry of Valois episode) it lasted almost incessantly from the mid-17th century and though the whole of the 18th and a major part of 19th centuries.

However, as regards the first part of our period of study, when educational travels of noble youth were of key importance to civilisational transformations in the Commonwealth, we may be ascertain that even though French academic centres, with Paris at the forefront, also featured on the most frequented routes, they yielded—in terms of significance and scale of impact—to Italian universities (Padua, Bologna, and Rome). It was not France but Italy that long enjoyed the most prominent position in the accounts of Polish travellers.

The existing studies on the presence of the French in modern Poland surely do not exhaust this theme. It is not clear whether the episodic and unfortunate conclusion of the reign of Valois left a permanent stain on the attitude of the szlachta and burgess elites to France and the French. In the light of available sources, the image of the French in the first half of the 17th century seems to be epitomized by the figure of Karol Ogier, a French diplomat who, as Cardinal Richelieu's envoy, mediated during the Polish-Swedish conflict in 1620s and left a copious travel diary, very valuable as a source and often cited by historians. The scholar's gratitude that Ogier earned with this text resulted in a tendency to overestimate his political role. This does not change the fact that we assess the contemporary presence of the French in Poland as numerically insignificant, though individual travellers and diplomats and professional soldiers stand out.

In the mid-17th century, this image in terms of numbers started to change, at least in capital and court circles, with the arrival of the French wives of Władysław IV and Jan Kazimierz, and also of Jan III Sobieski. However, the court careers of

the French at that time were by no means impressive. The highest office achieved was that of master of the royal hunt, held by Stefan de Baluze, who, already having *indygenat* status, received the Tczew starostwo. But, for instance, efforts made by François Andrault de Buy since 1667 to receive the office of chamberlain of the crown were unsuccessful.

Neither Ludwika Maria nor Maria Kazimiera contributed to the amelioration of French ranking in Old Polish opinion, and though opinions about them were divided, the negative prevailed. Their interference in current policy making, including the policy of nominations, was met with critical regard. They were—justly—accused of opting for strengthening central power (*absolutum dominium*), of propagating foreign customs, and of promoting foreigners from their entourage. Maybe, indeed, the influence that both women had on their husbands was greater than that of their Habsburg predecessors. However, we should stress that, among the French, the greatest influences at Ludwika Maria's court was exerted by Pierre des Noyers, secretary and treasurer; and in Marysieńska's times—if we believe M. de Mongrillon, secretary of the French mission—the only French national who made a fortune in her entourage was Philippe Dupont, a courtier from the close circle of the Sobieskis and employed for confidential tasks. Apart from these, a few priests from the queen's entourage (de Fleury, Piacieux, and Laufschreff) managed to enter the Warsaw Chapter.⁷⁶

Irrespective of the assessment of the long term consequences of the French women on the Polish throne, that time witnessed more serious political contacts with France, which now aspired to the position of the most important party in European policy. In addition, French candidacies for the Polish throne were seriously reconsidered—after a longer break.

The evident revival of political contacts, which, due to the role and power of France, could hardly be called a partnership, nevertheless influenced economic relations favourably (for example, French interest in Polish grain), but the outcome of these ties was not migration on a scale perceptible by large numbers. The later, 18th-century, primacy of French culture, especially conspicuous under Stanisław August Poniatowski, was, in Polish conditions, still treated as an attractive model and point of reference, rather than as a subject of direct import. Thus, France had a great impact on Poland, but rather at a distance; the Italian impact appears in this context as much more direct. Other nationalities involved appear less vividly than do the Italian, and are also ascribed unequivocally to specific spheres of activity (Dutch—farming, Scots—small trade).

However, Germans remain an important and even self-imposing point of reference. In their case, a significant difference in relation to Italians relies

76 See M. de Mongrillon, *Pamiętnik sekretarza ambasady francuskiej...*, p. 40, see also Bożena Fabiani, *Warszawski dwór Ludwiki Marii...*, p. 61.

precisely on the continuity and intensity of impact—roughly spanning a period of common history more than a millennium long. The basic difference, though, is the centuries-long tradition of a shared border, due to which Polish German relations was, to a considerable degree, confrontational; and, considering German cultural-material advantage, the significant fragment of shared history may be described as German expansion (*Drang nach Osten*), which—apart from the early Middle Ages—took its most clear form during the partitions and the two world wars, but was particularly weak in the period that concerns us.

Medieval immigration of Germans to Poland may be divided into two phases: “influx of single persons in the in the 10th to 12th centuries (clergymen, knights, merchants), and mass immigration of townsfolk and countrymen from the 13th century, which was accompanied by a new wave of clergy and knights.”⁷⁷ The first phase is thus similar to the Italian migration wave (we should mention that wives of early Piasts were of German origin); the second phase predated the first by some several centuries and clearly dominated as regards the social and economic scale of the phenomenon.

Clear (sometimes even astonishing) similarities are marked in the Jagiellonian period, and also in the times of elective kings. It was then that Kraków’s typographer Hieronim Wietor, born to a German family, criticised Poles in a preface to one of books he published. He said that Poles have a lack of reverence and a disdainful attitude to their mother tongue, claiming that he does it himself because of “being naturalised and not a born Pole.”⁷⁸ This meaningful term, which would undeniably be useful also in discussing the position of Italians in Poland, does not, unfortunately, appear in this context. Also, the sentence: “They provided a new homeland with loyal state and church officials, scholars, soldiers, builders, merchants and craftsmen,” which in this version pertains to Germans settling in modern Poland,⁷⁹ could well be said of Italians.

The German element, which had been present in towns since their origin, weakened and yielded to gradual Polonisation; simultaneously, there was an advancement of the formation of the modern Polish state. But Germans, who co-created Polish towns, could hardly be called incomers a couple of centuries later; for they were local, in sharp contrast to the Italians arriving in the 15th and 16th centuries. Simultaneously, anti-German moods surfaced much earlier, and the main phase of the Polish-German national identity conflict was staged in towns of the crown even before Italians started to arrive there on a mass scale. Can it be said that they replaced Germans, just as Italian merchants in the second half of the

77 Marek Zybur, *Niemcy w Polsce...*, p. 6 (quote from Benedykt Zientara).

78 See *Pod wspólnym niebem. Narody dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, eds. Michał Kopczyński and Wojciech Tygielski, Warsaw 2010, p. 249.

79 Marek Zybur, *Niemcy w Polsce...*, p. 45.

17th century were gradually ousted by Jewish, and then Saxon, merchants? Such a claim would be too adventurous, chiefly because the German element tended to Polishise rather than being superseded and displaced to other positions.

The Polishisation of early migrants proceeded, a measurable effect of which was the Polishisation of names and surnames, though, in contrast, it is worth underlining that in St Mary's Church in Kraków, sermons are said to have been delivered in German until as late as 1537. However, irrespective of assimilation processes, happening at an increasing pace, a new wave of arrivals from Germany appeared in Poland and in this case the similarity with Italians seems very great. However, the German element in the Old Polish awareness was gradually reduced to burghers circles, and this, on the territory of the noble Commonwealth, was something to be less and less proud of. The continuing use of Magdeburg Law, or the above mentioned sermons in German, irritated the szlachta; an early, and extreme, voice among them was Jan Ostroróg, diplomat and political writer from the second half of the 15th century.

Germans arriving in Poland in modern times came mainly from the well-developed south and west. Burghers from Ulm, Augsburg and Nuremberg could easily be found in major Polish cities. Among them there were also entrepreneurs investing in the mining industry. Johann Thurso, Kasper Ber, Paweł Kaufmann engaged in mining and steelworks on a grand scale in Lesser Poland. The Boner family, from the Palatine, settled in Kraków by the end of the 15th century, and could boast a fortune on a European scale thanks to providing banking services. The family quickly Polishised and, thanks to close relations with the Jagiellonian court, was soon promoted to circles of the potentate-magnate elite. From Alsace came Just Ludwik Decjusz (Dietz), his example confirming the contemporary tendency to swift Polishisation. He was a mint master, an expert in economy, a historian and royal secretary, and an influential figure at court and in 16th-century Kraków. Let us add that his foreign origin was effectively erased from universal awareness.

The interest in industry, mining, and mints are rather a sign of similarities between Italian and German arrivals. However, specialisations constituting rather differences between these nationalities in Poland may easily be indicated. Artistic specialisation was rather dominated by Italians, as was medicine and the refined art of horse-riding, whereas Germans undeniably dominated in printing and paper production. We may study the Bavarian Kasper Straube, who was first in Kraków (in 1473) to print a calendar for the coming year; and Jan Haller, the first grand-scale publisher and publishing entrepreneur. We can also include in our research Kasper Hochfeder and Hieronim Wietor. By including all of these individuals, we may easily create a gallery of the most excellent Polish printers and publishers of German ancestry. In the early 16th century, Fryderyk Schilling financed the first

paper mill near Kraków, and the biggest factory of this type was built near Lublin in 1532 by Johann Feifer.

German immigrants were also found in intellectual university circles among the alumni of the Academy of Kraków and its professors (Andreas Schoneus, Konrad Celtis [Pickel]; in some sense, Mikołaj Kopernik may also be included in this group). The Germans may also be found in the circles of the humanist gymnasium of Poznań, founded in 1519 by Bishop Jan Lubrański (they included the lawyer Tomasz Bedermann, and classical philologist Krzysztof Hegendorfer). Not to exaggerate this theme, let us only hint at several obvious facts about Wit Stwosz (Veit Stoss), creator of the altar in Kraków's St Mary's Church, native of Nuremberg, who was the subject of long and pointless nationality disputes between Polish and German historians; about the achievements of less renowned artists and craftsmen (Hans Beham, Peter Vischer); about the court painter of Zygmunt the Old, Hans Dürer, brother of Albrecht; and finally, about the excellent diplomat Jan Dantyszek, whose German origin and name (Johann von Hoefen)—like in the case of Decjusz—were very soon forgotten. It is impossible to omit in this context the outstanding representatives of dissenting factions, mainly Lutheranism, functioning within German culture and often being banished from Germany (Protestant refugees from Silesia brought with them high qualifications in crafts, thus contributing to the development of entire branches of production, such as cloth making). But it is also worth noting the fact that German blood flowed in the veins of such illustrious representatives of the Counter-Reformation as the successive bishops of Warmia, Stanisław Hozjusz (Hose) and—many times quoted here—Marcin Kromer.

Habsburg women on the Polish throne in the first half of the 17th century greatly contributed to the Germanisation of the royal court. Its personnel were brought from Vienna and even from more distant Bavaria, and the master of German literature, Martin Opitz, native of Silesia, was nominated by Władysław IV as secretary and court historiographer.

However, these figures do not constitute an exhaustive list of Italian-German similarities. At the end of the 17th century, the Polish throne was taken (and would be held for almost seven decades) by Princes of the Holy Roman Empire, representatives of the Saxon dynasty. No Italian analogy may be indicated. Soon, Prussia would also pose a real threat to the Commonwealth. In later times, parallels between German and Italian influences are no more discernible. From Germany, on the one hand, we find expansion, brutal at times, and conquest, sometimes combined with extermination; the Italian element, on the other hand, clearly declined at this time, and the Apennine peninsula was being marginalised in the pan-European perspective. When, after unification, Italy returned to the international arena as one of parties engaged in competition for influences, no

touch points emerge that could bring about conflict. Italian expansion to the east, and any domination there, was out of the question, and this was not only due to lack of a common border, but rather to Italian weakness and interests that lay in other directions. Mutual relations usually remained friendly, though not very intensive.

Final Remarks

Italians in Modern Europe

The theme of European unity is now very up-to-date, for we witness great acceleration of the integration process in the Old Continent. Many people watch this process and many consciously co-create it. This also concerns historians studying the course of analogous phenomena in the past. It is easy to point out historical bases of contemporary integrational solutions. There has also been a lot to unite Europe in the past: a common root in Mediterranean civilisation, Christianity, successive political formations of world power aspirations that subdued considerable chunks of the continent, technical inventions, universally accepted forms of social life organisation, and openness to modernising propositions. There is no shred of doubt that Italian emigrants played the role of one of the factors integrating modern Europe. They did it on several planes, the common denominator of which was emigration to various countries of people coming from the same and relatively homogeneous region. Many European countries, therefore, had “their Italians,” who came more or less similarly equipped as regards cultural background, experiences, and qualifications. Thus, they made a similar impact on their new environment, irrespective of the place in which they happened to be.

Hence, artists—at least creators of Baroque churches and residences—created stylistically similar works in various regions (the distribution of funerary chapels, scattered over the whole Commonwealth and very typical of Polish churches, documents the range of these influences). Merchants and entrepreneurs also acted analogously in various countries (though much must have depended on the region and the level of its development), bringing propositions of technical, particularly organisational, solutions. In both cases, they also brought language and culture, which the locals had to confront in some way.

Nunciature was also a factor of European unification, or rather a system of nunciatures, that is, Papal embassies, functioning on similar terms. The role of Papal diplomacy was so crucial precisely because of the homogeneity and bureaucratic efficiency of the whole system. Nuncios resided at every major court of Europe, represented the Pope, the Papacy and the *raison d'état* of the Apostolic See. They tried to influence particular rulers, as well as their courts and subjects according to Church interest. Therefore, the stance of nuncios in particular capitals may be described as homogeneous, like the methods of their action. The operation of nunciatures was naturally limited to the Catholic world,

but it dominated numerically and institutionally in Europe at that time. For this reason, we classify Papal diplomacy, an institution entirely Italian in character, as one of the factors unifying European continent.

Let us add that this phenomenon was not limited to Rome's diplomacy. Italians were also present, and on a numerically significant scale, in other diplomatic structures; they functioned as specialists providing services to European monarchs and courts. They had a predisposition for this, the necessary experience and orientation, and after some time, also precious professional experience. So their services were used eagerly, and Polish rulers were not at all alone in this. Italians introduced their own norms and modes of action, their own contacts, and their own language (to diplomatic standards). The integrational function of diplomacy—in all its history—is indisputable. Being aware of this, we only add the remark that, in the structures of modern diplomacy, the Italian factor played an especially significant role.

Italians also contributed greatly to the development of information transfer systems. They co-created relevant structures on an international scale (the system of distributing handwritten and later also printed newspapers called *avvisi*). The Italians were also involved in the information transmitted via the correspondence of diplomats and were involved in launching the first press titles. This was also related to their briskness and international contacts, which facilitated information gathering as well as its transmission and distribution, and the information flow was surely one of the key factors for European integration.¹

A specific export of solutions pertaining to governance system and institutions was also operating, though they did not always find fertile soil. When, while wandering around Europe, Simone Simoni (the philosopher and medic and future court doctor of Stefan Báthory) was awarded the chair of philosophy at Leipzig University in 1569, he founded—in the Italian fashion—the Accademia degli Acuti [Academy of the Acute]. This institution—modelled on the associations, very popular in Italy, of men desiring to spend time on intellectual disputes and amusement—was quite soon abolished by school authorities. They also turned down a project for university reform submitted by Simoni, but these actions are displays of the active attitude of Italian incomers and their tendency to propagate models.

In some sense, Italian emigrants prolonged the Renaissance impact of Italy on the rest of the continent. For if, during the Renaissance in its full bloom,

1 The awareness of such a role of the postal service had been established by the 17th century. It was expressed, for instance, by Ottavio Codogno, one of the organisers of the post in Milan in his practical reference book entitled *Nuovo itinerario delle poste per tutto il mondo, aggiuntovi il modo di scrivere à tutte le parti*, published in Milan in 1608 – see Fortunato Giannini, *Storia della Polonia...*, p. 145.

Italy attracted waves of admirers and enthusiasts and propagated through them its achievements and cultural accomplishments, then later, when economic decadence had forced part of the inhabitants of the peninsula to emigrate, Italians still promoted values and models available to them, but beyond Italy. This activity used to be surprisingly effective, for “the Renaissance needed much more time to reach from Italy the verges of Europe (which was Vilnius at that time), than, later, Baroque, which very early reached Nieśwież.”² Certainly, particular parts of the continent not only became gradually closer in terms of communication, but also became similar culturally. If that was the case, then—in our opinion—the credit should, to a great extent, go to Italian emigrants. They were natural exporters of cultural content, whose important feature was shared provenance, and this in turn, made regions of their impact similar, that is to say, as if integrated.

Mutual Relations, Their Tradition and Perspectives

In concluding these reflections, we will add a brief description of research needs and perspectives. In our view, the postulate of a thorough and systematic study of Italian reactions to Polish realities, with necessary regard to chronology, has still not been carried out. There should, therefore, be a systematic investigation of what representatives of various categories of the Italian community—staying more or less in the same places at the same time—wrote about Poland, and this procedure should then be repeated in reference to other periods. Apostolic nuncios and their closest associates (secretaries, such as Graziani or Baroffi, and auditors, including Fantuzzi, who by the way combined various professional qualifications) will surely prove to be authors of the highest number of views (they clearly dominate all other groups, also as regards the volume of the extant archival material). The opinions of Florentine envoys (Bevilacqua, Solari, Siri, and Banfi) and Venetian (Lippomano, Tiepolo) would be highly important (the question being, how different were their views?). This action may, to a much lesser extent, be applied to representatives of other “professional groups” (Montelupi, Pinocci, Burattini), but valuable material will surely be provided by the group of royal secretaries and other figures connected with the court and often engaged in commentary (Magni, Masini).

A comparison of varied reactions to Polish realities—not excluding Old Polish culture—could not only enrich our knowledge about authors of specific opinions and expressions, by revealing the spread of their points of view depending on the place and society from which they came, but could also revise our understanding of the image of the Polish-Lithuanian state that Italian guests transmitted to their

2 Antoni Mączak (ed.), *Historia Europy...*, p. 237.

native land. The stereotype they created was not only a magnet for numerous followers, people showing concrete interest in this regard, but also influenced decision making circles in Italy itself, and maybe also beyond; thus, it had political and propaganda importance.

It is yet too early for exhaustive research on the mechanism of the creation of images on Poland in influential European opinion making circles. However, we express the belief that the Italian minority in Poland could serve as a model community that allows for quite a precise analysis of the above process, the consequences of which for the later history of the Polish-Lithuanian state cannot be overstated, and which also concerned other nationalities.

In this book, though it could be expected, there would be no chapter *The Commonwealth without Italians?*, as this would amount to counterfactual deliberations carried out in the spirit of history described as alternative, and hence essentially transcend the framework of the historian's art. Alternative considerations are, by definition, based on imagination and often stimulate it, but we do not intend to succumb to this temptation. Hence, we will not ask whether other foreigners would have come in place of Italians, and whether they would have had similar skills. Would the functions performed by Italians have been taken over by other groups operating in Old Polish society and whether, in such a case, they would have been able to gain necessary qualifications? Would Polish and Lithuanian tastes have been different, deprived of part of the oeuvres and models of consumption? Would their perception of the world have differed, and would tolerance to cultural-civilisational differences have been even lower?

We will not go into such speculations here, and will satisfy ourselves with a claim that the Commonwealth without Italians would be uglier, devoid of some of its magnificent buildings, and less varied, as one important and colourful link would be missing. Neither would there have been the tradition of mutual contacts, to which one could refer when establishing new connections and values. And these were plenty in later Polish-Italian relations, and not only in the form of episodes, much exploited in commentary, of the joint fight "for our freedom and yours" (the Dąbrowski Legions, Polish Carbonari and Mickiewicz on one side, Colonel Nullo, a hero of the January Uprising on the other) but also within close cultural and emotional relations.

"A son of beautiful Italy in the sad north of Greater Poland is a rare guest. Curiosity, how in his eye our people, things and affairs will reflect," Franciszek Morawski wrote in the memoir essay *Genuńczyk w Poznaniu*. The Genoese person, described as "Signor Amadeo T.," visited the capital of Greater Poland in the early 20th century "on his way to Russia on business." Maybe it is due to this reason that the conversation between a Pole and an Italian was heavy going, unlike the one they had two years previously in Genoa. The cause could be the

guest's fresh fascination with Bismarck and Wilhelm II's Prussia, which seemed to veil his previous dreams of "resurrection of the Latin past" and nostalgia for the Italian cultural primacy of previous ages and former Polish-Italian relations: "Here—he said then during the night meeting at the Ligurian coast—was the heart of the world and should be again, from here let the culture of future generations take impulse, here the second revival will thrive after a century-long rampage of German triumphs, after the brutal rule of northern barbarians' spirit. He called Poland then *la dolce sorella* of divine Italy, a sister always longing from its snowy lands for sweets from the south."³

Disregarding the political context of this interesting conversation, we wish only to note that a common and clearly idealised past, and cultural Polish-Italian contacts, were, even at the turn of 19th and early 20th centuries, a significant element of shared tradition; the element to which reference must also be made in discussing present issues.

It is beyond doubt that this tradition was and has been continued—both in the inter-war period (the relations of the Second Polish Republic with Fascist Italy, not burdened with border conflicts and events of the partitions period, were incomparably better than relations with Hitler's Germany) as well as after the Second World War, when—even during the Cold War between the East and West—Polish-Italian relations were among the least tense and were devoid of a confrontational attitude. Let us add that mutual sympathy in broad social circles was indisputable, although they did not necessarily result in direct contacts, which were rather few.

Also, today the state of Polish-Italian rapport may be assessed at a rather high level (and this is no coincidence). These relations have particularly sound bases: a deeply-rooted tradition of contacts with the Papacy dating back to the Middle Ages, Polish educational stays in Italy, and also Italians travelling to Poland in pursuit of livelihood and career. Due to Poland's contact with Italy—although there were unavoidable frictions—Poles and Italians had a positive memory of each other.

These are memories that, north of the Alps, are constantly refreshed by new, attractive stimuli such as cars, fashion, cinema, architecture, interior décor, and probably of greatest reach and impact, cuisine. Excellent restaurants named *Roma*, *Toscana*, *Venezia*, or *Piccola Italia* can nowadays be found everywhere—in Prague, Hamburg, and Warsaw. Moreover, they have a whole mass of smaller and greater competitors in hundreds of other places, whose names it is impossible to give or remember. Whether an Italian would acknowledge the dishes served at such places as 'theirs' is another story, but 'Italian cuisine' is an important

3 Franciszek Morawski, *Genezy i rozwój w Poznaniu...*, p. 161-162.

unifying factor on a global scale. Nowadays, a fan of pasta with sauce, or pizza, can satisfy his appetite at almost any point on the globe, and many an American has already forgotten the Italian origin of these meals.

“Italy is a poor country inhabited by rich men, a Catholic state populated by atheists...,” wrote another Italian poet and writer, Michele Serra, while humorously pondering on the place and position of Italians in contemporary Europe.⁴ Serra pointed to Italian acting talents, being an objective basis for varied mystification and simulation, as a timeless feature of Italians, which may be attractive to neighbours and partners. Such a simulation, in his view, was Fascism, “a counterfeit of the Roman Empire”; such was the genesis of Cinecittà—a film town near Rome that was modelled on Hollywood—where, among other things, colonial conquests of Italian troops in Africa were propagated. The rapid urbanisation and industrialisation of the very backward country, especially its southern parts, were, according to Serra, also features of simulation. When the capitalist boom and rapid economic growth became fact, it turned out that Italians can also function perfectly well in the world of capitalist consumption, among more and more aggressive media and omnipresent cell phones. They can also become masters of advertising, as well as be the best copywriters. This flexibility, and the ability to adjust to multifaceted realities, may today be the basis of Italian success (thus instilling optimism). Surely, experiences of modern era migrations and consistently standing up to various European realities contributed to the development of features that proved so valuable in later centuries.

Every historian probably aims to present his/her theme in a form close to a compendium, covering the maximum number of threads illustrating the studied phenomenon. But they must maintain discipline over their argument. Not wanting to strain the reader’s patience too much, the author faces the dilemma of whether to elaborate further, and whether the effect will justify the difficulties of narration.

