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Instytutu Kulturoznawstwa
Akademii Ignatianum w Krakowie

Morze Śródziemne – centrum świata czy peryferie?

The Mediterranean Sea— the Center of the World or the Periphery?

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From the Editors

The French philosopher Jean-François Lyotard, although he was a professed postmodernist, did not hesitate to call the "Mediterranean myth" a great meta-narrative of European culture. For centuries, the legacy of Greco-Roman antiquity built a coherent axiological and esthetic system, elaborated with new content—especially Christian ethics—but also, for example, with the influences of the multicultural Levantine orient. The coherent, though non-uniform "myth" returned under many guises, with the rhythms of subsequent historical epochs. Is it relevant today and if so how? In the rapidly globalizing contemporary world, is the symbolically understood Mediterranean Sea still a point of reference? Finally—recalling the title of this issue—should we perceive it as a cultural "center of the world" or only as a periphery?

We are delighted to bring you a selection of texts by researchers of various aspects of the Mediterranean heritage: both very detailed and more general, cross-sectional studies. The volume opens with an article by Józef Cezary Kałużny from the Pontifical University of John Paul II in Krakow, which explores the very interesting topic of the transformation and adaptation of some ancient iconography to new, Christian usage. Wojciech Mruk from the Jagiellonian University takes us to the world of medieval pilgrims in Acre, the city of crusaders and the capital of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, while Nicholas Coureas from the Cyprus Research Center in Nicosia introduces us into the lives of former Cypriot merchants, reconstructed through their wills. Cyprus, this time seen through the eyes of Russian pilgrims, also returns in a panoramic study by Svetlana V. Bliznyuk, a researcher at the Lomonosov Moscow State University in Moscow. In turn, Christopher David Schabel from the University of Cyprus writes about the problems of the Kingdom of Armenia in the fourteenth century. The intriguing theme of Mediterranean cuisine, viewed from a historical and cultural angle, is raised by Janusz Smołucha from the Jesuit University Ignatianum in Krakow. Hieronim Kaczmarek from the Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures of the Polish Academy of Sciences presents a cross-section of the current state of research on the history

of Polish travel to the Middle East, while Bożena Prochwicz-Studnicka (Jesuit University Ignatianum) offers a historical and cultural analysis of medieval Arabic autobiographies. Next comes Fr. Szymon Tracz's analysis (University of JP II) of Italian inspirations in the painting decoration of the cathedral in Frombork, followed by studies by three Italian scholars and researchers: Alessandro Boccolini from Università degli Studi Della Tuscia in Viterbo addresses the complicated issues of papal diplomatic efforts in the era of the Holy League (with an interesting theme of John III Sobieski's victory in Vienna), Alberto Castaldini (from Babeş-Bolyai University in Cluj-Napoca, Romania) follows the routes of George Wheler's 17th-century journey to the Levant, and Olga Piccolo (Università degli Studi di Bergamo)—much closer to our present day—discusses the "Italian" stylistic elements in Olga Boznańska's portrait paintings. The title section of the issue closes with Turkological readings by scholars from the Jagiellonian University: Sylwia Filipowska on Balıkçısı Halicarnassus and Grażyna Zając on Mediterranean motifs in Turkish literature.

The permanent sections of *Perspectives on Culture* include single, but valuable texts. The Cross Cultural Management section includes a very interesting article about so-called serious games and board games in the context of cultural change, written by three authors: Jakub Lickiewicz and Marta Makara-Studzińska from the Department of Health Psychology of the Faculty of Health Science at the Jagiellonian University Medical College and Patricia Paulsen Hughes from the College of Education and Human Sciences at Oklahoma State University—Stillwater. The issue ends with a text by Stanisław Sroka (Jesuit University Ignatianum) which discusses the contribution of the Polonized French Teisseyre family to Polish culture.

We hope that you will enjoy reading this selection of articles.

Leszek Zinkow – his research interests include comparative culture studies, especially the reception of the heritage of the ancient Middle East (mainly Egypt and its historical, mythological narratives and symbolism). Also deals with travel accounts to oriental destinations (editions of texts), the history of museums and collecting, in addition to the history of contemporary culture, the history and practice of the media, the social history of science, transfers, and cultural innovation. He also works at the Pontificial University of John Paul II in Krakow. Member of the International Association of Egyptologists (Mainz), Polish Society of Cultural Studies and the Commission of Classical Philology at the Polish Academy of Sciences (Krakow). Deputy editor-in-chief of the "Perspektywy Kultury" magazine (editor-in-chief in the years 2013–2016).

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Od Redakcji

Francuski filozof Jean-François Lyotard, mimo że był zdeklarowanym postmodernistą, nie zawahał się nazwać fenomenu „mitu śródziemnomorskiego" wielką metanarracją kultury europejskiej. Dziedzictwo antyku grecko-rzymskiego przez stulecia budowało system aksjologiczno-estetyczny, wzbogacony nowymi treściami – zwłaszcza chrześcijańską etyką, ale przecież także, na przykład, recepcją wielokulturowego Orientu. Spójny, choć zarazem niejednolity „mit", powracał wielorako, rytmem kontekstów kolejnych epok historycznych. Czy i jak jest aktualny? Czy w gwałtownie globalizującym się świecie współczesnym symbolicznie pojmowane „Morze Śródziemne" pozostaje jeszcze jakimkolwiek punktem odniesienia? Wreszcie – przywołując tytuł naszego numeru – postrzegać je możemy jako kulturowo inspirujące „centrum świata" czy już jedynie jako peryferie?

Proponujemy kilkanaście tekstów badaczy rozmaitych aspektów dziedzictwa śródziemnomorskiego – studiów zarówno bardzo szczegółowych, jak i ogólniejszych, przekrojowych. Tom otwiera artykuł Józefa Cezarego Kałużnego z Uniwersytetu Papieskiego Jana Pawła II, poruszający niezwykle interesującą problematykę transformacji i dostosowywania niektórych przedstawień ikonografii antycznej do nowych, chrześcijańskich potrzeb i zadań. Wojciech Mruk (Uniwersytet Jagielloński) przenosi nas w świat średniowiecznych pątników do Akki – miasta krzyżowców i stolicy Królestwa Jerozolimskiego, a Nicholas Coureas z Cyprus Research Centre in Nicosia – w świat dawnych cypryjskich kupców. Również Cypr, lecz tym razem widziany oczyma rosyjskich pielgrzymów, powraca w panoramicznym studium Svetlany V. Bliznyuk, badaczki z moskiewskiego Uniwersytetu Łomonosowa, natomiast Christopher David Schabel z Uniwersytetu Cypryjskiego pisze o problemach Królestwa Armenii w XIV stuleciu. Intrygujący wątek śródziemnomorskiej kuchni, ale w aspekcie historycznokulturowym, porusza Janusz Smołucha (Akademia Ignatianum). Przekrojowy rys współczesnego stanu badań nad dziejami polskiego podróżnictwa na Bliski Wschód kreśli Hieronim Kaczmarek z Instytutu Kultur Śródziemnomorskich i Orientalnych PAN, z kolei

Bożena Prochwicz-Studnicka (Ignatianum) podaje historycznokulturową analizę średniowiecznych autobiografii arabskich. Dalej proponujemy analizę ks. Szymona Tracza (UPJP II) – włoskich inspiracji malarskich w dekoracji katedry we Fromborku, oraz studia trzech włoskich badaczy i badaczek: Alessandro Boccolini (Università degli Studi Della Tuscia, Viterbo) wskazuje na skomplikowane kwestie papieskich zabiegów dyplomatycznych w dobie Ligi Świętej (z ciekawym wątkiem wiktorii wiedeńskiej Jana III Sobieskiego), Alberto Castaldini (Babeş-Bolyai University, Cluj-Napoca, Rumunia) śledzi szlaki siedemnastowiecznej podróży George'a Whelera do Lewantu, a Olga Piccolo (Università degli Studi di Bergamo) – już znacznie bliżej naszej współczesności – omawia „włoskie" elementy stylistyczne w twórczości portretowej Olgi Boznańskiej. Tytułową część numeru zamykają turkologiczne artykuły badaczek z Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego: Sylwii Filipowskiej o Halikarnasie Balıkçısı oraz Grażyny Zając o motywach śródziemnomorskich w literaturze tureckiej.

Stałe działy „Perspektyw Kultury" proponują pojedyncze, ale bardzo wartościowe naukowo teksty. Dział „Zarządzanie międzykulturowe" zawiera bardzo interesujący, trójautorski (Jakub Lickiewicz i Marta Makara-Studzińska z Collegium Medicum UJ oraz Patricia Paulsen College of Education and Human Sciences, Oklahoma State University–Stillwater) artykuł o tak zwanych grach poważnych i grach planszowych (Serious and Board Games) w kontekście zmian kulturowych. Numer zamyka tekst Stanisława Sroki (Ignatianum), w którym omówiony jest wkład spolonizowanej francuskiej rodziny Teisseyre'ów do kultury polskiej.

Życzymy ciekawej i pożytecznej lektury.

Leszek Zinkow – jego zainteresowania naukowo-badawcze obejmują zagadnienia kulturowych studiów porównawczych, zwłaszcza recepcję dziedzictwa starożytnego Wschodu (głównie Egiptu: narracji historyczno-mitologicznych, symboliki). Zajmuje się także podróżopisarstwem z destynacją orientalną (edycje tekstów), dziejami muzeów i kolekcjonerstwa, ponadto – historią kultury współczesnej, historią oraz praktyką mediów, społeczną historią nauki, problematyką transferów i innowacji kulturowych. Członek International Association of Egyptologists (Moguncja), Polskiego Towarzystwa Kulturoznawczego oraz Komisji Filologii Klasycznej Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności (Kraków). Zastępca redaktora naczelnego „Perspektyw Kultury" (w latach 2013–2016 redaktor naczelny).

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Phoenix and *Delphinus Salvator*: The History of the Forgotten Images of Early Christian Iconography

ABSTRACT

Art in the 3rd and 4th centuries underwent transformations and adapted certain representations which were typical of ancient iconography to the new needs and tasks of Christian art. Among the abundant examples of this process, many continue to be popular and recognizable, such as the representation of Hermes Kriophoros, which evolved to become Christ the Good Shepherd, or the sleeping Endymion, which became part of the "Jonah cycle." The adaptation of patterns from antiquity for the purposes of Christian iconography was both popular and quite common, but only a fraction of the representations developed in that period survive today. This paper discusses the representations that have been forgotten. Relying on the examples of the phoenix and the dolphin-rescuer, the paper analyzes factors that affected the partial (phoenix) or complete (*delphinus salvator*) disappearance of images which were typical of early Christian art and which relied on ancient imagery.

KEYWORDS: history of the ancient church, history of early Christian art, phoenix, *delphinus salvator*, *Christus Delphinus Salvator*

STRESZCZENIE

Feniks i *delphinus salvator*. Historia zapomnianych wyobrażeń ikonografii wczesnochrześcijańskiej

W sztuce III i IV wieku dochodziło do transformacji i dostosowania niektórych przedstawień ikonografii antycznej do nowych potrzeb i zadań, jakie stawiała przed nimi sztuka chrześcijańska. Przykłady można mnożyć, zaczynając od tych bardziej znanych i do dziś rozpoznawalnych, jak chociażby przedstawienie Hermesa *Kriophorosa*, które ewoluuje do figury Chrystusa Dobrego Pasterza, czy śpiącego Endymiona, które wejdzie w skład tzw. cyklu Jonasza. Zjawisko akomodacji wzorców antycznych dla potrzeb ikonografii

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chrześcijańskiej było wówczas działaniem popularnym i dość powszechnym, ale jedynie część z powstałych w tym czasie przedstawień przetrwała do dzisiaj. Właśnie takim zapomnianym wyobrażeniom poświęcono poniższe rozważanie, gdyż na przykładzie przedstawień feniksa i delfina ocalającego prześledzono czynniki, które wpływały na częściowy – feniks, lub całkowity – *delphinus salvator*, proces zanikania niektórych obrazów sztuki wczesnochrześcijańskiej, bazujących na wzorcach antycznych.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: historia Kościoła starożytnego, dzieje sztuki wczesnochrześcijańskiej, feniks, *delphinus salvator* – *Christus Delphinus Salvator*

Since the end of the 2nd century, the issue of the existence or non-existence of art in the early Church and—in a broader context—the adoption or rejection of the ancient culture, was vividly examined not only by the elites, the Church fathers, but also by all the faithful who tried to find their own place in the ecclesiastical community. Insofar as the first two centuries were strongly dominated by the iconic Judeo-Christian tradition, this topic was also considered marginal, since the Christian community was consumed by a variety of other issues that needed to be tackled at the early stages of forming the Church structure. Such issues included the abandonment of the Judeo-Christian tradition which was prevalent until the mid-2nd century, the first attempt at forming the Church discipline and doctrine, or the place of the Church in the often hostile environment of the Roman Empire, among other things.

As a result, starting in the early 3rd century, the problem of the approval of local and commonly recognized cultural traditions became urgent. This was a consequence of the integration of the Christian community beyond the religious/confessional level, into the area of cultural symbols as well. The Church as such faced the task of building something specific to it and inherent to its own identity in the multicultural environment of the Empire (Zanker, 2000). The "domestication" of the Christian religion by way of endowing it with familiar, often regional references—commonplace cultural "codes"—was important, as it fostered relationships between members of the Church which strongly emphasized unity, or even familial bonds between its members (Prigent, 1997).

However, the adoption of ancient culture and its visual aspects—in this case being art—posed a risk, as it dangerously bordered on idolatry (a sin against the first commandment).[1] Thus, at the beginning of the 3rd century

1 "I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, out of the house of slavery; you shall have no other gods before me! You shall not make for yourself an idol, whether in the

we find evidence of a heated debate in the Church about the very existence of Christian art. Radicals, such as Tertullian, Origen, or Epiphanius of Salamis explicitly rejected art as idolatry (Buchheit, 1974, p. 134; Wronikowska, 1978, pp. 5–12). Meanwhile, the theologians with a pastoral bent, including Clemens of Alexandria, St. Basil the Great, and St. Ambrose—the archbishop of Milan—emphasized the value of art as a facilitating factor for integration, but also—more importantly—for evangelization, due to its power to teach the illiterate (*Biblia pauperum*) or to serve as a universal carrier of the Good News for non-believers (Drączkowski, 1988, p. 39 ff.; A. Quaquarelli, 1994, pp. 5–22). The dispute continued, but Christian art developed anyway, somewhat in the background, fueled by the perennial human need to express our emotions—and religious beliefs in particular—in a permanent, visual way.

One of the factors contributing to the escalation of this dispute was the ancient or even mythological origin of certain Christian iconographic motifs. This is a very broad and multi-dimensional topic which has already been discussed in the literature on the subject (Rahner, 1966; Bisconti, 2016).[2] Although certain examples of mythological motifs which were adopted for the purposes of early Christian iconography, such as Hermes Kriophoros,[3] *Sol Invictus*,[4] Orpheus,[5] or Endymion[6] are well-known today, over the centuries we have lost other interesting ancient iconographic motifs that were initially modified to satisfy the needs of budding Christian art. For various reasons, they have lost their power over time, being gradually sidelined by more universal and catchy images which

form of anything that is in heaven above, or that is on the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth. You shall not bow down to them or worship them; for I the Lord your God am a jealous God, punishing children for the iniquity of parents, to the third and the fourth generation of those who reject me, but showing steadfast love to the thousandth generation of those who love me and keep my commandments." (Ex 20:2–6)

2 For an introductory sketch on the issue of adaptation in the Constantine period, see Bisconti (2016, p. 961–986).

3 It is a common belief that the semiotic/iconographic layer of the representation of Christ the Shepherd derives, on the one hand, from the personification of the humanitas virtue, reflected in the bucolic shepherding scene, and on the other hand from the representation of Hermes Kriophoros (Schumacher, 1977, pp. 253–287).

4 The process of transformation of the Sol Invictus representation into Christ the Sun of Justice has been described by J. Miziołek (1991, p. 63) and J.C. Kałużny (2004, pp. 47–72), among others.

