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Religious and daily life at the end of the sixteenth century Krakow in light of the “Diary” of Giovanni Paolo Mucante

ABSTRACT

The article is based on *The Diary* of the journey undertaken to Poland in the years 1596-1597 by the papal legate, Cardinal Enrico Caetani. This hitherto unpublished material is a valuable source of information for the early modern Polish history. Its author, the secretary of Cardinal Giovanni Paolo Mucante, was a keen observer of the life of people from all social classes. He also had a sharp eye for the religious ceremonies and the spiritual makeup of the country, both of which he describes with meticulous accuracy. By doing it, he shed a new light on the spiritual and material culture of the inhabitants of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The author of the article focuses on that part of *The Diary* which relates directly to Krakow. This fascinating reading shows the former capital of the Kingdom of Poland as a place less developed in terms of culture and social amenities than contemporary Italian cities, but nonetheless equally original, appealing and beautiful.

KEYWORDS: papacy, Krakow, religious life, daily life, Giovanni Paolo Mucante, Enrico Caetani

STRESZCZENIE

Życie religijne i codzienne pod koniec XVI w. w Krakowie w świetle „Diariusza” Giovanniego Paola Mucante

Artykuł oparty został na materiałach z niepublikowanego do tej pory, cennego źródła do dziejów nowożytnej Polski – *Diariusza* podróży papieskiego legata, kardynała Enrico Caetaniego z lat 1596-1597. Jego autorem był sekretarz kardynała Giovanni Paolo Mucante. Zanotował on niezwykle interesujące fakty odnoszące się do życia codziennego, kultury religijnej, duchowej i materialnej mieszkańców dawnych ziem Polski. Autor artykułu dokonał analizy tego materiału i przytoczył wiele opisów Mucantego z okresu pobytu papieskiego poselstwa w Krakowie. Ukazują one dawną stolicę Królestwa Polskiego jako miejsce odstające nieco poziomem cywilizacyjnym od ówczesnych miast włoskich, ale niezwykle oryginalne i piękne.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: papieżstwo, życie religijne, życie codzienne, Giovanni Paolo Mucante, Enrico Caetani

The work by Giovanni Paolo Mucante entitled *Itinerario ovvero relation in forma di Diario di tutte le cose occorse specialmente in materia di cerimonie tano nel viaggio come in Cracovia et in Versovia all Illustrissimo et Reverendissimo Henrico Cardinal Caetano Legato Apostolico al Serenissimo Re et Regno di Polonia* is considered as one of the most valuable sources of knowledge on everyday life and customs of the inhabitants of historical Poland. Mucante, a papal master of ceremonies, described the circumstances of a diplomatic mission by Cardinal Enrico Caetani to Poland in the years 1596-1597. The purpose of this legation, which set off from the Holy See in late spring of 1596, was to recruit Poland to the Holy League organized by the papacy and directed against the Ottoman Turkey.¹ It was not an easy task and for this reason the group of Cardinal Caetani included several eminent lawyers and scholars in addition to servants. Giovanni Paolo Mucante's task was to supervise the proper conduct of ceremonies of religious

1 For more on the topic of contemporary plans of war with Turkey cf. *Die Hauptinstruktionen Clemens' VIII für die Nuntien und Legaten an den europäischen Fürstenhöfen 1592-1605*, ed. K. Jaitner, vol. 1-2, Tübingen 1984; L. Pastor, *Geschichte der Päpste im Zeitalter der katholischen Reformation und Restauration. Klemens VIII. (1592-1605)*, Freiburg im Breisgau 1927, pp. 198-202, 395-400; J. Sas, *Stosunki polsko-tureckie w pierwszych latach Zygmunta III*, "Przegląd Powszechny", 14/55, 1897, p. 120 and elsewhere.; L. Jaromiński, *La Polonia di fronte ai tentativi per una lega antiturca sotto Clemente VIII*, "Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce", 39, 1995, pp. 112-113.