An interesting passage may be found in the memoirs of Albert Speer, an excellent architect in Hitler’s Germany, in a fragment describing plans to build an immense meeting hall in Berlin. This structure was to be one of the most powerful symbols of the Third Reich’s might (the hall was modelled on Rome’s Pantheon, and was to be 17 times the volume of St Peter’s Basilica). The passage of interest concerns, namely, a study tour to Rome and impressions connected with visiting the Vatican cathedral. Speer did not hide his disappointment, as—in his view—the size of the sanctuary “was in no proportion to the impression that a visitor actually got.” In other words, the visual effect fell short of the size of the construct, for

4 Michele Serra, *Mistrzowie udawania*, Polityka, no. 17, 24 April 2004, p. 48-49.

“with sizes of that order, the impression... does not deepen proportionally to the building size.”⁵

Not forgetting about the difference of contexts, it is worth considering the aptness of this architectural observation. Anxiety related to the danger of decreasing gains in comparison to incurred costs, accompanied us while gathering material, especially as we dealt with multiple biographic threads, which—with no chance for a holistic, compendial view of the subject—would surely enrich factography, but added nothing to the synthetic image. Concern for the relative coherence of presentation must also have influenced the final form of this work (as an effective dam against further elaboration). We have just reached this point.

5 Albert Speer, *Wspomnienia...*, p. 216-217. In future, the Berlin hall was to hold 150,000-180,000 people, and its total volume was to top 21 million cubic metres. These sizes were described by Speer himself as astronomic, and he stressed that “Washington Capitol would sink in that mass many times” – *ibidem*, p. 215.

Afterword

Fundamental sections of this book were written in the autumn of 2001, when the whole world, shocked with the attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City, learned the name of Rudolph Giuliani—a courageous mayor who, in moments of tragedy, rose to meet his challenge, organised rescue, uplifted inhabitants of the metropolis, and led them in co-ordinating their actions. The Italian descent of this American was remarked upon by his compatriot, the journalist and writer Oriana Fallaci, whose fiery essay, “The Rage and the Pride”—written in a letter from New York to the editor in chief of *Corriere della Sera*, Ferruccio de Bortoli—was published in early October by the Milan newspaper, and then reprinted by all major European titles. To Fallaci, writing about the threat from Islamic fundamentalism, the Italian origin of the mayor proved to be of such great significance that she expressed the fragment devoted to him in a tone of national pride. In her opinion, Giuliani “should be thanked by us, Italians, on our knees. For he has an Italian name, is of Italian origin, and gives best certificate of us before the whole world... He is worthy of another mayor of great fame—Fiorello La Guardia.”

Giuliani and La Guardia, the latter commemorated by giving his name to New York’s airport, may certainly be counted as outstanding continuators of the Italian migrational processes to which we have devoted so much attention. Although these two men happened to work in a different age—namely, in a globalized world where the advances in international integration and in cultural homogeneity reduced national divisions, both these Americans chose a country where the immigration has for so long been not just the norm but the basis of dynamic development. The unity of their Italian provenance was also highlighted by Fallaci (another noted Italian emigrant), for whom Italian bonds proved to be of extraordinary significance.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

- Acta Nuntiatorum Polonae*, vol. XVIII/1: *Franciscus Simonetta (21 VI 1606 – 30 IX 1607)*, edidit Adalbertus Tygielski, Institutum Historicum Polonicum Romae, Romae 1990.
- Akta sejmikowe województwa krakowskiego* [Sejmiks Records of the Kraków Voivodeship], ed. Stanisław Kutrzeba and Adam Przyboś, vol. 1–5: 1572–1696, PAU, Kraków 1932, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1955, 1959, 1963, 1984.
- Album armorum nobilium Regni Poloniae, XV–XVIII Saec., Herby nobilitacji i indygenatów, XV–XVIII w.* [Album Armorum Nobilium Regni Poloniae, XV–XVIII Saec., Coats of Arms of the Ennobled and Indigenat Holders], Introduction, compilation and edition by Barbara Trelińska, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Lublin 2001.
- Album studiorum Universitatis Cracoviensis*, vol. 1: 1490–1551, ed. Adam Chmiel, Cracoviae 1892.
- Analecta Romana*, ed. Józef Korzeniowski, *Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum*, vol. XV, Cracoviae 1894.
- Annibale di Capua, nunzio apostolico e arcivescovo di Napoli (1544c.–1595). Materiali per una biografia*, ed. Jan Władysław Woś, Roma 1984.
- [Anon.1595], *Anonima diariusz peregrynacji włoskiej, hiszpańskiej, portugalskiej (1595)* [Anonymous Diary of Travels to Italy, Spain and Portugal], ed. Jan Czubek, PAU, Kraków 1925.
- [Anon. 1598], *Relation of the State of Polonia and the United Provinces of that Crown, Anno 1598*, edidit Carolus H. Talbot, *Elementa ad fontium editiones*, vol. XIII, Rome 1965.
- [Anon. 1668], *Partenza da Roma e viaggio verso Polonia, cominciato il di 22 Marzo 1668*, Kraków, Biblioteka Czartoryskich, MS 3970 I (Galeazzo Marescotti's journey).
- [Aqua Andrea dell'], *Praxis ręczna o działach, rozdzielona na trzy księgi [...], złożona i wydana przez Andrzeia dell'Aqua, inżyniera Króla Jego Mości (1632)* [Practical Manual of Cannons, in Three Volumes (...) Composed and Published by Andrzej dell'Aqua, Engineer of His Royal Majesty, (1632)], Kraków, Biblioteka Czartoryskich, MS 1815 IV.
- Archivio Segreto Vaticano (ASV), *Segreteria di Stato*, MS 174; *Germania*, MS 114A; *Fondo Borghese*, MS IV 75.
- Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie (AGAD) [Central Archives of Historical Records, Warsaw], *Metryka Koronna, Libri Legationum* [Registers of the Crown, Libri Legationum], MS 28.
- Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego* [Jan Zamoyski's Archive], vol. IV: 1585–1588, ed. Kazimierz Lepszy, PAU, Kraków 1948.
- Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie [State Archive in Kraków], *Archiwum Pinoccich* [Pinoccis' Archive], MS 365, 379; *Archiwum Sanguszków* [Sanguszkos' Archive], MS 75/II.
- Badecki Karol, *Polska fraszka mieszczańska* [Polish Bourgeois Epigrams], Biblioteka Pisarzy Polskich book series, PAU, Kraków 1948.
- Barbaro Daniele, *Storia veneziana. Libro secondo*, Archivio storico italiano, vol. 7, Firenze 1844.

- Biblioteca Ambrosiana (Milan), MS G 172A, G 179inf., G 182inf., G 197inf., G 198inf., G 199inf., G 200inf., G 204inf., G 205inf., G 208inf., G 209inf., G 250inf., G 252inf.
- Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana (BAV), *Urbinate Latini*, MS 1055, 1078/I.
- Biblioteka Czartoryskich, Muzeum Narodowe in Kraków (MNK), MS 86, 264, 1815 IV, 1897 IV, 2577 IV, 3970 I.
- Biblioteka Narodowa in Warsaw (BN), MS III 3224, III 3273.
- Biblioteka PAN/PAU in Kraków, *Teki Cieszkowskiego* [Cieszkowski's Files] 8712.
- Billewicz Teodor, *Diariusz podróży po Europie w latach 1677–1678* [Diary of Travels Across Europe in 1677–1678], compilation by Marek Kunicki-Goldfinger, Biblioteka Narodowa, Warsaw 2004.
- [Burattini], *Misura universale di Tito Livio Burattini*, reprinted by Ludwik Birkenmajer according to the Vilnius edition of 1675, Akademia Umiejętności, Kraków 1897.
- [Burton Robert] Democritus Junior, *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, Henry Cripps, Oxford 1632.
- Calepinus Ambrosius, *Dictionarium undecim linguarum: Latina, Hebraica, Graeca, Gallica, Italica, Germanica, Belgica, Hispanica, Polonica, Ungarica, Anglica*, Basilea 1590, Lyon 1594.
- [Caligari Giovanni Andrea]—see *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*
- Camerarius Philippus, *Prawdziwa i wierna relacja o uwięzieniu w Rzymie* [A True and Faithful Account of the Imprisonment in Rome], translated by Mikołaj Szymański, compilation by Lech Szczucki, PIW, Warsaw 1984.
- Casanova Giacomo Girolamo, *Pamiętniki* [Diaries], translated and compiled by Tadeusz Evert, Czytelnik, Warsaw 1961.
- Ciano Galeazzo, *Diario*, vol. I: 1939–1940, Rizzoli Editore, Rome 1946; Polish edition: Ciano Galeazzo, *Pamiętniki, 1939–1943*, translated from English by Kazimierz Fudakowski, Stanisław Jamiołkowski, T. J. Evert, Warsaw 1949; the second Polish edition (Libra Publishing House, Planeta Publishing House, Warsaw 1991) is only a reprint of the former.
- Cocciola Giovanni Battista, *Dziela zebrane* [Collected Works], compiled by Irena Bieńkowska, Instytut Muzykologii UW, Warsaw 2004.
- [da Collo Francesco, de Conti Antonio], *Trattamento di pace tra il Serenissimo Sigismondo, Rè di Polonia, ed Gran Basilio, Principe di Moscovia, havuto dalli Illustri Signori Francesco da Collo, Cavalier Gentil'huomo di Conegliano, et Antonio de Conti, Cavalier Gentil'huomo Padovano, Oratori della Maestà di Massimiliano I. Imperatore, l'anno 1518. Scritta per lo medesimo Sig. Cav. Francesco, con la Relatione di quel viaggio [...], tradotta di latino in volgare, novamente data in luce*, Lorenzo Pasquati, Padova 1603.
- Cracovia artificum (1501–1550)*, booklet 1–2, collected by Jan Ptaśnik, in: *Źródła do historii sztuki i cywilizacji w Polsce*, vol. V, PAU, Kraków 1936–1937.
- Cudzoziemcy o Polsce. Relacje i opinie* [Foreigners About Poland. Accounts and Opinions], compiled by Jan Gintel, vol. 1: *Wiek X–XVII*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 1971.
- [Czerniecki], *Dwór, wspaniałość i rządę... Jaśnie Wielmożnego Jego Mości Pana Stanisława hrabi na Wiśnicz i Jarosławiu Lubomirskiego, wojewody krakowskiego... przez Stanisława Czernieckiego, podstolego żytomierskiego światu pokazany roku 1697* [The Court, Magnificence and Governance... of His Lordship Stanisław Lubomirski, Count of Wiśnicz and Jarosław, Voivode of Kraków... Shown to the World by Stanisław Czerniecki, Steward of Żytomierz, in 1697], *Teka Konserwatorska*, No. 3, 1956, p. 48–50.

- Decjusz Jost Ludwik, *Księga o czasach króla Zygmunta*, academic ed. Kazimierz Kumaniecki, compiled by Tadeusz Bieńkowski, PWN, Warsaw 1960.
- Diariusz sejmiku koronacyjnego 1669 roku* [Diary of the Coronation Sejm of 1669], compiled by Kazimierz Przyboś and Marek Ferenc, Towarzystwo Wydawnicze Historia Iagiellonica, Kraków 2004.
- Diariusz sejmiku lubelskiego 1566 roku* [Diary of the Sejm in Lublin of 1566], compiled by Irena Kaniewska, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1980.
- Diariusz sejmiku piotrkowskiego R. P. 1565* [Diary of the Sejm in Piotrków Trybunalski, 1565], Biblioteka Ordynacji Krasieńskich, vol. I, Warsaw 1868.
- Diariusze sejmów koronnych 1548, 1553 i 1570 r.* [Diaries of the Sejms of 1548, 1553 and 1570], *Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum*, vol. I, Kraków 1872.
- Diariusze sejmowe roku 1585* [Diaries of the Sejm of 1585], ed. Aleksander Czuczynski, Kraków 1901.
- Diariusze i akta sejmowe r. 1591–1592* [Sejm Diaries and Acts of 1591–1592], *Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum*, vol. XXI, Kraków 1907.
- [Długosz], *Jana Długosza... Dziejów Polskich ksiąg dwanaście* [By Jan Długosz History of Poland in Twelve Volumes], translated by Karol Mecherzyński, vol. V, part 12, Kraków 1870.
- Dmochowski Franciszek Ksawery, *Sztuka rymotwórcza* [The Art of Poetry], Ossolineum, Wrocław 1956.
- Dudithius Andreas, *Epistulae, Pars IV: 1575*, ed. Lechus Szczucki, Tiburtius Szepessy, Catharina Kotońska, Halina Kowalska, Akadémiai Kiadó, Argumentum Kiadó, Budapest 1998.
- Fantuzzi Giacomo, *Diariusz podróży po Europie (1652)* [Diary of Travels Across Europe (1652)], translated and compiled by Wojciech Tygielski, Instytut Wydawniczy Pax, Warsaw 1990.
- Fontes Rerum Polonicarum e tabulario Reipublicae Venetae*, exhaustit, collegit, edidit Dr. Augustus Comes Cieszkowski, Series II, Fasciculus Primus: *Litterae Ambaxatorum Venetorum apud Regem Poloniae ab anno 1574 usque ad annum 1606*, Venice 1892–1902.
- Fredro Andrzej Maksymilian, *Przysłowia mów potocznych, albo przestrogi obyczajowe, radne, wojenne* [Proverbs of Colloquial Speech, or Warnings Concerning Custom, Council and War], ed. Kazimierz Józef Turowski, Sanok 1855.
- Gawarecki Sebastian, “Droga do Francyje, do Paryża” [The Way to France, to Paris], in: *Pisma do wieku i spraw Jana Sobieskiego*, ed. Franciszek Kluczycki, vol. I, part 1, Kraków 1880, p. 38–131.
- Giovannini Paolo Emilio, *Relazione di Polonia (1565)*, in: *Analecta Romana*, ed. Józef Korzeniowski, *Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum*, vol. XV, Kraków 1894, p. 175–205.
- Górnicki Łukasz, *Dworzanin* [The Courtier], Książka i Wiedza, Warsaw 1950.
- Górnicki Łukasz, *Dworzanin polski* [The Polish Courtier], compiled by Roman Pollak, Biblioteka Narodowa I, 109, revision 2, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1954.
- Górnicki Łukasz, *Rozmowa o elekcyey, o wolności, o prawie y obyczajach polskich* [Discourse on Polish Election, Freedom, Law nad Custom], U dziedziców Jakuba Siebeneychera, Kraków 1616.

- Gwagnin Aleksander, *Z Kroniki Sarmacyi Europejskiej, Alexandra Gwagnina z Werony, Opisanie Polski, W. Ks. Litewskiego, ziemie ruskiej, ziemie pruskiej, ziemie inflantskiej, ziemie żmudzkiej* [The Chronicle of European Sarmatia by Alexander Gwagnin from Verona, The Description of Poland, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Ruthenia, Prussia, Livonia and Samogitia], ed. Kazimierz Józef Turowski, Wydawnictwo Biblioteki Polskiej, Kraków 1860.
- Harris James, "Dziennik pobytu w Polsce, 1767" [Journals of Stay in Poland, 1767], in: *Polska stanisławowska w oczach cudzoziemców...*, vol. 1, p. 285–306.
- Die Hauptinstruktionen Gregors XV. für die Nuntien und Gesandten an den europäischen Fürstenhöfen, 1621–1623*, Band 1–2, bearb. von Klaus Jaitner, Max Niemeyer Verlag, Tübingen 1997.
- [Hozjusz Stanisław], *Vita Petri Tomicki, Episcopi Cracoviensis et Regni Poloniae Vicecancellarii*, in: *Stanisłai Hosii, S.R.E. Cardinalis, Maioris Poenitentiarii, Episcopi Varmiensis (1504–1579), et quae ad eum scriptae sunt epistolae, tum etiam eius orationes, legationes*, vol. I, eds. Franciszek Hipler and Wincenty Zakrzewski, *Acta Historica Res Gestas Poloniae Illustrantia*, vol. IV, AU, Kraków 1879.
- Itinerario in Polonia del 1596 di Giovanni Paolo Mucante, Cerimoniere Pontificio, Parte I: Cracovia*, a cura di Jan Władysław Woś, Rome 1981.
- Jagodyński Stanisław Serafin, *Dworzanki* [Court-ladies], Kraków 1621.
- Janicki Klemens, *Carmina. Dzieła wszystkie* [Carmina. All Works], translated by E. Jędrkiewicz, ed. Jerzy Krókowski, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1966.
- Jarzemski Adam, *Gościńiec abo krótkie opisanie Warszawy* [Highroad, or a Short Description of Warsaw], 1643, Wydawnictwa Artystyczne i Filmowe, Warsaw 1981 (reprint of the unique copy in Biblioteka Kórnicka PAN); see Jarzębski Adam, *Gościńiec albo krótkie opisanie Warszawy, 1643*, ed. Władysław Tomkiewicz, Warsaw 1974.
- Kallimachowe Rady, królowi Albrachtowi względem wprowadzenia Absolutum Imperium do Polski, dane* [Callimachus's Counsels Given to King Olbracht Concerning Introduction of Absolutum Imperium in Poland] – Muzeum Narodowe in Kraków (MNK), Biblioteka Czartoryskich 86, p. 3–5.
- Kochowski Wespazjan, *Kamień świadectwa wielkiego w Koronie Polskiej senatora niewinności* [The Stone of Testimony of the Innocence of the Great Senator of Polish Kingdom], ed. Kazimierz Józef Turowski, Kraków 1859.
- Kochowski Wespazjan, *Lata potopu, 1655–1657* [The Deluge Years, 1655–1657], translated Leszek Kukulski, Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, Warsaw 1966.
- Kochowski Wespazjan, *Pisma Wierszem i Prozą* [Writings in Verse and Prose], ed. Kazimierz Józef Turowski, Kraków 1859.
- Kolberg Oskar, *Przysłowia* [Proverbs], Ludowa Spółdzielnia Wydawnicza, Warsaw 1977.
- Korab Brzozowski Franciszek, *Przysłowia polskie* [Polish Proverbs], Kraków 1896.
- Krański Gabriel, *Taniec Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej* [The Dance of the Polish Noble Republic], ed. Mirosław Korolko, Wydawnictwo Semper, Warsaw 1996.
- Kromer Marcin, *Polska, czyli o położeniu, ludności, obyczajach, urzędach i sprawach publicznych Królestwa Polskiego księgi dwie* [Poland or About the Location, Population, Citizens, Customs, Institutions and Public Affairs of the Kingdom of Poland in Two Books], translated by Stefan Kazikowski, compiled by Roman Marchwiński, Pojezierze, Olsztyn 1977.

- Kronika mieszczanina krakowskiego z lat 1575–1595* [The Chronicle of Kraków Burgher from 1575 to 1595], ed. Henryk Barycz, Biblioteka Krakowska No.70, W. L. Anczyc i Spółka, Kraków 1930.
- Lauda sejmiku generalnego wiszeńskiego, 1572–1648* [Acts of the Major Sejmik in Wisznia, 1572–1648], vol. I, compiled by Antoni Prochaska, *Acta Grodzkie i Ziemskie z Czasów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, vol. XX, Lviv 1909.
- [Lubieniecki], *Diariusz drogi tureckiej (1640) Zbigniewa Lubienieckiego* [The Diary of the Turkish Route (1640) of Zbigniew Lubieniecki], in: *Trzy relacje z polskich podróży na Wschód muzułmański*, ed. Adam Walaszek, Kraków 1980.
- [Ługowski], *Jasia Ługowskiego podróże do szkół w cudzych krajach, 1639–1643* [Travels of Jaś Ługowski to Schools in Foreign Countries, 1639–1643], compiled by Krystyna Muszyńska, PIW, Warsaw 1974.
- Manuzio Aldo, *Purae et Elegantes Linguae Latinae Phrases*, Gdańsk 1607.
- [Marescotti], *Vademecum pro Nuntiis apostolicis in Polonia a Galeazzo Marescotti, nuntio apostolico, c. a. 1670 exaratum*, ed. Alexander Kakowski, Petropoli 1912.
- [Markowicz Jan], Ludwik Kubala, “Mieszczanin polski w XVII wieku” [The Polish Burgher in the 17th Century], in: *Szkice Historyczne*, Series I and II, Ossolineum, Lviv, Warsaw 1923 p. 409–430; a separate edition in Biblioteczka Uniwersytetów Ludowych series, no. 119, Gebethner i Wolff, Warsaw, Kraków, n. d.
- Materiały genealogiczne, nobilitacje, indygenaty w zbiorach Archiwum Głównego Akt Dawnych w Warszawie* [Genealogical Materials, Ennoblements, Indygenats in the Collection of the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw], compiled by Anna Wajs, Warsaw 1995.
- Merkantylistyczna myśl ekonomiczna w Polsce XVI i XVII wieku. Wybór pism* [Mercantilist Economic Thought in Poland of the 16th and 17th Centuries. The Selected Writings], selection by Janusz Górski and Edward Lipiński, introduction by Edward Lipiński, PWN, Warsaw 1958.
- [Miaskowski], *Wielka legacja Wojciecha Miaskowskiego do Turcji w 1640 r* [The Great Diplomatic Mission of Wojciech Miaskowski to Turkey in 1640], compiled by Adam Przyboś, PWN, Warsaw 1985.
- [Miechowita], Maciej z Miechowa, *Opis Sarmacji Azjatyckiej i Europejskiej* [A Description of Asian and European Sarmatia], translated by Tadeusz Bienkowski, compiled by Henryk Barycz and Waldemar Voisé, *Źródła do Dziejów Nauki i Techniki*, vol. XIV, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1972.
- [Miselli], *Il Buratino veridico ovvero istruzione generale per chi viaggia con la descrizione dell'Europa... dato alla luce da Giuseppe Miselli corriere dello Burattino...*, Bologna 1688.
- Mongrillon de M., *Pamiętnik sekretarza ambasady francuskiej w Polsce pod koniec panowania Jana III oraz w bezkrólewiu i wolnej elekcji po jego zgonie (1694–1698)* [A Diary of the French Embassy Secretary in Poland in the End of Jan III's Reign, During Interregnum and the Royal Elections After His Demise (1694–1698)], translated by Łucja Częściak, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1982.
- [Montelupi], *Korespondencja Sebastiana i Valeria Montelupich (1576–1609)* [The Correspondence of Sebastiano and Valerio Montelupi (1576–1609)], compiled by Danuta Quirini-Popławska, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1986.

- Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. IV: *Ioannis Andreae Caligarii, nuntii apostolici in Polonia, epistolae et acta: 1578–1581*, ed. Ludovicus Boratyński, PAU, Kraków 1915; vol. VI: *Alberti Bolognetii, nuntii apostolici in Polonia, epistolae et acta: 1581–1585*, pars II: 1583, ed. Edward Kuntze, PAU, Kraków 1938.
- [Morstin], *Listy Jana Andrzeja Morstina* [The Letters of Jan Andrzej Morsztyn], compiled by Stefania Ochmann-Staniszevska, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Wrocław 2002.
- [Mucante], *I Due Soggiorni del card. legato E. Caetani a Varsavia (1596–1597) nella “Relazione” del maestro di cerimonie Giovanni Paolo Mucante*, ed. Jan Władysław Woś, Centro d’Incontro della Certosa di Firenze, Florence 1982.
- [Mucante], *Dwie wizyty legata papieskiego Enrica kardynała Caetaniego w Warszawie, 1596–1597, według relacji spisanej przez mistrza ceremonii Giovanniego Paola Mucantego* [Two Visits to Warsaw of Papal Legate Cardinal Enrico Caetani in 1596–1597, According to the Account Written by the Master of Ceremonies Giovanni Paolo Mucante], compiled by Jan Władysław Woś, *Krajobraz Warszawski V*, Urząd Gminy Warszawa Centrum, Warsaw 1996.
- [Mucante], *Itinerario in Polonia del 1596 di Giovanni Paolo Mucante, cerimoniere pontificio. Parte prima: Cracovia*, ed. Jan Władysław Woś, Il Centro di Ricerca, Roma 1981.
- Naborowski Daniel, *Poezje* [Poems], compiled by Jakub Niedźwiedz, Universitas, Kraków 2003.
- Niemcewicz Julian Ursyn, *Pamiętniki czasów moich* [A Diary of My Time], compiled by Jan Dihm, vol. 1–2, PIW, Warsaw 1958.
- Nobilitacje i indygenaty w Rzeczypospolitej 1434–1794* [Ennoblements and Indygenats in the Commonwealth 1434–1794], ed. Jerzy Michta, issue 1–30, Kielce 1991–1997.
- Nowa Księga Przysłów i wyrażen przysłowiowych Polskich*, ed. Julian Krzyżanowski, vol. I–III, PIW, Warsaw 1969, 1970, 1972.
- [Noyers des], *Lettres de Pierre des Noyers, secrétaire de la Reine de Pologne Marie-Louise de Gonzague, princesse de Mantoue et de Nevers, pour servir a l’histoire de Pologne et de Suède de 1655 a 1659*, Librairie de B. Behr, Berlin 1859.
- Noyers Pierre des, *Portofolio Królowej Maryi Ludwiki, czyli zbiór listów, aktów urzędowych i innych dokumentów, ściągających się do pobytu tej monarchini w Polsce* [Ludwika Maria’s Portfolio, or a Collection of Letters, Official Acts and other Documents from the Stay of this Ruler in Poland], ed. Edward Raczyński, vol. 1–2, Poznań 1844.
- Nowak-Dłużewski Juliusz, *Okolicznościowa poezja polityczna w Polsce. Dwaj młodsi Wazowie* [Occasional Political Poetry. The Two Younger Vasas], Instytut Wydawniczy PAX, Warsaw 1972.
- Nunziature di Venezia*, vol. X (26 V 1571 – 4 VII 1573), a cura di Aldo Stella, Istituto storico italiano per l’età moderna e contemporanea, Rome 1977.
- [O’Conor], “Wyjątek z Pamiętników Bernarda O’Conora” [An Excerpt from Bernard O’Conor’s Diaries], in: *Zbiór pamiętników historycznych o dawnej Polsce*, ed. Julian U. Niemcewicz, vol. IV, Warsaw 1822, p. 384–434.
- Ogier Karol, *Dziennik Podróży do Polski* [Diary of Travels to Poland], 1635–1636, translated by Edwin Jędrkiewicz, compiled by Władysław Czaplński and Irena Fabiani-Madeyska, part I–II, Gdańsk 1950–1953.

- [Opaliński], *Listy Krzysztofa Opalińskiego do brata Łukasza* [Letters of Krzysztof Opaliński to His Brother Łukasz], 1641–1653, ed. Roman Pollak, compiled by Marian Pelczyński and Alojzy Sajkowski, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1957.
- Opaliński Łukasz, *Pisma polskie. Rozmowa plebana z ziemianinem. Coś nowego. Poeta nowy* [Polish Writings. The Conversation Between a Parson and a Landowner], compiled by Ludwik Kamykowski, Wydawnictwo Kasy im. Mianowskiego, Warsaw 1938.
- Opaliński Łukasz, *Wybór pism* [The Selected Writings], compiled by Stanisław Grzeszczuk, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1959.
- Ordynacja dworu Zygmunta III z 1589 roku* [Statutes of the Zygmunt III Court from 1589], compiled by Krzysztof Chłapowski, Instytut Historii PAN, Wydawnictwo Neriton, Warsaw 2004.
- [Orzechowski Stanisław], *Panegyricus nuptiarum Ioannis Christophori Tarnovii comitis a Stanislaio Orichovio Roxolano scriptus*, Kraków 1558.
- Orzechowski Stanisław Okszyć, *Kroniki polskie od zgonu Zygmunta I* [Polish Chronicles since Zygmunt I's Demise], Warsaw 1805.
- Orzelski Świętosław, *Interregni Poloniae Libri VIII*, ed. Edward Kuntze, *Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum*, vol. XXII, Kraków 1917.
- Ossoliński Jerzy, *Pamiętnik* [Diary], compiled by Władysław Czapliński, PIW, Warsaw 1976.
- Ossoliński Zbigniew, *Pamiętnik* [Diary], compiled by Józef Długosz, PIW, Warsaw 1983.
- [Oświęcim], *Stanisława Oświęcimsa Dyaryusz 1643–1651* [Diary of Stanisław Oświęcim 1643–1651], ed. Wiktor Czermak, *Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum*, vol. XIX, Kraków 1907.
- Pasek Jan, *Pamiętniki* [Memoirs], compiled by Władysław Czapliński, Ossolineum, Biblioteka Narodowa, ed. IV, Wrocław 1968.
- [Piasecki], *Kronika Pawła Piaseckiego biskupa przemyskiego* [A Chronicle by Paweł Piasecki, bishop of Przemyśl], ed. Julian Bartoszewicz, Kraków 1870.
- Piotrowski Jan, *Dziennik wyprawy Stefana Batorego pod Psków* [The Journal of Stefan Báthory's Campaign at Pskov], ed. Aleksander Czuczynski, Kraków 1894.
- Pisarze polskiego odrodzenia o sztuce* [Writers of Polish Renaissance on Art], compiled by Władysław Tomkiewicz, Państwowy Instytut Sztuki, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1955.
- Pisma do wieku i spraw Jana Sobieskiego* [Writings about the Time and Governance of Jan Sobieski], ed. Franciszek Kluczycki, *Acta historica res gestas Poloniae illustrantia*, vol. I–II, PAU, Kraków 1880.
- Pisma polityczne z czasów panowania Jana Kazimierza Wazy, 1648–1668. Publicystyka – eksorbitancje – projekty – memoriały* [Political Writings from the Time of Jan II Kazimierz Vasa's Reign, 1648–1668. Commentary-Exorbitances-Projects-Memoranda], compiled by Stefania Ochmann-Janiszewska, vol. I: 1648–1660, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1989, vol. II: 1661–1664, Volumen, Wrocław-Warsaw 1990, vol. III: 1665–1668, Volumen, Wrocław-Warsaw 1991.
- Pisma polityczne z czasów pierwszego bezkrólewia* [Political Writings from the Time of the First Interregnum], ed. Jan Czubek, Akademia Umiejętności, Kraków 1906.
- Pisma polityczne z czasów rokoszu Zebrzydowskiego, 1606–1608* [Political Writings from the Time of the Zebrzydowski Rebellion, 1606–1608], ed. Jan Czubek, vol. I–III, Akademia Umiejętności, Kraków 1918.
- Poczobut Odlanicki Jan Władysław, *Pamiętnik [1640–1684]* [Diary (1640–1684)], compiled by Andrzej Rachuba, Czytelnik, Warsaw 1987.

- Podróż królewicza Władysława Wazy do krajów Europy Zachodniej w latach 1624–1625 w świetle ówczesnych relacji* [The Journey of Prince Władysław IV Vasa to the Western Europe Countries in 1624–1625 in the Light of Contemporary Accounts], compiled by Adam Przyboś, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 1977.
- Poeci polskiego baroku* [The Poets of Polish Baroque], vol. I, compiled by Jadwiga Sokołowska and Kazimiera Żukowska, PIW, Warsaw 1965.
- Poezja Związku Święconego i Rokoszu Lubomirskiego* [The Poetry of Nexus Sacer and the Lubomirski's Rebellion], ed. Juliusz Nowak-Dłużewski, Wrocław 1953.
- Polska stanisławowska w oczach cudzoziemców* [The Poland under King Stanisław August Poniatowski in the Eyes of Foreigners], vol. 1–2, compiled by Waław Zawadzki, PIW, Warsaw 1963.
- Polski dyplomata na papieskim dworze. Wybór listów Jerzego z Tycyna do Marcina Kromera (1554–1585)* [A Polish Diplomat at the Papal Court. A Selection of Letters from Jerzy of Tyczyn to Marcin Kromer (1554–1585)], ed. Jerzy Axer, PIW, Warsaw 1982.
- Potocki Waław, *Moralia i inne utwory z lat 1688–1696* [Moralia and Other Works from the years 1688–1696], PIW, Warsaw 1987.
- Potocki Waław, *Pisma wybrane* [Selected Writings], vol. I–II, compiled by Jan Dürr-Durski, PIW, Warsaw 1953.
- [Potocki], *Wawława Potockiego Moralia (1688)* [Moralia of Waław Potocki (1688)], vol. II, ed. Tadeusz Grabowski and Jan Łoś, Akademia Umiejętności, Kraków 1916.
- Punkta Kalimachowe 36. Królowi Polskiemu Albrechtowi na oppresyę Wolności Polskiej podane a podczas Zjazdu Stężyckiego odkryte* [36 Points by Callimachus to the Polish King Olbracht for the Oppression of Polish Freedom, Discovered During the Meeting in Stężyca], Biblioteka Czartoryskich 264, p. 30–35 – Muzeum Narodowe in Kraków (MNK).
- Quaestiones Polonico morales in Academia Lipsiensi, de Polono Equite, moderni temporis propositae in disputatione publica, 1703*, Biblioteka Czartoryskich 264, p. 302–307 – Muzeum Narodowe in Kraków (MNK).
- Rachunki dworu królewskiego z lat 1544–1567* [Expenses of the King's Court, 1544–1567], ed. Adam Chmiel, Kraków 1911.
- [Radolińscy], *Pamiętnik podróży odbytej r. 1661–1663 po Austrii, Włoszech i Francyi...* [Diary of Travels to Austria, Italy and France in 1661–1662...], ed. Z. C[elichowski], Toruń 1874.
- Radziwiłł Albrycht Stanisław, *Pamiętnik o dziejach w Polsce*, t. 1: 1632–1636, t. 2: 1637–1646, t. 3: 1647–1656 [Diary of the History of Poland, vol. 1: 1632–1636, vol. 2: 1637–1646, vol. 3: 1647–1656], translated and compiled by Adam Przyboś and Roman Żelewski, PIW, Warsaw 1980.
- Regesty Nobilitacji w Polsce (1404–1794)* [Regesta of Ennoblements in Poland (1404–1794)], in: *Materiały do biografii, genealogii i heraldyki polskiej*, vol. IX, ed. Zygmunt Wdowiszewski, Buenos Aires 1987.
- Regesty Przywilejów Indygenatu w Polsce (1519–1793)* [Regesta of Indygenat Privileges in Poland (1519–1793)], in: *Materiały do biografii, genealogii i heraldyki w Polsce*, vol. V, ed. Zygmunt Wdowiszewski, Paryż 1971.
- Rej Mikołaj, *Pisma Wierszem* [Writings in Verse], compiled by Julian Krzyżanowski, Biblioteka Narodowa I 151, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1954.

- Relacje nuncyuszów apostolskich i innych osób o Polsce, od roku 1548 do 1690* [The Apostolic Nuncios' and other People's Accounts on Poland, from 1548 to 1690], vol. I–II, ed. Erazm Rykaczewski, Berlin-Poznań 1864.
- Rozmowa Królowej Jej Mości Maryi Kazimierzy z Królewiczem Jakubem, synem swoim, o rzeczach terażniejszych tempore Interregni 1696* [Discourse of HM Queen Maria Kazimiera with Prince Jakub, Her Son, About the Most Important Things in the Time of Interregnum 1696], Biblioteka Czarotoryskich 264, p. 165–177 – Muzeum Narodowe in Kraków (MNK).
- [Rywocki], *Macieja Rywockiego księgi peregrynanckie (1584–1587)* [Peregrinator's Books of Maciej Rywocki (1584–1587)], ed. Jan Czubek, *Archiwum do Dziejów Literatury i Oświaty w Polsce*, vol. 12, Kraków 1910, p. 177–264.
- Schulz Friedrich, *Podróże Inflanckczyka z Rygi do Warszawy i po Polsce w latach 1791–1793* [A Livonian's Travels from Riga to Warsaw and Around Poland in the Years 1791–1793], translated by Józef Ignacy Kraszewski, in: *Polska stanisławowska w oczach cudzoziemców...*, vol. 2, p. 381–673.
- Siri Niccolò, *Lettere da Cracovia e Varsavia (1642–1645)*, a cura di Tessa Capponi-Borawska, Uniwersytet Warszawski, Katedra Italianistyki, Warsaw 1993.
- [Skarga], *Listy ks. Piotra Skargi z lat 1566–1610*, ed. Jan Sygański, Kraków 1912.
- Sobieski Jakub, *Instrukcja synom moim do Paryża* [Educational Instruction for Sons moving to Paris], in: *Pisma do wieku i spraw Jana Sobieskiego*, ed. Franciszek Kluczycki, vol. I, part 1, Akademia Umiejętności, Kraków 1880, p. 29–37.
- Sobieski Jakub, *Peregrynacja po Europie [1607–1613]. Droga do Baden [1638]* [Peregrination Across Europe (1607–1613). The Way to Baden (1638)], compiled by Józef Długosz, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1991.
- Sobieski Jan, *Listy do Marysienki* [Letters to Marysienka], compiled by Leszek Kukulski, Czytelnik, Warsaw 1962.
- [Sobieski], *Listy Jana Sobieskiego* [Letters of Jan Sobieski], ed. Antoni Zygmunt Helcel, Biblioteka Ordynacji Myszkowskiej, Kraków 1860.
- Solikowski Jan Dymitr, *Lukrecya*, compiled by Julian Krzyżanowski, Warsaw 1936.
- Speer Albert, *Wspomnienia* [Memoirs], translated by Marek Fijałkowski, Wydawnictwo Ministerstwa Obrony Narodowej, Warsaw 1973.
- Sprawy wojenne króla Stefana Batorego. Dyjaryjusze, relacje, listy i akta z lat 1576–1586* [Martial Affairs of King Stefan Báthory. Diaries, Accounts, Letters and Acts from the Years 1576–1586], ed. Ignacy Polkowski, Akademia Umiejętności, Kraków 1887.
- Starowolski Szymon, *Polska albo opisanie położenia Królestwa Polskiego* [Poland or a Description of the Polish Kingdom Location], translation from Latin, introduction and commentary by Antoni Piskadło, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 1976.
- Strzykowski Maciej, *O początkach, wywodach, dzielnościach, sprawach rycerskich i domowych sławnego narodu litewskiego, żemojdzkiego i ruskiego, przedtym nigdy od żadnego ani kuszone, ani opisane, z natchnienia Bożego a uprzejmie pilnego doświadczenia* [On the Beginnings, Accounts, Virtues, Martial and Domestic Affairs of the Famed Nations of Lithuania, Samogitia, Ruthenia; Never Before Touched or Described by Anyone, Put Down Out of God's Inspiration and Own Experience], compiled by Julia Radziszewska, PIW, Warsaw 1978.

- [Tiepolo], *Il Carteggio di Giovanni Tiepolo, ambasciatore veneto in Polonia (1645–1647)*, a cura di Domenico Caccamo, Giuffrè Editore, Rome 1984.
- Vasari Giorgio, *Żywoty najświetniejszych malarzy, rzeźbiarzy i architektów...* [The Lives of the Most Excellent Italian Painters, Sculptors, and Architects...], selection, translation, introduction and commentary by Karol Estreicher, PIW, Warsaw 1979; a more comprehensive edition, also translated by Karol Estreicher, vol. 1–9, Warsaw, Kraków 1985–1990. An English version – *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects...*, translated by Gaston du C. de Vere, London 1913.
- Volumina Legum, Przedruk zbioru praw staraniem XX. Pijarów w Warszawie, od roku 1732 do 1782* [Volumina Legum, A Reprint of the Code, Completed through the Effort of Fathers Piarists in Warsaw, from the Year 1732 to 1782], vol. 1–4, ed. Jozafat Ohryzko, Petersburg 1859–1889.
- Verbek-Lettow Maciej, *Skarbnica pamięci. Pamiętnik lekarza króla Władysława IV* [A Repository of Memory. Diary of King Władysław IV's Doctor], compiled by Ewa Galos and Franciszek Mincer, ed. Władysław Czapliński, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1968.
- [Warszewicki], *Krzysztofa Warszawickiego niewydane pisma, listy do znakomitych ludzi, tudzież inne dokumenty* [The Unpublished Writings of Krzysztof Warszawicki, Letters to Illustrious People and Other Documents], ed. Teodor Wierzbowski, Drukarnia Józefa Bergera, Warsaw 1883.
- Wdowiszewski Zygmunt – see *Regesty nobilitacji w Polsce (1404–1794)* and *Regesty przywilejów indygenatu w Polsce (1519–1793)*.
- Wierzbowski Stanisław, *Konnotata wypadków w domu i w kraju zaszych od 1634 do 1689 r.* [Distinguishing Marks of Events that Occurred in the Country Between 1634 and 1689], ed. Jan Konrad Załuski, Lipsk 1858.
- Wjazd, koronacja, wesele Najjaśniejszej Królowej Jej Mości Cecylii Renaty w Warszawie roku 1637* [The Entry, Coronation, Wedding of the Illustrious HM The Queen Cecylia Renata, 1637], compiled by Alicja Faleniowska-Gradowska, Zamek Królewski w Warszawie, Warsaw 1991.
- [Wolf], *Polskie przypadki Henryka Wolfa z Zurychu. Dziennik podróży z lat 1570–1578* [Polish Adventures of Henryk Wolf from Zurich. Travel Diary of 1570–1578], translated by Robert Sochań, compiled by Leszek Kieniewicz, Zamek Królewski w Warszawie, Warsaw 1996.
- Wotschke Theodor, *Der Briefwechsel der Schweizer mit den Polen*, Heinsius, Leipzig 1908.
- Wydźga Jan S., *Opisanie niektórych poważniejszych rzeczy, które się działy podczas Wojny Szwedzkiej w Królestwie Polskim od roku pańskiego 1655 w miesiącu lipcu, aż do roku 1660, w miesiącu maju trwającej* [A Description of Certain Serious Things That Happened During The Swedish War in the Polish Kingdom Since July Anno Domini 1655 Until May 1660], ed. Kazimierz Władysław Wójcicki, *Biblioteka Starożytnych Pisarzy Polskich*, vol. 5, Warsaw 1854.
- [Zawisza], *Pamiętniki Krzysztofa Zawiszy, wojewody mińskiego (1666–1721)* [Diaries of Krzysztof Zawisza, Voivode of Mińsk (1666–1721)], ed. Julian Bartoszewicz, Warsaw 1862.
- Zbiór pamiętników historycznych o dawnej Polsce* [A Collection of Historical Diaries About Old Poland], ed. Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, vol. I–V, Breitkopf i Haertel, Lipsk 1838–1840.

- Złotnicy Krakowscy XIV–XVI wieku i ich księga cechowa* [Kraków Goldsmiths of the 16th–17th Centuries and Their Guild Register], vol. I–II, ed. Jerzy Pietrusiński, Instytut Sztuki PAN, Warsaw 2000.
- Żabzczyk Jan, *Polityka Dworskie* [Courtly Politics], Kraków 1616 (the next edition Kraków 1617).
- [Żółkiewski], *Pisma Stanisława Żółkiewskiego, kanclerza koronnego i hetmana* [Writings of Stanisław Żółkiewski, Chancellor of the Crown and Hetman], ed. August Bielowski, W. Maniecki, Lwów 1861.

Secondary Sources

- Acta Nuntiaturae Poloniae*, vol. I, compiled by Henryk Damian Wojtyska, Institutum Historicum Polonicum Romae, Rome 1990.
- Ademollo Alessandro, *I teatri di Roma nel secolo decimosettimo*, Rome 1888.
- Adorni-Braccesi Simonetta, *Le “Nazioni” lucchesi nell’Europa della Riforma*, Critica storica, 1991/3 (luglio-settembre), Rome 1991, p. 363–426.
- Althoen David “*Natione Polonus and the Naród Szlachecki*. Two Myths of National Identity and Noble Solidarity”, *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung*, vol. 52, 2003, p. 475–508.
- Amat di San Filippo Pietro, *Bibliografia dei viaggiatori italiani*, Rome 1874.
- Amat di San Filippo Pietro, *Gli illustri viaggiatori italiani, con una antologia dei loro scritti*, Rome 1885.
- Amerio Romano, *Introduzione alla Valsolda. Da Alberto Vignati ad Antonio Fogazzaro*, Lugano 1970.
- Antoniewicz-Bołoz Jan, *Joannes Piacentinus i jego dzieła w Krakowie* [Joannes Piacentinus and His Works in Kraków], Prace KHS II, 1922.
- Antoniewicz-Bołoz Jan, *Z badań nad Padovanem. 1. Mucius Scaevola. 2. Padovano i kaplica Zygmuntowska* [From Studies on Padovano. 1. Mucius Scaevola. 2. Padovano and the Zygmunt’s Chapel], Sprawozdania TN we Lwowie, II, 1922.
- Artyści włoscy w Polsce, XV–XVIII wiek* [Italian Artists in Poland in the 15th–18th Century], ed. Juliusz A. Chrościcki et al., Instytut Historii Sztuki UW (works dedicated to Prof. Mariusz Karpowicz), Wydawnictwo DiG, Warsaw 2004.
- Augustyniak Urszula, *Wazowie i „królowie rodacy”. Studium władzy królewskiej w Rzeczypospolitej XVII wieku* [The Vasas and “the Compatriot Kings”. A Study of Royal Power in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of the 17th Century], Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, Warsaw 1999.
- Aurea Porta Rzeczypospolitej. Sztuka Gdańska od połowy XV do końca XVIII wieku* [Aurea Porta of the Commonwealth. The Art of Gdańsk from mid-15th Century to the End of 18th Century], Katalog, Muzeum Narodowe w Gdańsku, Gdańsk 1997.
- Babiński Leon, *Upadek waluty w Polsce w połowie XVII wieku na tle ówczesnego przesilenia finansowego* [The Fall of Currency in Poland in the 17th Century in the Context of Contemporary Financial Crisis], Drukarnia Literacka, Warsaw 1919.
- Backvis Claude, “Jak w XVI wieku Polacy widzieli Włochy i Włochów” [How Italians and Italy Were Perceived by Poles in the 16th Century], in: id., *Szkice o kulturze staropolskiej*, compiled by Andrzej Biernacki, PIW, Warsaw 1975, p. 687–769.
- Baczkowski Krzysztof, *Rady Kallimacha* [Callimachus’s Advice], KAW, Kraków 1989.