5 To Christians, Orpheus, who descended to Tartarus for the love of Eurydice, resembled Christ descending to hell so much that the iconographic adaptation of this representation seemed obvious (Bisconti, 1988, pp. 429 ff.; Prigent, 1997, pp. 139–156).

6 As in the other cases, the iconographic and content-related similarity between the story of Endymion and the prophet Jonah inspired the adaptation of the sleeping Endymion and its use in what is known as the Jonah cycle (P. Prigent, 1997, pp. 174 ff.; Utro, 2016, pp. 936–937).

made better vehicles for new theological messages. At this point I would like to describe two lesser-known adaptations of this type and attempt to explain the reasons for the disappearance of such representations. The first case is the representation of the phoenix, the messenger of the sun, while the other is *delphinus salvator*—the dolphin-rescuer.

Phoenix, a Resurrected Christ

Apart from the stories of Ulysses, Orpheus, or Endymion, the myth of phoenix—the fiery messenger of the sun god, *Sol invictus*—was one of the most persistent themes in antiquity, in both literature and art (Ferrua, 1941, pp. 167–176; 1954–55, pp. 273–285). The representation of the phoenix typically involved the symbols and cult of the sun, which enjoyed vast popularity in the East from where it seems to have spread to the Roman Empire (Kaliszewski, 2001, pp. 99–101). In consequence, we should not be surprised by its form, which consists of the royal bird with a bright radial nimbus around its head, evoking the representation of Helios. Whoever knows the myth of the phoenix, a bird incinerated in its own nest in order to be reborn, will not be surprised that Christians perceived this divine bird as auguring the resurrected Christ (Kleinbauer, 1972, pp. 29 ff.; Miziołek, 1991, p. 63).

Meanwhile, at the end of the 2nd century, Christians started uncovering God's plan of salvation as revealed in messages directed at pagans as well.[7] The story of salvation was identified in events that took place in history, religion, or even mythology. This was a consequence of the fact that such studies in Christian communes were undertaken by Church fathers of pagan origin, who were brought up in the ancient culture and educated in pagan schools (Quaquarelli, 1994, pp. 5–22). Those thinkers, though exercising a high degree of prudence and often being affected by strong prejudice themselves (Buchheit, 1974, pp. 134 ff.), included the immense heritage of antiquity into their research (Drączkowski, 1988, pp. 39 ff.), pondering in awe over the economy of God's salvation plan, which knows no limits of origin, culture, or even religion. This process, referred to by one of them (Eusebius of Caesarea) as *praeparatio evangelica*,[8] gained

7 Marcel Simon discusses this issue in great detail, pointing out that praeparatio evangelica, meaning the preparation of God's plan of salvation, is traceable not only in the Jewish tradition, but also in the cultural and religious heritage of antiquity (Simon, 1979, pp. 46–94).

8 This issue was discussed by Eusebius of Caesarea in a separate treatise (4th century/2012). The scholar returns to this matter in his magnum opus as well (Eusebius, 4th century/1994, pp. 20–23).

momentum, while the search for God's presence in ancient tradition and culture continues to surprise us with its bold interpretations and daring accommodations to this day.

In consequence, the inclusion of solar symbolism, the phoenix included, into the repertoire of Christian art came about smoothly, since the symbol was associated with the concept of rebirth in ancient art as well (Kobielus, 2002, pp. 93 ff.). The hope for rebirth is well-illustrated by the text of the ancient epitaph on the tomb of Ostia. It states that the deceased, having lived a life full of joy, hopes to be reborn along with the phoenix, who waits for him with the Manes:

D M
C DOMITI PRIMI
HOC EGO SU IN TUMULO PRIMUS NOTISSI
MUS ILLE VIXI LUCRINIS POTABI SAEPE FE
LERNUM BALNIA VINA VENUS MECUM
SENVERE PER ANNOS HEC EGO SI POTUI,
SIT MIHI TERRA LEBIS. SET TAMEN AD MA
NES FOENIX ME SERBAT IN ARA QUI ME
CUM PROPERAT SE REPARARE SIBI
IN ARA QUI MECUM PROPERAT SE REPARARE SIBI
L D FUNERI C DOMITI PRIMI A TRIBUS MESSIS HERMEROTE PIA ET PIO
(Dessau, 1887, p. 113, no. 914)

In consequence, it is quite obvious that one should look for the first renderings of this motif with a clearly Christian message in Roman catacombs. However, to tell the truth, it is necessary to add that Clement, the bishop of Rome (92–101), even made references to this myth in his teachings on the resurrection: "Let us consider the marvelous sign which is seen in the regions of the east, that is, in the parts about Arabia. There is a bird, which is named the phoenix" (Clement, ca. 96/1973, p. 285). Further on, Clement describes the death and rebirth of the bird, to conclude:

> Do we then think it to be a great and marvelous thing, if the Creator of the universe shall bring about the resurrection of them that have served him with holiness in the assurance of a good faith, seeing that he showeth to us even by a bird the magnificence of his promise? (ca. 96/1973, p. 285)

In this case, it is very likely that iconography borrowed an image which had already existed in Christian circles. This is even more likely given that over the centuries its popularity in the texts written by Church scholars not only did not decrease, but in fact increased (Wójtowicz, 1984, pp. 376–383).

Figure 1. Phoenix in a Burning Nest: Fresco from the "Greek Chapel" (*Capella Greca*) in the Catacomb of Priscilla, Mid-3rd Century, Rome. Photo by J.C. Kałużny.

Figure 2. Phoenix in the Palm Tree: Fragment of the Sarcophagus from the Czartoryski Museum, Mid-4th Century, Krakow (Ostrowski, 1986). Photo by J.C. Kałużny.

Figure 3. Phoenix in a Palm Tree: Mosaic from the Apse at Saints Cosmas and Damian Basilica, Mid-6th Century, Rome. Photo by J.C. Kałużny.

Just like other portrayals of Christ, the role of the image of the phoenix in Christian art is rooted in sepulchral art. The representation model typically refers to a colorful bird sitting in a flaming nest or perched on palm branches, often supplemented by the motif of a radial nimbus placed around its head. The first example of this representation—a fresco in the "Greek Chapel" of the Catacomb of Priscilla dating from the second half of the 3rd century (Fig. 1)—clearly refers to the sign of hope and rebirth into a new life (Ferrua, 1954–55, pp. 273–277). Obviously, the image referred to the hope of resurrection which the painting—in the Christian context—was supposed to convey (Bisconti, 1979, pp. 39–40). The same image can be also encountered later, for instance in a Neapolitan baptistery from the turn of the 4th century. At that time, the symbol of the phoenix was associated with the resurrection, understood as rebirth through the waters of a holy baptism.

In the Christological sense, the image of a phoenix symbolized the resurrected Christ.[9] In this case, however, it seems that the Christ-phoenix was also meant to augur the universal resurrection. This interpretation seems to be supported by iconographic sources as well, because as early as the 4th century we find images of the phoenix directly accompanying images of the Christ.[10] Thus, the Christological representation is not only reinforced, but it receives a new, deeply eschatological meaning. Written sources also seem to extend the symbolic meaning of the phoenix by adding this new aspect, as the Church fathers since the 3rd century often resorted to the image as a symbol of hope for the resurrection of all the faithful in the final times (Bisconti, 1979, pp. 22–26).

> Creator of the birds has for his own saints. These he does not allow to perish, just as he does not permit in the case of one sole bird when he willed that the phoenix should rise again, born of his own seed. Who, then, announces to him the day of his death, so that he makes for himself a casket… Your casket, your sheath, is Christ, who protects and conceals you in the day of evil. (Ambrose, 4th century/1961)

9 Many contemporary scholars refer to the phoenix as a motif representing the resurrection of Christ, including G. Schiller (1966, pp. 129–131), E.W. Kleinbauer (1972, p. 28 ff.), J. Miziołek (1991, p. 63), and S. Kobielus (2002, p. 96 ff.).

10 There are a few examples of Christ (the *traditio legis* scene) depicted with a phoenix perched on his palm, dating from the end of the 4th century:
1) Sarcophagus of Verona—the church of San Giovanni in Valle (Bisconti, 1979, Fig. 3)
2) Marble slab of the Catacomb of the Jordanians (Bisconti, 1979, Fig. 6)
3) Fresco of the Ad Decimum catacomb at via Latina (Filarska, 1986, Fig. 89)
4) Fragment of a columnar sarcophagus (Grabar, 1999, p. 155)

Figure 4. Phoenix in a Palm Tree: Mosaic from the Apse at St. Praxedes Basilica, Mid-9th Century, Rome. Photo by J.C. Kałużny.

Figure 5. A phoenix in a Burning Nest: Mosaic from the Apse of the Roman Catholic Cathedral of London, 20th Century. Photo by J.C. Kałużny.

It seems that the popularity of phoenix imagery is due not only to the above-mentioned features that suggest its vicinity to Christian ideology, but also to the popularity of the cults of the sun with which the image was, quite rightly, associated. This is why we can repeatedly come across the sun's messenger in the depictions of the apocalyptic Christ which follow the *Sol invictus* model. The phoenix in this layout can be found on sarcophagi (for example, a fragment of a sarcophagus from the Czartoryski Family Museum in Krakow, mid-4th century [Fig. 2]) and mosaics alike (Basilica of Saints Cosmas and Damian, mid-6th century [Fig. 3] or the Praxedes Basilica, mid-9th century [Fig. 4]; both specimens are in Rome). This motif was not as spectacular as, for instance, the Good Shepherd theme, and was typically placed in the background. However, the association of the phoenix with rebirth and resurrection, and its inclusion in the popular iconography of the apocalyptic Christ in the *Sol invictus* motif, made this image survive in Christian art until today (Warsiński, 1991–1992, pp. 125–137), as manifested by the mosaic from the apse of the London Catholic cathedral (Fig. 5).

Christ—*Delphinus Salvator*

Delphinus salvator, which became the image of Christ the Savior in Christian iconography, has extensive mythological origins, very close to those of Christianity.[11] According to Greek beliefs, dolphins escorted the souls of the dead to the Blessed Islands. They were either towing Poseidon's carriage or carrying news as his emissaries. The dolphin figure itself was often associated with the legendary singer Arion, who was attacked by pirates while returning from Corinth to Sicily. He was saved from imminent death in the sea by a dolphin attracted by the song coming from the pirates' ship. The animal transported the divine minstrel to Corinth.[12] Young Dionysus turned Tyrrhenian privateers into dolphins, and made them for repay their sins by helping castaways (Fig. 6). At the same time, one should remember that life in antiquity focused around the Mediterranean Sea, which largely determined the existence or non-existence of major civilizations of that

11 This image is not one of the most popular Christological ones, which, along with the peacock or—later—the pelican or eagle, enter Christian iconography with their luggage of ancient symbolism. See Forstner (1990, pp. 243–247, 256–257) and Iwaszkiewicz (1974, pp. 402 ff.).

12 Stanisław Kobielus talks about the similarity between these events and the story of Jonah the prophet (Jon 1,1–4,11). However, the adaptation of this representation in Christian art more likely resulted from the popularity of the image of a dolphin-rescuer—*delphinus salvator*—in ancient literature and iconography (Kobielus, 2002, p. 85).

Figure 6. Young Dionysus Transforming Tyrrhenian Pirates into Dolphins: A Mosaic from a Roman Villa, 3rd Century, Dougga, Museum in Bardo. © CC by Dennis Jarvis.

Figure 7. Arion with a Lute Seated on a Dolphin: Mosaic from Piazza Armerina, Early 4th Century, Sicily (Cander, 1998, pp. 90 ff, 94 ff). Photo by J.C. Kałużny.

Figure 8. Dolphin Wrapped Around an Anchor: Mosaic from the Catacomb of Hermes in Tunisia, 4th Century (Filarska, 1986, p. 146, Fig. 47; Cander, 1998, p. 111 ff; Foucher, 1960, p. 92).

Figure 9. Dolphin Carrying a Cross: Relief on Limestone, Egypt, Mid-6th Century, Czartoryski Museum in Krakow, Ref. No. IX-995 (Burckhardt, 1992, Fig. 43). Photo by J.C. Kałużny.

Figure 10. Dolphin Inside a Chalice: Mosaic Floor from Domus dei Pesci in Ostia, 4th Century. Photo by J.C. Kałużny.

period. This is why in early Christian compositions, marine motifs were as popular in ornamentation as bucolic scenes (Cander, 1998, pp. 83 ff.). Meanwhile, dolphins, including the representation of *delphinus salvator*, were frequently encountered in marine-style decorations. This iconographic motif consists of the maritime mammal being ridden by a putto or—alternatively—saving Arion, as is the case with the mosaic of Piazza Armerina in Sicily from the early 4th century (Fig. 7).

Christian art employed the *delphinus salvator* theme, yet not as an independent representation, but rather as an element of a larger composition (Kobelius, 2002, p. 85)—similarly to ancient art, where a dolphin on its own serves a purely ornamental purpose, devoid of any deeper meaning. It is only thanks to its attributes—a putta, Arion, Dionysus—that the animal gains any meaning. In Christian iconography, we can find several pieces where an additional element in the form of a dolphin reinforces and determines the composition: a dolphin entwined around an anchor (mosaics of the Hermes catacomb in Tunisia, 4th century [Fig. 8]); one attached to a trident (Victorina epitaph of the St. Calixte catacomb, 4th century);[13] a cross carried by a dolphin (a limestone slab of the Czartoryski Museum, dating from the 6th century [Fig. 9][14]); a dolphin placed inside a chalice (floor mosaics of the "House of the Fishes" in Ostia Antica, 4th century[15] [Fig. 10]); or a dolphin below a staurogram (the mosaic in a baptistery in Tunisia, 4th/5th century [Fig. 11]). It seems that the image of the sea mammal refers to Christian symbolism, revealing the truth about the redemptive sacrifice of Christ; hence *delphinus salvator*, an important element of ancient iconography, naturally infiltrated Christian iconography in the context of *Christus—Delphinus Salvator*.

As shown above, no fixed composition with Christological meaning was developed with a dolphin alone, while depictions of *Delphinus Salvator*—despite numerous soteriological references—carried a variety of meanings, additionally determined by the presence of attributes. Moreover, despite their popularity they did were not one of the key forms conveying Christological content. They are typically encountered in sepulchral art, including frescoes and reliefs on sarcophagi,[16] but they lacked

13 In both of these cases we are most likely dealing with the "*crux dissimulata*" (Kobielus, 2000, pp. 139–162).

14 A pendant from this slab, its right equivalent, is now at the Louvre Museum in Paris, in the ancient art section.

15 For more on the Christian nature of the mosaic in the House of the Fishes, see Becatti (1961, p. 182).

16 Relying on the repertoire of historic Christian art, as many as 34 examples of Delphinus salvator can be found dating to before the end of the 4th century. For examples of sarcophagus reliefs, see Deichmann (1967, Figs. 87, 128, 129, 137, 140, 223, 238, 301, 326, 471, 476, 564, 614, 683,

the same power that determined the success of other compositions coming from antiquity (Kałużny, 2004, pp. 54 ff.).

Why then did the motif in question disappear? It seems that at least several causes came into play. First of all, it was a consequence of the frequency with which it was used without any fixed, typical composition being developed. As a result, the impact of the image "fades away" in the eyes of the viewer, thus losing its expressive power and, as a result, its importance as well. Between the 4th and 6th centuries, the dolphin figure become a popular "addition" in Christian art, found on reliefs, frescoes, and finally—on mosaics.[17] Sometimes it is mentioned as a side note in the discussion on a huge topic in Christian iconography: the symbolism of Fish, IXTYC (Dölger, 1928, pp. 257, 297 ff.; Forstner, 1990).

Moreover, the dolphin still remains a popular ornamental motif in marine representations of pagan art.[18] In consequence, this topic became commonplace not only in Christian art, but in pagan art as well. Additionally, in the latter, no original composition was developed for a dolphin anyway. Despite its popularity, this motif supplemented others nearly from the very beginning. And hence, since it lacks its own characteristic and independent compositional form, it "dissolves," so to speak, becoming a mere background for something else.