nature with the participation of the Cardinal. The expedition to a distant, northern country intended to last no more than six months but in reality, it dragged on for several months. The diversity of culture and traditions, the appearance of towns and villages, the climate and landscape, and the importance of issues undertaken during diplomatic meetings and negotiations inspired Mucante to write down the said account. He did not forget to also provide the complexity of the relationships and dependencies between the Polish king, the Senate and the Sejm (Chamber of Deputies).² At the turn of the seventeenth centuries, several copies of the diary were produced, not much different from each other. Most of them are currently held in various archives and libraries of Rome. One of the manuscripts, prepared for Cardinal Alfonso Gesualdo, reached Poland during the Napoleonic Wars, through General Henryk Dąbrowski. It was first kept in the Potockis' Archives in Wilanów, and is now in the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw.³ For the needs of this publication, a better-preserved version numbering 387 pages was used, which is a part of the collection Barberini Latini in Vatican Apostolic Library.⁴

Mucante's *Diary* stands out from other similar materials from that era due to the extreme care and precision of the account, presented on a regular basis, day after day, and almost hour by hour.⁵ Unfortunately, so far this extremely interesting material has not been fully released and critically developed. So far, only small fragments of it have been published, translated into Polish by Jan Ursyn Niemcewicz in the second volume of his *Zbiory pamiętników historycznych o dawnej Polsce* [Collections of Historical Memoirs of Old Poland].⁶ It is full of shortcuts and summaries, and cannot be used indiscriminately by modern researchers. It was not until the 1970s that historian and essayist working in Italian universities, Jan Władysław Woś, became interested in the topic. However, despite an announcement of a critical edition of the whole work, he managed to publish

2 As demonstrated many years ago by Jan Władysław Woś, Gian Paolo Mucante produced four slightly different versions of the work dedicated to the Cardinals: Enrico Caetani, Edoardo Farnese, Alfonso Gesualdo and Pietro Aldobrandini. His intention was to win the favor of the nobles, on whom his own ecclesiastical career depended. J.W. Woś, *Itinerario in Polonia del 1596 di Giovanni Mucante cerimoniere pontificio*, Roma 1981, pp. 17-18.

3 Central Archives of Historical Records (AGAD Warszawa), ms. 159; J.W. Woś, *Il "Diario di viaggio in Polonia" di Giovanni Paolo Mucante maestro di cerimonie del cardinale legato E. Caetani*, "Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia", Series III, 3/2, 1973, p. 605.

4 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 5189.

5 J.W. Woś, *Il "Diario di viaggio in Polonia" di Giovanni Paolo Mucante*, p. 606.

6 J.U. Niemcewicz, *Zbiór pamiętników historycznych o dawnej Polsce*, vol. 2, Warszawa 1822, pp. 97-154.

only small fragments of the work referring to Cardinal Caetani's first stay in Krakow in 1596, as well as separate texts in which he included, among other things, a description of his two visits to Warsaw.⁷ With regard to Cardinal Caetani's stay in Krakow that is of interest to us here, his account of autumn 1596 has not been developed yet, along with the description of several weeks in the winter at the turn of 1597.

Cardinal Enrico Caetani was appointed legate to the Kingdom of Poland by Clement VIII at a secret consistory in Rome on April 3rd, 1596, during which time he received detailed instructions for his emissary duties.⁸ After short preparations, he left Rome on April 25th with an entourage of several dozen people.⁹ His route ran through Florence, Bologna, and Innsbruck to Vienna. He spent 8 days in the Habsburg capital, which he reached on May 27th. There he met, among others, Archduke Maximilian, who was an imperial candidate for the leader of united Christian forces in war against Turkey.¹⁰ On 11 June 1596, the Italian deputation crossed the border of the Kingdom of Poland and stayed in Zator, where the distinguished guests were welcomed by the Bishop of Krakow, Cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł. The cardinals knew each other very well since the time of Jerzy Radziwiłł's studies in Rome at the Jesuit Collegium Romanum and greeted each other as good friends.¹¹ The next day, only the legate's entourage entered Krakow, while Cardinal Caetani himself, accompanied by his closest associates, spent the night at the Benedictine abbey in Tyniec. The next day he took part in the celebrations of Corpus Christi and immediately after dinner he went to the Firlej Palace in Balice near Krakow. The Firlej Palace, despite the fact that at that time was predominantly wooden, was very beautiful and spacious. It was surrounded by a magnificent garden, in