- Baratti Danilo, *La popolazione nella Svizzera italiana dell'antico regime*, Archivio Storico Ticinese, N. 111, A. 29, ser. 2, Bellinzona 1992, p. 53–96.
- Bartczakowa Aldona, *Jakub Fontana. Architekt warszawski XVIII wieku* [Jakub Fontana. A Warsaw Architect of the 18th Century], Warsaw 1970.
- Barycz Henryk, “Italofile i italofofi” [Italophiles and Italophobes], in: id., *Spojrzenia w przeszłość polsko-włoską*, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1965, p. 48–76.
- [Barycz Henryk], “Maciej z Miechowa, 1457–1523, historyk, geograf, lekarz, organizator nauki” [Maciej of Miechów, 1457–1523, a Historian, Geographer, Doctor, and Promoter of Science], ed. Henryk Barycz, *Monografie z Dziejów Nauki i Techniki*, vol. XV, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1960.
- Barycz Henryk, “Myśl i legenda Machiavellego w Polsce w wieku XVI i XVII” [The Thought and the Legend of Machiavelli in Poland in the 16th and 17th Century], in: id., *Spojrzenia w przeszłość polsko-włoską*, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1965, p. 267–299.
- Barycz Henryk, *Polacy na studiach w Rzymie w epoce Odrodzenia, 1440–1600* [Poles Studying in Rome During the Renaissance], Kraków 1938.
- Barycz Henryk, *Sebastian Ciampi i jego działalność literacka w Polsce* [Sebastian Ciampi and His Literary Activity in Poland], Przegląd Współczesny, No. 146, VI 1934.
- Barycz Henryk, *Spojrzenia w przeszłość polsko-włoską* [Looking Back at the Polish-Italian Past], Ossolineum, Wrocław 1965.
- Barycz Henryk, *W blaskach epoki Odrodzenia* [In the Splendour of the Renaissance Age], PIW, Warsaw 1968.
- Barycz Henryk, *Z zaścianka na parnas. Drogi kulturalnego rozwoju Jana Kochanowskiego i jego rodu* [From a Village for Impoverished Gentry to Mount Parnassus. The Ways of Cultural Advancement of Jan Kochanowski and His Family], Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 1981.
- Bazylow Ludwik, *Historia Powszechna, 1492–1648* [General History...], 3rd edition, Książka i Wiedza, Warsaw 2001.
- Bednarski Stanisław, *Stosunki kard. R. Bellarmina z Polską i Polakami (na podst. korespondencji)* [The Relationships of Cardinal R. Bellarmine with Poland and Poles (on the Basis of Correspondence)], Kraków 1928.
- Belletini Athos, *Ricerche sulle crisi demografiche del seicento*, Bollettino di Demografia Storica, No. 1, Centro di documentazione per lo studio della demografia storica, Rome 1979.
- Bernatowicz Tadeusz, *Monumenta variis Radivillorum. Wyposażenie zamku nieświeskiego w świetle źródeł archiwalnych* [Monumenta Variis Radivillorum. The Contents of the Nieśwież Castle in the Light of Archival Sources], part I, Bogucki Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Poznań 1998.
- Bersano Begey Marina, *La Polonia in Italia: saggio bibliografico: 1799–1948*, Istituto di Cultura Polacca Attilio Begey, Turin 1949.
- Białostocki Jan, *The Art of the Renaissance in Eastern Europe*, London 1976.
- Białostocki Jan, *Jan Zamoyski klientem Domenica Tintoretta* [Jan Zamoyski a Client of Domenico Tintoretto], Biuletyn Historii Sztuki, vol.16, 1954/1, p. 53–66.
- Białostocki Jan, *Polski i włoski dworzanin o malarstwie. Co Górnicki pominął u Castigliona?* [A Polish and Italian Courtier About Painting. What Did Górnicki Leave Out From Castiglione?], Twórczość, vol. XXXVIII, no. 6, październik 1982, p. 107–115.

- Bieniarzówna Janina, *Mieszczanieństwo krakowskie XVII w. Z badań nad strukturą społeczną miasta* [The Kraków Bourgeoisie of the 17th Century. From Studies on Social Structure of the City], Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 1969.
- Bieniarzówna Janina, Małecki Jan M., *Dzieje Krakowa* [The History of Kraków], vol. II: *Kraków w wiekach XVI – XVIII*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 1984.
- Biliński Bronisław, *Galileo Galilei e il mondo polacco*, Accademia Polacca delle Scienze, Biblioteca e Centro di Studi a Roma, Conferenze 40, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1969.
- Biliński Bronisław, *Le glorie di Giovanni III Sobieski, vincitore di Vienna 1683, nella poesia italiana*, Accademia Polacca delle Scienze, Biblioteca e Centro di Studi a Roma, Conferenze 98, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1990.
- Biliński Bronisław, “Sebastiano Ciampi (1832) tłumacz listu Stanisława Reszki o burzycielach Rzymu (Epist. 1594, XXVI, s. 273–304)” [Sebastiano Ciampi (1832) Translator of Stanisław Reszka’s Letter about Destroyers of Rome (Epist. 1594, XXVI, p. 273–304)], in: *Między Padwą a Zamościem. Studia z historii sztuki i kultury nowożytniej, ofiarowane Profesorowi Jerzemu Kowalczykowi*, Instytut Sztuki PAN, Warsaw 1993, p. 377–389.
- Biliński Bronisław, *Tradizioni italiane all’Università Jagellonica di Cracovia*, Accademia polacca delle scienze, Biblioteca e centro di studi a Roma, Conferenze 32, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1967.
- Bobowski Mikołaj, *Wychowanie panicza polskiego za granicą w wieku XVII-ym (1639–1641). Ustęp z dziejów edukacji publicznej* [A Young Lord’s Education Abroad in the 17th Century. A Section from the History of Public Education (1639–1641)], Biblioteka Warszawska, 1886, vol. III, p. 28–48, 195–212.
- Bochnak Adam, “Canavesi e Padovano”, in: *Mediaevalia. W 50 rocznicę pracy naukowej Jana Dąbrowskiego*, Warsaw 1960, p. 415–423.
- Bochnak Adam, *Kaplica Zygmuntowska* [The Zygmunt’s Chapel], Warsaw 1960.
- Bochnak Adam, *Kościół św. Piotra i Pawła w Krakowie i jego rzymski pierwowzór oraz architekt królewski Jan Trevano* [Saints Peter and Paul Church in Kraków and Its Prototype in Rome and Its Royal Architect, Jan Trevano], Spraw. KHS IX, Kraków 1948, p. 89–125.
- Bochnak Adam, “Mecenat Zygmunta Starego w zakresie rzemiosła artystycznego” [The Patronage of Zygmunt I the Old in Artisanry], in: *Studia z dziejów Wawelu*, vol. II, Kraków 1960.
- Bogucka Maria, *Białogłowa w dawnej Polsce. Kobieta w społeczeństwie polskim XVI–XVIII w. na tle porównawczym* [A ‘White-Headed’ in Old Poland. A Woman in Polish Society of the 16th–18th Century in Comparison], Trio, Warsaw 1998.
- Bogucka Maria, *Bona Sforza*, PIW, Warsaw 1989.
- Bogucka Maria, *Z dziejów stosunków polsko-włoskich: spory o Bonę* [From the History of Polish-Italian Relations: Disputes About Bona], in: *Artyści włoscy w Polsce, XV–XVIII wiek*, ed. Juliusz A. Chrościcki et al., Instytut Historii Sztuki UW, Wydawnictwo DiG, Warsaw 2004, p. 17–24.
- Bohdziewicz Piotr, *Francesco Placidi, architekt – Włoch XVIII stulecia w Polsce* [Francesco Placidi, the Architect: An Italian of the 18th Century in Poland], Prace i Materiały SHS, III, Wilno 1938–1939, p. 219–256.
- Bokszkański Zbigniew, *Stereotypy a kultura* [Stereotypes and Culture], Ossolineum, Wrocław 1997.

- Boniecki Adam, *Herbarz polski. Wiadomości historyczno-genealogiczne o rodach szlacheckich* [The Polish Roll of Arms. Historical-Genealogical Information about Noble Families], vol. I–XVI, Gebethner i Wolff, Warsaw 1899–1913.
- Bontempi Giovanni Andrea, “Notizie di Baldassare Ferri”, in: Ademollo Alessandro, *I teatri di Roma nel secolo XVII*, Rome 1888.
- Boratyński Ludwik, *Przyczynek do dziejów pierwszych stosunków handlowych Gdańska z Włochami a w szczególności z Wenecją* [A Contribution to a History of the First Trade Relations of Gdańsk with Italy Especially with Venice], *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności*, vol. 51, Kraków 1908, p. 219–277.
- Boratyński Ludwik, “Sprawa ambasady weneckiej w Polsce za Stefana Batorego” [The Case of the Venetian Embassy in Poland under Stefan Bathory’s Reign], in: *Studia historyczne, wydane ku czci Prof. Wincentego Zakrzewskiego*, Kraków 1908, p. 1–30.
- Borejszo Maria, “Sposoby adaptacji formalnej włoskich zapożyczeń leksykalnych w języku polskim” [The Ways of Formal Adaptation of Italian Lexical Borrowings in the Polish Language], *Poradnik Językowy* No. 10 (354), PWN, Warsaw 1977, p. 443–451.
- Borejszo Maria, “Zapożyczenia włoskie i francuskie w *Pamiętnikach* J. Ch. Paska” [Italian and French Borrowings in J.Ch. Pask’s *Memoirs*], *Poradnik Językowy* No. 3 (386), PWN, Warsaw 1979, p. 116–126.
- Borowski Andrzej, “Europejskość i polskość Moliera” [The Europeaness and Polishness of Molière], *Teatr*, No. 10–11, 2002, p. 58–59.
- Borowy Waclaw, “Anglicy, Szkoci i Irlandczycy w wojsku polskim za Zygmunta III” [Englishmen, Scots and Irishmen in Polish Army in Zygmunt III’s Time], in: *Studia z dziejów kultury polskiej*, ed. Henryk Barycz and Jan Hulewicz, Gebethner i Wolff, Warsaw 1949, p. 293–313.
- Brahmer Mieczysław, “Jan Kazimierz i komedianci włoscy” [Jan II Kazimierz and Italian Comedians], in: *Kultura i literatura dawnej polski*, ed. Jan Zygmunt Jakubowski et al., PWN, Warsaw 1967, p. 361–368.
- Brahmer Mieczysław, “Literatura włoska w Polsce” [Italian Literature in Poland], inauguration lecture delivered at the Józef Piłsudski University of Warsaw on 20th May 1937, Drukarnia Polska, Warsaw 1937.
- Brahmer Mieczysław, *Powinowactwa polsko-włoskie: z dziejów wzajemnych stosunków kulturalnych* [Polish-Italian Relationships: From the History of Mutual Cultural Relations], PWN, Warsaw 1980.
- Brahmer Mieczysław, “Samochwał włoski w kontuszu” [An Italian Braggart in Kontusz], in: id., *Z dziejów włosko-polskich stosunków kulturalnych*, Warsaw 1939, p. 51–78.
- Brahmer Mieczysław, “Włoscy komedianci króla Jana” [The Italian Comedians of King Jan], *Pamiętnik Literacki* XXXII, 1935, p.54–62.
- Brahmer Mieczysław, *Z dziejów włosko-polskich stosunków kulturalnych. Studia i materiały* [From the History of Polish-Italian Cultural Relations. Studies and Materials], Towarzystwo Literackie im. Adama Mickiewicza, Warsaw 1939.
- Branca Vittore, *Sebastiano Ciampi in Polonia e la Biblioteca Czartoryski*, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1970.
- Braudel Fernand, *Grammaire des Civilisations*, Flammarion, Paris 1993.
- Bronarski Alfons, *L’Italie et la Pologne au cours des siecles*, Lausanne 1947.

- Brüstigerowa Julja, "Guarino a Polska" [Guarino and Poland], *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, vol. XXXIX, 1925/1, p. 70–80.
- Bues Almut, *Rozmówki polsko-niemieckie jako przejaw wielokulturowości. Mikołaja Volckmara "Czterdzieści dialogów lub zabawnych sztuk do mówienia"* [Polish-German Phrasebooks as a Sign of Multiculturalism. "Forty Dialogues or Amusing Pieces to Speak" by Mikołaj Volckmar], in: *Stosunki polsko-niemieckie w XVI-XVIII wieku*, ed. Jacek Wijaczka, Kielce 2002, p. 65–87.
- Bugaj Roman, *Nauki tajemne w dawnej Polsce – Mistrz Twardowski* [Occult Science in Old Poland – Master Twardowski], Ossolineum, Wrocław 1986.
- Burke Peter, *The Fortunes of the "Courtier." The European Reception of Castiglione's "Cortegiano"*, Polity Press, Cambridge 1995.
- Buszewicz Elwira, *Cracovia in litteris. Obraz Krakowa w piśmiennictwie doby odrodzenia* [The Image of Kraków in Literature of the Renaissance Period], Universitas, Kraków 1998.
- Bystron Jan Stanisław, *Dzieje obyczajów w dawnej Polsce, wiek XVI-XVIII* [The History of Customs in Old Poland, the 16th–18th Century], vol. I–II, PIW, Warsaw 1960.
- Caccamo Domenico, *Eretici italiani in Moravia, Polonia, Transilvania, 1558–1661. Studi e documenti*, Florence 1970.
- Caccamo Domenico, *Osservatori italiani della crisi polacca a metà del seicento. La Relazione di S. Cefali e le Replicazioni di C. Masini*, *Archivio Storico Italiano* LXXI, 1974, p. 309–370.
- Caizzi Bruno, *Il Comasco sotto il dominio spagnolo*, Ricciardi, Milano-Napoli 1980 (1st edition – Como 1955).
- Catalano Michele, "Vita di L. Ariosto, Ricostruita su Nuovi Documenti", in: *Archivum Romanicum. Storia. Letteratura. Paleografia*, vol. 15, Olschki Editore, Genève 1931.
- Cegielski Tadeusz, Tygielski Wojciech, "Rękopis Casanovy znaleziony w Warszawie" [Casanova's Manuscript Discovered in Warsaw], *Zeszyty Literackie* 39, 1992/3, p. 131–133.
- Cercha Stanisław, Kopera Feliks, *Nadworny rzeźbiarz króla Zygmunta Starego Giovanni Cini z Sieny i jego dzieła w Polsce* [Giovanni Cini of Siena, Court Sculptor of King Zygmunt I the Old, and His Works in Poland], Kraków 1916.
- Cerchowicz Maksymilian i Stanisław, *Pomniki Krakowa* [The Monuments of Kraków], vol. I–II, Kraków-Warsaw 1904.
- Chaniecki Zbigniew, "W sprawie kapeli Stanisława Lubomirskiego i początków opery włoskiej w Polsce" [On Stanisław Lubomirski's Court Orchestra and the Beginnings of Italian Opera in Poland], *Muzyka*, 1968, No. 3, p. 58–65.
- Charewiczowa Łucja, *Czarna Kamienica i jej mieszkańcy* [The Black Kamienica House and Its Residents], Biblioteka Lwowska, vol. XXV, Lviv 1935.
- Chateaubriand François-René de, *Pamiętniki zza grobu* [Memoirs from Beyond the Grave], selection, translation and commentary by Joanna Guze, PIW, Warsaw 1991.
- Childs J. Rives, *Casanoviana. An Annotated World Bibliography of Jacques Casanova de Seingalt and of Works concerning him*, Vienna 1956.
- Chrościcki Juliusz A., "Kamieniarze i mafiosi. Zarobkowa emigracja z Włoch do Europy Środkowej i Wschodniej (XV – XVIII w.)" [Banker Masons and Mafiosi. Economic Migration from Italy to Central and Eastern Europe (the 15th–18th Century)], *Przegląd Humanistyczny* XL, 1996/1, p. 69–85.

- Chrościcki Juliusz A., “Najstarsze przedstawienie ‘Śmierci króla Władysława III pod Warną’ – na rysunku Jacopo Belliniego” [The Oldest Depiction of ‘the Death of King Władysław III at Varna’ – in the Drawing of Jacopo Bellini], in: *Aetas Media Aetas Moderna. Studia ofiarowane profesorowi Henrykowi Samsonowiczowi*, Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warsaw 2000, p. 541–552.
- Chrościcki Juliusz A., “Naukowo-Literackie Środowisko Villa Regia” [Scientific-Literary Circle of Villa Regia], in: *Kultura artystyczna Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego*, ed. Jerzy Miziołek, Uniwersytet Warszawski, Warsaw 2003, p. 83–100.
- Chrościcki Juliusz A., “Polskie pończochy księcia Toskanii. Krytyka Rubensowskiego szkicu ‘Zaślubiny Marii Medycejskiej’ do Pałacu Luksemburskiego” [The Polish Stockings of The Duke of Tuscany. A Criticism of the ‘The Wedding of Marie de’ Medici’ Sketch by Rubens for the Luxembourg Palace], in: *Marmur Dziewowy. Studia z historii sztuki. Księga ku czci Pani Profesor Zofii Ostrowskiej-Kęłbowskiej*, Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, Poznań 2002.
- Chrościcki Juliusz A., “Rola włoskich projektantów i rzemieślników w przemianach sztuki barokowej (Europa Środkowo-Wschodnia)” [The Role of Italian Designers and Artisans in the Transformations of Baroque Art. (Central-Eastern Europe)], in: *Barok w Polsce i w Europie Środkowo-Wschodniej. Drogi przemian i osmoza kultur*, Warsaw 2000, p. 183–193.
- Chrzanowski Ignacy, Marcin Bielski. *Studium historyczno-literackie* [Marcin Bielski. A Historical-Literary Study], Lviv-Warsaw 1926.
- Chybiński Adolf, *Muzycy włoscy w kapelach katedralnych krakowskich, 1619–1657* [Italian Musicians in the Cathedral Chapels of Kraków, 1619-1657], Poznań 1927, reprint.: *Przegląd Muzyczny*, 1927.
- Chybiński Adolf, *Słownik muzyków dawnej Polski do roku 1800* [A Dictionary of Old Poland’s Musicians until the Year 1800], Kraków 1949.
- Chynczewska-Hennel Teresa, *Rzeczpospolita XVII wieku w oczach cudzoziemców* [Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the 17th Century as seen by the Foreigners], Ossolineum, Wrocław 1993.
- Ciampi Sebastiano, *Bibliografia critica delle antiche reciproche corrispondenze politiche, ecclesiastiche, scientifiche, letterarie, artistiche dell’Italia colla Russia, Polonia ed altre parti settentrionali*, vol. I-III, Florence 1834–1839.
- Ciampi Sebastiano, *Notizie di medici, maestri di musiaca e cantori, pittori, architetti, scultori, ed altri artisti italiani in Polonia e polacchi in Italia*, Bologna 1976, first edition – Lucca 1830.
- Cieślak Edmund, “Les relations de Gdańsk (Dantzig) avec l’Italie”, in: *La via dell’ambra*, a cura di R. C. Lewanski, Università degli Studi di Bologna, Bologna 1994, p. 209–218.
- Ciołek Gerard, *Ogrody polskie* [Gardens of Poland], Warsaw 1978 (first edition – 1954).
- Ciseri Ilaria, “Diplomazia dell’effimero: autocelebrazione e omaggio allo straniero nell’iconografia della corte in festa”, in: *The Diplomacy of Art. Artistic Creation and Politics in Seicento Italy*, ed. Elizabeth Cropper, Villa Spelman Colloquia – vol. 7, Nuova Alfa Editoriale, Milano 2000.
- Cisilino Gianfranco, Tamis Ferdinando, Leschiutta Magda e Sigfrido, *Tito Livio Burattini, scienziato agordino del ’600*, Cassa di Risparmio di Verona, Vicenza e Belluno, Agordo 1983.

- Cohen Robert, *Dal commercio alla colonizzazione: Livorno e Amsterdam nella prima metà del XVII secolo*, La rassegna mensile di Israel, Ser. 3, vol. 58, N. 1–2, Rome 1992, p. 137–145.
- Col bastone e la bisaccia per le strade d'Europa. Migrazioni stagionali di mestiere dall'arco alpino nei secoli XVI–XVIII*, Atti di un seminario di studi tenutosi a Bellinzona l'8 e il 9 settembre 1988, Edizioni Salvioni, Bellinzona 1991.
- Cozzi Gaetano, Knapton Michael, *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia dalla guerra di Chioggia alla riconquista della Terraferma*, UTET, Turin 1986.
- Cronia Arturo, *La conoscenza del mondo slavo in Italia. Bilancio storico-bibliografico di un millennio*, Istituto di Studi Adriatici, Padova 1958.
- Cronia Arturo, "Fasti polacchi in Italia", in: *Relazioni tra Padova e la Polonia. Studi in onore dell'Università di Cracovia nel VI centenario della sua fondazione*, Editrice Antenore, Padova 1964, p. 1–16.
- Cultura e Nazione in Italia e Polonia dal Rinascimento all'Illuminismo*, a cura di Vittore Branca e Sante Gracioti, Leo S. Olschki, Florence 1986.
- Cynarski Stanisław, *Dzieje rodu Lanckorońskich z Brzezia* [The Lanckorońskis of Brzezia Family History], PWN, Warsaw 1996.
- Cynarski Stanisław, *Paolo Sarpi i jego związki z Polską* [Paolo Sarpi and His Relations with Poland], Zeszyty Naukowe UJ (220), Kraków 1969.
- Czapliński Władysław, *Na dworze króla Władysława IV* [At the Court of King Władysław IV], Książka i Wiedza, Warsaw 1959.
- Czerkawski Jan, *Humanizm i scholastyka. Studia z dziejów kultury filozoficznej w Polsce w XVI i XVII wieku* [Humanism and Scholasticism. Studies on the History of Philosophical Culture in Poland of the 16th and 17th Century], Wydawnictwa Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, Lublin 1992.
- Czermak Wiktor, "Na dworze Władysława IV" [At the Court of Władysław IV], in: id, *Studia Historyczne*, Kraków 1901.
- Dalbor Witold, *Pompeo Ferrari, ok. 1660–1736. Działalność architektoniczna w Polsce* [Pompeo Ferrari, about 1660–1736. Architectural Activity in Poland], Warsaw 1938.
- Damiani Enrico, "Influssi di poeti e prosatori italiani nella storia della letteratura polacca", *Romana. Rivista dell'Istituto Interuniversitario Italiano*, R. I, Nr 8–9, Felice Le Monnier Editore, Florence 1937, p. 335–348.
- D'Ancona Alessandro, *Scipione Piattoli e la Polonia*, Florence 1915.
- Daniłowicz Ignacy, *Skarbiec dyplomatów papieskich, cesarskich, królewskich, książęcych... Litwy, Rusi* [The Treasury of Papal, Imperial, Royal, Ducal... Diplomats of Lithuania, Ruthenia], vol. I, Wilno 1860.
- Davies Norman, *God's Playground. A History of Poland*, vol. I: *The Origins to 1795*, Columbia University Press, New York 1982.
- De Daugnon F. F., *Gli italiani in Polonia dal IX secolo al XVIII. Note storiche con brevi cenni genealogici, araldici e biografici*, vol. I–II, Crema 1906.
- De Fanti Silvano, *Per leggere Ciampi. Indice ragionato e critico alla "Bibliografia critica..." di Sebastiano Ciampi*, ILLEO, Udine 1990 (2nd revised edition: DILCEO, Udine 1999).
- Della Torre Stefano, "L'emigrazione degli artisti: tradizioni, nuove questioni storiografiche e sentimento del luogo nella regione dei laghi", in: *Magistri d'Europa...*, p. 11–16.
- Demiński Bronisław, *Piattoli i jego działalność podczas Sejmu Wielkiego* [Piattoli and His Activity During the Great Sejm], Kraków 1905.