The above-mentioned reasons eventually resulted in the fact that since the end of the 5th century representations of a dolphins have been treated as Christian in nature, but their use was still limited to a supplementation of other compositions. Unlike the phoenix, which sporadically but consistently persisted as a symbol of rebirth—the resurrected Christ—a dolphin, deprived of such attributes, was not an explicit and immediately recognizable symbol of the Savior. Paradoxically, one could conclude that the well-established position of Christianity in late antiquity sealed the fate of this rather unclear representation of Christ. This is a consequence of the fact that *delphinus salvator* was understandable in a world that not

688, 769, 777) (17 specimens) or Ulbert (1998, Figs. 239, 240) (2 specimens). For specimens and numbering of frescos, see Nestori (1975): Aurelia hypogaeum No. 2; Calixtus catacomb Nos. 1, 13, 21; Domitilla catacomb No. 10; Hermes catacomb No. 10; Pancras catacomb No. 3, Peter and Marcellino catacomb Nos. 53, 71; Prix catacomb Nos. 7, 14, 17; Priscilla catacomb Nos. 15, 28; Sebastian catacomb No. 3 (15 specimens). In total, there are 19 sarcophagus reliefs and 15 frescoes.

17 Interestingly, even today, when reviewing basic studies on iconography from that period, it turns out that the symbol is discussed very little, if at all. See, e.g., material from the lexicon of early Christian symbolism in Ladner (2000, pp. 147 ff.).

18 In this case, we have a plethora of examples; it is sufficient to take a walk and admire monuments in ancient cities: Ostia Antica, Pompei, or the Roman villa near Piazza Amerina which was mentioned above.

Figure 11. Dolphin with a Monogrammatic Cross: Mosaic from the Baptismal Font, Tunisia, 4th/5th century (David, 2007, p. 60, Fig. 15).

Figure 12. Dolphins Intertwined in an Arch in the Presbytery of the Church of San Vitale in Ravenna: Mosaic, Mid-6th Century. Photo by J.C. Kałużny.

only knew mythical texts, but also lived by them. Once the Christian order was installed, the memory of myths started to fade away; *delphinus salvator* simply stopped being a clear symbol of *Christus Delphinus Salvator*. This is why, as time progressed—as shown by the mosaics of Ravenna—this motif started to simply perform the role of an intermedium separating key themes of Christian art (the dolphins of the rainbow in the chancel of San Vitale church in Ravenna, mid-6th century [Fig. 12]).

At this point, the following conclusion comes to mind: in ancient art from the turn of the 3rd century, certain representations do not so much as disappear, but they become transformed and adjusted to meet the new needs and tasks faced by Christian art. Moreover, it can be said that the diversity and popularity of the ancient "vest" in which new ideas were clothed went much farther than expected. This phenomenon is commonly considered positive. The great heritage of antiquity was not rejected, but rather a bridge between the two cultures was built—the ancient culture slowly fading away on the one hand, and the budding Christian civilization emerging, largely on ancient foundations, on the other. Examples of this process can be found in famous and recognizable images, such as Hermes Kriophoros, Helios (Sol Invictus), Orpheus, or Endymion, as well as in those harder-to-identify or even forgotten ones, such as the phoenix or a rescuing dolphin, which represent the divine interference in Christ's resurrection (the phoenix) or salvation (*delphinus salvator*).

This brings us to the following conclusion: although the borrowing of patterns from antiquity for the purposes of Christian iconography was both popular and quite common, only a fraction of the motifs developed in early Christianity that were grounded in ancient symbols survive today. The above-mentioned representations of the phoenix and the dolphin belong to this very group of forgotten images of early Christian art. The image of the phoenix is still present in Christian symbolism, though sporadic. It is found quite rarely and mainly recognized by specialists, but it has nevertheless permanently entered the culture as a symbol of the resurrected Christ.[19] By contrast, one sadly needs to conclude that *delphinus salvator* read as Christ *Delphinus Salvator*, which lost its original soteriological nature as early as the end of the 5th century, gradually lost its Christological identity, and thus disappeared from the canon of Christian iconography completely.

19 The individual specimens which survive today are a very faint trace of the attempts to disseminate iconography of this type, which failed to generate broader interest. Nevertheless, the image continues to be a symbol of the resurrected Christ (Kollwitz, 1957, col. 9 ff.).

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"Like a faithful daughter she cherishes and nourishes in herself the remnants of Holy Jerusalem, her mother": Acre as a Center for Church Practices in the 12th and 13th Centuries

ABSTRACT

In the history of Acre, located on the Syrian coast, the 12th and 13th centuries were of particular importance. Under the rule of the Crusaders, the city experienced a period of rapid demographic, economic, cultural, and religious growth. As the main port of the Kingdom of Jerusalem—and in the 13th century its capital as well—it was an important stop on the route of Latin pilgrims. Nevertheless, it was mentioned extremely rarely in the pilgrimage writings of that period, where information about the sites of worship in the city is scarce. This problem was noticed by Aryeh Graboïs and David Jacoby, but their attempts to explain this state of affairs need to be partly reexamined. The most important reason for the "silence of pilgrimage sources" about the city and its religious life seems to be the marginal presence of Acre in the pages of the Bible and its negligible place in the history of salvation.

KEYWORDS: Holy Land, Acre, pilgrimages, crusades, Middle Ages

STRESZCZENIE

„Jak wierna córka, która troszczy się o to, co pozostało po jej matce, świętej Jerozolimie". Akka jako ośrodek praktyk pątniczych w XII i XIII stuleciu

W dziejach położonej na wybrzeżu syryjskim Akki okres XII i XIII stulecia miał znaczenie szczególne. Pod panowaniem krzyżowców miasto przeżywało szybki rozwój demograficzny, gospodarczy, kulturalny i religijny. Jako główny port, a w XIII wieku także stolica Królestwa Jerozolimskiego było ważnym punktem na szlaku ówczesnych łacińskich pielgrzymów. Mimo to w piśmiennictwie pielgrzymkowym tego okresu wspominano o nim niezwykle rzadko, a informacje o znajdujących się w mieście ośrodkach kultu mają charakter marginalny. Problem ten został zauważony przez A. Graboïsa i D. Jacoby'ego,

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ale przedstawione przez obu badaczy próby wyjaśnienia przyczyn takiego stanu rzeczy wymagają częściowej rewizji. Najistotniejszym powodem „milczenia źródeł" pielgrzymkowych na temat miasta i jego życia religijnego wydaje się marginalna obecność Akki na kartach Biblii i jej niewielkie znaczenie w historii zbawienia.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: Ziemia Święta, Akka, pielgrzymki, krucjaty, wieki średnie

Located on the Syrian coast, Acre (Akka)—also referred to in medieval sources as Ptolemais—is a place with an exceptionally long tradition of settlement. Over the course of about 4,000 years, the settlement has experienced periods of intense development as well as crises (France, 2018; Artzy, 2015; Graboïs, 1983). After the Muslim conquest of Syria in the 7th century, it was one of many port cities. However, it was not as economically important as, for example, Caesarea Maritima or Arsuf. Even then, however, it played a major role as a naval base, which allowed the Umayyads, and then the Abbasids, to maintain their influence in the eastern Mediterranean (France, 2018). In the second half of the 9th century, the port was rebuilt and fortified (Edgington, 2018). The 11th century was quite a turbulent period for Acre, as for other Syrian cities. The havoc caused by the weakening of the Fatimid position and the advance of the Seljuks added to the list of elemental calamities that hit the entire province throughout that century. The earthquake in 1063 was especially acute for Acre (Pringle, 2009; Rubin, 2018b).

The arrival of the armies of the First Crusade to Outremer opened another, incredibly important chapter in the history of the city. After the capture of Jerusalem, the Crusaders quickly realized that without seizing the ports, their situation in the Holy Land would be very difficult. The survival of the members of Latin Christendom was directly dependent on maintaining constant contact with Europe, which was not only an economic partner, but also a base and a source of the influx of warriors and settlers. Moreover, the capture of the ports on the Syrian coast may have mitigated the threat posed by Egypt's Fatimid fleet (Edgington, 2018). It is no wonder then that Baldwin I of Jerusalem devoted much of his energy to seizing and fortifying the ports. Jaffa, although the closest to Jerusalem, did not become the kingdom's principal harbor, as larger ships could not navigate through the narrow entrance and unload at that port. Jaffa itself was a small settlement far from the main trade routes (Graboïs, 1983; Mylod, 2013). Therefore, Acre—located about 100 kilometers north—was the first objective for Baldwin I. The city had a fairly convenient harbor and was relatively well-connected to significant trade routes converging in Damascus (France, 2018). As early as 1099, the Crusaders were passing

near this city, but as they were hurrying to Jerusalem, they made no attempt to capture it (Edgington, 2018). The first siege of Acre, which took place in 1103, was unsuccessful. Only the following year, with the support of the Genoese and Pisan fleets, was the city on the peninsula captured.[1]

The Crusaders' conquest of the city in 1104 began a new period in the history of Acre. The city and the port began to develop very rapidly. Both the population and the economic/political importance of this center grew. In a short time, Ptolemais became the chief port town of the Kingdom of Jerusalem and retained this status even after the Crusaders seized Tyre and Caesarea (Gretwagen, 1996; Mylod, 2013; France, 2018; Jacoby, 2001, 2005, 2016, 2005; Graboïs, 1983). So many ships were anchoring in the harbor that soon it was difficult to accommodate all the vessels within (Gretwagen, 1996). The Latin, Greek, and Muslim authors who described the city unanimously painted a picture of a populous and lively hub of economic life whose inhabitants represented various ethnic and religious communities (Phocas, 1889; Pringle, 2009; Theodorich, 1891; Jacoby, 2005; Graboïs, 1983).

The situation changed considerably in 1187 after the Battle of Hattin and the defeat of the Frankish army. Acre, like Jerusalem and most of the cities of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, fell to the Muslim army of Saladin. The Latins who lived there decided to emigrate, despite the guarantee of protection granted by Saladin (Rubin, 2018b). For the next few years, the city was the center of attention for Latin Christians. In the summer of 1189, Guy of Lusignan commenced a siege of Acre, and in the following months, the troops of Frankish knights of Outremer and crusaders from Europe arrived there. Among those who fought at Acre were Richard the Lionheart and Philip II Augustus. After many months, in August 1191, the city was successfully captured by the Crusaders (Painter, 1969; Hosler, 2018; Jensen, 2018). As the attempts to recover Jerusalem in the following months failed, the most important people and institutions of the Kingdom of Jerusalem established a temporary—as it was believed—seat in Acre. In fact, not only the royal court, but also the patriarch of Jerusalem and many religious communities forced to leave the Holy City were located in the new capital. The bishops who had lost their cathedrals in Bethlehem, Tiberias, or Hebron also found shelter here (Jacoby, 2005; Pringle, 2009; Rubin, 2018b; France, 2018; Boas & Melloni, 2018; Forey, 1977; Lotan, 2019). In the 1210s, the first houses of burgeoning mendicant orders were built in Outremer (Graboïs, 1983; Rubin, 2018b). It was

1 The course of this second siege was further evidence of the great importance of the fleet and ports for the Latin states of Outremer (Jacobus de Vitry, 1597; Artzy, 2015; Rubin, 2018b; Edgington, 2018; Jacoby, 2005).

to Acre that artists were brought and it was here that intellectual life flourished (Rubin, 2018a; Mylod, 2013; Kühnel, 2006). The settlement of so many prominent people and institutions made Acre the most thriving city in the Kingdom of Jerusalem, renewed after the Third Crusade. It is not surprising that many scholars use the term "the Kingdom of Akka" when describing the history of Latin states in the 13th century.[2]

The 13th century was a time of rapid development for the city serving as the capital of the Kingdom. Not only was Acre quickly rebuilt after the destruction that took place in the turbulent period of 1187–1191, but it also had its suburbs incorporated and it experienced major demographic growth (Rubin, 2018b; Jacoby, 2004, 2005; Graboïs, 1983). Ptolemais very quickly recuperated its role as one of the most important centers of economic life in the eastern Mediterranean (Edbury, 2015; Jacoby, 2005). Among the reconstructed and newly erected buildings were many temples, with a prevalence of churches of Latin rite. In 13th-century Acre, only 10% of the churches and chapels were in the hands of non-Latin Christians. Also, there is no evidence that there was even a single mosque in the city at that time (Rubin, 2018b). For comparison, in the 12th century in Jerusalem—the capital of the Crusaders—Latin temples accounted for only 45% of the city's religious buildings (Rubin, 2018b). Surely, in the 13th century, the Franks dominated religious life in Acre.

As Frederick II regained control of Jerusalem in 1229, of course, some people and institutions were transferred to the Holy City. However, after the fall of Jerusalem in 1244, Acre regained its status as the capital of the Crusader Kingdom (Hardwicke, 1969; Runciman, 1969).

We may surmise that in the middle of the 13th century, a plan was born to make Acre an important pilgrimage site, which could at least partially replace the lost Jerusalem, whose walls were now harder to enter than ever before. The idea probably originated in the circles of the local clergy. Scholars link this initiative with the failure of the crusade of Saint Louis IX and the loss of hope for a quick recovery of the Holy City (Jacoby, 2001, 2014, 2016; Lotan, 2019; Fleck, 2015). Between 1253 and 1262, Pope Innocent IV and Pope Alexander IV granted indulgence privileges to churches in Acre. The faithful could receive partial remissions of sins for visiting the churches or supporting them financially (Jacoby, 2014; Pringle, 2012). Part of the plan was likely also to create a pilgrimage or procession route, described in a small text entitled *Pardonus d'Acre*, which will be discussed below (Jacoby, 2005).

2 Even volume 3 of the monumental *A History of the Crusades* by Steven Runciman bears such a title.

In 1291, despite a fierce defense, Acre was seized by Muslim forces. Its fall marked the symbolic end of Latin rule in the Holy Land, although the Crusaders still occupied some Outremer enclaves for some time (Lotan, 2012; France, 2018; Crawford, 2018; Runciman, 1969).

As we can see from this brief excerpt of Acre's history, in the 12th and 13th centuries the city was experiencing an economic, demographic, cultural, artistic, and religious boom. A careful analysis of the contemporary writings on the pilgrimage movement reveals an intriguing regularity. Both the authors of the guides for pilgrims and the pilgrims themselves paid little attention to Acre. This is surprising insofar as the vast majority of pilgrims from Western Europe then traveled through the city. The pilgrims' ships arrived at the city port; it was probably here that they found guides for their journey and hired pack animals (Jacobus de Vitry, 1597; Jacoby, 2001; Rubin, 2018b; Limor, 2006; France, 2018). Information about the temples in the city and the importance of this center for religious, political, and economic life can be found in European chronicles (Mattheus Paris, 1866–1869). The Acre workshops also produced the *ampullae*, which pilgrims filled with relics from the Holy Land, such as water from the Jordan River and Holy Sepulchre lamp oil (Mylod, 2013; Jacoby, 2005).

Aryeh Graboïs is one of the scholars who drew attention to the "silence of the sources" about the temples and the pilgrimage practices in the city and its temples. He attempted to explain this mystery in an article published in 1983 (Graboïs, 1983). Wondering why Acre was marginalized or completely ignored by the authors from the 12th and 13th centuries, he concluded that the city, and especially its religious life, could not be fully described for many reasons. Firstly, the inhabitants of the large and bustling metropolis were probably not very pious (Graboïs, 1983). Medieval port cities attracted not only merchants (whose pursuit of profit might have raised the concerns of moralists), but also people of other, much more suspect professions. To corroborate this opinion, the researcher cited an excerpt of one of the letters of Jacques de Vitry, who was the bishop of Acre between 1216 and 1225. He lamented that the city was full of vice and by no means holy (Graboïs, 1983; Lotan, 2019; Mylod, 2013). Secondly, for some medieval authors, Acre was a city situated outside the Holy Land, though directly at its border (Jacoby, 2001, 2004; Mylod, 2013). Ptolemais was also not the scene of noteworthy events recorded in the Bible or in hagiographic texts. That is why pilgrims seeking direct, often physical contact with the sacrum did not regard it as a particularly important place on the route of their journeys (Graboïs, 1983). The silence of the sources from the second half of the 13th century can also be explained by the fact that the pilgrims may not have approved of the efforts to create a pilgrimage center in Acre, which would have offered the chance to

receive numerous indulgences. In Graboïs's opinion, worshippers looking for profound religious experiences may have been disappointed when they saw the corrupt conduct of the clergymen from Acre. Their efforts to gain the right to grant indulgences also served to increase their revenue and raise their personal prestige (Graboïs, 1983; Lotan, 2019). According to Graboïs (1983), only the loss of the city in 1291—which rose to the rank of a symbol of the fall of Frankish rule in Outremer—pricked the consciences of Latin Christians and contributed to a growing interest in this port city.