7 J.W. Woś, *Itinerario in Polonia del 1596 di Giovanni Mucante cerimoniere pontificio*, pp. 29-66; *I due soggiorni del card. legato E. Caetani a Varsavia (1596-1597) nella "Relazione" del maestro di cerimonie Giovanni Paolo Mucante*, ed. J.W. Woś, Firenze 1982; J.W. Woś, *Rzymianin Giovanni Paolo Mucante o Polsce w końcu XVI wieku*, „Studia Źródłoznawcze”, 21, 1976, pp. 119-123.

8 J.W. Woś, *Istruzione al cardinal Enrico Caetani per la sua missione in Polonia negli anni 1596-1597*, „Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia”, Serie III, 6/3, 1976, pp. 929-953.

9 J.W. Woś, *Il "Diario di viaggio in Polonia" di Giovanni Paolo Mucante*, p. 608.

10 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 5189, f. 23r-29r.

11 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 5189, f. 31v-32r; J.U. Niemcewicz, *Zbiór pamiętników historycznych o dawnej Polsce*, vol. 2, pp. 97-98; J.W. Woś, *Itinerario in Polonia del 1596 di Giovanni Mucante cerimoniere pontificio*, pp. 31-32; Jerzy Radziwiłł was a Calvinist in his youth, however, the Jesuits caused him to convert to Catholicism and he became an avid opponent of all dissidents W. Müller, *Radziwiłł Jerzy herbu Trąby 1556-1600*, [in:] *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, col. 30, Wrocław 1997, pp. 229-234; M. Chachaj, *Zagraniczna edukacja Radziwiłłów od początku XVI do połowy XVII wieku*, Lublin 1995, pp. 26-30; J.W. Woś, *Il "Diario di viaggio in Polonia" di Giovanni Paolo Mucante*, p. 609.

which countless and rare fruit trees grew, such as peaches, figs, apricots, and grapes. In this nice environment, the Cardinal and his entourage spent the next three days. In Balice he was visited twice by Cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł, who brought him letters from the King on this occasion.¹²

At that time, when the legate was in Balice, the capital city was preparing to receive the dignified guest. Nobles decided to adorn their manors and troops in a unified manner and on this occasion. Uniforms and outfits were ordered for groups of 20, 30 or even 40 people. The most impressive was the unit of 40 soldiers of Piotr Myszkowski, all sitting on horses in richly decorated velvet costumes.¹³ The ceremonial entry of Cardinal Enrico Caetani into Krakow, watched by countless crowds of noblemen, townspeople and peasants, took place on Sunday, 16th June, in the Octave of Corpus Christi.¹⁴ The legate put on ceremonial robes: a crimson cap and a cardinal's hat; he rode on a mule dressed in a rich crimson harness. A cross with the image of Christ was carried before him. The aforementioned prelates of the Cardinal's Roman family rode besides him. Detachments of the royal masters and representatives of foreigners living in Krakow rode out of the city gates to greet them: Germans, Italians, French, Flemish and English – all in typical costumes of their nations. The *Diary's* author mentions 200 such persons. The procession of foreigners was followed by a retinue of town councilors and senators located in the capital city. Finally, Cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł appeared acting as the host of the city in place of the King. Although he was equal to Caetani in terms of position, due to the legate's function he dressed up in less festive robes and he was the first to greet the guest from his horse in Latin. The clergy of the city of Krakow was waiting for the papal legate at St. Florian's Gate. According to Mucante, this was the most important of the city's gates, because it was the one used by the King. Cardinal Caetani descended from his mule, knelt down and

12 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 5189, f. 32r-32v; J.U. Niemcewicz, *Zbiór pamiętników historycznych o dawnej Polsce*, vol. 2, p. 98; M. Smolarski, *Podróż przez Polskę legata papieskiego w 1596 roku*, "Przegląd Powszechny", 49/193, p. 354; J.W. Woś, *Itinerario in Polonia del 1596 di Giovanni Mucante cerimonia pontificio*, p. 32.