- Demiński Bronisław, "Przyczynek do historii Piattolego" [A Contribution to Piattoli's History], *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, vol. XIV/4, Lviv 1900, p. 629–637.
- Demiński Bronisław, *Rzym i Europa przed rozpoczęciem trzeciego okresu Soboru Trydenckiego* [Rome and Europe Before the Beginning of the Third Period of the Council of Trent], Akademia Umiejętności, Kraków 1890.
- Demiński Bronisław, "Stosunek włoskiej literatury politycznej do polskiej w XVI w." [The Attitude of Italian Political Literature to the Polish one in the 16th Century], in: *Z dziejów i życia narodu*, Lviv 1913, p. 364–368 (dissertation from 1888).
- The Diplomacy of Art. Artistic Creation and Politics in Seicento Italy*, ed. Elizabeth Cropper, Villa Spelman Colloquia – Volume 7, Nuova Alfa Editoriale, Milan 2000.
- Dizionario biografico degli italiani*, vol. 1–, a cura di Alberto M. Ghisalberti (dir.), Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, Rome 1960–.
- Długosz Józef, *Mecenat kulturalny i dwór Stanisława Lubomirskiego wojewody krakowskiego* [Cultural Patronage and the Court of Stanisław Lubomirski, Voivode of Kraków], Ossolineum, Wrocław 1972.
- Domański Juliusz, "Początki humanizmu" [The Beginnings of Humanism], in: *Dzieje filozofii średniowiecznej w Polsce*, vol. IX, Instytut Filozofii i Socjologii PAN, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1982.
- Donazzolo Pietro, *I viaggiatori veneti minori. Studio bio-bibliografico*, Memorie della Reale Società Geografica Italiana, vol. XVI, Rome 1927.
- Drob Janusz A., *Obieg informacji w Europie w połowie XVII wieku w świetle drukowanych i rękopiśmiennych gazet w zbiorach watykańskich* [Circulation of Information in Europe of the mid-17th Century in the Light of Printed and Manuscript Newspapers in the Collections of the Vatican], Wydawnictwa KUL, Lublin 1993.
- Drob Janusz A., *Trzy zegary. Obraz czasu i przestrzeni w polskich kazaniach barokowych* [Three Clocks. The Representation of Time and Space in Polish Sermons of the Baroque Period], Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, Lublin 1998.
- Drost Willi, *Sankt Johann in Danzig*, Kohlhammer, Stuttgart 1957.
- Dubost Jean-François, *La France italienne, XVIe-XVIIe siècle*, Aubier, Paris 1997.
- Dubost Jean-François, "Les Italiens dans les villes françaises aux XVI et XVII siècles", in: *Les immigrants et la ville. Insertion, intégration, discrimination (XV-XX siècles)*, ed. D. Menjot and J-L. Pinol, L'Harmattan, Paris 1996, pp. 91–105.
- Dubost Jean-François, Sahlins Peter, *Et si on faisait payer les étrangers? Louis XIV, les immigrés et quelques autres*, Flammarion, Paris 1999.
- Dziubiński Andrzej, "Z dziejów nałogu tytoniowego i produkcji wyrobów nikotynowych w Rzeczypospolitej w XVII i XVIII wieku" [From the History of Tobacco Addiction and Productions of Nicotine Products in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of the 17th and the 18th Century], *Kwartalnik Historyczny* CV, 1998/2, p. 33–51.
- Ejdelman Natan, Krelin Julij, *Russia italiana. Viaggi, storie, avventure, arte e cultura degli italiani in Russia dal '200 al '900*, Maggioli Editore, Rimini 1987.
- Elias Norbert, *Die höfische Gesellschaft*, Frankfurt am Main 1997.
- Estreicher Karol, "Szkice o Berreccim" [Essays on Berecci], *Rocznik Krakowski* XLIII, 1972, p. 45–114.
- Estreicher Karol, Pagaczewski Julian, "Czy Jan Maria Padovano był w Rzymie?" [Has Jan Maria Padovano Been to Rome?], *Rocznik Krakowski* XXVIII, 1937, p. 139–167.

- Fabiani Bożena, *Na dworze Wazów w Warszawie* [At the Vasas' Court in Warsaw], PWN, Warsaw 1988.
- Fabiani Bożena, *Warszawski dwór Ludwika Marii* [The Warsaw Court of Ludwika Maria], PIW, Warsaw 1976.
- Fabiani-Madeyska Irena, *Jan Bernard Bonifacio, markiz Orii. Fundator Biblioteki Gdańskiej, 1596* [Jan Bernard Bonifacio, Marquis d'Oria. The Founder of the Gdańsk Library, 1596], Biblioteka Gdańska PAN, Wydawnictwo Marpress, Gdańsk 1995.
- Favaro Antonio, *Intorno alla vita ed ai lavori di Tito Livio Burattini, fisico agordino del secolo XVII*, Memorie del reale Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti, vol. XXV, No. 8, Venice 1896.
- Feicht Hieronim, "Przyczynki do dziejów kapeli królewskiej za czasów kapelmistrzostwa Marco Scacchiego" [Contributions to the History of Royal Chapel during the Time of Chapel Master Marco Scacchi], *Kwartalnik Muzyczny* 1928/29, p. 127–8.
- Ferenc Marek, *Dwór Zygmunta Augusta. Organizacja i ludzie* [The Court of Zygmunt August. Organisation and People], Towarzystwo Wydawnicze Historia Iagiellonica, Kraków 1998.
- Ferrarino Luigi (ed.), *Dizionario degli artisti italiani in Spagna (secoli XII–XIX)*, Istituto italiano di cultura, Madrid 1977.
- Fischinger Andrzej, *Santi Gucci, architekt i rzeźbiarz królewski XVI wieku* [Santi Gucci, Royal Architect and Sculptor of the 16th Century], Państwowe Zbiory Sztuki na Wawelu, Kraków 1969.
- Fournier Louis, *Les Florentins en Pologne*, Lyon 1893.
- Frazik Józef Tomasz, "Legenda a noty archiwalne o Galeazzo Appianim" [The Legend and Archival Notes about Galeazzo Appiani], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* XXXIII/2, 1971, p. 199–202.
- Frazik Józef Tomasz, *Sztuka Przemysła i ziemi przemyskiej. Zbiór studiów* [The Art of Przemysł and Przemysł Land. A Collection of Studies], ed. Maria Dłutek and Jerzy Kowalczyk, Regionalny Ośrodek Kultury, Edukacji i Nauki w Przemysłu, Instytut Sztuki PAN, Przemysł/Warsaw 2004.
- Frazik Józef Tomasz, "Ze Studiów nad życiem i działalnością Galeazza Appianiego" [From Studies on Life and Activity of Galeazzo Appiani], in: *Architektura rezydencjonalna i obronna województwa rzeszowskiego*, Łańcut 1972, p. 85–89.
- Freylichówna Judyta, *Ideal wychowawczy szlachty polskiej w XVI i na początku XVII wieku* [Educational Ideal of Polish Gentry of the 16th and the Early 17th Century], Wydawnictwo Naukowego Towarzystwa Pedagogicznego, Kraków 1938.
- Gallewicz Anna, "*Dworzanin Polski*" i jego pierwowzór: między adaptacją a przekładem [The Polish Courtier' and Its Prototype: Between Adaptation and Translation], dissertation written under supervision of Prof. Piotr Salwa, The University of Warsaw, Italian Philology Department, Warsaw 2003 (a copy available at the department library).
- Gambi Lucio, "Popolazione, risorse e fenomeni migratori nell'arco alpino", in: *Col bastone e la bisaccia...*, p. 5–11.
- Garbacik Józef, *Kallimach jako dyplomata i polityk* [Callimachus as a Diplomat and Politician], Rozprawy Wydz. Hist.-Filozoficznego PAU XLVI, Kraków 1948.
- Garbacik Józef, "Sprawa ambasady weneckiej w Polsce za Zygmunta III" [The Case of the Venetian Embassy in Poland under Zygmunt III's Reign], in: *Studia z dziejów kultury polskiej*, ed. Henryk Barycz and Jan Hulewicz, Gebethner i Wolff, Warsaw 1947, p. 315–331.

- Garbacik Józef, *Studia nad stosunkami polsko-włoskimi w XV wieku* [Studies on the Polish-Italian Relationships in the 15th Century] Rocznik Wydziału Filozoficznego UJ, vol. I, ed. Zdzisław Jachimecki, Kraków 1934, p. 3–28.
- Gervaso Roberto, *Casanova*, PIW, Warsaw 1990.
- Giannini Fortunato, *Storia della Polonia e delle sue relazioni con l'Italia*, Fratelli Treves, Milano 1916.
- Głuszczyk-Zwolińska Elżbieta, *Muzyka nadworna ostatnich Jagiellonów* [Music at the Court of the Last Jagiellons], PWM, Kraków 1988.
- Graciotti Sante, *Od Renesansu do Oświecenia* [From the Renaissance to the Enlightenment], vol. 1–2, PIW, Warsaw 1991.
- Graciotti Sante, *Il Rinascimento italiano e le letterature slave*, Lettere Italiane, 1987, 3.
- [Graciotti/Kowalczyk], *L'architetto Gian Maria Bernardoni sj tra l'Italia e le terre dell'Europa centro-orientale*, ed. Sante Graciotti and Jerzy Kowalczyk, Fondazione Giorgio Cini, Rome 1999.
- Grzybkowska Teresa, “Arystokracja kultury mieszczańskiej Gdańska przełomu XVI i XVII w.” [Aristocratism of the Gdańsk Bourgeois Culture at the Turn of the 16th and 17th Century], in: *Sztuka miast i mieszczaństwa XV-XVIII wieku w Europie Środkowowschodniej*, ed. Jan Harasimowicz, PWN, Warsaw 1990, p. 239–260.
- Grzybowski Stanisław, *Trzyście miast czyli antynomie kultury europejskiej* [Thirteen Cities or Antinomies of European Culture], Ossolineum, Wrocław 2000.
- Gumowski Marian, *Monety polskie* [Polish Coins], Instytut Wydawniczy Biblioteka Polska, Warsaw 1924.
- Gurgul Monika, Klimkiewicz Anna, Miszańska Jadwiga, Woźniak Monika, *Polskie przekłady włoskiej poezji lirycznej od czasów najdawniejszych do 2002 roku. Zarys historyczny i bibliograficzny* [Polish Translations of Italian Lyric Poetry from the Most Ancient Times to the Year 2002. A Historical and Bibliographical Outline], Universitas, Kraków 2003.
- Guterman Alexander, “Żydzi Sefardyjscy na ziemiach polskich” [The Sephardic Jews on Polish Lands], *Kwartalnik Historii Żydów*, 2004/1, p. 5–25.
- Halecki Oskar, “Problemi di collaborazione italo-polacca dal Rinascimento fino ai tempi del re Giovanni Sobieski”, in: *Le Relazioni fra l'Italia e la Polonia dall'età romana ai tempi nostri*, Istituto per l'Europa Orientale, Rome 1936, p. 84–103.
- Hartleb Kazimierz, *Działalność kulturalna Biskupa-Dyplomaty Erazma Ciołka* [Cultural Activity of Bishop-Diplomat Erazm Ciołek], Towarzystwo Miłośników Książki we Lwowie, Lwiv 1929.
- Hein Lorenz, *Italienische Protestanten und ihr Einfluss auf die Reformation in Polen während der beiden Jahrzehnte vor dem Sandomirer Konsens 1570*, Leiden 1974.
- Herbst Stanisław, *Zamość*, Budownictwo i Architektura, Warsaw 1955.
- Herbst Stanisław, Zachwatowicz Jan, *Twierdza Zamość* [The Zamość Stronghold] Warsaw 1936.
- Hniłko Antoni, *Włosi w Polsce* [Italians in Poland], vol. I: *Tytus Liwjuusz Boratyni, dworzanie króla Jana Kazimierza, mincarz i uczonec*, Drukarnia Literacka, Kraków 1923.
- Hoerder Dirk, *Metropolitan Migration in the Past: Labour Markets, Commerce, and Cultural Interaction in Europe, 1600–1914*, *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, vol. 1/1, 2000, p. 39–58.

- Horn Maurycy, “Chrześcijańscy i żydowscy wierzyciele i bankierzy Zygmunta Starego i Zygmunta Augusta” [Christian and Jewish Creditors and Bankers of Zygmunt I the Old and Zygmunt II August], *Biuletyn ŻIH* 1986, nr 139–140, p. 3–11.
- Horn Maurycy, “Dostawcy dworów królewskich w Polsce i na Litwie za ostatnich Jagiellonów, 1506–1572 (ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem dostawców żydowskich)” [The Suppliers to Royal Courts in Poland and Lithuania in the Time of the Last Jagiellons, 1506–1572 (With Particular Focus on Jewish Suppliers)], part I–II, *Biuletyn ŻIH* 1989, No. 150, p. 3–16, No. 151, p. 3–24.
- Horn Maurycy, “Medycy nadworni władców polsko-litewskich w latach 1506–1572 (ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem lekarzy i chirurgów żydowskich)” [Court Medics of the Polish-Lithuanian Rulers in 1506–1572 (With Particular Focus on Jewish Doctors and Surgeons)], *Biuletyn ŻIH* 1989, nr 149, p. 3–23.
- Horn Maurycy, “Mieszczanie i Żydzi na służbie królów polskich i wielkich książąt litewskich w latach 1506–1572 (w kopalnictwie i mennicach państwowych)” [Burghers and Jews in Service of Polish Kings and Grand Dukes of Lithuania in Years 1506–1572 (in Mining Industry and Mints)], *Biuletyn ŻIH* 1988, No. 147–148, p. 3–20.
- Horn Maurycy, “Udział Żydów w kontaktach dyplomatycznych Polski i Litwy z zagranicą w XV–XVII w. (ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem roli serwitorów i faktorów królewskich i wielkoksiążęcych)” [The Participation of Jews in Diplomatic Contacts of Poland and Lithuania with Foreign Countries in the 15th–17th Century], *Biuletyn ŻIH* 1990, No. 155–156, p. 3–16.
- Horn Maurycy, “Usługi chrześcijańskich i żydowskich rzemieślników i przedsiębiorców na rzecz dworu królewskiego w Polsce i na Litwie za ostatnich Jagiellonów (1506–1572)” [The Services of Christian and Jewish Craftsmen and Entrepreneurs for the Royal Court in Poland and Lithuania during the Last Jagiellons (1506–1572)], part I–II, *Biuletyn ŻIH* 1991, No. 157, p. 3–22, No. 158, p. 3–9.
- Horn Maurycy, “Żydzi i mieszczenie na służbie królów polskich i wielkich książąt litewskich w latach 1386–1506” [Jews and Burghers in the Service of Polish Kings and Grand Dukes of Lithuania in the Years 1386–1506], part I–II, *Biuletyn ŻIH* 1985, No. 135–136, p. 3–19, 1986, No. 137–138, p. 3–17.
- Horn Maurycy, “Żydzi i mieszczenie w służbie celnej Zygmunta Starego i Zygmunta Augusta” [Jews and Burghers in Customs Service of Zygmunt I the Old and Zygmunt II August], *Biuletyn ŻIH* 1987, No. 141, p. 3–20.
- Hornung Zygmunt, *Bernard Merettini i jego główne dzieła* [Bernard Merettini and his Main Works], Prace KHS PAU, vol. V, 1933–4, Kraków 1934.
- Hornung Zygmunt, *Jan Maria zw. il Mosca albo Padovano. Próba charakterystyki* [Jan Maria called Il Mosca or Padovano. An Attempt to Characterise] Prace KHS PAU, vol. VII, 1937–38, Kraków 1938.
- Italia, Venezia e Polonia tra Illuminismo e Romanticismo*, a cura di Vittore Branca, Leo S. Olschki, Florence 1973.
- Italia, Venezia e Polonia tra Umanesimo e Rinascimento*, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1967.
- Jachimecki Zdzisław, *Wpływy włoskie w muzyce polskiej* [The Italian Influences in Polish Music] part I: 1540–1640, Akademia Umiejętności, Kraków 1911.

- Jasnowski Józef, "Działalność antytrynitarzy włoskich w Polsce za czasów Zygmunta Augusta (1551–1564)" [The Italian Antitrinitarians' Activity in Poland in the Time of Zygmunt II August (1551–1564)], in: *Księga ku czci Oskara Haleckiego*, Warsaw 1935, p. 55–80.
- [Jelski Aleksander], A. J., *Zarys obyczajów szlachty w zestawieniu z ekonomiką i dolą ludu w Polsce i Litwie* [An Outline of Customs of the Gentry in Comparison to the Plight of the Peasants in Poland and Lithuania], Kraków 1897.
- Jobert Ambroise, *De Luther à Mohila. La Pologne dans la crise de la Chrétienté, 1517–1648*, Institut d'Etudes Slaves, Paris 1974. (Polish translation: *Od Lutra do Mohyły. Polska wobec kryzysu chrześcijaństwa, 1517–1648*, PAX/Volumen, Warsaw 1994.)
- Kaczmarczyk Kazimierz, "Włosi w Poznaniu na przełomie XV na XVI wiek" [Italians in Poznań at the Turn of the 15th and 16th Century], in: *Kronika m. Poznania*, vol. VI, 1928, p. 1–40.
- Kalinowski Lech, "Motywy antyczne w dekoracji Kaplicy Zygmuntońskiej" [Antique Motifs in the Zygmunt's Chapel Decoration], *Folia Historiae Artium* XII, 1976, p. 67–94.
- Kalinowski Lech, Treści artystyczne i ideowe Kaplicy Zygmuntońskiej [Antique and Ideological Contents of the Zygmunt's Chapel], in: *Studia do Dziejów Wawelu*, vol. II, 1960, p. 1–129.
- Karpowicz Mariusz, "Artisti italiani a Vilna nel Seicento", in: *La via dell'ambra*, a cura di Riccardo C. Lewanski, Università degli Studi di Bologna, Bologna 1994, p. 219–231.
- Karpowicz Mariusz, *Artisti ticinesi in Polonia nel '600*, Bellinzona 1983.
- Karpowicz Mariusz, *Artisti ticinesi in Polonia nella prima metà del '700*, Stato del Cantone del Ticino, Ticino 1999.
- Karpowicz Mariusz, *Artisti Valsoldesi in Polonia nel '600 e '700*, Attilio Sampietro Editore, Menaggio 1996.
- Karpowicz Mariusz, "Artyści włoscy w Wilnie w XVII wieku" [The Italian Artists in Vilnius in the 17th Century], in: *Kultura artystyczna Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w epoce Baroku*, Instytut Kultury, Warsaw 1995, p. 59–78.
- Karpowicz Mariusz, "La Cappella Fodiga: Eccezionale monumento di un mesoccone in Polonia", *Quaderni Grigionitaliani*, Anno 59, No. 1, 1990, p. 3–19.
- Karpowicz Mariusz, *Da contadino a magnate. Gaspare Fodiga, architetto e scultore di Mesocco in Polonia*, Fondazione Archivio a Marca, Mesocco 2002.
- Karpowicz Mariusz, *Działalność artystyczna Michelangela Palloniego w Polsce* [Artistic Activity in Poland of Michelangelo Palloni] Instytut Sztuki PAN, PWN, Warsaw 1967.
- Karpowicz Mariusz, "Francesco Antonio Giorgioli i jego freski w Kościele Bernardynów na Czerniakowie" [Francesco Antonio Giorgioli and His Frescoes in The Bernardine Church at Czerniaków], in: *Kronika Warszawy*, 1975, No. 2/22, p. 103–110.
- Karpowicz Mariusz, "Giovanni Battista Gisleni i Francesco de' Rossi. Z dziejów współpracy architekta i rzeźbiarza" [Giovanni Battista Gisleni and Francesco de' Rossi. A History of Cooperation between the Architect and the Sculptor], *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki*, XXXVI, 1991, No.1, p. 3–21.
- Karpowicz Mariusz, "Kiedy i jak wyprzedziliśmy Europę w XVII wieku" [On When and How we Surpassed Europe in the 17th Century], in: *Barok polski wobec Europy. Kierunki dialogu* ed. Alina Nowicka-Jeżowa, Wydawnictwo ANTA, Warsaw 2003, p. 37–44.
- Karpowicz Mariusz, *Matteo Castello – architekt wczesnego baroku* [Matteo Castello – the Architect of Early Baroque], Wydawnictwo Neriton, Warsaw 1994.

- Karpowicz Mariusz, "Niezwyczajny ołtarz w Nieświeżu. Pellegrino Pellegrini i Radziwiłł Sierotka" [The Extraordinary Altar in Nieśwież. Pellegrino Pellegrini and Radziwiłł Sierotka], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* LIV, 1992, No. 2, p. 62–64.
- Karpowicz Mariusz, *Sztuki polskiej drogi dziwne* [Odd Ways of Polish Art], Oficyna Wydawnicza EXCALIBUR, Bydgoszcz 1994.
- Karpowicz Mariusz, *Tomasz Poncino (ok. 1590–1659) – architekt Pałacu Kieleckiego* [Tomasz Poncino (c. 1590–1659) – Architect of the Kielce Palace], Muzeum Narodowe w Kielcach, Kielce 2002.
- Karpowicz Mariusz, "Trzy przerzuty do Polski rzymskiej awangardy w XVII w." [Three Transfers of Rome's Avant-garde to Poland in the 17th Century], in: id., *Sztuki polskiej drogi dziwne...*, p. 40–54.
- Karpowicz Mariusz, "Uwagi o genezie form i oddziaływaniu Cerkwi Wołoskiej we Lwowie" [Remarks on Genesis of Forms and Influence of the Wallachian Church in Lviv], *Ikonotheka* 13, Wydawnictwo Neriton, Warsaw 1998, p. 169–187.
- Karpowicz Mariusz, "Włoska awangarda artystyczna w Polsce XVI w." [The Italian Artistic Avant-garde in Poland of the 16th Century] [sic! It ought to be: the 17th century, since this is the century covered in the dissertation], *Barok. Historia – Literatura – Sztuka*, 1/2, 1994, Wydawnictwo Neriton, Warsaw 1995, p. 15–46.
- Kempa Tomasz, *Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Sierotka (1549–1616), wojewoda wileński* [Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł Sierotka (1549–1616), Voivode of Vilnius], Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, Warsaw 2000.
- Kieniewicz Leszek, "Sekretariat Stefana Batorego. Zbiorowość i kariery sekretarzy królewskich" [The Secretariat of Stefan Báthory. The Community and Careers of Royal Secretaries], in: *Spółczesność Staropolska*, vol. IV, Warsaw 1986, p. 33–69.
- Kieszkowski Bohdan, *Kallimach w filozofii renesansu* [Callimachus in the Renaissance Philosophy] Sprawozdania PAU, Kraków 1936.
- Kieszkowski Witold, "Carlo Scampani, architekt włoski czynny w Polsce w XVIII w." [Carlo Scampani, an Italian Architect Active in Poland in the 18th Century], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki i Kultury*, vol. I, 1932–33, p. 24–35.
- Kieszkowski Witold, "Santi Gucci Fiorentino (Uwagi na marginesie pracy dr Krystyny Sinko, Santi Gucci Fiorentino i jego szkoła, Kraków 1933)" [Santi Gucci Fiorentino (Remarks in Connection with Dr Krystyna Sinko's Work, *Santi Gucci Fiorentino i jego szkoła*, Kraków 1933)], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki i Kultury*, vol. III, 1934–35, p. 134–152.
- Kiryk Feliks, "Przyczynek do historii Włochów w Krakowie" [A Contribution to the History of Italians in Kraków], in: *Polska, Prusy, Ruś. Rozprawy ofiarowane prof. zw. dr. hab. Janowi Powierskiemu*, ed. Błażej Śliwiński, Wydawnictwo Marpress, Gdańsk 1995, p. 85–89.
- Klimowicz Mieczysław, Roszkowska Wanda, *La commedia dell'arte alla corte di Augusto III di Sassonia (1728–1756)*, Venice 1988.
- Komornicki Stefan S., "Franciszek Florentczyk i pałac wawelski" [Francesco Fiorentino and the Wawel Palace], *Przegląd Historii Sztuki*, vol. I, 1929, p. 57–69.
- Komornicki Stefan S., "Kaplica Zygmuntońska w katedrze na Wawelu" [The Zygmunt's Chapel in the Cathedral on Wawel Hill], *Rocznik Krakowski* XXIII, 1932, p. 47–120.
- Komornicki Stefan S., "Kultura artystyczna w Polsce czasów Odrodzenia. Sztuki plastyczne" [Artistic Culture in Poland of the Renaissance Period. Plastic Arts], in: *Kultura Staropolska*, Polska Akademia Umiejętności, Kraków 1932, p. 533–605.