The importance of Acre as a pilgrimage site in the 13th century was also the subject of David Jacoby's research, which referred to some of Graboïs's findings. He emphasized, for example, the opinion of some medieval authors that Acre was not part of the Holy Land (Graboïs, 1983; Jacoby, 2001, 2004). At the same time, the scholar stressed what he believed to be a significant role of Acre as an independent and important center of the pilgrimage movement in the second half of the 13th century. In his opinion, this period culminated in the transformation of the port city, which for decades had been merely a gate to the Holy Land, into a sacred space in its own right (Jacoby, 2001). The author goes on to argue that this change took place as a result of the expansion of the Acre temples that were tied to religious institutions forced to leave Jerusalem and other lost places in the Holy Land. These centers of religious worship initially served as substitute pilgrimage sites (Jacoby, 2014; Fleck, 2015). Over time, when the hope of regaining control over original holy centers faded, they became independent sites of religious cult. It was all the easier to accept, as many priceless relics were stored in Acre, having been transferred from various corners of the Holy Land (Lotan, 2019; Jacoby, 2014). Indeed, many of the cult centers created *in situ* could not boast of such valuable artifacts as fragments of the Holy Cross, a cross made of the bathtub in which the infant Christ was bathed, the blood of the Savior collected from under the Cross, fragments of the Holy Sepulcher, and the relics of many saints—including the first martyr, Stephen, and St. Helen, as well as a diadem set with precious stones which King Melchior was said to have received directly from Christ (Pringle, 2009). According to Jacoby, the process of Acre becoming independent as the center of religious worship and the development of the practice of processional visits to the local churches by pilgrims at that time is corroborated by the creation of the above-mentioned *Pardonus d'Acre* (Jacoby, 1993, 2001, 2014; Lotan, 2019). It lists 40 pilgrimage sites, most of which were associated with churches (Anonymous, 1882; Jacoby, 2001). According to the historian, they marked the route of pilgrimages—processions along which Latin pilgrims traveled individually or in groups led by priests. This practice was to take place throughout the year, and to culminate during periods of increased influxes of pilgrims, i.e., during the spring

and autumn cruises between the ports of Europe and Outremer (Jacoby, 2001, 2005). The spread of the custom of visiting temples in this city was supposed to be a response to the expectations of pilgrims who could not go to Jerusalem because of the unstable political situation, although they had put in a lot of effort and incurred the costs of traveling from Europe. Acre and its temples could, at least in part, meet the need to interact with the sacrum in the Holy Land (Jacoby, 2001, 2016).

The findings of both authors regarding the function and status of Acre in the pilgrimage movement of the 12th and 13th centuries widely circulate in the academic community (Lotan, 2019; Myold 2013). Meanwhile, a careful reading of the contemporary guides for pilgrims and accounts of peregrinations prompts us to re-examine some of the theses presented above.

It is difficult not to agree that cities offering many secular and even sinful pleasures were often not given much attention in the 12th and 13th century pilgrimage writings. The habit of glossing over memories and experiences of non-religious experiences is clearly visible in many medieval works of this type.[3] However, this practice was not used in each case or by all authors, and some texts contain descriptions of secular attractions. Therefore, it is difficult to fully accept the view that the city was almost completely omitted on account of its dominant secular character. However, this is the situation in many of the texts under analysis. It was common for Acre to be mentioned only casually as a transit city or a landmark. Rorgo Fretellus, the author of one of the earliest, perhaps even the earliest, guidebook for pilgrims compiled after the First Crusade (dated around 1137), cited the name of this city only once in the entire book. He did so by stating that the town of Sepphoris—where St. Anne, the Mother of Our Lady, was born—is located two miles from Nazareth, "on the road that leads to Acre" (Fretellus, 1980; Hamilton, 1994; Davis, 1990). Similarly sparse were the accounts of John of Würzburg, the anonymous author of the accounts of the pilgrimage of Louis IX, Riccoldo of Monte Croce, and many others (Anonymous, 14th century/2012; Godfrey of Beaulieu, 2012; Ricoldus de Monte Crucis, ca. 1290/1864; John of Würzburg, 1890). At the same time, it should be remarked that invoking Acre as a point of reference for the location of other towns and sacred places in Palestine seems to prove that both the city itself and its location were widely known. We can find confirmation of this thesis in *Descriptio Terrae Sanctae* by Burchard of Mount Sion, for example, which contains a comprehensive description of the Holy Land. In order to make his work more lucid, the author decided to divide the land into four quarters and devote a separate chapter

3 For more on this problem, see Mruk (2017).

to each of them. To this end, he chose a point, through which he drew two arbitrary demarcation lines. One of them ran from the north to the south, and the other from the east to the west. Acre was where these lines intersected. As Burchard wrote, the city is not situated in the center of the Holy Land, but it is better known than other cities (Burchard of Mount Sion, 1864).

It is also worth noting that several 13th-century authors described the city, but their attention was focused almost exclusively on its geographical location, size, inhabitants, and secular buildings, especially the port. Even if they wrote about the patriarch's seat and the many church institutions in Acre, the amount of information that they conveyed about religious practices organized there is negligible. Around 1212, Wilbrand of Oldenburg characterized Acre as "a faithful daughter who cherishes and nourishes in herself the remnants of Holy Jerusalem, her mother", i.e., for the patriarch, the king, the Templars, and the bishops and abbots (Wilbrandus de Oldenborg, 1864, p. 163).[4] It is noteworthy that he mentioned only one place of worship and the magnificent liturgy celebrated there, and that the information he provided is unique in the context of all the pilgrimage writings in the 12th and 13th centuries (Wilbrandus de Oldenborg, 1864; Pringle, 2009). This is puzzling since Acre was the seat of a Latin bishopric from the 12th century and boasted a number of temples erected by the Crusaders.[5] They were places of public worship and undoubtedly could have attracted the attention of contemporary authors and become the subject of description—especially since some of these practices, such as the processions led by the Templars with a cross made of Christ's bathtub, may have been truly impressive (Pringle, 2009).

It is bewildering that a city saturated with temples and relics was perceived by the authors of pilgrimage literature mainly as a stronghold of power and a bustling port (if they wrote about it at all) and not as a site of religious cult. However, the explanation that Acre was considered a city outside the "proper" Holy Land, therefore not seen as a religious center, also needs to be re-examined.

Firstly, the opinion that Ptolemais was not within the borders of the Holy Land was found only in some of the surviving texts on pilgrimages. It is also difficult to consider it as universally present in the minds of Latin Christians at the time, for whom the Holy Land—perceived through the prism of the Bible—extended "from the river of Egypt to the great river

4 "reliquias sancte Hierusalem, sue matris, videlicet dominum patriarcham, dominum regem, templarios et alios viros religiosos, episcopos et abbates, sicut fidelis filia in se fovet et enutrit."

5 The most complete list and description of the history of the temples erected by the Crusaders in Acre can be found in the monumental study by Denys Pringle (2009).

Euphrates" (Genesis 15:18), or more narrowly speaking, "from Dan to Beersheba" (1 Samuel 3.20) (Fidentio de Padua, 1913; Burchard of Mount Sion, ca. 1290/1864). In both cases, it is difficult to consider Acre to be located outside of the Holy Land. Moreover, the most influential chroniclers of the period of the Crusades, such as Albert of Aachen, Fulcher of Chartres, William of Tyre, and others, described Ptolemais as one of the many important cities in the Holy Land that the crusaders fought for (Albert of Aachen, 2007; Fulcher Carnotensis, 1913; William of Tyre, 1943, Jacobus de Vitry, 1597; Mattheus Paris, 1866–1869). The reactions of various Western communities to the fall of the city in 1291 also seems to suggest that the city was then considered an integral part of the Holy Land (Gilmour-Bryson, 2018; Connell, 2018). The writings of Thadeus of Napoli, Riccoldo of Monte Croce, and many of their contemporaries clearly confirm this (Thadeus Neapolitaneus, 1873; Ricoldus de Monte Crucis, ca. 1290/1884; Shargir, 2012, 2018). Therefore, the "silence of the sources" likely has other reasons than the supposed belief of 12th and 13th century authors that the capital of the Kingdom of Jerusalem was not located in the Holy Land. Of course, this does not undermine the credibility of the examples indicated by Aryeh Graboïs.[6]

Secondly, even if we assumed that the authors of narratives describing peregrinations commonly recognized Acre as a city outside the Holy Land, therefore paying little attention to it, it is impossible not to notice that we can find numerous examples of medieval texts talking about cult centers located far beyond the territory delineated by the Nile and the Euphrates. The above-mentioned Rorgo Fretellus devoted much less space to Acre than to St. Jean de Maurienne in Sabaudia where the relic of John the Baptist's finger and the remains of three innocents murdered on the order of Herod were venerated (Fretellus, 1980). On the other hand, Wilbrand of Oldenburg described a journey through Armenia and did not hesitate to mention the liturgy of the Armenians inhabiting it (Wilbrandus de Oldenborg, 1864). Some of the authors crossed not only the borders of the Holy Land, but also religious barriers. Thietmar, who neglected to mention the Christian temples in Acre, devoted a great deal of space to the description of the mosque in Damascus and the religious practices of Muslims (Thietmar, 2011).

The third reason for waving aside Acre in the considerations on pilgrimages also deserves a comment—if we presume a critical attitude towards the local clergymen seeking indulgence privileges and using obtrusive (but only from today's perspective) promotion of local places of worship. Certainly, drawing more pilgrims could temporarily boost the

6 Graboïs referred to Burchard of Mount Zion, for example (see Burchard of Mount Zion, 1864).

prestige and revenue of the temple guardians. In the period under analysis, however, the measures used for this purpose were common practice and were accepted by the majority of contemporary Christians (Sumption, 1975). Moreover, establishing new pilgrimage sites and various ways of advertising them were often a response to the expectations of the faithful. In the case of the Holy Land, we can clearly see that the gradual shrinking of the lands controlled by the Crusaders, which had been underway since the end of the 12th century, led to the development of worship and a specific "concentration" of holy places and venerated relics in the areas that were still occupied by the Latins.[7] Finding or identifying some of them, even those that had been forgotten for centuries and were suddenly "discovered," did not raise any doubts among the pilgrims. This was the case, for example, with the site where the nails with which Christ was nailed to the cross were forged. The cult of these instruments of the Lord's Passion in a village situated at the foot of Mount Carmel is only mentioned in texts from the 13th century (Anonymous, 14th century/2012). An analysis of the descriptions of medieval peregrinations clearly shows that the pilgrims were ready to recognize as authentic and worthy of veneration almost all sacred places, relics, and memorabilia, even those whose authenticity was blatantly implausible.[8] During the long, difficult, dangerous, and costly pilgrimage to the Holy Land, the desire to have one's expectations fulfilled probably very often took precedence over criticism.

In the surviving texts, it is also difficult to find the authors' critical opinions about the worldly splendor or the richness of the temples visited. The idea of the poor and modest Church, which appeared in the 12th and 13th centuries, was not widely accepted enough to allow the hypothesis that most of the authors of these pilgrimage texts omitted the description of religious life in Acre on account of their reluctance towards stately sacred buildings and the wealth of the local clergy.

A separate comment is also required on the view expressed by David Jacoby that *Pardonus d'Acre* constitutes evidence of the living practice—already visible early in the second half of the 13th century—of processional visits to Acre temples by pilgrims coming to the city. The authenticity and dating of the work (to the years 1259–1263) do not raise serious doubts among scholars today (Jacoby, 2001; Pringle, 2012). It is currently known from one manuscript, dated to the 14th century and kept in the British Library (reference no.: Harley MS 2253; Jacoby, 2001; Pringle,

7 For more on the impact of the shifting of the borders of the Crusader states on the practice of pilgrimage, see Mylod (2013).

8 For example, the Inn of the Good Samaritan or the house of Lazarus from Jesus's parable were considered to be real places (Anonymous, 1874; Baldi, 1982).

2012). Many different texts were copied in this codex: a guide to the Holy Land was placed alongside *Pardonus d'Acre*.[9] Both works were copied one after the other, but there is no evidence to suggest that they were created as two complementary parts of one work. The fact that both were transcribed in the Anglo-Norman version of the French language allows for a cautious hypothesis that the texts existed together before being copied into the codex. The use of vernacular language may suggest that they were addressed to a wider audience, but—from the perspective of Western Christianity—to a narrower circle than would be the case with the use of the more universal Latin. The first of the texts is a rather typical 13th-century guide to the Holy Land. The route of peregrination described in it begins, of course, from Acre, but it would be fruitless to look for any information about the city and its temples (Anonymous, 1882). The second text, *Pardonus d'Acre*, is an enumeration of the churches located in the city and its suburbs and the indulgences that could be obtained for visiting them (Anonymous, 1882). There is not even the slightest mention of the exterior of temples, their location relative to each other, or the distance between them. Moreover, sanctuaries are identified with a laconic, usually abbreviated, name or enigmatic indication of the institution that owned them.[10] Such a list of indulgences is in fact completely incomprehensible to a reader who does not know the city and its churches. Therefore, it can be assumed with a high degree of probability that *Pardonus d'Acre* was written by an author who knew Acre very well, probably by a clergyman, and that it was likely addressed to readers who were also closely associated with the city. If we adopt such a hypothesis, we should look at this text as a document intended for internal use, and not for wide distribution among Christians outside the Holy Land. This may provide partial explanation of why only one surviving copy is known today.

However, the question of the extent to which *Pardonus d'Acre* remains unambiguous is evidence of the established custom of processional visits to the temples in Acre. The silence of the sources related to the pilgrimage movement mentioned above may indicate a marginal, at least in the minds of pilgrims, significance of this practice. At the same time, the compilation of the list of 40 pilgrimage sites in one city indicates the creation of a large-scale religious project in Acre. The existence of such a plan is also supported by the above-mentioned findings of David Jacoby, who showed that the order in which the temples were listed corresponds to the possible

9 The codex consists of 142 cards and includes many different texts, in both Latin and vernacular languages. *Pardonus d'Acre* is on cards 70r–70v; see the British Library catalog for more details.

10 For example, *a Seint Nicholas*, *as Alemanys*, *a Sepulcre*, *a Iosaphat*, *a La Latyne*, *a la Magdalene*, or *a Bedlehem* (Anonymous, 1882).

route of the procession designed as so to visit, in a certain logical order, the most important centers of religious life in the city (Jacoby, 2001). Taking into account these observations, the thesis can be formulated that *Pardonus d'Acre* is the proof of the development of a project among the Acre clergy to revive religious practices in the city, which was one of the last centers where the Latins still lived in the Holy Land in the second half of the 13th century. In view of the abandoned hope for a prompt recapture of Jerusalem, it was probably decided to make Acre an important hub of religious activity, where pilgrims arriving from Europe would be able to receive indulgences and participate in attractive religious practices, like processions that imitated the ceremonies known from Jerusalem and Bethlehem.[11] Such measures could undoubtedly be aimed at boosting the number of Latin pilgrims visiting the city. This, in turn, could bring not only a temporary increase in the prestige and revenue of the local clergy (as pointed out by Graboïs), but in the long run it could raise the rank of Acre as a religious center in Outremer and thus stir up fervor for crusades among Western Christians (Lotan, 2019)—particularly because it was well-known that the survival of the Frankish states in the Holy Land was contingent on constant assistance from the West.