13 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 5189, f. 33r; J.U. Niemcewicz, *Zbiór pamiętników historycznych o dawnej Polsce*, vol. 2, p. 98; J.W. Woś, *Itinerario in Polonia del 1596 di Giovanni Mucante cerimonia pontificio*, p. 32.

14 This date was noted by Jan Wielewicz in his *Dziennik* [Diary]. He mentioned that the cardinal was accompanied by three Italian Jesuits, Benedetto Giustiniani, Ludovic Zaraboni and Br. Cesare Masoleni. *Ks. Jana Wielewiczego S.J. Dziennik spraw domu zakonnego OO. Jezuitów u ś. Barbary w Krakowie*, [in:] *Scriptores rerum Polonicarum*, vol. 7, Kraków 1881, p. 215; S. Załęski, *Jezuici w Polsce*, vol. 1, p. 2, Lwów 1900, p. 496; The most prominent of these was the Jesuit Benedetto Giustiniani, rector of the Roman College and director of the confessors in the Basilica of St. Peter. J.W. Woś, *Santa Sede e Corona polacca nella corrispondenza di Annibale di Capua (1586-1591)*, Trento 2004, p. 165.

kissed a cross placed on a velvet pillow on the ground. Caetani rode into the city along St. Florian Street accompanied by cannonade, drum rolls, trumpets and flutes. The Cardinal stopped on the way to say short prayer in the church of the Virgin Mary. This was pointed out that later by Giovanni Paolo Mucante because in his view the first church which he should have visited was the cathedral. The Cardinal then proceeded to the Market Square and Grodzka Street right onto the Wawel Hill. After arriving at the place, they all entered the cathedral, where *Te Deum laudamus* was sung. After reciting a short prayer, the legate got into the carriage of Prince Cardinal Radziwiłł which took them to his palace situated opposite the Franciscan Church. As noted by the author of the *Diary*, the was thoroughly renovated shortly before Caetani's visit. It was spacious and comfortable, stocked with beautiful and expensive furniture.¹⁵

Giovanni Paolo Mucante was not an eyewitness of this entry and the description was drawn up later based on witnesses' accounts. Mucante came to Krakow only on June 29th. Immediately upon arrival, he went to Cardinal Enrico Caetani, to give him important documents he had brought from Rome.¹⁶ On the first day he had a chance to look around the city. The papal master of ceremony was interested in everything: not only Krakow's appearance and architecture, but also the daily life and customs of the population. He devoted the most space in his *Diary* to descriptions of religious ceremonies: Masses and processions. He wrote that the piety of the locals was much larger than the Italians'. It was only natural that on Sundays and public holidays at least three Masses were celebrated during the day in all the churches of Krakow, so that everyone could choose a time convenient to themselves to go to church.¹⁷ Mucante noticed some differences in the liturgical forms practiced in Poland. Among them there were very strange and surprising details that might have originated in a distant past.¹⁸

Krakow geographical location lying at the intersection of important trade routes in Central Europe meant that the city had a cosmopolitan character. Representatives of many nations, such as Poles, Germans, Czechs, Italians, Flemish and English cohabitated it peacefully. Mucante noted that the different communities of foreigners in Krakow had their

15 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 5189, f. 33v-36r; J.U. Niemcewicz, *Zbiór pamiętników historycznych o dawnej Polsce*, vol. 2, pp. 99-100; M. Smolarski, *Podróż przez Polskę legata papieskiego w 1596 roku*, p. 355; J.W. Woś, *Itinerario in Polonia del 1596 di Giovanni Mucante cerimoniere pontificio*, pp. 33-35.

16 J.W. Woś, *Il "Diario di viaggio in Polonia" di Giovanni Paolo Mucante*, p. 609.

17 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 5189, f. 58v.