- Konieczny K., "Roncalli w XVII w. głosi chwałę Polski w Rzymie" [Roncalli Glorifies Poland in Rome in the 17th Century], *Sacrum Poloniae Millenium*, vol. 11, Rome 1965, p. 663–675.
- Kopera Feliks, *Jan Maria Padovano*, Prace KHS PAU, vol. VII, 1937–38, Kraków 1938.
- Koranyj Karol, "La costituzione di Venezia nel pensiero politico della Polonia", in: *Italia, Venezia e Polonia tra Umanesimo e Rinascimento*, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1967, p. 206–214.
- Korzeniewski Bohdan, "Komedia dell'arte w Warszawie" [Commedia dell'Arte in Warsaw], *Pamiętnik Teatralny*, 1954, vol. 3/4, p. 29–56.
- Kot Stanisław, "'Descriptio Gentium' di poeti polacchi del secolo XVII", *Ricerche Slavistiche* VI, Rome 1958, p. 150–184.
- Kot Stanisław, *Nationum Proprietates*, Oxford Slavonic Papers, vol. VI, 1955, p. 99–117.
- Kot Stanisław, *Polska Złotego Wieku a Europa. Studia i szkice* [Poland of the Golden Age and Europe. Studies and Essays], compiled by Henryk Barycz, PIW, Warsaw 1987.
- Kot Stanisław, "Polska Złotego Wieku wobec kultury zachodniej" [Poland of the Golden Age in Relation to the Western Culture], in: *Kultura Staropolska*, Polska Akademia Umiejętności, Kraków 1932, p. 640–704.
- Kowalczyk Jerzy, "L'arte del primo Umanesimo in Polonia e i suoi legami con l'Italia (1420–1500)", *Arte Lombarda. Nuova serie* 44, 1976, p. 217–224.
- Kowalczyk Jerzy, "Dwór artystyczny Jana Zamoyskiego 'Sobiepana'" [The Artistic Court of Jan "Sobiepan" Zamoyski], in: *Sarmatia Artistica. Księga pamiątkowa ku czci profesora Władysława Tomkiewicza*, Warsaw 1968, p. 121–128.
- Kowalczyk Jerzy, "Fasada ratusza poznańskiego. Recepcja form z traktatu Serlia i artystyczny program" [The Poznań Town Hall Façade. The Reception of Forms from the Serlio's Treatise and the Artistic Programme], *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, vol. VIII, 1970, p. 141–176.
- Kowalczyk Jerzy, *Kolegiata w Zamościu* [The Collegiate Church in Zamość], PWN, Warsaw 1968.
- Kowalczyk Jerzy, "Kolegiata w Zamościu i jej fundator kanclerz Jan Zamoyski" [The Collegiate Church in Zamość and its Founder, Chancellor Jan Zamoyski], *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, vol. V, 1965, p. 93–124.
- Kowalczyk Jerzy, "Kontakty Polaków z artystami i sztuką Wenecji na przełomie XVI i XVII w." [The Contacts of Poles with Artists and Art of Venice at the Turn of the 16th and 17th Century], in: *Sztuka około roku 1600. Materiały sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki [...]*, Lublin, Listopad 1972, PWN, Warsaw 1974, p. 113–128.
- Kowalczyk Jerzy, *Morando e Zamoyski. La Collaborazione tra un architetto veneto e un mecenate polacco nella creazione della città ideale*, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1967, p. 335–351.
- Kowalczyk Jerzy, *Sebastiano Serlio a sztuka polska. O roli włoskich traktatów architektonicznych w dobie nowożytnej* [Sebastiano Serlio and Polish Art. On the Role of Italian Architectural Treatises in Modern Era], Ossolineum, Wrocław 1973.
- Kowalczyk Jerzy, *W kręgu kultury dworu Jana Zamoyskiego* [In the Culture Circle of Jan Zamoyski's Court], Wydawnictwo Lubelskie, Lublin 1986.
- Kowalczyk Jerzy, *Zamość – città ideale in Polonia. Il Fondatore Jan Zamoyski e l'architetto Bernardo Morando*, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1986.
- Kozakiewicz Stefan, "Początki działalności komasków, tessyńczyków i gryzończyków w Polsce. Okres renesansu (1520–1580)" [The Beginnings of the Comacine, Ticino and Grisons Masters' Activity in Poland], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, R. XXI, 1959/1, p. 3–29.

- Kozakiewicz Stefan, "Valsolda i architekci z niej pochodzący w Polsce" [Valsolda and the Architects from It in Poland], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki i Kultury*, vol. IX, 1947, p. 306–321.
- Kozakiewicz Stefan, Zlat Mieczysław, "L'attico in Polonia nel periodo del Rinascimento e le sue relazioni genetiche con l'arte veneta", in: *Venezia e l'Europa. Atti del XVIII Congresso Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte, Venezia, 1955*, Venezia 1956.
- Kozakiewiczowa Helena, "Jan Maria Padovano. Życie i działalność we Włoszech" [Jan Maria Padovano. Life and Activity in Italy], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. XXVI/3, 1964, p. 153–168.
- Kozakiewiczowa Helena, "Mecenat Jana Łaskiego. Z zagadnień sztuki renesansowej w Polsce" [Jan Łaski's Patronage. From the Problems of the Renaissance Art in Poland], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. XXIII, 1961/1, p. 3–17.
- Kozakiewiczowa Helena, *Relazioni artistiche tra Roma e Cracovia nella prima metà del '500*, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1972.
- Kozakiewiczowa Helena, "Renesansowe nagrobki piętrowe w Polsce" [The Renaissance Storied Tombs in Poland], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. XVII, 1955, p. 3–47.
- Kozakiewiczowa Helena, "Spółka architektoniczno-rzeźbiarska Bernardina de Gianotis i Jana Cini" [The Architectural-Sculptural Company of Bernardino de Gianotis and Jan Cini], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. XXIV, 1959, p. 151–174.
- Kozakiewiczowa Helena, Z badań nad Bartłomiejem Berreccim [From Studies on Bartolomeo Berrecci], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. XXIII, 1961/4, p. 311–327.
- Kozakiewiczowie Helena i Stefan, "Polskie nagrobki renesansowe. Stan, problemy i postulaty badań" [Polish Renaissance Tombs. The State, Problems and Requirements of the Research], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. XIV, 1952, p. 62–132, vol. XV, 1953, p. 3–57.
- Kozakiewiczowie Helena i Stefan, *Renesans w Polsce* [The Renaissance in Poland], Arkady, Warsaw 1976, 1987.
- Kozielewski Ignacy, *Lukasz Górnicki. Studium historyczno-literackie* [Łukasz Górnicki. A Historical-Literary Study], Lviv 1929.
- Kozińska-Donderi Diana, *Obraz Włoch i motywy włoskie w prozie polskiej, 1918–1956* [The Image of Italy and Italian Motifs in Polish Prose, 1918–1956], Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, Wrocław 2003.
- Król-Kaczorowska Barbara, "U Dworu..." [At Court...], *Pamiętnik Teatralny*, 1965, vol. 1, p. 44–55.
- Kryński Antoni Adam, "O wpływie języków obcych na język polski" [About the Influence of Foreign Languages on the Polish Language], Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego Warszawskiego, Wydział Językoznawstwa i Literatury, Year X, 1917, vol. 4, p. 41–72 (meeting on 25 April 1917), Year XI, 1918, vol. 1, p. 1–14 (meeting on 24 October 1918), reprint, Warsaw 1919.
- Kula Witold, *Problemy i metody historii gospodarczej* [Problems and Methods of Economic History], PWN, Warsaw 1963, 1983.
- Kulicka Elżbieta, "Legenda o rzymskim pochodzeniu Litwinów i jej stosunek do mitu sarmackiego" [The Legend about the Roman Origin of Lithuanians and Its Relation to The Sarmatian Myth], *Przegląd Historyczny*, vol. LXXI, 1980/1, p. 1–21.
- Kunkel Robert M., "Jan Baptysta Wenecjanin, budowniczy i obywatel plocki" [Jan Baptysta Wenecjanin, An Architect and a Citizen of Płock], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. XLV, 1983/1, p. 25–48.

- Kutrzeba Stanisław, Ptaśnik Jan, "Dzieje handlu i kupiectwa krakowskiego" [The History of Trade and Merchants in Kraków], *Rocznik Krakowski*, vol. XIV, 1910, p. 1–130.
- Lachs Jan, *Dawne aptekarstwo krakowskie* [Olden Pharmacy of Kraków], Biblijoteka Wiadomości Farmaceutycznych, vol. 19, Warsaw 1933.
- Lachs Jan, *Kronika lekarzy krakowskich do XVI w.* [A Chronicle of Kraków Doctors to the XVIth Century], in: *Archiwum do Dziejów Literatury i Oświaty w Polsce*, vol. XII, Kraków 1910.
- Lachs Jan, *Kronika lekarzy krakowskich XVII wieku* [A Chronicle of Kraków Doctors of the 17th Century], Poznańskie Towarzystwo Przyjaciół Nauk, Fiszer i Majewski, Poznań 1929.
- Lachs Jan, *Lekarze krakowskiej kapituły katedralnej* [Doctors of the Kraków Cathedral Chapter], reprint of *Przegląd Lekarski*, No. 26–32, Kraków 1905.
- Landes David S., *The Wealth and Poverty of Nations. Why Some Are So Rich and Some So Poor*, W. W. Norton & Company, New York 1998.
- Lauterbach Alfred, *Pierścień sztuki. Historia i teoria* [The Circle of Art. History and Theory], Księgarnia F. Hoesick, Warsaw 1929.
- Lavagnino Emilio, *Gli artisti italiani in Portogallo*, La Libreria dello Stato, Anno XVIII E. F., Rome 1940.
- Lechicki Czesław, *Mecenat Zygmunta III i życie umysłowe na jego dworze* [The Patronage of Zygmunt III and Intellectual Life at His Court], Kasa im. Mianowskiego, Warsaw 1932.
- Lepiarczyk Józef, *Kilka uwag o działalności F. Placidięgo w Krakowie* [Several Remarks on F. Placidi's Work in Poland], Prace Komisji Historii Sztuki PAU, vol. IX, Kraków 1948.
- Lepiarczyk Józef, *Kilka uwag o projekcie F. Placidięgo kaplicy saskiej przy katedrze na Wawelu* [Several Remarks on F. Placidi's Project of the Saxon Chapel in the Cathedral on Wawel Hill], Sprawozdania PAU, vol. LI, Kraków 1950.
- Lepszy Leonard, *Emalierstwo krakowskie w XVI i XVII w.* [Kraków Enameling in the 16th and 17th Century], Sprawozdania Komisji Historii Sztuki PAU, vol. IV, Kraków 1891.
- Leśnodorski Bogusław, "Polski Machiawel" [The Polish Machiavelli], in: *Studia z dziejów kultury*, Warsaw 1949, p. 257–279.
- Lewański Julian, "Literatura włoska a literatura polska w XVII wieku. Uwagi o problematyce poszukiwań" [Italian Literature and Polish Literature in the 17th Century. Remarks on the Problems of Exploration], in: *Literatura staropolska w kontekście europejskim*, Wrocław 1977, p. 69–76.
- Lewański Julian, "Miscellanea z czasów saskich" [Miscellanea from the Saxon Times], *Pamiętnik Teatralny*, 1965, vol. 1, p. 12–19.
- Lewański Julian, "Świadkowie i świadectwa opery władysławowskiej" [Witnesses and Evidence of Opera of King Władysław IV Times], in: *Opera w dawnej Polsce...*, p. 25–60.
- Lewicka Maria, *Bernardo Morando*, Państwowe Wydawnictwa Techniczne, Warsaw 1952.
- Lewicka Maria, *Mecenat artystyczny J. Zamoyskiego* [The Artistic Patronage of J. Zamoyski], *Studia Renesansowe II*, Wrocław 1957.
- Libera Zdzisław, "Obraz Włoch w oczach 'Pamiętnika Historyczno-Politycznego'..." [The Image of Italy in the Eyes of *Historical-Political Diary...*], in: *Filologia e letteratura nei paesi slavi. Studi in onore di Sante Gracioti*, a cura di Giovanna Brogi Bercoff, Mario Capaldo, Janja Jerkov Capaldo, Emanuela Sgambati, Rome 1990, p. 227–242.
- Lichański Jakub Zdzisław, *Łukasz Górnicki. Sarmacki Castiglione*, Wydawnictwo DiG, Warsaw 1998.
- Liske Xawery, *Cudzoziemcy w Polsce* [Foreigners in Poland], Lviv 1876.

- Litwornia Andrzej, "Le "Delizie Italiane" negli stereotipi di opinioni dei polacchi del seicento", in: *Cultura e nazione in Italia e Polonia dal Rinascimento all' Illuminismo*, ed. Vittore Branca and Sante Graciotti, Leo S. Olschki Editore, Florence 1986, p. 331–346.
- Litwornia Andrzej, *W Rzymie zwyciężonym Rzym niezwytyczony. Spory o Wieczne Miasto (1575–1630)* [In Rome defeated Rome never conquered. Controversies over the Eternal City (1575–1630)], IBL PAN, Warsaw 2003.
- Lo Gatto Ettore, *Gli artisti italiani in Russia*, vol. I: *Gli architetti a Mosca e nelle province*, vol. II: *Gli architetti del secolo XVIII a Pietroburgo e nelle tenute imperiali*, vol. III: *Gli architetti del secolo XIX a Pietroburgo e nelle tenute imperiali (con un'appendice ai due primi volumi)*, La Libreria dello Stato, Anno XII, XIII, XXI E. F. [Rome 1934, 1935, 1943]; new edition: a cura di Anna Lo Gatto, Scheiwiller, Milano 1990–1991.
- Lo Gatto Ettore, *Civiltà italiana nel mondo: in Boemia, Moravia e Slovacchia*, Società nazionale Dante Alighieri, Rome 1939.
- Lorentz Stanisław, "Nagrobek Zygmunta I w mauzoleum wawelskim" [The Tomb of Zygmunt I in the Wawel Mausoleum], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* XV, 1953/3–4, p. 25–33.
- Loret Maciej, *Życie polskie w Rzymie w XVIII wieku* [Polish Life in Rome in the 18th Century], Scuola Tipografica Pio X, Rome 1934.
- Lucassen Jan, *Migrant Labour in Europe, 1600–1900*, London 1987.
- Lempicki Stanisław, *Manucjusze weneccy a Polska* [The Venetian Manuzios and Poland], Ossolineum, Lviv 1924.
- Lempicki Stanisław, "Polski Medyceusz XVI wieku" [The Polish Medici Man of the 16th Century], in: id., *Mecenat Wielkiego Kanclerza. Studia o Janie Zamoyskim*, compiled by Stanisław Grzybowski, PIW, Warsaw 1980, p. 490–574.
- Łoza Stanisław, *Architekci i budowniczy w Polsce* [Architects and Builders in Poland], Budownictwo i Architektura, Warsaw 1954.
- Łoziński Władysław, *Patrycyat i mieszczaństwo lwowskie w XVI i XVII w.* [The Lviv Patriciate and Bourgeoisie], Gubrynowicz i Schmidt, Lviv 1892, 1908.
- Maciej z Miechowa, 1457–1523, *historyk, geograf, lekarz, organizator nauki* [Maciej of Miechów, 1457–1523, a Historian, Geographer, Doctor, and Promoter of Science], ed. Henryk Barycz, Monografie z Dziejów Nauki i Techniki XV, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1960.
- Madonia Claudio, *La Compagnia di Gesù e la riconquista cattolica dell' Europa orientale nella seconda metà del XVI secolo*, Name, Genoa 2002.
- Madonia Claudio, "Domenico Mora: un capitano bolognese al soldo della Repubblica nobiliare polacca", in: *La Via dell' ambra*, a cura di Riccardo C. Lewanski, Bologna 1994, p. 281–294.
- Magistri d' Europa. Eventi, relazioni, strutture della migrazione di artisti e costruttori dai laghi lombardi*, a cura di Stefano Della Torre, Tiziano Mannoni, Valeria Pracchi, Atti del convegno, Como 23–26 ottobre 1996, NADOLibri, Milano, Como [1997].
- Maisel Witold, *Adaptacja baszt w Poznaniu – dzieło J. B. Quadro* [The Adaptation of the Fortified Towers in Poznań – the Work of J. B. Quadro], Państwowy Instytut Sztuki, Warsaw 1954.
- Maisel Witold, "Budowle Jana Baptisty Quadro w świetle poznańskich materiałów archiwalnych" [The Buildings by Jan Baptisty Quadro in the Light of Poznań Archival Materials], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. XV, 1953/3–4, p. 105–112.

- Malarczyk Jan, *U źródeł włoskiego realizmu politycznego. Machiavelli i Guicciardini* [At Sources of Italian Political Realism. Machiavelli and Guicciardini], Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, Lublin 1963.
- Mancinelli Lara, *Gli italianismi nei lessici polacchi del XVI secolo*, tesi di laurea, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Università degli Studi di Roma „La Sapienza”, anno accademico 1994/1995 (manuscript).
- Manikowski Adam, *Il Commercio italiano di tessuti di seta in Polonia nella seconda metà del XVII secolo (L'azienda di Marco Antonio Federici a Cracovia, 1680–1683)*, Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warsaw 1983.
- Manikowski Adam, “Mercanti italiani in Polonia nel XVI e XVII secolo”, in: *Aspetti della vita economica medievale*, Atti del Convegno di Studi nel X Anniversario della morte di Federico Melis, Florence 1985, p. 359–369.
- Mańkowski Tadeusz, “Pochodzenie osiadłych we Lwowie budowniczych włoskich” [The Origin of Italian Builders Settled in Lviv], in: *Księga Pamiątkowa ku czci Leona Pinińskiego*, Księgarnia Gubrynowicza i Syna, Lviv 1936, vol. II, p. 133–146.
- Marchesani Pietro, “Polska w historiografii włoskiej XVI i XVII wieku (stereotypy ideologiczne i ich ewolucja)” [Poland in the Italian Historiography of the 16th and 17th Century (Ideological Stereotypes and Their Evolution)], in: *Od “Lamentu świętokrzyskiego” do “Adona.” Włoskie studia o literaturze staropolskiej*, ed. Giovanna Brogi Bercoff and Teresa Michałowska, Towarzystwo Literackie im. A. Mickiewicza, Warsaw 1995, p. 177–213.
- Marinelli Luigi, “Sarmatyzm, italianizm, europejskość poezji polskiej epoki baroku (rola Marina i marinizmu)” [Sarmatism, Italianism, Europeaness of Polish Poetry of the Baroque Period (The Role of Marino ad Marinism)], in: *Od “Lamentu świętokrzyskiego” do “Adona.” Włoskie studia o literaturze staropolskiej*, ed. Giovanna Brogi Bercoff and Teresa Michałowska, Towarzystwo Literackie im. A. Mickiewicza, Warsaw 1995, p. 245–268.
- Martinola Giuseppe, *Lettere dai paesi transalpini degli artisti di Meride e dei villaggi vicini (XVII–XIX)*, in apendice: *L'emigrazione delle maestranze d'arte del Mendrisiotto oltre le Alpi (XVI–XVIII)*, Edizione dello Stato, Bellinzona 1963.
- Mathorez Jules, “Les Italiens et l'opinion française a la fin du XVIe siècle”, *Bulletin du Bibliophile*, 1914, No. 8, p. 96–105, No. 12, p. 143–158.
- Maver Giovanni, “Literackie kontakty Polski z narodami zachodnimi” [Poland's Literary Contacts with Western Nations], in: id., *Literatura polska i jej związki z Włochami...*, p. 66–75.
- Maver Giovanni, *Literatura polska i jej związki z Włochami* [Polish Literature and Its Connections with Italy], compiled by Andrzej Zieliński, PWN, Warsaw 1988.
- Mazzei Rita, *Itinera Mercatorum. Circolazione di uomini e beni nell'Europa centro-orientale: 1550–1650*, Pacini Fazzi, Lucca 1999.
- Mazzei Rita, “Quasi un paradigma. ‘Lodovicus Montius Mutinensis’ fra Italia e Polonia a metà del cinquecento”, *Rivista Storica Italiana* CXV, 2003, fasc. I, p. 5–56.
- Mazzei Rita, *Traffici e uomini d'affari italiani in Polonia nel seicento*, Franco Angeli Editore, Milan 1983.
- Mączak Antoni (ed.), *Historia Europy* [A History of Europe], Ossolineum, Wrocław 1997.

- Mączak Antoni, *Klientela. Nieformalne systemy władzy w Polsce i Europie XVI–XVII w.* [Clientela. Informal Systems of Power in Poland and Europe of the 16th–17th Century], Semper, Warsaw 2000.
- Mączak Antoni, *Peregrynacje – wojaże – turystyka* [Peregrinations – Voyages – Tourism], Czytelnik, Warsaw 1984.
- Mączak Antoni, *Sukiennictwo wielkopolskie, XIV–XVII wiek* [Greater Poland's Clothmaking, the 16th–17th Century], PWN, Warsaw 1955.
- Mączak Antoni, *Życie codzienne w podróżach po Europie w XVI–XVII w.* [Daily Living on Journeys Across Europe in the 16th–17th Century], PIW, Warsaw 1978.
- Mękicki Juliusz, *Mennictwo Jana III Sobieskiego* [Mintage of Jan III Sobieski], Polskie Towarzystwo Archeologiczne i Numizmatyczne, Komisja Numizmatyczna, Warsaw 1977, p. 3–17.
- Michta Jerzy, “Nobilitacja i indygenat” [Ennoblement and Indygenat], in: *Nobilitacje i indygenaty w Rzeczypospolitej 1434–1794*, vol. 1, Kielce 1991.
- Miczulski Stanisław, “Archiwum Pinoccich” [The Pinoccis' Archive], *Archeion*, vol. XXVII, 1957, p. 119–141.
- Mieszkowski Zygmunt, “Podstawowe problemy architektury w traktatach polskich, od połowy XVI do początku XIX w.” [Fundamental Problems of Architecture in Polish Treatises, from the mid-16th Century to the Beginning of the 19th Century], in: *Studia i materiały do teorii i historii architektury i urbanistyki*, vol. VII, PWN, Warsaw 1970.
- Miks Nina, “Zbiór rysunków G. B. Gisleniego, architekta z XVII w. w Sir John Soank's Museum w Londynie” [The Collection of Drawings by G. B. Gisleni, an Architect from the 17th Century, in Sir John Soank's Museum in London], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. XXXIII, 1961/4, p. 328–339.
- Miks-Rudkowska Nina, “Niektóre projekty dekoracji scenograficznych Giovanniego Battista Gisleniego na dworze Wazów” [Some Stage Decoration Projects of Giovanni Battista Gisleni at the Vasas' Court], in: *Opera w dawnej Polsce...*, p. 9–24.
- Miłobędzki Adam, “Architektura i społeczeństwo” [Architecture and Society], in: *Polska w epoce Odrodzenia. Państwo, społeczeństwo, kultura*, ed. Andrzej Wyczański, Warsaw 1970, 1986, p. 224–265.
- Misiąg-Bocheńska Anna, “Bernardinus Zanobii de Gianotis Romanus i refleksy dekoracji rzymskiej w kilku dziełach warsztatu Berecciego” [Bernardinus Zanobii de Gianotis Romanus and Reflections of Rome's Decoration in Several Works by Berecci], Sprawozdania Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk LVIII, 1960, p. 60–69.
- Misiąg-Bocheńska Anna, “O działalności budowlano-rzeźbiarskiej w Polsce Bernardina Zanobii de Gianotis Rzymianina (1524–1541)” [On Architectural and Sculptural Activity of Bernardino Zanobii de Gianotis Romanus (1524–1541) in Poland], Sprawozdania PAU, vol. L, 1949, p. 82–84.
- Miszalska Jadwiga, “*Kolloander wierny*” i „*Piękna Diane*a.” *Polskie przekłady włoskich romansów barokowych w XVII wieku i w epoce saskiej na tle ówczesnych teorii romansu i przekładu* [Faithful Colloandro and Beautiful Dianea. Polish Translations of Italian Baroque Romances in the 17th Century and the Saxon Period in the Context of Contemporary Theories of Romance and Translation] Universitas, Kraków 2003.
- Mitosek Zofia, *Literatura i stereotypy* [Literature and Stereotypes], Ossolineum, Wrocław 1974.