The endeavors made at the beginning of the second half of the 13th century, such as the efforts to obtain indulgence privileges, the preparation of *Pardonus d'Acre*, and the alleged organization of the processions did not likely yield any spectacular gains. The silence of the sources related to the pilgrimage movement is the best proof of this. It should be emphasized, however, that the chances of making Acre a major pilgrimage site were then severely constrained. Firstly, Jerusalem and other holy sites located in Muslim-controlled territories were still accessible to pilgrims coming from the West, although to a limited extent.[12] Thus, Acre could not become the most important destination of their peregrination. Secondly, the struggles to raise the profile of the city as an independent center of worship only gained momentum around the mid-13th century. It was not a favorable time for such activity. The news of the military operations of the Mamluks under Baibars reached the West and, while mobilizing society to limited crusade operations, they may have also discouraged pilgrimages (Maier, 1998). Moreover, these efforts lasted only a few years. Admittedly, Acre did not fall until 1291, i.e., about 30 years after *Pardonus d'Acre*, but the subsequent defeats of the Franks in Outremer (Nazareth in 1263, Antioch in 1268, and Tripoli in 1289) made people painfully aware of the weakness

11 For more on the importance of processional practices in Jerusalem and other sites in the Holy Land, see Lotan (2019).

12 For extensive information on this issue, see Mylod (2013).

of the Latins' presence in the Holy Land, calling into question the purposefulness of any far-reaching plans and quenching the enthusiasm for such plans (Runciman, 1969). That is probably why the three decades turned out to be too short a period for the authors of medieval pilgrimage guides to develop a conviction in the importance of Acre as a pilgrimage destination.

In the literature to date on the marginal presence of Acre in pilgrimage writings, relatively little attention (apart from a small mention by Graboïs) has been devoted to one, in my opinion, important element. For the pilgrims travelling to the Holy Land, the areas of Palestine, Syria, and Egypt were foremost the scene of biblical events. Therefore, their attention was focused on souvenirs and places directly related to the stories described in the Old and New Testaments.[13] The guidebooks for pilgrims and the travelogues of pilgrims influenced by them were constructed as a narrative about visiting places, the existence of which every reader (or, more often, listener) knew: the stories about the lives and experiences of Abraham, Moses, and Jesus. Characteristically, in these works, reaching the scene of the event and interacting with the relics were emphasized, while less significance was given to the location or appearance of the venerated souvenirs. As a result, most of the currently known pilgrimage texts are laconic lists of places, temples, and relics that are worth visiting (Mruk, 2005). They identify individual holy places while describing them almost exclusively with references to the Bible. For example, a reader of the work of Philip of Savona would learn that two miles from Mount Tabor lies the town of Nain, where Jesus resurrected a widow's son (Philip of Savona, 2012). In turn, Rorgo Fretellus, depicting the town of Cedar located five miles from Korozain, used a direct quote from Psalm 119 from the Septuagint: "Cedar excelentissima civitas illa, de qua in psalmo: Cum habitantibus Cedar multum incola fuit anima mea" (Fretellus, 1980). Written this way, the texts did not evoke a vivid image of the Holy Land, but they conveyed, in a comprehensible way and by referring to common knowledge, the most important information from the reader's point of view. In such descriptions of the Holy Land, Acre had to be pushed to the margins. As stated before, Ptolemais was not center stage of major biblical events and was mentioned only a few times in the Old Testament. As we learn from the Book of Judges, Asher did not drive out of Acre the Canaanites and "the Canaanites who lived around Israel" (Judges 1:31–32). The city is also referred to in Maccabees 1 and 2, and—as is written in the Acts of the Apostles—St. Paul stopped there on his way from Tyre to Jerusalem (Acts 21:7; Horbury, 2006). None of these events, like the alleged visit of

13 For more on this issue, see Mruk (2017).

St. Peter, were permanently commemorated in Acre. Only in the above-mentioned work by Wilibrand of Oldenburg can we find an attempt to tie Acre with biblical history. In addition to the description of the fortified port and the populous city, the author offers a laconic portrayal of the temple of living worship, erected in the spot where the Mother of God rested when she visited Ptolemais.[14] This information is not found in other 13th-century pilgrimage writings, which leads us to suppose that it reflects a legend that did not persist in the minds of contemporary pilgrims. Providing information about the temple located in the city and the worship organized in it only when it could be directly related to the biblical story (regardless of how credible it is) seems to confirm the assumption that the silence of the sources is primarily caused by the fact that, in the eyes of the authors of the time, Acre was not the site of important events described in the Holy Scriptures. Compared to Nazareth, Cana Galilee, and Mount Carmel—just a few kilometers away—Ptolemais was simply a city without a well-known and admired sacred past. In the 12th and 13th centuries, the "good monasteries" in Acre which were reported by the anonymous pilgrim of Piacenza in the 6th century (Antoninus Martyr, 1879) were probably no longer remembered. This is likely why for 12th-century pilgrims it was an important and bustling port city, but with a relatively short and not very attractive tradition of religious life. In the 13th century, it undoubtedly boasted magnificent temples, valuable relics, the seat of the patriarch, and the canons of the Holy Sepulcher, but it was still impossible to describe it by mentioning commonly known biblical events. Paradoxically, it was the location of Acre in the Holy Land, being in the vicinity of better-known, more imagination-provoking and more revered holy places, that stood behind the aforementioned "silence of the sources." Thus, Acre was the faithful daughter of Jerusalem: she kept her most precious relics, but remained in the shadow of her holy mother.

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14 "Domina vero nostra intravit, et ubi ipsa requievit, illic ecclesia pulchra est edificata, que in magna habetur veneratione" (Wilbrandus de Oldenborg, 1864, p. 164).

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Crossing Cultural Boundaries in Merchants' Wills from 14th-Century Cyprus

ABSTRACT

The Western merchants operating in Famagusta, Cyprus—including Genoese, Venetians, Catalans, Pisans, Provençals, other nationalities, and Cypriot merchants based in this port city—drew up wills with Genoese and Venetian notaries, a number of which are extant. These wills impart information on the bequests these merchants made to family members and friends as well as to institutions, particularly churches, monasteries, and mendicant orders. Furthermore, they record the credits and debts of these merchants to various parties, decree the manumission of slaves owned by the merchants—some of whom also received bequests—and on occasion list material objects such as clothing, silverware, or sums of currency in their possession. We can glean from these types of information that merchants had commercial and personal relations with members of nationalities or Christian denominations different to their own, had slaves of various ethnic backgrounds, and had in their possession currencies other than that of the Lusignan kingdom of Cyprus, as well as objects originating from elsewhere. These are phenomena that testify to their geographical mobility and their willingness to cross physical, financial, as well as cultural boundaries. On occasion, they even bequeathed sums of money to individuals and churches of non-Latin rites. In this paper, I intend to examine and assess the importance and utility of such wills, explaining that through their contents one can discover how, why and the extent to which merchants crossed national, ethnic and religious boundaries in both their commercial and their personal dealings. In addition, the limitations of the information such wills offer and the reasons why these limitations exist will also be discussed.

KEYWORDS: merchants, Genoese, Latin clergy, slaves, executors, witnesses, testators, testatrices

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STRESZCZENIE

Przekraczanie granic kulturowych w testamentach XIV-wiecznych kupców z Cypru

Kupcy z Europy Zachodniej działający w Famaguście na Cyprze – w tym Genueńczycy, Wenecjanie, Katalończycy, Pizańczycy, Prowansalczycy i przedstawiciele innych narodowości oraz kupcy cypryjscy mający siedzibę w tym portowym mieście – sporządzali u notariuszy genueńskich i weneckich testamenty, z których wiele zachowało się do dzisiaj. Testamenty te stanowią cenne źródło wiedzy o darowiznach i spadkach, które kupcy przepisywali na rzecz członków rodziny i przyjaciół, a także instytucji, zwłaszcza takich jak kościoły, klasztory i zakony żebracze. Ponadto w dokumentach tych znajdziemy zapis kredytów i długów cypryjskich kupców wobec różnych wierzycieli, dekrety wyzwolenia należących do nich niewolników, którzy czasem również otrzymywali spadek, a sporadycznie także listy z wyszczególniem przedmiotów materialnych, takich jak odzież, sztućce lub waluty znajdujące się w ich posiadaniu. Z tego rodzaju informacji możemy wywnioskować, że kupcy utrzymywali stosunki handlowe i osobiste z przedstawicielami innych narodowości lub wyznań chrześcijańskich, posiadali niewolników o różnym pochodzeniu etnicznym i waluty nienależące do królestwa Lusignan na Cyprze, a także przedmioty pochodzące z innych terytoriów. Te zjawiska świadczą o ich mobilności geograficznej i chęci przekraczania granic fizycznych, finansowych oraz kulturowych. Zdarzało się nawet, że kupcy cypryjscy zapisywali sumy pieniężne osobom i Kościołom obrządku niełacińskiego. Moją intencją w tym artykule jest zbadanie oraz ocena znaczenia i użyteczności takich testamentów. Pragnę również w nim zwrócić uwagę, że z treści cypryjskich testamentów możemy się dowiedzieć, jak, dlaczego i do jakiego stopnia kupcy przekraczali granice narodowe, etniczne i religijne zarówno w kontaktach handlowych, jak i osobistych. Ponadto omówione zostaną również ograniczenia zakresu informacji zawartych w tych testamentach oraz przyczyny istnienia tych ograniczeń.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: kupcy, Genueńczycy, duchowieństwo łacińskie, niewolnicy, wykonawcy testamentu, świadkowie, spadkodawcy, spadkobiorcy

The Western merchants operating in Famagusta, Cyprus included Genoese, Venetians, Catalans, Pisans, Provençals, and others. They, as well as non-Latin merchants and, occasionally, the wives of merchants based in Famagusta, drew up wills with Genoese and Venetian notaries, a number of which are extant. These wills impart information on the bequests these merchants made to individuals, such as family members and friends, and to institutions, particularly churches, monasteries, and mendicant orders. Furthermore, they record the credits and debts of these merchants

to various parties, decree the manumission of slaves owned by the merchants—some of whom also received bequests—and on occasion list the material objects, such as clothing, silverware, or sums of currency in their possession. We can glean from these types of information that merchants, while making frequent bequests to Latin churches, clergy, and laity—as well as other Latin institutions—also had commercial and personal relations with members of nationalities or Christian denominations different to their own. Furthermore, they had slaves of various ethnic backgrounds and had in their possession currencies other than that of the Lusignan kingdom of Cyprus, as well as objects originating from elsewhere. These facts testify to the merchants' geographical mobility and their willingness to cross physical, financial, as well as cultural boundaries. On occasion, they even bequeathed sums of money to individuals and churches of non-Latin rites. In this paper, the importance and utility of such wills is examined and assessed. Through the contents of these wills, one can discover how, why, and to what extent merchants crossed national, ethnic, and religious boundaries in both their commercial and their personal dealings. Additionally, the limitations of the information such wills offer and the reasons behind these limitations is also discussed.

The bequests of Latin merchants to non-Latin churches and religious foundations are few, because generally they did not cross over to non-Latin rites. Nevertheless, they are especially interesting as examples of transcending religious boundaries. The Genoese merchant Nicolao de Raynaldo bequeathed 25 white bezants to the hospital of St. Helena in Constantinople on July 27, 1300; while the name suggests a Greek foundation, a Latin one dedicated to St. Helena cannot be wholly ruled out. Ianuinus de Murta, another Genoese merchant and burgess of Famagusta, bequeathed six white bezants to Our Lady of La Cava outside Famagusta in his will dated December 21, 1300. Latins and Greeks both worshipped at this church, known to the Greeks as Panagia Chrysospiliotissa, an underground church that still has two separate altars for Latin and Greek rites. A third bequest, dated March 4, 1307, was made by the Genoese tavern-keeper Pietro de Sancto Donato to the altar of St. George of the Greeks, to which he bequeathed three white bezants (Balard et al., 2012, no. 187; Polonio, 1982, no. 165; Balard, 1984, no. 82). This church was not the famous basilica constructed in the 1360s, but one of the older churches directly to the south of it. It may have acquired more worshippers such as Melkite Syrians and Greeks from Latin Syria who settled in Famagusta in the period 1265–1291, when the Mamluks gradually conquered the last Latin possessions in Syria and Palestine (Olympios, 2014, pp. 168–169).

Most Latin merchants from Western Europe residing in Famagusta remained faithful to the Latin rite, but this did not preclude commercial

dealings and social relationships with non-Latins, something reflected in testamentary bequests. The Genoese merchant Nicola de Balneo, who appears to have resided partly in Laiazzo—the principal port of the kingdom of Cilician Armenia—and partly in Famagusta, bequeathed sums of money in his will dated December 26, 1296 to Iohannes from Margat in former Latin Syria and to "a certain Greek," curiously unnamed. Simon of Acre, a White Genoese man—as persons of Syrian origin who were subjects of Genoa were called—made a will on December 28, 1296 in which he bequeathed most of his personal effects to his wife Stephania, also from Acre, but also sums of money to various persons, including the Venetian Belmusto, another example of transcending cultural boundaries. One of the witnesses to his will was a servant of the Genoese consul called Abbas, whose name indicates that he too originated from Syria (Balard, 1983, nos. 24–25; Balard et al., 2012, no. 187). The testator, named Pilastrus of Messina in Sicily, stated in his will from January 29, 1299 that 820 white bezants belonging to him were in the possession of Stacius of Nephin (a locality in former Latin Syria) and that a certain person owed him 50 white bezants from camlets held by the same person. The abovementioned Nicolao de Raynaldo had commercial dealings in Romania, as the Aegean area was called, and he left two sums in his will to Greeks: 80 white bezants to Oberto Tartaro Gasmulo, whose name indicates mixed Latin and Greek parentage, and four bezants to the Greek spice merchant Nicola (Balard, 1983, no. 96).

Bernard Zotardus, a Genoese merchant and resident of Famagusta who made a will on December 26, 1300, bequeathed five white bezants to Lady Pascha of Tyre, the second largest port city of the former Latin kingdom of Jerusalem. He also bequeathed 300 white bezants to Simon Manssor, a White Genoese man who also happened to be one of his executors. The Genoese pawn-broker Gerardo de Sancto Andrea left 200 white bezants in his will from April 14, 1301 to his mistress Domenze, as well as one-third of his investment in a ship that he owned one-third of. In addition, he left her a bed with its bedding and 50 white bezants to Maria, who was Domenze's sister. Given that few Latin women emigrated to the eastern Mediterranean lands, this mistress and her sister were probably non-Latins, although their ethnic and religious antecedents are unspecified (Polonio, 1982, nos. 176, 349; Ashtor, 1983, pp. 407–408). The Venetian testator Iohannes de Culcho instructed his executors in his will from August 30, 1300 to repay eight white bezants to James of Butrun, who originated from a coastal town in former Latin Syria. He had given James a silver studded belt by way of security for money owed. Pagano de Fellino from Piacenza in Italy, in his will dated August 16, 1301, included among his debtors the Jew named Vita, to whom he had lent 16 white bezants. The

Genoese testator Nicola de Camenzana bequeathed 100 white bezants to his Greek servant, a woman named Eleni, in his will from August 19, 1301 and an additional 55 white bezants to two Greek women named Euphemia and Maria (Balard et al., no. 244; Pavoni, 1982, nos. 46, 51).

Wills drawn up by women are uncommon in the notarial deeds of Lamberto di Sambuceto, and it is noteworthy that the Genoese lady Piacenza, in her will dated August 20, 1301, bequeathed five bezants to a priest named Dimitri of the monastery of Saints Peter and Paul. Despite the Greek name of this priest, it is likelier that he belonged to one of the Eastern denominations of Christianity, whose members were numerous in Famagusta. This monastery was perhaps attached to the homonymous Syrian church that is probably Nestorian. The present church seems to have been constructed in the mid-14th century under King Peter I or a little earlier, under his father King Hugh IV, but the church recorded in 1301 might be a precursor of it. The will of Lady Ioria of Acre, a resident and female burgess of Famagusta and the wife of Peter Bellotus, was drawn up on August 8, 1301 and provided a bequest of 20 white bezants to Peter of Tripoli, who clearly originated from former Latin Syria and was described as a servant of hers. Nicola de Branducio bequeathed six Byzantine *hyperpera* and a blue piece of cloth to his female servant Eudochia, a person of Greek origin from Constantinople, in his will dated January 13, 1302. He mentioned a debt in golden Byzantine *hyperpera* in the same will, an indication that he had business interests in the Aegean area (Pavoni, 1982, nos. 38, 71; 1987, no. 33; Bacci, 2014, pp. 227–232).