18 J. Serejdyka, W. Kaczorowski, *Specyfika polskich ceremonialów dworskich i kościelnych w świetle relacji Giovanniego Paola Mucante z lat 1596-1597*, „Kwartalnik Historyczny”, 109/3, 2002, pp. 87-96.

own pastoral circles. They took care that every Sunday Mass be celebrated with a sermon in the mother tongue of the faithful. Mucante wrote that in Poland everyone could “live their own way”. This finding is of great importance, because it is another source of evidence for the existence of a living tradition of religious freedom and in Poland which confirms the famous saying of Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius, that the Polish Kingdom was “a refuge for heretics”.¹⁹ This observation could also be applied to the Jews, who, as noted by Mucante, enjoyed economic freedom and, in contrast to Italy and other European countries, did not have to live in separate, strictly limited districts, nor wear any distinctive markings. However, they dressed a little differently from other people. Men tended to use special hats of black cloth and the women wore red scarves around their necks. As Mucante wrote, the particularly large Jewish community of Kazimierz, like in Italy, was engaged mostly in small craft, trade and usury.²⁰

Krakow was not very big a city, but it made a very good impression on the visitor from the south of Europe. It was then a metropolis with many palaces and mansions of rich merchants, a place worthy of hosting distinguished prelates from Italy. The city was surrounded by a double line of walls that one could get around in an hour. The *Diary*'s author counted nine gates located a short distance from one another. There was a moat around the walls, where water from the nearby River Vistula could be diverted if needed. Houses in the city were built mostly of stone or brick. The roofs, however, were not covered with tiles but wooden shingles, which often was the cause of fires in those days.²¹ Krakow was famous for its numerous and beautiful churches. Mucante visited and described many of them. He devoted a lot of space especially to the headquarters of the Dominicans and the Church of the Holy Trinity. He included an extensive account on the inscription plates and tables located in the chapel of the tomb of St. Hyacinth of Poland. His interest in this place was probably due to the fact that Mucante had witnessed the canonization of the saint in Rome two years earlier, on 17 April 1594.²²

The large market square with the Cloth Hall, the town hall with its prison and numerous buildings serving as warehouses and stalls with goods displayed on them made a great impression on the Italian scholar. Mucante noted that the Market Square was larger than the Piazza Navona in Rome.

19 J.W. Woś, *Il “Diario di viaggio in Polonia” di Giovanni Paolo Mucante*, pp. 608-609.

20 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 5189, f. 39r; J.W. Woś, *Itinerario in Polonia del 1596 di Giovanni Mucante cerimonia pontificio*, p. 38.

21 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 5189, f. 36v; J.U. Niemcewicz, *Zbiór pamiętników historycznych o dawnej Polsce*, vol. 2, p. 100; J.W. Woś, *Itinerario in Polonia del 1596 di Giovanni Mucante cerimonia pontificio*, p. 36; M. Fabiański, *Złoty Kraków*, Kraków 2010, p. 270

22 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 5189, f. 51r-55v; J.W. Woś, *Itinerario in Polonia del 1596 di Giovanni Mucante cerimonia pontificio*, pp. 49-53; M. Fabiański, *Złoty Kraków*, pp. 274-275.

The goods produced by local artisans, furriers and weavers, were offered. You could also find food: fruit, vegetables, and kitchen spices. There was no shortage of figs, raisins, chestnuts, limes and oranges. The prices of these products, imported by sea from Gdansk, were high, but there were buyers. The most expensive was high quality wine, which was not produced domestically and was imported from distant places. Mucante also mentioned the small church standing almost in the middle of the Square, St. Adalbert's, where, as he noted, the sermons were preached in German.²³

With regard to the issue of services for foreigners living in Krakow, Mucante also noted that sermons in Italian could be heard in the chapel of St. John the Baptist in the Franciscan Church. Also, Enrico Caetani celebrated Mass there, due to the proximity of the place to the palace of the Bishops of Krakow, where he resided. Mucante wrote that crowds attended these services. Sermon was usually preached in Italian by the Jesuit Benedetto Giustiniani, and the Cardinal himself distributed Holy Communion.²⁴ In addition to native Italians, many Poles who knew the language of Dante would come. They were magnates, rich nobles, royal officials and clergy – graduates of the universities of Padua, Bologna and Rome.