- Miziołek Jerzy, "L'ideale classico nelle raffigurazioni dei re di Polonia come capitani (secoli XVI–XVII)", in: *"Il Perfetto Capitano." Immagini e realtà (secoli XV–XVII)*, a cura di Marcello Fantoni, Bulzoni Editore, Rome 2001, p. 401–447.
- Miziołek Jerzy, *Opus egregium ac spectandum. Il tabernacolo eucaristico di Gianmaria Mosca, detto il Padovano, per la cattedrale di Cracovia*, Mitteilungen des Kunsthistorischen Institutes in Florenz, vol. XXXVII, part 2/3, 1993, p. 303–335.
- Mollisi Giorgio, *Pittori in Valsolda dal 1648 al 1716*, a Ph.D. dissertation, written under Prof. Mariusz Karpowicz's supervision, Wydział Historyczny UW, Warsaw 2000.
- Mongelli Nicola, *Iacopo Ferdinando Barese a Cracovia, medico di Bona e Sigismondo e il suo "Tractatus"*, Bari 1982.
- Morawski Franciszek, "Genuęńczyk w Poznaniu" [A Genoese in Poznań], *Przegląd Powszechny*, Year 24, vol. XCVI (X–XII 1907), Kraków 1907, p. 161–188.
- Morawski Kazimierz, "Wskazówki do poszukiwania źródeł humanizmu polskiego" [Clues for the Search of the Polish Humanism Sources], in: *Archiwum do dziejów literatury i oświaty w Polsce*, vol. V, Akademia Umiejętności, Kraków 1886, p. 74–82.
- Moseley Ray, *W cieniu Mussoliniego. Podwójne życie hrabiego Galeazza Ciano* [In the Shadow of Mussolini. The Double Life of Count Galeazzo Ciano], Książka i Wiedza, Warsaw 2001.
- Mossakowski Stanisław, *Proweniencja artystyczna twórczości Bartłomieja Berrecciego, w świetle dekoracji Kaplicy Zygmuntowskiej* [The Artistic Provenance of Bartolomeo Berrecci in the Light of the Zygmunt's Chapel Decoration], Ossolineum, Wrocław 1988.
- Mossakowski Stanisław, "Tematyka mitologiczna dekoracji Kaplicy Zygmuntowskiej" [Mythological Themes in the Zygmunt's Chapel Decoration], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. XL, 1978/2, p. 118–132.
- Mossakowski Stanisław, "Uroczystości wawelskie w styczniu roku 1649 a projekty Giovanniego Battisty Gisleniego" [Celebrations on Wawel Hill in January 1649 and Projects of Giovanni Battista Gisleni], *Studia Waweliana*, vol. IX/X, 2000/2001, p. 41–83.
- Muczkowski Józef, *Kościół św. Franciszka w Krakowie* [The Church of Saint Francis in Kraków], Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii i Zabytków Krakowa, Kraków 1901.
- Niewiara Aleksandra, *Wyobrażenia o narodach w pamiętnikach i dziennikach z XVI–XIX wieku* [The Ideas About Nations in Diaries and Journals from the 16th–19th Century], Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, Katowice 2000.
- Nowak-Dłużewski Juliusz, *Okolicznościowa poezja polityczna w Polsce. Dwaj młodszy Wazowie* [Occasional Political Poetry. The Two Younger Vasas], Instytut Wydawniczy PAX, Warsaw 1972.
- Nowicka-Jeżowa Alina, *Jan Andrzej Morsztyn i Giambattista Marino, Dialog poetów europejskiego baroku* [Jan Andrzej Morsztyn and Giambattista Marino. The Dialogue of the European Baroque Poets], Wydawnictwo Wydziału Polonistyki UW, Warsaw 2000.
- Olkiewicz Joanna, *Opowieści o Włochach i Polakach* [Stories About Italians and Poles], LSW, Warsaw 1979.
- Opera w dawnej Polsce, na dworze Władysława IV i królów saskich* [Opera in Old Poland, at Władysław IV's and the Saxon Kings' Court], ed. Julian Lewański, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1973.
- Osiecka-Samsonowicz Hanna, *Agostino Locci (1601–po 1660). Scenograf i architekt na dworze królewskim w Polsce* [Agostino Locci (1601 – after 1660). A Scenographer and Architect at the Royal Court in Poland], Instytut Sztuki PAN, Warsaw 2003.

- Ottenheym Konrad, "Tylman z Gameren w Holandii. Nauka i źródła inspiracji" [Tylman van Gameren in the Netherlands. Education and Sources of Inspiration], in: *Tylman z Gameren – architekt Warszawy, Holender z pochodzenia, Polak z wyboru*, Zamek Królewski w Warszawie, ARX REGIA, Warsaw 2003, p. 7–23.
- Pagaczewski Julian, "Baltazar Fontana w Krakowie" [Baltazar Fontana in Kraków], *Rocznik Krakowski* XI, 1909, p. 1–50.
- Pagaczewski Julian, "Geneza i charakterystyka sztuki Baltazara Fontany" [The Genesis and Characteristics of Baltazar Fontana's Art.], *Rocznik Krakowski* XXX, 1938, p. 1–48.
- Paluszkiewicz Felicjan SJ, *Mały słownik jezuitów w Polsce* [A Little Dictionary of Jesuits in Poland], Bobolanum, Warsaw 1995.
- Paner Anna, "Studia czy dyplomacja? Włoska podróż Iwona Odrowąża" [Studies or Diplomacy? The Italian Travel of Iwo Odrowąż], in: *Władcy, mnisi, rycerze*, ed. Błażej Śliwiński, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, Gdańsk 1996, p. 113–123.
- Paszenda Jerzy, "Biografia architekta Giacomo Briano" [The Biography of the Architect Giacomo Briano], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. XXXV, 1973/1, p.10–18.
- Paszenda Jerzy, "Pierwszy architekt jezuicki w Polsce – Massimo Milanesi" [The First Jesuitic Architect in Poland – Massimo Milanesi], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. XXXII, 1970/1, p. 106–107.
- Paulucci di Calboli Raniero, *I girovagi italiani in Inghilterra ed i suonatori ambulanti. Appunti storico-critici*, S. Lapi Tipografo-Editore, Città di Castello 1893.
- Pelc Janusz, "Kontynuacje i nowatorstwo w kulturze pierwszej Rzeczypospolitej. Myśli na początek nowego tysiąclecia" [Continuations and Originality in the Culture of the First Republic. Thoughts for the Beginning of the New Millennium], *Barok. Historia-Literatura-Sztuka* IX/1–2 (17–18), 2002, p. 147–168.
- Perera Jesús Hernández, *Escultores florentinos en España*, Instituto Diego Velázquez, Madrid 1957.
- Perz Mirosław, "Muzyka i opera na dworze S. M. Rzewuskiego" [Music and Opera at the Court of S. M. Rzewuski], in: *Opera w dawnej Polsce na dworze Władysława IV i królów saskich*, ed. Julian Lewański, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1973, p. 61–67.
- Picot Émile, *Les Français italianisants au XVIIe siècle*, H. Champion, Paris 1906–1907.
- Picot Émile, *Les Italiens en France au XVIIe siècle*, introduction by Nuccio Ordine, Vecchiarelli, Manziana (Rome) 1995 (first print: *Bulletin Italien*, vol. I-II, Bordeaux 1901–1918).
- Pieradzka Krystyna, "Kraków w relacjach cudzoziemców X-XVII wieku" [Kraków in the Accounts of Foreigners from the 10th-17th Century], *Rocznik Krakowski* XXVIII, 1937, p. 183–224.
- Pirożyński Jan, *Z dziejów obiegu informacji w Europie XVI wieku. Nowiny z Polski w kolekcji Jana Jakuba Wicka w Zurychu, z lat 1560–1587* [From the History of Information Circulation in Europe of the 16th Century. News from Poland in the Collection of Johann Jakob Wick], Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Kraków 1995.
- Pizzorusso Giovanni, "Le migrazioni degli italiani all'interno della Penisola e in Europa in età moderna", in: *Movilidad y migraciones internas en la Europa latina*, a cura di Antonio Eiras Roel, Domingo L. Gonzales Lopo, Santiago de Compostela 2002, p. 55–85.

- Pizzorusso Giovanni, Sanfilippo Matteo, "Prime approssimazioni per lo studio dell'emigrazione italiana nell'Europa centro-orientale, secc. XVI–XVII", in: *La cultura latina, italiana, francese nell'Europa centro-orientale*, a cura di Gaetano Platania, Sette Città, Viterbo 2004, p. 259–297.
- Platania Gaetano, "Il Baltico attraverso gli inediti "Avvisi di Polonia" conservati in Vaticano (1700–1704)", in: *La Via dell'ambra*, a cura di R. C. Lewanski, Università degli Studi di Bologna, Bologna 1994, p. 253–279.
- Platania Gaetano, "Gli Italiani e l'Europa orientale. Un esempio tra i tanti: il lucchese Tommaso Talenti nella Polonia del XVII secolo", in: *Itinerari di idee, uomini e cose fra Est ed Ovest europeo*, Udine 1990, p. 517–534.
- Platania Gaetano, *Viaggi, mercatura e politica. Due lucchesi nel regno dei Sarmati europei nel XVII secolo: Pietro e Tommaso Talenti*, Sette Città, Viterbo 2003.
- Platania Gaetano, "Włoska dyplomacja i nieudany "interes" Rinalda d'Este, księcia Modeny, kandydata do tronu polskiego (1674)" [The Italian Diplomacy and the Unsuccessful 'Business' of Rinaldo d'Este, Duke of Modena, A Candidate for the Polish Throne], *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny "Sobótka"*, 1992/1–2, p. 99–115.
- Pociecha Władysław, *Królowa Bona (1494–1557). Czasy i ludzie Odrodzenia* [Queen Bona (1494–1557). Times and People of the Renaissance], vol. I–IV, Poznań 1949–1958.
- Pociecha Władysław, "Z dziejów stosunków kulturalnych polsko-włoskich" [From the History of Polish-Italian Cultural Relations], in: *Studia z dziejów kultury polskiej*, ed. Henryk Barycz and Jan Hulewicz, Gebethner i Wolff, Warsaw 1949, p. 179–208.
- Pollak Roman, "Virgilio Puccitelli. Appunti bio-bibliografici", in: *Studi in onore di Ettore Lo Gatto e Giovanni Maver*, Florence 1962.
- Pollak Roman, *Wśród literatów staropolskich* [Among the Old-Polish Literary Men], PWN, Warsaw 1966.
- Pollak Roman, "Z dziejów Machiavella w Polsce" [From the History of Machiavelli in Poland], *Ruch Literacki*, vol. I, 1926, p. 257–260.
- Pollak Roman, *Związki kultury polskiej z Włochami (do r. 1939)* [The Connections of Polish Culture with Italy (until 1939)], in: id., *Wśród literatów staropolskich*, PWN, Warsaw 1966, p. 583–600.
- Pollak Romano [Roman], *Pagine di cultura e di letteratura polacca*, Piccola Biblioteca Slava, a cura di Ettore Lo Gatto, vol. XI, Istituto per l'Europa Orientale, Rome 1929.
- Polonia-Italia. Relazioni artistiche dal medioevo al XVIII secolo*, Accademia Polacca delle Scienze, Biblioteca e Centro di Studi a Roma, Conferenze 77, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1979.
- Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [Polish Biographical Dictionary], vol. I–, ed. committee Władysław Konopczyński et al., PAU, Kraków 1935–, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1989–.
- Pośpiech Andrzej, "W służbie króla czy Rzeczypospolitej? (Włoscy sekretarze Jana III Sobieskiego)" [At the King's or the Commonwealth's Service? (The Italian Secretaries of Jan III Sobieski)], in: *Władza i społeczeństwo w XVI i XVII w. Prace ofiarowane Antoniemu Mączakowi w sześćdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, PWN, Warsaw 1989, p. 151–165.
- Prokop Krzysztof Rafał, "Od kiedy kardynał Pietro Isvalies był protektorem Polski w Kurii Rzymskiej?" [Since When Was Cardinal Pietro Isvalies Cardinal Protector of Poland in Roman Curia?], *Zeszyty Naukowe UJ, Prace historyczne* 126, Kraków 1999, p. 89–100.

- Przybyszewska-Jarmińska Barbara, “Annibale Stabile i początki włoskiej kapeli Zygmunta III Wazy” [Annibale Stabile and the Beginnings of the Italian Chapel of Zygmunt III Vasa], *Muzyka* 2001, No. 2, p. 93–99.
- Przybyszewska-Jarmińska Barbara, “Muzycy z Cappella Giulia i z innych rzymskich zespołów muzycznych w Rzeczypospolitej czasów Wazów” [Musicians of Cappella Giulia and Other Rome’s Musical Ensembles in the Commonwealth in the Times of the Vasas], *Muzyka* 2004, No. 1, p. 33–52.
- Przybyszewski Bolesław, “Muratorzy i kamieniarze zajęci przy budowie zamku królewskiego na Wawelu (1502–1530/1)” [Bricklayers and Stonemasons Employed in Building the Royal Castle on Wawel Hill (1502–1530/1)], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. XVII, 1955, p. 149–161.
- Przybyszewski Bolesław, “Pochodzenie Bartłomieja Berecciego” [The Origin of Bartolommeo Berrecci], *Sprawozdania PAU* LII, 1951, p. 288–289.
- Przybyszewski Bolesław, “Przebieg zatargu Andrzeja Zebrzydowskiego, kanonika i późniejszego biskupa krakowskiego, z muratorami włoskimi w latach 1535–1540” [The Records of the Dispute Between Andrzej Zebrzydowski, Canon and Later bishop of Kraków, with Italian Bricklayers in the Years 1535–1540], in: *Symbolae Historiae Artium. Studia z historii sztuki Lechowi Kalinowskiemu dedykowane*, Warsaw 1986, p. 407–413.
- Przybyszewski Bolesław, “Zatarg Andrzeja Zebrzydowskiego z muratorami włoskimi” [The Dispute Between Andrzej Zebrzydowski and Italian Bricklayers], *Sprawozdania PAU*, vol. L, 1949, p. 42–43.
- Ptaśnik Giovanni [Jan], *Gli italiani a Cracovia dal XVI secolo al XVIII*, Rome 1909.
- Ptaśnik Jan, *Kultura włoska wieków średnich w Polsce* [Medieval Italian Culture in Poland], PWN, Warsaw 1959 (1st edition – Warsaw 1922).
- Ptaśnik Jan, *Miasta i mieszczaństwo w dawnej Polsce* [Towns and Bourgeoisie in Old Poland], PIW, Warsaw 1949 (1st edition – PAU, Kraków 1934).
- Ptaśnik Jan, *Obrazki z przeszłości Krakowa* [Pictures from the Kraków Past], Biblioteka Krakowska 21, Kraków 1902.
- Ptaśnik Jan, *Włoski Kraków za Kazimierza Wielkiego i Władysława Jagielly* [The Italian Kraków of Kazimierz the Great’s and Władysław Jagiello’s Times], *Rocznik Krakowski*, vol. XIII, Kraków 1911, p. 49–109.
- Ptaśnik Jan, “Z dziejów kultury włoskiego Krakowa”, *Rocznik Krakowski*, vol. IX, Kraków 1907, p. 1–147.
- Quirini-Popławska Danuta, *Działalność Sebastiana Montelupiego w Krakowie w drugiej połowie XVI wieku* [Sebastiano Montelupi’s Activity in Kraków in the Second Half of the 16th Century], Uniwersytet Jagielloński, Kraków 1980.
- Quirini-Popławska Danuta, *Działalność Włochów w Polsce w I połowie XVI wieku na dworze królewskim, w dyplomacji i hierarchii kościelnej* [Italian Activity in Poland of the First Half of the 16th Century, at the Royal Court, in Diplomacy and Church Hierarchy], PAN Kraków, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1973.
- Rabikauskas Paulius, “Italia-Lituania nei secoli XV-XVI: l’incontro con la Chiesa occidentale”, in: *La via dell’ambra*, a cura di Riccardo C. Lewanski, Università degli Studi di Bologna, Bologna 1994, p. 297–313.

- Rachuba Andrzej, "Oficerowie cudzoziemskiego autoramentu w armii Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w latach 1648–1667" [Foreign Contingent Officers in the Army of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the Years 1648–1667], in: *Od armii komputowej do narodowej (XVI–XX w.)*, ed. Zbigniew Karpus and Waldemar Rezmer, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika, Toruń 1998, p. 57–71.
- Raszewski Zbigniew, "Za króla Sasa" [Under the Saxon King's Rule], *Pamiętnik Teatralny*, 1965, vol. 1, p. 94–101.
- La regina Bona Sforza tra Puglia e Polonia*, Accademia Polacca delle Scienze, Biblioteca e Centro di Studi a Roma, Conferenze 95, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1987.
- Relazioni tra Padova e la Polonia. Studi in onore dell'Università di Cracovia nel VI centenario della sua fondazione*, Editrice Antenore, Padova 1964.
- Renouard Yves, *Les hommes d'affaires italiens au moyen age*, Paris 1949.
- Rewski Zbigniew, "Działalność architektoniczna warszawskich Fontanów" [Architectural Activity of the Warsaw Fontanas], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki i Kultury*, vol. II/4, Warsaw 1933/34, p. 265–279.
- Rossenbaiger Kazimierz S., "Dzieje kościoła OO. Franciszkanów w Krakowie" [The History of the Church of St. Francis in Kraków], *Biblioteka Krakowska*, No. 79, Kraków 1933.
- Roszkowska Wanda, "Giovanni Battista Lampugnani, librecista Sobieskich" [Giovanni Battista Lampugnani, the Librettist of Sobieskis], in: *Studia Wilanowskie*, vol. II, Muzeum w Wilanowie, Warsaw 1977, p. 5–68.
- Roth Cecil, "Dr Salomon Aszkenazy a elekcja na tron polski (1574–1575)" [Doctor Salomon Aszkenazy and the Election to the Polish Throne (1574–1575)], *Biuletyn ŻIH* 1959 (30), p. 3–11.
- Rowse Alfred Leslie, *Anglia w epoce elżbietańskiej* [England in the Elizabethan Age], vol. 1–2, PIW, Warsaw 1976.
- Rożek Michał, *Uroczystości w barokowym Krakowie* [Celebrations in the Baroque Kraków], Kraków 1976.
- Ruggeri Oreste, "Scenografia e cronaca teatrale in alcuni dispacci di Filonardi", in: *Miscellanea settempedana. Vergilio Puccitelli e il teatro per musica nella Polonia di Ladislao IV*, Bellabarba editore, San Severino Marche (n.d.), p. 139–148.
- Rybarski Roman, *Wielkie żupy solne w latach 1497–1594* [Wieliczka Salt Mines in the Years 1497–1594], Warsaw 1932.
- Ryszkiewicz Andrzej, "W warszawskim teatrze nadwornym (1716)" [At the Warsaw Court Theatre (1716)], *Pamiętnik Teatralny*, 1965, vol. 1, p. 20–21.
- Sadowski Zdzisław, *Pieniądz a początki upadku Rzeczypospolitej w XVII w.* [Money and the Beginnings of the Fall of the Commonwealth in the 17th Century], PWN, Warsaw 1964.
- Sajkowski Alojzy, *Opowieści misjonarzy, konkwistadorów, pielgrzymów i innych świata ciekawych* [Stories by Missionaries, Conquistadors, Pilgrims and other People Curious About the World], Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, Poznań 1991.
- Sanfilippo Matteo, *Problemi di storiografia dell'emigrazione italiana*, Viterbo 2002.
- Schilling Heinz, "Confessional Migration as a Distinct Type of Old European Longdistance Migration", in: *Le migrazioni in Europa secc. XIII–XVIII*, Atti della Venticinquesima Settimana di Studi, a cura di Simonetta Cavaciocchi, Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica F. Datini, Prato 1994, p. 175–189.

- Schilling Heinz, "Innovation through Migration: The Settlements of Calvinistic Netherlanders in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Central and Western Europe", *Histoire sociale – Social History*, vol. XVI, No. 31 (May 1983), p. 7–33.
- Schramm Gottfried, "Rozłam wyznaniowy i kultura szesnastego wieku w polsko-niemieckim porównaniu [The Religious Schism and the Culture of the 16th Century in Polish-German Comparison], in: *Kultura staropolska – kultura europejska. Prace ofiarowane Januszowi Tazbirowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, Semper, Warsaw 1997, p. 191–201.
- Sinko Krystyna, "Hieronim Canavesi", *Rocznik Krakowski* XXVII, 1936, p. 129–176.
- Sinko Krystyna, *Santi Gucci Fiorentino i jego szkoła* [Santi Gucci Fiorentino and His School], Związek Kół Historyków Sztuki Studentów Uniwersytetów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, Kraków 1933.
- Skoczek Józef, *Legenda Kallimacha w Polsce* [The Callimachus's Legend in Poland], Towarzystwo Naukowe we Lwowie, Lviv 1939.
- Skoczek Józef, *Wychowanie Jagiellonów* [The Jagiellons' Education], Księgarnia Gubrynowicza i Syna, Lviv 1932.
- Skrudlik Mieczysław, "Tomasz Dolabella, jego życie i dzieła. Ustęp z dziejów malarstwa w Polsce" [Tommaso Dolabella, His Life and Works. A Passage from the History of Painting in Poland], *Rocznik Krakowski* XVI, 1914, p. 91–162.
- Słownik artystów polskich i obcych w Polsce działających. Malarze, rzeźbiarze, graficy* [Dictionary of Polish Artists and Foreign Artists Working in Poland. Painters, Sculptors, Graphic Designers], vol. I–, ed. Jolanta Maurin-Białostocka et al., Instytut Sztuki PAN, Wrocław/Warsaw 1971–.
- Słownik biograficzny Pomorza Nadwiślańskiego* [Biographical Dictionary of Eastern Pomerania], vol. 1–6, ed. Stanisław Gierszewski and Zbigniew Nowak, Gdańskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, Gdańsk 1992–2002.
- Sobieski Waclaw, *Trybun ludu szlacheckiego. Pisma Historyczne* [The Tribune of the Noble People. Historical Writings], published by Stanisław Grzybowski, PIW, Warsaw 1978.
- Sokołowski Janusz, "Gdańsk (Danzig) – The Polish window to the world and its Italian traditions", in: *La via dell'ambra*, a cura di Riccardo C. Lewanski, Università degli Studi di Bologna, Bologna 1994, p. 205–208.
- Sowiński Wojciech [Albert], *Słownik muzyków polskich, dawnych i nowoczesnych kompozytorów, wirtuozów, śpiewaków [...], przez Alberta Sowińskiego* [Dictionary of Polish Musicians, Old and Modern Composers, Virtuosos, Singers [...] by Albert Sowiński], Wydawnictwa Artystyczne i Filmowe, Warsaw 1982 (1st edition – Paris 1874).
- Spierski Zdzisław, „Niccolò Machiavelli a Stanisław Łąski. Przyczynek do 'nieobecności' Machiavellego w Polsce" [Niccolò Machiavelli and Stanisław Łąski. A contribution to the 'absence' of Machiavelli in Poland], *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* XVIII, 1973, p. 153–165.
- Stanghellini Arturo, "La cultura italiana in Polonia", *Romana. Rivista dell'Istituto Interuniversitario Italiano*, Year I, No. 2–3, Felice Le Monnier Editore, Florence 1937, p. 87–91.
- Starzyński Juliusz, "Augustyn Locci, inżynier i artystyczny doradca Jana III" [Augustyn Locci, Engineer and Artistic Adviser of Jan III], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki i Kultury*, vol. 1/3, 1932–33, p. 119–127.