Western merchants crossed geographical, if not confessional boundaries in the way they made bequests to Latin religious foundations, both within and outside of Cyprus in which they had chosen to be buried. Many of them stated their wish to be buried in the church of St. Michael outside Famagusta, which was particularly favored for burial among those originating from Latin Syria (Balard et al., 2012, no. 189; 1983, nos. 13, 48, 121; Polonio, 1982, nos. 165, 349, 351, 415; Pavoni, 1982, nos. 12, 38, 51, 71, 126, 1987, nos. 32–33, 185; Jacoby, 2014, p. 55). Sometimes they chose the church of St. Nicholas, the forerunner of the more famous cathedral that began to be built shortly after 1301 (Balard et al., 2012, nos. 198, 244; Balard, 1983, nos. 24, 29, 96, 116, 126; Polonio, 1982, nos. 20, 176, 366, 418; Pavoni, 1982, no. 51; Edbury, 1999a, p. XVI 342). Others declared their desire to be buried in churches belonging to the religious and—in particular—mendicant orders, such as the church of the Franciscans in Famagusta (Balard et al., 2012, no. 187; Balard, 1983, no. 87, 1984, no. 60; Polonio, 1982, nos. 12, 23; Pavoni, 1982, no. 46, 1987, nos. 33 and 281). The church of the Dominicans likewise attracted requests for burial (Balard et al., 2012, no. 224; Polonio, 1982, nos. 22, 145; Pavoni, 1987, nos. 33, 61;

Balard, 1984, no. 19). All of these merchants bequeathed sums of money to cover their funeral expenses and sometimes for masses to be said in their memory. Some Latin merchants, however, opted for a burial outside of Cyprus. The Genoese merchant Nicola de Balneo stated on December 27, 1296 his wish to be buried either in the cathedral of St. Nicholas of Famagusta or, were he to die in Laiazzo, in the Genoese church there dedicated to St. Lawrence, the patron saint of Genoa. Describing himself as a resident of Laiazzo in his will, he was clearly uncertain as to where he might die (Balard, 1983, no. 24; Epstein, 1996, pp. 13, 35, 38).

Some Latin merchants opted for burial, if possible, in their places of origin. The Genoese merchant Gabriel de Albaro stated in his will from September 9, 1300 that were he to die in Genoa he was to be buried in the church of San Donato, and in a Franciscan church if outside of Genoa. Besides leaving funds for his funeral expenses, he bequeathed money for the construction of a church of the Augustinian friars of Genoa and of a Carmelite church dedicated to Our Lady. Bernard Faxit of Narbonne was especially generous in his bequests to Latin churches and other institutions in Cyprus and Narbonne. In his will dated December 5, 1300, he bequeathed sums to the cathedrals of St. Nicholas in Famagusta and the Holy Wisdom in Nicosia, the churches and the hospital of the Flanci in Famagusta—an obscure ecclesiastical order with both male and female members—and to the royal hospital of St. Julian in Nicosia. He made bequests to churches in his native Narbonne, such as those dedicated to St. Paul, Our Lady of Morgia, and St. Just, and to the hospital for the poor there (Balard et al., 2012, no. 253; Polonio, 1982, no. 145). The Genoese merchant Gerardo de Sancto Andrea, who chose to be buried at the church of St. Michael outside Famagusta, nonetheless made a bequest of ten white bezants in his will from April 14, 1301 for the construction of a church of St. Lawrence in Famagusta by the Genoese community (Polonio, 1982, no. 349). Clearly, the Genoese felt the need for a church dedicated to their patron saint in Famagusta as well as in Laiazzo, the main port of Cilician Armenia.

Latin lay institutions and their members were beneficiaries in merchants' wills. In his will from December 31, 1300, the Genoese merchant Ianuinus de Murta bequeathed sums to the toll collectors and servants of the Genoese commune in Famagusta, as well as to Antonio, a servant of the castellan of Famagusta. The Genoese Nicola de Camenzana bequeathed a sum to the toll collectors and servants of the Genoese commune in Famagusta in his will dated August 19, 1301, as did the White Genoese man Tommaso of Jubail in his will from April 2, 1299 (Polonio, 1982, no. 165; Pavoni, 1982, no. 51; Balard, 1983, no. 121). Understandably, various merchants bequeathed sums of money towards the

construction of the port area of Genoa, a project which commenced in 1260 and which benefited them directly (Polonio, 1982, nos. 280, 351, 366, 415, 418; Pavoni, 1982, nos. 12, 51, 71, 126, 1987, nos. 32, 61, 281; Balard, 1984, no. 82; Epstein, 1996, pp. 148–149). The Genoese merchant Ansaldo de Sexto, also a burgess of Famagusta, bequeathed in his will from April 26, 1302 two white bezants to the workshop of St. Anthony in Famagusta, which may have been attached to the hospital of the same name belonging to the Order of St. Anthony of Vienne. The abovementioned tavernkeeper Pietro de Sancto Donato bequeathed four bezants to the otherwise unknown church of Our Lady of Conflaria in Famagusta and another six to the great altar of the cathedral of St. Nicholas in his will from March 4, 1307. In this instance St. Nicholas must refer to the new cathedral under construction. He also left 2.5 bezants to the church of St. George attached to the Genoese loggia in Famagusta, which was to receive oil in the value of half a bezant on the various feast days (Pavoni, 1987, no. 185; Balard, 1984, no. 82; Coureas, 1997, pp. 243–245).

The Latin merchants and others living in Famagusta frequently made bequests to individuals attached to Latin institutions, chiefly clergymen but also lay officials, often by way of repaying debts. On October 15, 1296 the Franciscan friar Giacomo of Tripoli, who either originated from Syria or had served there prior to the fall of Acre and Tyre in 1291, confirmed receipt of 50 white bezants bequeathed to him by the Genoese executors of the late Leonardo di Bonigracia on the orders of Baliano, the Genoese consul of Famagusta. A woman named Giacoma, daughter of the late Anselm de Silvano, bequeathed 50 white bezants on February 3, 1297 to the master chaplain of the cathedral of St. Nicholas, where she had chosen to be buried. Andriolo de Rappalo, a toll collector of the Genoese commune in the capital, Nicosia, bequeathed 72 white bezants to a priest for the celebration of masses in his memory for six months, and 70 white bezants to Paschal de Mari, the Genoese consul of Cyprus, to repay a debt. Pietro de Marffi, a Genoese silk trader who made a will on September 22, 1300, bequeathed three *unciae*, a Sicilian currency, to the fleet of the famous Sicilian admiral, Roger de Lauria. He bequeathed other sums in this currency and clearly had interests in Sicily as well as Cyprus (Balard, 1983, nos. 5, 29; Polonio, 1982, no. 22; Abulafia, 1997, pp. 86–87). Some merchants bequeathed sums to the Franciscan friars established in Cyprus (Balard et al., 2012, nos. 189, 253; Polonio, 1982, nos. 145, 165; Pavoni, 1982, nos. 46, 51, 1987, nos. 185, 281; Balard, 1984, no. 82). Likewise, sums were bequeathed to the Dominican friars, often by individuals who also made bequests to Franciscan friars (Balard et al., 2012, nos. 189, 224, 253; Polonio, 1982, nos. 12, 145, 165; Pavoni, 1982, nos. 46, 51, 1987, nos. 185, 281; Balard, 1984, no. 82). In addition, bequests were made to the chaplains

and other clergy of the cathedral churches of St. Nicholas in Famagusta and the Holy Wisdom in Nicosia, as well as to priests for the singing of masses (Balard, 1983, nos. 87, 116; Balard et al., 2012, no. 198; Polonio, 1982, nos. 22, 145, 176, 366; Pavoni, 1982, nos. 46, 51, 1987, nos. 61, 185).

Some of these bequests to Latin religious, medicant, and monastic orders of the Roman Catholic Church, are out of the ordinary. The bequests of Bernard Faxit, the merchant from Narbonne mentioned above, to Latin clergy in both Cyprus and Narbonne are a vivid example of geographical mobility, and of how boundaries were crossed after death as well as in life. On Cyprus he made bequests to the Franciscans and Dominicans of Famagusta and Nicosia, the master chaplain of the cathedral of St. Nicholas, the Carmelites, the Poor Clares, and the Benedictine nuns of Nicosia. In Narbonne he bequeathed sums to the Franciscans, the Dominicans, the Carmelites, the Augustinian nuns, the Repentitans of the Benedictine Order, and the female recluses of the hospital of the poor. The merchants Pagano de Fellino bequeathed sums in his will from August 15, 1301 to the Franciscans and Dominicans of Famagusta as many others did, but he also left 100 white bezants for the needs of the eremitical clergy, the hospitals, and the religious people of his native Piacenza. Another bequest to Benedictine nuns, this time the Carpitanae of Antioch, was made on April 26, 1302 by the Genoese merchant and burgess of Famagusta Ansaldo de Sexto, who left them three white bezants (Polonio, 1982, no. 145; Pavoni, 1982, no. 46, 1987, no. 185).

Slaves belonging to Latins on Cyprus were invariably non-Latins. They were mostly of Greek origin and from the Aegean area in the period under discussion and some of them were granted freedom and sums of money in their masters' wills. The Genoese resident of Famagusta Piero Piloso—probably a baker by profession, given that among his effects were three tables for grinding grain—mentions one male and two female slaves in his will dated October 28, 1296. Their names indicate Greek origin and one of the females, named Cali, was to be granted her freedom so long as she continued to serve his wife and children for two years after his death (Balard, 1983, no. 13). The above-mentioned Giacoma manumitted her slave, Anna, described as a Greek from the Aegean area, in an act immediately following her will of February 3, 1297. Lucheto de Clavaro, a resident of Nicosia, manumitted his slave Maria in his will, dated December 6, 1297, but only after she had served his wife and children for four years after his death (Balard, 1983, nos. 29–30, 87). Slaves could acquire property as well as freedom. In his will from December 21, 1300, Genoese resident and burgess of Famagusta, Ianuinus Murta, granted a former slave of his, named Mariona, and her daughter a small house he owned in Famagusta, abutting his own house on one side and that of Ugo de Diano on the other.

He also bequeathed 50 bezants each to Mariona and her daughter, and another 50 bezants to a female slave of his, named Anayme. Furthermore, he granted a small house he owned in Famagusta to the daughter of his former slave, Catalina, as well as a bed with its furnishings. In her will dated August 20, 1301, Piacenza—the wife of the Genoese man Ugeto Flexonus—granted freedom (following her death) to her Greek slave, Agnes, as well as 30 white bezants, a mattress, a cushion, and a long desk (Polonio, 1982, no. 165, 1987, no. 71). On other occasions, slaves were freed following the marriage of their owners' children. Bernard Zotardus stipulated in his will of December 26, 1300 that his female slave, Eleni, would gain her freedom when his daughter married, and that his male slave, Vasilios, would gain his freedom when his son married. Both slaves would be freed if the children they served died without marrying. The Genoese man Maestro Ruggero, who made a will on April 16, 1301, decreed that his slave, Cali, would serve his daughter for one year following the latter's marriage, whereupon she would be freed (Polonio, 1982, nos. 176, 351).

Some slaves were Muslim, while for others no place of origin was specified. The Genoese man Pietro, son of the late Oberto of Laiazzo, freed a Muslim slave named Mubarak after his own death in his will dated June 19, 1301. Less fortunate was the female Muslim slave Fatima, whom the Genoese man Ansaldo de Sexto simply bequeathed to his wife Isabella after his death according to his will from April 26, 1302. An interesting case is that of another slave named Fatima, of Turkish origin. Her Genoese owner, Giacomo Porcus de Branducio, left her 15 white bezants in his will from August 8, 1302, decreeing that after his death she was to become a Christian and thereby gain her freedom (Polonio, 1982, no. 351; Pavoni, 1987, nos. 185, 281). The above-mentioned Pagano de Fellino freed a slave in his will from August 15, 1301 without giving the slave's name, although he stipulated that this slave was to serve the executor of his will for three years after his owner's death. Slaves residing outside of Cyprus could also gain their freedom and inherit goods in wills written on the island. Iodinus Gambalus di Camogli made a will on February 3, 1302 in which he decreed that his female slave Francheschina in the Aegean area was to be freed after his death and should be given a cushion and a carpet. Some slaves seem to have practiced commerce prior to being freed. Genoese resident and burgess of Famagusta, Pietro Alenus, who freed his slave, Anna, following his death according to his undated will from 1304 or 1305 stipulated that when freed she would have full powers to buy, sell, and so forth without the impediment of servitude (Pavoni, 1982, no. 46, 1987, no. 61; Balard, 1984, no. 19).

Latins taken prisoner in war or captured by pirates crossed the boundary from freedom to servitude. Their plight excited the compassion of few

Latin testators in Famagusta, and only two of the wills drawn up by Lamberto di Sambuceto make provision for them. In his will dated April 14, 1301, Gerardo de Sancto Andrea left 100 white bezants to Sevaste, the daughter of a certain Iacobinus, for the redemption of the same Iacobinus, who was being held in "Sataira," the name perhaps being a garbled version of Satalia, a port in southwestern Turkey not far from Cyprus. The Genoese man Nicola de Camezana, in his will dated August 19, 1301, bequeathed ten bezants for poor imprisoned people or for the redemption of Christian slaves in Muslim lands (Polonio, 1982, no. 349; Pavoni, 1982, no. 51). The ransoming of Christian captives from the Muslims was an accepted practice in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, whence many inhabitants of early 14th-century Famagusta originated, with mediators negotiating their release in return for an agreed price, although this price was not necessarily what was eventually paid. The Roman Catholic Church also encouraged the redemption of Latin Christians who were taken captive. The Trinitarian Order, founded in France in 1198 by John of Matha, made the ransoming of captives its particular mission, enjoying strong papal support from the time of Pope Innocent III onwards. It was present in the Latin East, although its emphasis on ransoming the poor rather than wealthy nobles who could ransom themselves means that their activity in this region is poorly documented. The overall limited interest in ransoming captives shown in the deeds of Sambuceto is reflected on the Latin mainland, where Saliba, a wealthy Latin Christian burgess from Acre, left the Trinitarians only three bezants in his will of 1264, while leaving the Hospitaller Order, of which he was admittedly a *confrater*, 475 bezants (Friedman, 2002, pp. 187–200; Riley-Smith, 2002, pp. 79–80).