According to Mucante, the large numbers of foreigners in Krakow were due to the fact that the townspeople of Polish nationality were mainly involved in brewing beer and spirits production. He believed that the local nobility, in turn, was interested, first of all in military affairs, science and spiritual career. The latter gave way to a career with considerable income from ecclesiastical benefice. As Mucante continued, all Poles, both lay and clergy, loved lavish parties, feasts and merry life. They would aim to deal with important matters before dinner, so that they could practically spend the rest of the day at the table.

... they eat relatively little while at it, but they drink a lot; leading debates, joking and singing until midnight and sometimes even until morning. Later they go to their beds, which are small, narrow and uncomfortable, where it is difficult to change the position.²⁵

Mucante did not fail to mention the trumpet call from the St. Mary's tower, which was played as it is today, around the clock on every full hour.

23 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 5189, f. 36v-37r; J.U. Niemcewicz, *Zbiór pamiętników historycznych o dawnej Polsce*, vol. 2, p. 100; J.W. Woś, *Itinerario in Polonia del 1596 di Giovanni Mucante cerimoniere pontificio*, pp. 36-37.

24 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 5189, f. 57v, 162v, 266r.

25 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 5189, f. 39v-40r; J.U. Niemcewicz, *Zbiór pamiętników historycznych o dawnej Polsce*, vol. 2, p. 102; J.W. Woś, *Itinerario in Polonia del 1596 di Giovanni Mucante cerimoniere pontificio*, pp. 38-39.

The exact time was indicated by a beautiful clock which was then found on the tower. It was brought back at the end of the fourteenth century from Nuremberg and was the pride and unusual decoration of the Krakow church. Reflecting on the sense of playing the trumpet call at such short intervals, around the clock, Mucante said philosophically, that it might be so “to remind the residents of Krakow that time passes quickly and inexorably”. However, soon he found that there was another reason. The trumpet call, played both by day and night was meant to remind people of the need to control fire burning in their homes. Mucante admired the custom of flute players paid by the city waking the residents in the morning, which was unprecedented. The players, located in larger quarters of the city, performed every day at dawn, and in the winter, long before dawn. By the sounds of this an angelic-like the music, the people of Krakow, “and especially Catholics”, woke up, dressed, and went each to their parish church to hear Mass and then go to their work.²⁶

Mucante took great interest in what he could see in the local meat market. It was located behind St. Mary’s Church from the entrance to the Jesuit Professed Fathers House. He noted that the meat sold there was of good quality and at very low prices. Mongers from the entire area came to Krakow with pieces of beef, veal and pork, chickens, pigeons and other poultry. Due to the fact that the meat was not cut on the spot, the market was exceptionally clean.²⁷ Giovanni Paolo Mucante had many reservations, however, as to the condition of the surrounding streets. They were not paved, like in Italy. Circular stone blocks allowed one to get from one side of the street to the other and protected pedestrians from getting stuck in the mud, especially on rainy days. However, they made it difficult getting around the streets of the city on horseback or in a carriage. The streets where the stones were laid only on the sides were the worst. There, the mud was found in the middle of almost all year round. For this reason, even Cardinal Caetani was forced to walk to and got into the carriage only when he was going to rest outside of the city walls. The only time convenient to navigate the streets of Krakow was winter, and then only on cold days.²⁸ Unfortunately for the Italian delegation, autumn 1596 and the

26 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 5189, f. 37r-38r; J.U. Niemcewicz, *Zbiór pamiętników historycznych o dawnej Polsce*, vol. 2, p. 101; J.W. Woś, *Itinerario in Polonia del 1596 di Giovanni Mucante cerimonia pontificio*, s. 37.