- Starzyński Juliusz, "Barokowe malowidła ściennie w kaplicy św. Karola Boromeusza w Łowiczu i ich twórca Michelangelo Palloni" [The Baroque Wall Paintings in St Carlo Borromeo Chapel in Łowicz and Their Creator Michelangelo Palloni], in: *Studia do Dziejów Sztuki w Polsce*, vol. IV/1, 1931, p. 47–99.
- Starzyński Juliusz, "Dwór artystyczny Jana III" [The Artistic Court of Jan III], in: *Życie Sztuki*, Year 1, Warsaw 1934, p. 137–156.
- Stone Lawrence, "Prosopography", *Daedalus*, Winter 1971, p. 46–73.
- Stoye John, *Marsigli's Europe, 1680–1730: the Life and Times of Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, soldier and virtuoso*, Yale University Press, New Haven, London 1994.
- Studia Italo-Polonica*, vol. I-V, Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 1987–1994.
- Swojskość i cudzoziemszczyzna w dziejach kultury polskiej* [Familiarity and Foreign Influence in the History of Polish Culture], ed. Zofia Stefanowska, PWN, Warsaw 1973.
- Szczucki Lech, "Humanizm włoski i kultura polska" [The Italian Humanism and Polish Culture], *Kultura i Społeczeństwo*, vol. XLI, No.1, Warsaw 1997, p. 37–47.
- Szczucki Lech, *W kręgu myślicieli heretyckich* [In the Circle of Heretical Thinkers], Instytut Filozofii i Socjologii PAN, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1972.
- Szulc Tadeusz, "Indygenat w Rzeczypospolitej w świetle konstytucji sejmowych w latach 1588–1793" [Indygenat in the Commonwealth in the Light of Sejm Constitutions from the Years 1588–1793], *Sprawozdania z Czynności i Posiedzeń Naukowych Łódzkiego Towarzystwa Naukowego XXXIV/15*, 1980, p. 1–10.
- Szweykowsy Anna i Zygmunt M., *Włosi w kapeli królewskiej polskich Wazów* [Italians in the Royal Chapel of the Polish Vasas], Musica Iagellonica, Kraków 1997.
- Szweykowska Anna, *Drammi per musica w teatrze Wazów, 1635–1648* [Drammi per Musica at the Vasas' Court, 1635–1648], Kraków 1976.
- Szymański Józef, "Indygenat czy nobilitacja" [Indygenat or Ennoblement], *Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici. Historia. Nauki pomocnicze historii XXVI*, 1992.
- Szymański Józef, *Nauki pomocnicze historii* [Auxiliary Sciences of History], 4th edition, PWN, Warsaw 1983 (6th edition – 2004).
- Ślaski Jan, "Dalla storia della poesia italianizzante fra il Rinascimento ed il Barocco (Jan Smolik)", in: *Filologia e letteratura nei paesi slavi. Studi in onore di Sante Graciotti*, a cura di Giovanna Brogi Bercoff, Mario Capaldo, Janja Jerkov Capaldo, Emanuela Sgambati, Carucci editore, Rome 1990, p. 347–357.
- Ślaski Jan, "Italia, Ungheria e Polonia nel tempo dell'Umanesimo e del Rinascimento. Proposte di ricerca", in: *Venezia e Ungheria nel Rinascimento*, Florence 1973, p. 53–60.
- Ślaski Jan, "Literatura staropolska a literatura staroęgierska" [Old Polish and Old Hungarian Literature], in: *Literatura staropolska w kontekście europejskim*, ed. Teresa Michałowska and Jan Ślaski, Instytut Badań Literackich PAN, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1977, p. 169–199.
- Ślaski Jan, „Polonia – Italia – Europa. Prospettive europee delle relazioni italo-polacche all'epoca dell'Umanesimo e del Rinascimento”, in: *La nascita dell'Europa. Per una storia delle idee fra Italia e Polonia*, a cura di Sante Graciotti, Leo S. Olschki, Florence 1995, p. 115–135.
- Ślaski Jan, "Polscy poeci nowolacińscy i Włochy (uwagi i propozycje badawcze)" [Polish Neo-Latin Poets and Italy (Remarks and Research Proposals)], in: id., *Wokół literatury włoskiej...*, p. 134–175.

- Ślaski Jan, "Spotkania literatury polskiej z europejską w przekładach doby Średniowiecza i Renesansu" [The Encounters of Polish and European Literature in Translations of the Middle Ages and Renaissance Times], in: *Przekład Literacki. Teoria. Historia. Współczesność*, ed. Alina Nowicka-Jeżowa and Danuta Knysz-Tomaszewska, PWN, Warsaw 1997, p. 89–107.
- Ślaski Jan, "Tłumaczenia w Polsce doby renesansu oraz pogranicza baroku (szkic problematyki)" [Translations in Poland in the Renaissance and the Borderline of Baroque Times (An Outline of Issues)], in: *Problemy literatury staropolskiej*, series 3, ed. Janusz Pelc, IBL PAN, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1978, p. 145–186.
- Ślaski Jan, "Uwagi o italianizmie Łukasza Górnickiego" [Remarks on the Italianism of Łukasz Górnicki], in: id., *Wokół literatury włoskiej...*, p. 176–205.
- Ślaski Jan, *Wokół literatury włoskiej, węgierskiej i polskiej w epoce renesansu. Szkice komparatystyczne* [About Italian, Hungarian and Polish Literature of the Age of Renaissance], Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warsaw 1991.
- Targosz Karolina, *Hieronim Pinocci. Studium z dziejów kultury naukowej w Polsce w XVII wieku* [Hieronim Pinocci. A Study on the History of Scientific Culture in Poland in the 17th Century], Ossolineum, Wrocław 1967.
- Targosz Karolina, "Michelangelo i Vincenzo mł. Galilei jako muzycy działający w Rzeczypospolitej" [Michelangelo and Vincenzo Galilei Jr.: Musicians active in Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth], *Muzyka*, 2003, No. 4, p. 119–128.
- Targosz Karolina, "Polski watek w życiu i sprawie Galileusza. 'Galileo Galilei e il mondo polacco' Bronisława Bilińskiego (1969) z uzupełnieniami" [A Polish Note in the Life and Case of Galileo Galilei], *Zagadnienia Filozoficzne w Nauce*, vol. XXXII, 2003, p. 45–90.
- Targosz-Kretowa Karolina, *Teatr dworski za Władysława IV*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Kraków 1965.
- Tarnawski Aleksander, *Działalność gospodarcza Jana Zamoyskiego (1572–1605)* [The Economic Activity of Jan Zamoyski (1572–1605)], Drukarnia Naukowa, Lviv 1935.
- Tarnowski Stanisław, *Pisarze polityczni XVI wieku* [Political Writers of the 16th Century], compiled by Bogdan Szlachta, Biblioteka Klasyki Polskiej Myśli Politycznej, Księgarnia Akademicka, Kraków 2000 (1st edition – Kraków 1886).
- Taszycka Maria, *Włoskie jedwabne tkaniny odzieżowe w Polsce w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku* [Italian Silken Clothing Textiles in Poland in the First Half of the 17th Century], Ossolineum, Wrocław 1971.
- Taszycka Maria, "Włoskie tkaniny jedwabne w Krakowie w drugiej połowie XVII wieku" [Italian Silken Textiles in Kraków in the Second Half of the 17th Century], *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej* 26, 1978/2, p. 133–153.
- Tatarkiewicz Władysław, "Bernardo Morando – realisateur de la ville ideale", in: *Venezia et l'Europa. Atti del XVIII Congresso Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte. Venezia 1955*, Venezia 1956.
- Tazbir Janusz, "Początki polskiej ksenofobii" [The Beginnings of Polish Xenophobia], in: id., *Sarmaci i świat. Prace wybrane*, ed. Stanisław Grzybowski, vol. 3, Universitas, Kraków 2001, p. 367–406.
- Tazbir Janusz, "Włoszczyzna" w Polsce [All Things Italian in Poland], in: id., *Sarmaci i świat, Prace wybrane*, ed. Stanisław Grzybowski, vol. 3, Universitas, Kraków 2001, p. 357–365.
- Tomkiewicz Władysław, *Dolabella*, Arkady, Warsaw 1959.

- Tomkiewicz Władysław, "Dolabella et son ecole", in: *Venezia et l'Europa. Atti del XVIII Congresso Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte. Venezia 1955*, Venezia 1956.
- Tomkiewicz Władysław, "Francesco Rossi i jego działalność rzeźbiarska w Polsce" [Francesco Rossi and His Sculptural Activity in Poland], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* XIX, 1957/3, p. 199–217.
- Tomkiewicz Władysław, "Malarstwo weneckie w Polsce w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku" [Venetian Painting in Poland in the First Half of the 17th Century], in: id., *Pędzlem rozmaitym. Malarstwo okresu Wazów w Polsce*, Warsaw 1970, p. 173–178.
- Tomkiewicz Władysław, "Weneckość w obrazach krakowskich Tomasza Dolabelli" [Venetianness in Kraków Paintings of Tommaso Dolabella], *Rocznik Historii Sztuki* II, 1961, p. 87–130.
- Tomkiewicz Władysław (compilation), *Z dziejów polskiego mecenatu artystycznego w wieku XVII* [From the History of Polish Artistic Patronage in the 17th Century], Ossolineum, Wrocław 1952.
- Tomkowicz Stanisław, *Bielany*, Biblioteka Krakowska 26, Kraków 1904.
- Tomkowicz Stanisław, "Włosi kupcy w Krakowie w XVII i XVIII w." [Italian Merchants in Kraków in XVII and XVIII centuries], *Rocznik Krakowski*, vol. III, 1900, p. 1–26.
- Tomkowicz Stanisław, *Na dworze dwóch ostatnich Jagiellonów* [At the Court of the Two Last Jagiellons], Kraków 1924.
- Tomkowicz Stanisław, "O Bernardzie Morando, Santi Guccim i Marcinie Koberze, artystach XVI w." [About Bernardo Morando, Santi Gucci and Marcin Kober, Artists of the 16th Century], *Prace Komisji Historii Sztuki PAU*, vol. II, 1922, p. XLIV–LIV.
- Tomkowicz Stanisław, *Przyczynki do historii kultury Krakowa w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku* [Contributions to the History of Kraków in the First Half of the 17th Century], Towarzystwo dla Popierania Nauki Polskiej, Lviv 1912.
- Tygielski Wojciech, *Avvisi z Polski w zbiorach urbinackich. Kilka uwag na temat przepływu informacji na przełomie XVI wieku* [Avvisi from Poland in the Urbino Collections. Several remarks on the Information Circulation at the Turn of the 16th Century], *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, vol. XLI, 1997, p. 141–157.
- Tygielski Wojciech, *Dyplomacja – informacja – propaganda. Podróż Luigi Bevilacqua, posła tokańskiego na dwory europejskie w 1609 r.* [Diplomacy-Information-Propaganda. The Travel of Luigi Bevilacqua to European Courts in 1609], Semper, Warsaw 2000.
- Tygielski Wojciech, "Marszałka Mikołaja Wolskiego poselstwo do Rzymu (1609–1610)" [The Court Marschal Mikołaj Wolski's Mission to Rome (1609–1610)], *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* XLIII, 1999, p. 73–83.
- Tygielski Wojciech, "Między instrukcją a polskimi realiami. Zwrot dyplomacji papieskiej w przededniu decydującej fazy Soboru Trydenckiego" [Between the Instruction and Polish Realities. The Turning point of Papal Diplomacy on the Eve of the Decisive Phase of the Council of Trent], in: *Aetas media – aetas moderna. Studia ofiarowane profesorowi Henrykowi Samsonowiczowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Warsaw 2000, p. 531–540.
- Tygielski Wojciech, "Opinie nuncjuszy apostolskich na temat Polski XVI-XVII w." [Opinions of the Apostolic Nuncios About Poland of the 16th-17th Century], *Przegląd Historyczny*, vol. LXXXV, 1994/4, p. 351–362.

- Tygielski Wojciech, "Turyści zza Alp w siedemnastowiecznym Rzymie. Ze sztambucha Giovanniego Alto" [Tourists from Beyond the Alps in the Seventeenth-Century Rome. From the Friendship Book of Giovanni Alto], *Przegląd Historyczny*, vol. LXXXIX, 1998/2, p. 217–232.
- Tygielski Wojciech, *Z Rzymu do Rzeczypospolitej. Studia z dziejów nuncjatury apostolskiej w Polsce, XVI-XVII w.* [From Rome to the Commonwealth. Studies on the History of the Apostolic Nunciature in Poland, the 16th-17th Century], Wydawnictwa Fundacji Historia pro Futuro, Warsaw 1992.
- Ulewicz Tadeusz, *Iter Romano-Italicum Polonorum, czyli o związkach umysłowo-kulturalnych Polski z Włochami w wiekach średnich i renesansie* [Iter Romano-Italicum Polonorum, or on the Intellectual-Cultural Relations of Poland and Italy in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance], Universitas, Kraków 1999.
- Ulewicz Tadeusz, "Trzy epizody z najdawniejszych związków kulturalnych polsko-włoskich" [Three Episodes from the Oldest Polish-Italian Relations], *Ruch Literacki*, vol. XXXII, 1991/5, p. 527–539.
- Ulewicz Tadeusz, "La "via romana" dei polacchi. Passato remoto", in: *La Polonia, il Piemonte e l'Italia. Omaggio a Marina Bersano Begey*, a cura di Krystyna Jaworska, Edizioni dell'Orso, Turin 1998.
- Ulewicz Tadeusz, "Związki kulturalno-literackie Polski z Włochami w wiekach średnich i Renesansie. Ogólny szkic panoramiczny" [Cultural-Literary Relations of Poland and Italy in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. A General Panoramic Outline], in: *Literatura staropolska w kontekście europejskim. Związki i analogie*, ed. Teresa Michałowska and Jan Ślaski, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1977, p. 21–67.
- Varvarcev Mikola M., *Italijci v Ukraini (XIX st.). Biografičnij slovník diječiv kul'turi*, Kiiv 1994 [Varvartsev Mikola M., *Gli italiani in Ucraina (XIX sec.). Dizionario biografico degli uomini di cultura*, Kiev 1994].
- Veblen Thorstein, *Teoria klasy próżniaczej* [The Theory of the Leisure Class], PWN, Warsaw 1971.
- Voisé Waldemar, "Pierwsza książka polskiego autora przełożona na włoski" [The First Book by a Polish Author Translated into Italian], *Nauka Polska*, Year X, No. 3, 1962, p. 165–170.
- Völkel Markus, *Römische Kardinalshaushalte des 17. Jahrhunderts. Borghese – Barberini – Chigi*, Max Niemeyer Verlag, Tübingen 1993.
- Welti Manfred Edwin, *Giovanni Bernardino Bonifacio, Marchese d'Oria, in Exil 1557–1597; eine Biographie und ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Philippismus*, Droz, Genève 1976.
- Wierzbička-Michalska Karyna, *Aktorzy cudzoziemscy w Warszawie w XVIII wieku* [Foreign Actors in Warsaw in the 18th Century], Instytut Sztuki PAN, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1975.
- Windakiewicz Stanisław, *Padwa. Studium z dziejów cywilizacji polskiej* [Padua. A Study on the History of Polish Civilisation], Kraków 1891.
- Windakiewicz Stanisław, "I Polacchi a Padova", in: *Omaggio dell'Accademia Polacca di Scienze e Lettere all'Università di Padova nel settimo centenario della sua fondazione*, Kraków 1922, p. 3–34.
- Windakiewicz Stanisław, *Teatr dworski Władysława IV* [Władysław IV's Court Theatre], Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 1893.
- Wojciechowski Jerzy, "Caraglio w Polsce" [Caraglio in Poland], *Rocznik Historii Sztuki*, vol. XXV, Wydawnictwo Neriton, Warsaw 2000, p. 5–63.

- Wolf Zygmunt, "Podróznicy włoscy o Polsce XVII wieku" [Italian Travellers About Poland of the 17th Century], in: *Studia z dziejów kultury polskiej*, ed. Henryk Barycz and Jan Hulewicz, Gebethner i Wolff, Warsaw 1949, p. 281–292.
- Wołyński Artur, "Le relazioni di Galileo Galilei con la Polonia, secondo i documenti per la maggior parte non pubblicati", *Archivio Storico Italiano*, 1872, p. 63–94, 231–271; 1873, p. 3–31, 262–280, 434–441.
- Woś Jan Władysław, "Per la storia dei rapporti culturali tra Italia e Polonia tra la fine del sec. XVI e il principio del XVII: la corrispondenza del pistoiese don Alessandro Cilli, "notarius italicus" del re Sigismondo III Vasa, con il duca di Urbino", *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa, Classe Lettere e Filosofia*, Ser. III/1, 1971, p. 181–201.
- Wujcik Wołodimir, Pobyt architekta Bernarda Morando we Lwowie w świetle źródeł archiwalnych [The Architect Bernardo Morando's Stay in Lviv in the Light of Archival Sources], *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki* LIII, 1991/1–2, p. 95–97.
- Wyczański Andrzej, *Między kulturą a polityką. Sekretarze królewscy Zygmunta Starego (1506–1548)* [Between Culture and Politics. Royal Secretaries of Zygmunt I the Old (1506–1548)], PWN, Warsaw 1990.
- Wyrobisz Andrzej, "Aleksander Gwagnin i cudzoziemscy fachowcy w hutach szkła w Polsce w XVI i XVII wieku" [Aleksander Gwagnin and Foreign Specialists in Polish Glassworks in the 16th and 17th Century], *Przegląd Historyczny*, vol. LVIII, 1967/4, p. 679–682.
- Wyrozumski Jerzy, "La géographie des migrations en Europe centrale et orientale au Moyen Age et au début des temps modernes", in: *Le migrazioni in Europa secc. XIII–XVIII*, Atti della Venticinquesima Settimana di Studi, a cura di Simonetta Cavaciocchi, Istituto Internazionale di Storia Economica F. Datini, Le Monnier, Prato 1994, p. 191–198.
- Zarębski Ignacy, *Iter Italicum – włoska droga wczesnego humanizmu w Polsce [Iter Italicum – the Italian Way of Early Humanism in Poland]*, *Rocznik Naukowo-Dydaktyczny WSP w Krakowie, Prace Historyczne* III/26, Kraków 1967, p. 69–83.
- Zarębski Ignacy, *Stosunki Eneasza Sylwiusza z Polską i Polakami* [The Relations of Enea Silvius with Poland and Poles], Polska Akademia Umiejętności, Kraków 1939.
- Zarzycki Waclaw, *Dyplomacja hetmanów w dawnej Polsce* [Diplomacy of Hetmans in Old Poland], Bydgoskie Towarzystwo Naukowe, PWN, Warsaw-Poznań 1976.
- Zawadzka Daniela, *Zapożyczenia włoskie w języku polskim XVI wieku* [The Italian Borrowings in Polish of the 16th Century], *Kultura i społeczeństwo*, vol. XX, 1976/1, p. 117–126.
- Zawadzki Konrad, *Gazety ulotne polskie i Polski dotyczące XVI–XVIII wieku. Bibliografia* [Occasional Newspapers of Poland and Concerning Poland from the 16th to 18th Century. A Bibliography], vol. 1: 1514–1661, vol. 2: 1662–1728, vol. 3: 1501–1725, Instytut Badań Literackich PAN, Ossolineum, Wrocław 1977, 1984, 1990.
- Zdrenka Joachim, *Rats- und Gerichtspatriziat der Rechten Stadt Danzig, teil II: 1526–1792*, Hamburg 1989.
- Zeitschrift des Westpreußischen Geschichtsvereins, Gesamtregister*, compiled by Friedrich Schwarz, Gdańsk 1932.
- Zemela Krzysztof, "Skład osobowy dworu królewicza Władysława Zygmunta Wazy" [The Personal Make-up of Prince Władysław Zygmunt Vasa's Court], in: *Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis* 945, *Historia* LXVI, Wrocław 1988, p. 211–218.
- Zientara Benedykt, *Dzieje małopolskiego hutnictwa żelaznego, XIV–XVII wiek* [The History of Lesser Poland's Steelworks, the 14th–17th Century], PWN, Warsaw 1954.

- Ziomek Jerzy, *Renesans* [The Renaissance], Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, Warsaw 2001.
- Zybura Marek, *Niemcy w Polsce* [Germans in Poland], Wydawnictwo Dolnośląskie, Wrocław 2001.
- Żórawska-Witkowska Alina, *Muzyka na dworze Augusta II w Warszawie* [Music at the Court of Augustus II in Warsaw], Arx Regia, Warsaw 1997.
- Żórawska-Witkowska Alina, *Muzyka na polskim dworze Augusta III* [Music at the Polish Court of August III], part 1, Lublin 2012.
- Żórawska-Witkowska Alina, "Palestrina a Polska (1584–1865)" [Palestrina and Poland (1584–1865)], in: *Polska kultura muzyczna a Europa. Z badań nad recepcją muzyki*, Instytut Muzykologii UW, Warsaw 1995, p. 5–32.
- Żórawska-Witkowska Alina, "Warszawska Galatea (1628) – fakty i domysły" [The „Galatea” staged in Warsaw (1628) – Facts and Conjectures], *Muzyka* 2003, No. 4, p. 95–118.
- Żórawska-Witkowska Alina, "Zespół *comici italiani* na warszawskim dworze Augusta III" [Italian Comics at the Warsaw Court of Augustus III], *Polski Rocznik Muzykologiczny*, Warsaw 2004, p. 47–77.
- Żurawska Jolanta, *Między Gryzeldą a Grażyną. Studia i szkice polsko-włoskie* [From Gryzelda to Grażyna. Polish-Italian Studies and Esseys], Śląsk Wydawnictwo Naukowe, Katowice 2002.
- Żurawska Jolanta, *Pod maską Alcyny, czyli "La liberazione di Ruggiero dall'isola Alcina" F. Saracinellego i "Wybawienie Ruggiera z wyspy Alcyny" S. S. Jagodyńskiego, wraz z partyturą Franceschi Caccini* [Under the Alcyna's Mask, that is the "La liberazione di Ruggiero dall'isola Alcina" of F. Saracini and „Wybawienie Ruggiera z wyspy Alcyny” of S. S. Jagodyński, with the Music of Francesca Caccini], Istituto Universitario Orientale, Naples 1996.
- Żurkowska Renata, *Księgarstwo krakowskie w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku* [Kraków Bookselling in the First Half of the 17th Century], Wydawnictwo i Drukarnia Secesja, Kraków 1992.

Polish Studies – Transdisciplinary Perspectives

Edited by Krzysztof Zajas and Jarosław Fazan

- Vol. 1 Artur Płaczkiewicz: Miron Białoszewski: Radical Quest beyond Dualisms. 2012.
- Vol. 2 Kinga Kosmala: Ryszard Kapuściński: Reportage and Ethics or Fading Tyranny of the Narrative. 2012.
- Vol. 3 Michał Nowosielski: Polish Organisations in Germany. Their Present Status and Needs. 2012.
- Vol. 4 Krzysztof Zajas: Absent Culture. The Case of Polish Livonia. 2013.
- Vol. 5 Magdalena Sitarz: Literature as a Medium for Memory. The Universe of Sholem Asch's Novels. 2013.
- Vol. 6 Barbara Przybyszewska-Jarmińska/Lech Sokół (eds.): Poland and Artistic Culture of Western Europe. 14th–20th Century. 2014.
- Vol. 7 Katarzyna Fazan/Anna Róża Burzyńska/Marta Bryś (eds.): Tadeusz Kantor Today. Metamorphoses of Death, Memory and Presence. Translated by Anda MacBride. 2014.
- Vol. 8 Andrzej Hejmej: Music in Literature. Perspectives of Interdisciplinary Comparative Literature. Translated by Lindsay Davidson. 2014.
- Vol. 9 Grzegorz Niziołek: Warlikowski: Extra Ecclesiam. Translated by Soren Gauger. 2015.
- Vol. 10 Ryszard Koziołek: Sienkiewicz's Bodies. Studies of Gender and Violence. Translated by David Malcolm. 2015.
- Vol. 11 Wojciech Tygielski: Italians in Early Modern Poland. The Lost Opportunity for Modernization? Translated by Katarzyna Popowicz. 2015.
- Vol. 12 Dariusz Jarosz / Maria Pasztor: Polish-French Relations, 1944-1989. Translated by Alex Shannon. 2015.

www.peterlang.com