The Latin merchants and other testators mention various material objects in their wills. Some of these, notably textiles, weapons, and silverware, are of Western European origin, while others, such as carpets, silks, and items of jewelry, are of Eastern or Cypriot provenance. There are numerous references in the various wills to articles of clothing, bedding, and other domestic items and lengths or types of cloth. The clothing includes overcoats, cloaks, tunics, shirts, trousers, caps, and leggings. The bedding and other domestic items include mattresses, cushions, covers, tablecloths, towels, and napkins. The lengths or types of cloth include linens, bedsheets, Lombard and Genoese cloths, canvas cloths, coarse cloths, striped coarse cloths, green cloths, and Châlons cloth. In one will, shoes were bequeathed (Balard, 1983, no. 126; Balard et al., 2012, nos. 189, 224; Polonio, 1982, nos. 21–23, 26, 135, 275, 351, 415, 418; Pavoni, 1982, nos. 24, 46, 51, 71, 1987, nos. 33, 185). Articles fashioned from silver and boxes are also mentioned frequently. These articles include silver cups, goblets, boxes from Pisa, Venice, and Genoa, belts with silver filigree, silver

spoons, a small silver brazier, a small Genoese knife with silver workmanship, a paternoster set fashioned from silver and coral, a silver mirror, and silver spouts (Balard, 1983, nos. 24, 96, 1984, no. 19; Balard et al., 2012, no. 189; Polonio, 1982, nos. 135, 176, 275, 418; Pavoni, 1982, nos. 51, 71, 1987, no. 185). The weapons mentioned in the wills include cuirasses, a Genoese crossbow with crossbow bolts and quivers, single arrows, shields, a lined Pisan helmet, a Florentine sword, and saddles (Balard, 1983, no. 24; Balard et al., 2012, nos. 189, 224; Polonio, 1982, no. 418; Pavoni, 1982, nos. 46, 51). Silks, camlets, and articles of clothing fashioned from these materials appear in the merchants' wills, as does one carpet (Balard, 1983, no. 96; Balard et al., 2012, no. 189; Polonio, 1982, no. 351; Pavoni, 1982, no. 71, 1987, nos. 33, 185). Both weapons and silks and camlets appear in wills far less often than cloths, items of clothing, bedding, boxes, and silverware—either because of their costliness or because the Latin merchants and others making wills had less need or desire for such objects. The same applies for items made of gold and encrusted with gems, including rings, buckles, one Tatar knife, and one bodice. The gems mentioned by type were mainly pearls, with sapphires being mentioned once, garnets once, and amber twice (Balard, 1983, no. 24; Polonio, 1982, nos. 12, 135; Pavoni, 1982, no. 71, 1987, no. 185).

The material objects mentioned in the wills reflect the movement of goods between Western Europe and the eastern Mediterranean as well as the function of Cyprus as an important link in this carrying trade. The pearls on Cyprus arrived there from the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf, silks came from Persia and perhaps from central Italy, while coral was imported by the Genoese to Cyprus and to the Mamluk lands, for it was farmed in parts of the western Mediterranean, such as Marsa-e-Kharaz and Alghero in Sardinia. Precious stones, such as sapphires and garnets originating from India, were bought by Western merchants in Alexandria, though amber originated from the Baltic Sea and so was brought to Cyprus by Western merchants who had acquired it by purchase or trade with that area (Ashtor, 1983, pp. 64, 68, 164, 180, 184, 482–483). Silver and some gold were to be found in Asia Minor, near Cyprus. Nevertheless, the articles possessed by Western merchants in Cyprus probably originated from Europe. Western merchants used silver bars originating from Spain—where silver was mined—for commercial transactions in Muslim markets, and gold was imported to Egypt from the West (Fleet, 1999, p. 15; Stanchev, 2014, pp. 18, 70, 185; Ashtor, 1983, pp. 26–28, 35–36, 68, 344, 349). The weapons mentioned in the wills were of Western manufacture, hence the mention of weapons originating from Florence, Pisa, and Genoa. On the other hand, camlets were a Cypriot product, for the island exported camlets to Western Europe, Mamluk Syria, and Egypt and

the Black Sea region from the early 14th century onwards (Jacoby, 2012, pp. 15–42). Most of the textiles and clothing mentioned in the wills originated in Western Europe, with specific references to Châlons and Lombard cloths and articles of clothing or bedding that came from Venice, Pisa, and Genoa, including the coarse white and striped cloths and buckrams that were occasionally mentioned. Sometimes Cyprus was simply a transit station for such cloths, large quantities of which were exported to Turkey, Syria, and Egypt via the island, as the volume of cloths arriving there was too great for local demand. Items mentioned less frequently, such as "Tatar style" saddles, probably originated from Turkey, as did the one carpet mentioned in a will (Ashtor, 1983, p. 40; Fleet, 1999, p. 97).

Regarding specie, the wills of the Latin merchants and others refer mostly to the white bezant, the standard money of account on Lusignan Cyprus. Other currencies are also mentioned, however, indicating the testators' commercial mobility and the trading relations they had with countries to the east and west of Cyprus. The merchant Nicola de Balneo, a resident of Laiazzo in Cilician Armenia, listed people who owed him various sums of money and those to whom he owed money in his will from December 27, 1296. Only one debt and one credit are recorded in white bezants, while the remaining five debts and six credits were all recorded in Armenian *daremi*. The testator Simon of Acre, a refugee from Latin Syria living in Famagusta, also recorded the value of a consignment of wine due to him in Armenian *daremi* in his will from December 28, 1296. The testator Pilastrus of Messina recorded the sums owed to him in his will dated January 29, 1299 in white bezants, and the sums he had received *in commendam* from various parties in Sicilian *unciae* and *tarini*, because even though he was based in Cyprus he had formerly used creditors based in Sicily to finance some of his commercial ventures. The Genoese Giacomino Picaluga, in his will dated April 14, 1299, made bequests to churches and people in Genoa in Genoese *solidi* and *libri* (Balard, 1983, nos. 24–25, 96, 126). Giordano de Naulo, moreover, recorded in his will from September 6, 1301 a debt due to him in Sicilian *carlini* (Pavoni, no. 126). Other currencies appearing in these wills, by way of debts, credits, and simple bequests, were the gold *hyperpera* of Romania (the Aegean area encompassing former Byzantine territories), silver *tournois*, and the *tournois* of Tripoli (Polonio, 1982, nos. 12, 22, 349, 415, 418; Pavoni, nos. 33, 281; Balard, 1984, no. 60). All of the currencies mentioned were from the eastern and central Mediterranean lands with which Latin merchants based in Cyprus had trading relations or had once been residents of.

In most instances, the executors of the wills drawn up by Lamberto di Sambuceto for Latin merchants and others mention Latin executors, as one would expect. Few Latins would appoint non-Latins to a position of

such trust, executing their will after their death. Nevertheless, some non-Latin executors were appointed, although not always by Latin testators. Thomas of Jubail, a White Genoese man originating from former Latin Syria, appointed Salvus and Raymond of Jubail as his executors in the will he prepared on April 2, 1299, but these were fellow White Genoese men from the same city. Bernard Zotardus, a Genoese resident of Famagusta, appointed three executors in the will he drew up on December 26, 1300, one of whom—Simon Mansour—was clearly of Syrian extraction and probably White Genoese, the other two being Latins (Balard, 1983, no. 121; Polonio, 1982, no. 176). Isabella of Antioch, the widow of Salvus of Antioch, drew up a will on August 3, 1300 and appointed as her two executors Iohannes Crioti of Limassol and Bolos of Butrun, a coastal town in former Latin Syria. The first appears to have been ethnically Greek, and the second White Genoese. However, Antioch in northern Syria had a large Greek population, and Isabella and her late husband might have been Greeks from Antioch or descendants of such Greeks, since Antioch fell to the Mamluk sultan Baybars in 1268 (Balard et al., 2012, no. 198; Mayer, 1990, p. 157). Overall, Latins appointed fellow Latins and usually fellow citizens as executors of their wills.

Witnesses to a will had less vital responsibilities than those executing it, and so Latins were more willing to include non-Latin witnesses in their final testaments, although such witnesses were sometimes also appointed by non-Latin testators. One must bear in mind, moreover, that witnesses originating from Latin Syria and coming to Famagusta as refugees were not necessarily always Syrian Christians; some were Latin Christians who had been born in Syria. Pietro Pilosus, a Genoese resident of Famagusta, included among those witnessing his will from October 28, 1296 a certain Abraynus, the scribe of the viscount and president of the Court of Burgesses in Famagusta. This witness's name indicates Syrian extraction, and he appears again as a witness in an act dated August 7, 1301, though on this occasion as a juror of the same court. Clearly, he was a Syrian and probably a White Genoese man of some standing (Balard, 1983, no. 13; Pavoni, 1982, no. 36; Edbury, 1999b, p. XVII 90). The above-mentioned Thomas of Jubail included among those witnessing his will from April 2, 1299 two fellow citizens, George of Jubail and Damian, son of Raymond of Jubail, Raymond having been appointed one of the two executors. The Genoese Cesaries from Sagona, a town on the Ligurian littoral, appointed two witnesses from Tripoli among those witnessing his will from October 1, 1300. All of his witnesses are recorded as being Genoese, and whether the two from Tripoli were White Genoese or simply Italian Genoese is uncertain. The Genoese resident of Famagusta Bernard Zotardus appointed three people from Tripoli to witness his will as well as Manserinus the son of

Simon Mansour, clearly someone of Syrian extraction; as stated above, Simon Mansour was one of his executors. The Genoese Pietro, son of the late Oberto from Laiazzo, also appointed Michael of Sidon as one of those witnessing his will dated June 19, 1301. He was either a White Genoese or a Latin originating from Tripoli (Balard, 1983, no. 121; Polonio, 1982, nos. 26, 176, 418).

Three testatrices drawing up wills in Famagusta appointed witnesses from former Latin Syria who were ethnic Syrians or Latins originating from Syria. Ioria from Acre, a resident and burgess of Famagusta who made a will on August 8, 1301, appointed the draper William of Tripoli and the cooper Domenzonus of Acre among the witnesses to her will. Piacenza, the widow of the Genoese Ugeto Flexoni, appointed Nicholas of Beirut and Raymond of Margat among those witnessing her will dated August 20, 1301, while the above-mentioned Isabella of Antioch appointed Marchus of Acre and Thomas of Tripoli among the witnesses to her will (Pavoni, 1982, nos. 38, 71; Balard et al., 2012, no. 198). In his will dated July 25, 1300, Oberto of Ventimiglia, a town on the Ligurian coastline, who was the former usher of the Genoese commune in Famagusta, appointed among those witnessing his will a certain Abraynus, who was the guard of the Genoese loggia, possibly identical to the Abraynus mentioned above and certainly an ethnic Syrian. The Pisan Sergio de Fabro, who made a will on August 27, 1300 appointed three people from Acre—George, James, and Maceus—among those witnessing it. Nicola de Branducio, who made his will on January 13, 1302, included among the witnesses two people from Acre, Marchus and Benvenuto, while Ansaldo de Sexto, a prominent Genoese burgess of Famagusta, appointed Liacius of Tyre and Iohannes, a blacksmith from Tripoli, among those witnessing his will, dated April 26, 1302. More unusual than any of the above instances was the will of Iodinus Gambalus de Camogli, which was drawn up on February 3, 1302. He had commercial dealings and property in Romania, including a female slave, and among his witnesses was George of Constantinople, although from his name it is uncertain whether he was a Greek or a Latin (Balard et al., 2012 nos. 189, 224; Pavoni, 1987, nos. 33, 61, 185).

Overall, the Latin merchants and others whose wills were drawn up by Lamberto di Sambuceto constituted a society which was highly mobile geographically and which culturally incorporated non-Latin elements, slaves of Greek or Muslim origin, silks and precious stones originating from the East, and carpets or saddles of Turkish provenance. In their wills they freed slaves, although not always unconditionally, made donations to non-Latin individuals and, albeit less frequently, to non-Latin churches. The material objects they bequeathed, though—mainly textiles, silverware, and weaponry—were predominantly Western in origin. All of them

appointed Latin executors, with very few exceptions, and for the most part they also appointed Latins to witness their wills. The Latin merchants on early 14th-century Cyprus did cross cultural boundaries, but some boundaries were crossed more easily than others.

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Russian Pilgrims of the 12th–18th Centuries on "The sweet land of Cyprus"[1]

ABSTRACT

The era of the Crusades was also the era of pilgrims and pilgrimages to Jerusalem. The Russian Orthodox world did not accept the idea of the Crusades and did not consider the Western European crusaders to be pilgrims. However, Russian people also sought to make pilgrimages, the purpose of which they saw in personal repentance and worship of the Lord. Visiting the Christian relics of Cyprus was desirable for pilgrims on their way to Jerusalem. Based on the method of content analysis of a whole complex of the writings of Russian pilgrims, as well as the works of Cypriot, Byzantine, Arab and Russian chroniclers, the author explores the history of travels and pilgrimages of Russian people to Cyprus in the 12th–18th centuries, the origins of the Russian-Cypriot religious, inter-cultural and political relationships, in addition to the dynamics of their development from the first contacts in the Middle Ages to the establishment of permanent diplomatic and political relations between the two countries in the Early Modern Age. Starting with the 17th century, Russian-Cypriot relationships were developing in three fields: 1) Russians in Cyprus; 2) Cypriots in Russia; 3) knowledge of Cyprus and interest in Cyprus in Russia. Cypriots appeared in Russia (at the court of the Russian tsars) at the beginning of the 17th century. We know of constant correspondence and the exchange of embassies between the Russian tsars and the hierarchs of the Cypriot Orthodox Church that took place in the 17th–18th centuries. The presence of Cypriots in Russia, the acquisition of information, the study of Cypriot literature, and translations of some Cypriot writings into Russian all promoted interactions on both political and cultural levels. This article emphasizes the important historical, cultural, diplomatic and political functions of the pilgrimages.

KEYWORDS: pilgrimages, crusades, Cyprus, Russia, Jerusalem, Byzantium, Christian relics, Orthodox church, Turks, itinerary, history, literature

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STRESZCZENIE

Rosyjscy pielgrzymi XII-XVIII wieku o „słodkiej cypryjskiej krainie"

Czas wypraw krzyżowych był także epoką pielgrzymowania do Jerozolimy. Rosyjski świat prawosławny nie zaakceptował idei wypraw krzyżowych i nie uważał zachodnioeuropejskich krzyżowców za pielgrzymów. Jednak Rosjanie również starali się organizować pielgrzymki, których cel upatrywali w osobistej skrusze i uwielbieniu Boga. Nawiedzanie chrześcijańskich relikwii znajdujących się na Cyprze było pożądane przez pielgrzymów udających się do Jerozolimy. Opierając się na metodzie analizy treści całego kompleksu pism pielgrzymów rosyjskich, a także pism kronikarzy cypryjskich, bizantyjskich, arabskich i rosyjskich, autorka bada historię podróży i pielgrzymek odbywanych przez Rosjan na Cypr od XII do XVIII stulecia, genezę rosyjsko-cypryjskich stosunków religijnych, międzykulturowych i politycznych, a także dynamikę ich rozwoju od pierwszych kontaktów w średniowieczu do nawiązania stałych stosunków dyplomatycznych i politycznych między oboma krajami we wczesnej epoce nowożytnej. Począwszy od XVII wieku stosunki rosyjsko-cypryjskie rozwijały się na trzech płaszczyznach: 1) Rosjanie na Cyprze; 2) greccy Cypryjczycy w Rosji; 3) wiedza o Cyprze i zainteresowanie Cyprem w Rosji. Greccy Cypryjczycy pojawili się w Rosji (na dworze carów rosyjskich) na początku XVII wieku. Znamy stałą korespondencję i wymianę posłów pomiędzy carami rosyjskimi a hierarchami cypryjskiego Kościoła Prawosławnego, która odbywała się w XVII-XVIII wieku. Obecność greckich Cypryjczyków w Rosji, zdobywanie informacji, studiowanie literatury cypryjskiej oraz przekładanie niektórych pism cypryjskich na język rosyjski sprzyjało interakcjom na płaszczyźnie zarówno politycznej, jak i kulturowej. Niniejszy artykuł podkreśla ważne historyczne, kulturowe, dyplomatyczne i polityczne funkcje pielgrzymek.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: pielgrzymki, wyprawy krzyżowe, Cypr, Rosja, Jerozolima, Bizancjum, relikwie chrześcijańskie, Cerkiew prawosławna, Turcy, trasa podróży, historia, literatura

Pilgrimaging to holy sites was an integral part of the life of a believer in the quest for spiritual perfection, spiritual exploits in the name of God and for the sake of one's soul's salvation in the eternal world. The peak of Western Christian pilgrimages to the East to visit the Holy Sepulcher took place during the Crusades. Crusaders themselves were considered by the West-Europeans to be pilgrims, and the participants did not see themselves in any other way as well. However, Russian and Byzantine people did not accept the idea of the Crusades. They did not understand and did not support it. They saw the Crusaders not as pilgrims, and their wars were perceived as ordinary war. More than once I happened to write about

the reasons for this lack of understanding and alienation of the Orthodox world from the world of the Crusaders (Bliznyuk, 2006, p. 661–662; 2010, p. 80; 2014, pp. 24–25; 2017). This does not mean that Russian Orthodox Christians rejected the idea of making pilgrimages to the cradle of Christianity in Jerusalem, and to the Holy Sepulcher on their way to the God; they desired to attain salvation just as their Western European counterparts did, and they were looking for a way to salvation, too. However, the methods of its achievement chosen by the Christians were very different. Russian pilgrims did not identify themselves with the crusaders, and they did not identify with the events happening as part of the Crusades. They did not belong to any social group or community of people united by the idea of the liberation of the Holy Sepulcher. The Rusich set off onto the journey for personal repentance, for the worship of the Lord, and not for the sake of receiving a reward from the Lord for his military service in the form of an absolution of sins and, finally, salvation.