27 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 5189, f. 38r; J.U. Niemcewicz, *Zbiór pamiętników historycznych o dawnej Polsce*, vol. 2, p. 101; J.W. Woś, *Itinerario in Polonia del 1596 di Giovanni Mucante cerimonia pontificio*, pp. 37-38.

28 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 5189, f. 38v; J.U. Niemcewicz, *Zbiór pamiętników historycznych o dawnej Polsce*, vol. 2, p. 101; J.W. Woś, *Itinerario in Polonia del 1596 di Giovanni Mucante cerimonia pontificio*, p. 38.

subsequent winter was unusually mild. As Mucante wrote, the temperature in Krakow reminded him of that which usually reigned at this time of the year in Italy. The first snow did not fall until November 22 and the next day it got very cold. The water then froze not only in all the ponds but even in the Vistula River. To Mucante's great surprise, one could safely walk over the frozen river. After several days of frost, it got warm again, which lasted until Christmas. To the Italians' distress, after a short winter episode around Christmas, the weather warmed up again in January which turned the streets of Krakow again into one big quagmire.²⁹

The large numbers of students staying in the city and the broad scope of their rights which was unprecedented, including even a privilege of living at the expense of the citizens, turned the author's attention. As he wrote, throughout the Kingdom of Poland in general, the students enjoyed exceptional freedom and many privileges. Mucante estimated the age of the students he observed in Krakow at 16 to 17 years. They looked poor, wore tattered clothes and outstretched their hands for alms. Each of them had a spoon and canteen attached with a string to their sides for soup or other food offered to them by the townspeople. Mucante wrote that he could see them at every step in Krakow, because even peasants would send many boys to school to learn Latin, which opened the way for further career.³⁰

Cardinal Caetani participated in daily Mass in one of Krakow's churches. Most often he visited the Jesuits, especially to the church of St. Barbara, but also the now non-existent church of St. Stephen. The Jesuit novitiate was located there at the time. Mucante noted that the church of St. Stephen was small, but like all Jesuit churches it was beautifully decorated. At the time when Cardinal Caetani was in Krakow, Jesuits began the construction of the Church of SS. Peter and Paul in Grodzka street. Mucante noted that the Fathers lacked land for this great foundation, which was also linked to the idea of creating a Jesuit College in the royal city. The Jesuits asked Cardinal Caetani to help them to obtain the consent of the Poor Clares residing at St. Andrew's Church to share the part of their garden adjacent to the construction site that belonged to them. It did not take long to ask the Cardinal. He went to the Poor Clares' convent accompanied by the Bishop of Krakow and convinced them to give up the land to the Jesuits.³¹

29 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 5189, f. 159r; J.U. Niemcewicz, *Zbiór pamiętników historycznych o dawnej Polsce*, vol. 2, pp. 131-132.

30 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 5189, f. 40r-40v; J.U. Niemcewicz, *Zbiór pamiętników historycznych o dawnej Polsce*, vol. 2, s. 103.

31 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 5189, f. 78r; J.U. Niemcewicz, *Zbiór pamiętników historycznych o dawnej Polsce*, vol. 2, pp. 104-105.

Mucante left a very interesting account of the ceremonial funeral of Queen Anna Jagiellon in Krakow in mid-November 1596. It was organized in the style of a Sarmatian *pompa funebris* with the participation of King Sigismund III, his court, and a countless host of secular and religious dignitaries. Cardinal Caetani consciously did not take part in it, delaying his return from Warsaw, because, as Mucante noted, cardinals cannot conduct any funeral procession, except a papal one. This was also why they could not wear mourning costumes and use the black colors.³² Cardinal Enrico Caetani was the most active in celebrating religious services during the Advent and Christmas period of the same year. He sometimes spent several hours a day at Masses and vespers. Advent dawn Mass was the most solemn at St. Barbara's and it was attended by crowds. However, he spent Christmas Eve and the entire Christmas period at the Wawel Cathedral. Mucante described all these celebrations in detail, referring to all elements of the liturgy. He gave the exact number of celebrants, described their robes, quoted the psalms read and sung as well as the content of the homilies. Mass ceremonies in the Wawel Cathedral were particularly interesting on December 25th, when a miter of an extraordinary beauty was brought for the Cardinal from the Cathedral Treasury. Mucante estimated that not even in the vault of the Pope's sacristy in Vatican could one find such a magnificent one. It was richly decorated with pearls and rich embroidery with a motif of white eagles. Due to its extraordinary weight, Cardinal Caetani had great trouble putting it on his head.³³ Unfortunately nothing more is known about it. One can only assume that it was the missing miter of Cardinal Frederick Jagiellon.

It happened during the mentioned Mass that the sermon was preached in Latin by a scholar priest. It was very long and boring. As Mucante noted, it concerned the analysis of the thought of St. Thomas Aquinas about the difference between "the eternal Word" and "the human Word" and why unborn child is called "the Word", on top of similar topics that were more like an academic lecture than a Christmas sermon. It was delivered, to the dismay of all those present, for more than two hours without reacting to the signs given to him by some canons sitting in the nearby stalls. In the end, two of them rose and forcibly removed the preacher from the desktop, to the delight of all those assembled in the cathedral.³⁴

Cardinal Caetani's health suffered due to excessive duties during the holiday season. In the first weeks of the new year, he was afflicted by increasingly strong attacks of rheumatic pains, which made sustaining the

32 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 5189, f. 142r-143r; J.U. Niemcewicz, *Zbiór pamiętników historycznych o dawnej Polsce*, vol. 2, pp. 129-130.

33 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 5189, f. 162v.

34 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 5189, f. 162v-163r.

level of activity impossible. Giovanni Paolo Mucante went out alone to explore the city and its surroundings. One of the most interesting explorations took place on the second day of Easter 1597, shortly before Cardinal Caetani left Poland. Mucante went then to Zwierzyniec to see one of the oldest and most colorful traditions of Krakow, the famous *Emaus*. It is probably a remnant of old medieval mystery plays reenacted outside the walls of Krakow. Mucante wrote about his trip:

... On Easter Monday after dinner, I went to visit the church which is called *Emaus*, where large crowds of both sexes are drawn. This church stands outside the Vistula Gate, a large Italian mile away from the town close to the river bank. There were three churches, that is, a great one dedicated to Saint Anne, where the nuns of Augustine rule have a convent, and which is quite beautiful, in addition to two other churches on a hill very close to each other. One is dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and the other to St. Salvatore, and this one is called the Chapel of Emmaus. That day, almost all young men and students carry sticks in their hands with willow twigs tied on top of it, and strike the uglier girls on the road to the Emaus, saying to them: *Czemu nieryckło nemaus?* which means, *why did you come so late to the Emaus?* There is a lot of fun and you do not see anything more that day all the way to that place. The women laugh at these jokes, and some of them carry similar sticks and strike the men with them.³⁵

As I attempted to show in this article, the *Diary* by Giovanni Paolo Mucante is an extremely valuable source for the history of culture, religious customs and everyday life in the Kingdom of Poland at the end of the 16th century. The author was clearly blessed with a phenomenal gift of observation and curiosity for the world which resulted in a very detailed description of the contemporary reality that has no equal. The richness of Krakow, its vast squares, beautiful buildings and its many churches inspired Mucante's imagination, who noted in the following opinion in the Polish language: "Kiedyby Rzym nie był Rzymem, tedyby Kraków był Rzymem" [Should not Rome be Rome, then Krakow would be Rome]³⁶. It was the best compliment a foreign scholar could pay to the former Polish capital.

35 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 5189, f. 266v-267r; L. Lepszy, *Lud wesolków w dawnej Polsce*, Kraków 1899, p. 15; M. Kwiecińska, *Emaus – tradycja krakowskiego pielgrzymowania*, "Krzysztofory. Zeszyty Naukowe Muzeum Historycznego Miasta Krakowa", 32, 2014, p. 355.

36 Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Barb. Lat. 5189, f. 39v; J.W. Woś, *Itinerario in Polonia del 1596 di Giovanni Mucante cerimoniere pontificio*, p. 39.

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