Setting off on this trip, every pilgrim, whether Russian or Westerner, had a poor understanding of where, in fact, he was going, how far he had to travel, what means of travel he needed, and where Jerusalem exactly was. And if for the Westerner, the world of the Orient was acquiring more and more clear outlines after the beginning of the Crusades, then for the Rusich, it was a distant and largely unknown territory. Information about the expeditions of the crusaders and their kingdoms in the East reached Russia fragmentarily, and would be long delayed, very brief and not always plausible. In these tales and legends, however, there was an evident desire of the Russian people to reach Jerusalem to worship the Holy Sepulcher. *The Story of a Journey of John the Archbishop of Novgorod on a Devil's Back to Jerusalem* is an especially significant example. The story was written in Novgorod in the middle of the 15th century. It tells the story of how John the Archbishop of Novgorod forced a devil carry him to Jerusalem for one night and back mid-12th century: "The saint says, 'Behold, for thy insolence I commanded thee: this night, you shall carry me from the Great Novgorod to the holy Jerusalem, and put me in the church where the Holy Sepulcher [is] and from the Holy City of Jerusalem, you shall carry me back to my cell'" (*Žitie svjatogo otca našego Ioanna*; Maleto, p. 386).[2] In the 18th century, a Russian Orthodox *peshehodets* [wanderer], Vasil Grigorovich-Barsky, conveyed his feelings brightly and vividly: "When I only saw the very walls of the city, I felt madly happy and forgot about my physical weakness, for by the grace of the Lord, my wish to reach it did come true" (*Stranstvija Vasilija Grigoroviča-Barskogo*…, vol. I, p. 308). Each pilgrim compared his impression of the Holy Land with biblical stories. He

2 All translations of source text quotations into English by Karolina Socha-Duśko.

searched for what he had learned from the Bible, hagiography and perhaps the rare accounts of his predecessors who had been fortunate enough to visit the holy places. Thus, the Rusich followed his dream, his joy, and his reverent happiness which overflowed his heart when he saw Jerusalem.

The path of Russian pilgrims necessarily passed through Constantinople, so dear to the heart of every Russian person it was deemed a holy city, the city of cities, the *Tsargrad*. Many followed across the sea through the Greek islands: Lesbos, Chios, Rhodes, and Cyprus. The task of the author herein was to investigate the Cypriot-Russian contacts in the Middle Ages and Early Modernity, which laid the foundations for the establishment of permanent ecclesiastical, cultural and diplomatic relations between Russia and Cyprus well into Modernity and throughout contemporary history.

What did the Rus' people of the Middle Ages know about Cyprus? What attracted them there in the first place? What did they want to see and what did they see on the island? Finally, what place did Cyprus occupy in their ideas about the world, in their system of values, i.e., and how did they learn about the world of the Mediterranean?

The first mention of a Rus' person visiting Cyprus dates back to the very beginning of the 12th century, when the island was still in Byzantine hands, while in Syria, the Kingdom of Jerusalem had just emerged. This first Rus' was Abbot Daniel, probably a native of Chernigov, who later became the Bishop of Yuryevsk. He was not a simple lonely wanderer. He arrived in Constantinople, and then traveled to Jerusalem accompanied by a large retinue comprised of Kiev and Novgorod knights: "My whole squad were sons of Rus', and then there happened to be Novgorodians and Kievans" (*Žit'e i hoženie Daniila*, p. 10; Saharov, vol. I, p. 25).

The aforementioned source is the most complete and complex one among the Russian pilgrimage accounts. Modern historians collate and compare the stories of other pilgrims from Rus' with it one way or another. Many Russian people followed in Daniel's footsteps to worship the Holy Sepulcher. Some of them also wrote down their travel accounts. However, Daniel was the first to write about Cyprus and it was he who introduced it to Russian readers, drawing their attention to the historical, cultural and sacred spaces of the island. It was he who first told the Russian people about the attractions of Cyprus. Presumably, Daniel arrived on the island in May or June of 1106 and managed to see quite a lot there. He wrote about the Christian saints and the True Cross of St. Helena centuries before Leontios Machairas did. He was amazed how great, rich and densely populated the island was. He wandered the island of Cyprus from shore to shore and he honored the relics of St. Epiphanius, St. Barnabas, St. Zeno, and St. Tryphillius. He visited the True Cross brought by St. Helena, kept at the Stavrovouni Monastery, and he told of its miracles.

He accurately described the ecclesiastical system of Cyprus, noting that there was one archdiocese and twenty bishops. He briefly informed about the natural beauty of the island, enthusiastically describing the gathering of frankincense (*Žit'e i hoženie Daniila*, p. 10–11; Saharov, vol. I, p. 25). In order to honor St. Barnabas and St. Epiphanius, he needed to go to Salamis (Cobham, p. 20; Machairas, para. 30; Bliznyuk, 2018, p. 60, para. 30[3]). He could find the ashes of St. Zeno, the Bishop of Kourion (Machairas, v. 30), in the south of the island, having proceeded to the Limassol area. St. Tryphillius, according to Machairas, was a Bishop of Nicosia while St. Philagrius was a Bishop of Paphos (Machairas, v. 30). To honor the True Cross and the other relics left on Cyprus by St. Helena, Abbot Daniel needed to go to Stavrovouni (Vasilopotamos) and Tokhni (Ibid., v. 67, 68). Therefore, Daniel's route must have included all these locations. The pilgrim points out some of the details that are missing in the Cyprus chronicles, namely that Philagrius was baptized by the Apostle Paul, and that Cyprus kept a nail from the Holy Cross. Machairas does not mention this at all. This means that at the turn of the 15th century, when Machairas was writing his chronicle, the last relic was not on the island anymore. It could have been moved from Cyprus after the Frankish conquest in 1191, first to Constantinople and after the Fourth Crusade it could have come to the West, thanks to the enterprise of the Venetians and the crusading activity of the French King Louis IX. Thus, the Russian pilgrim recorded the situation as it was at the beginning of the 12th century.

Daniel first presents Cyprus to the Russian people not only as a holy island, where not only Christian relics were kept, but also where many miracles happened. His story about the miracle of the True Cross, which hangs in the air "in no way attached to the ground, but just like that, suspended in the air by the Holy Spirit" (*Žit'e i hoženie Daniila*, p. 10), at first glance may seem to be the author's mystification. Undeniably, he perceived everything that happened to him as a miracle. However, it is well known that in Byzantium there was a tradition of hanging up reliquaries instead of placing them on the floor or any other surface. Most likely, this is exactly what Daniel saw. Subsequently, the miracle of the "floating" cross was also noted by another Russian pilgrim–monk Zosima, who also added at that this was the cross of the Penitent Thief: "And from there I went up to where the cross of the Penitent Thief is placed, suspended in the air" (*Hoženie inoka Zosimy*, p. 23). The foreigner interpreted everything as nothing but a miracle and manifestation of divine power. For a Byzantine,

3 Further in the text, when quoting the chronicles of Leontios Machairas, we only specify the verse number [e.g., Machairas, v. 30], so that even in the translation of the chronicle [Bliznyuk, 2018] it will be identical to the numbering in other editions.

such a way of presenting a relic it was absolutely normal. Therefore, for example, the Cypriot-Byzantine Leontios Machairas did not notice anything supernatural in it and did not bother to write about it.

In the 17th-century Russia, the *Legend of Cyprus Island and the base of the Cross of Christ* was popular, which tells the story of a theft of the relics by envoys of the Pope, the loss of the relics for years to come, and their miraculous rediscovery (Belobrova, p. 83). It is interesting that this story's outline is consistent with the account by Leontios Macharias about the return of the relic. The Cypriot chronicler also tells of the cross being stolen by a Latin priest, in an attempt to take the relic west. A great storm supposedly forced the kidnapper back to the island, which was followed by the disappearance of the cross and its miraculous rediscovery thanks to dreams and signs (Machairas, v. 67, 69–70). The difference between the two stories lies in the details: in the first case, the relic was stolen on the orders of the Pope, in the second this was done by an unknown Latin priest. In the first version, the cross was missing for forty years, in the second one, for twenty-two years. In the first account, the cross was buried in the ground, in the second one, it was hidden in the crown of a tree. The first version has it that a voice and signs revealed it to a certain old man, while the second, to a young lad. It is important to stress, however, that the story of the miracle-working Holy Cross kept in the memory of Cypriots corresponded to historical works. It was the object of special pride, handed down from generation to generation, and its story was retold to foreign visitors and pilgrims.

Daniel spent many days on the island. He was undoubtedly accompanied by a Cypriot guide, who showed him around and told him about the island. This is supported at least by the fact that he could not have watched frankincense resin being collected, if we accept the view that he did arrive on the island between May and June. Therefore, he could only have received this information from the locals. It is also not without significance what language Daniel communicated in with the locals. Most likely, he or someone in his entourage spoke Greek, which became the language of communication, since it is almost impossible that they encountered a Rusich in Cyprus who would become their escort. This event, of course, would be first of all noted in the writings of the Russian abbot. Daniel is likely to be considered a pioneer in Russian visits to Cyprus. It was he who showed that Cyprus should be passed by on one's way to the Holy Land because of its particular importance as a holy place for the whole Christian world, and marked the beginning of the "Cyprus cycle" in the old Russian literature. It was Abbot Daniel who first showed the religious significance of Cyprus to the next generations of Russian pilgrims and who described the island itself, providing vivid and memorable

sketches about its natural beauty, ecclesiastical structure, inhabitants, and relics. It is no coincidence that the notes from his journey were so popular in Russia. More than 150 copies of his writings from the 15th and 16th centuries have survived to this day. No earlier copies have been preserved, however, they undoubtedly existed and shaped the views of many generations of Russian pilgrims, having become a kind of a guide for them. Other pilgrims followed in the footsteps of Daniel: Archimandrite Agraphenius (1370); Epiphanius the Monk (1415–1417), which is probably a moniker of a monk from the Trinity Monastery, Epiphanius the Wise, one of the most educated men of his time, the author of many works, including *The Life of Sergii Radonezhsky*, whose disciple he was (Maleto, pp. 60–61, 295); the Trinity Monastery hierodeacon Zosimas (1419–1422); hieromonk Barsanuphius (1461–1462); merchant Trifon Korobeynikov (late 15th cent.), Arsenyi Sukhanov (1652); hierodeacon Little Jonah (1649–1652); Ippolit Vishenskij (1707–1708); and Vasil Grigorovich-Barsky (1723–1747).

Of course, we should not exaggerate the importance of Cyprus for Russian pilgrims. Each of them was heading for the holy city of Jerusalem. Cyprus just lay in their path. And not every Russian pilgrim who visited Jerusalem and left a written account felt obliged to explore the monuments of Cyprus. Some of the pilgrims left only short geographical notes about the distance from Cyprus to Rhodes, Yaffa or Tripoli, sometimes only briefly mentioning the wealth of the island (*Skazanie Epifanija mniha*…, p. 2; *Hoženie arhimandrita Agrefenija*, p. 2; *Hoždenie svjaŝennoinoka Varsonofija*…, p. 1, 15; *Hoždenie kuptza Trifona Korobejnikova*, pp. 3–4; *Proskinitarij Arsenija Suhanova*, p. 29; *Povest' i skazanie o pohoždenii*…, p. 27). Some of them, however, stayed on the island, discovered it for themselves and shared their impressions: Monk Zosima, Ippolit Vishenskyi (*Puteshestvie Ieromonaha Ippolita Vishenskago*…, pp. 27–28), and Vasil Grigorovich-Barsky. However, all of Daniel's successors tell us about the royal, Venetian and Turkish Cyprus, but not the Byzantine one.

In the 13th century, with the beginning of the Tatar-Mongol invasion of Rus', the flow of Rusich pilgrims dropped sharply. The political situation was not conducive to long-haul travel across the land occupied by the Tatars. Ruthenian pilgrims did not reappear in Cyprus until around the turn of the 15th century which is when the new accounts of it date back from. The first of them was the Archimandrite of the Monastery of the Holy Virgin of Smolensk, Agraphenius, who visited Cyprus in 1370. His message seems to be too short and not worthy of attention at first glance: "From Rhodes to Cyprus 300. Cross of the Good Thief in the Cyprus island, and here much sugar is harvested. And from here sailed along Cilician and Pamphylian coast. From Cyprus to Yaffa 60" (*Hoženie arhimandrita Agrefenija*, p. 2).

Agraphenius says that they came to Cyprus from Rhodes, worked their way along the coast of Asia Minor to the Cilician waters. If they were sailing along the coast of Cilicia, then, most likely, they stopped in Cyprus in Famagusta. The pilgrims came to Cyprus shortly before the Cypriot-Genoese war of 1373–1374. They encountered absolutely no political complications in this respect. Consequently, Agraphenius and his companions arrived on the island before the coronation of Peter II of Cyprus as the king of Jerusalem, which was held in Famagusta in October 1370. It was then that violent clashes between the Venetians and Genoese took place, which soon led to the full-scale Cypriot-Genoese war of 1373–1374. They were aware of the existence of the Penitent Thief's cross in Cyprus. However, they hardly traveled outside of Famagusta to venerate it, since Agraphenius does not say a word about a trip around the island. In the 14th and 15th centuries, the cross of the Penitent Thief, the relics of St. Lazarus and St. Mammes of Caesarea were known to each pilgrim. Everyone who wrote about Cyprus in the Middle Ages and early modern times mentions them. But Agraphenius' note about the production of sugar in Cyprus deserves special attention. First of all, it is fully consistent with the data from the Cypriot and Italian sources. It was in the mid-14th century that Cyprus became one of the most important producers and exporters of sugar in the Eastern Mediterranean (Bliznyuk, 1998; Wartburg, 2000). Agraphenius was the only Ruthenian author who mentioned the Cypriot sugar. Moreover, if my assumption is correct, and Agraphenius did not travel outside of Famagusta, he saw the sugar on the market, and there he learned about his Cypriot origin. This means that Agraphenius indirectly confirms that Famagusta was the largest market for the sales of Cypriot products. He must have been greatly shocked to see in what quantities the sugar were sold, and hence produced in Cyprus; because in Rus' it was a product of exceptional rarity at that time.

Gradually, an idea began to form in Rus' of the rich Cyprus and its heroic history. In Russian annals there is a story of the capture of Alexandria by the king of Cyprus, Pierre I Lusignan in 1365, which all Cypriots were proud of, and which caused a storm of emotion and delight in all Western Europe (*Nikonovskaja letopis'*, p. 7; Priselkov, p. 382–383). The Russian historian says that in response to the capture of Alexandria by the Crusaders, the Sultan of Egypt gathered a large army and hit Antioch, Jerusalem, and other cities and regions of the Holy Land and Sinai, with all his might. According to the chronicles, this was followed by harsh persecution of Christians. Many churches and monasteries were pillaged, many Orthodox Christians killed, the patriarch of Antioch, Mikhail, lost his life, as did many bishops, archbishops and abbots. Many monks and clergymen were captured and enslaved. Of course, this was not at military

takeover of these cities. After the Roman Christians lost their lands in Syria and Palestine in 1291, they were under the rule of the Sultan of Egypt. The persecution afflicted Christians living in these areas. The strong oppression of Christians, the closure of Christian churches and the obligation of local Christians to pay ransoms to the Muslims, and people taken prisoner in Alexandria were reported by Arab authors (Mansouri, p. 6, 118, 119). Only the intervention of the Byzantine emperor, John V Palaiologos, who sent an embassy to the Sultan and paid a huge ransom for the captive Christians, amounting to 20,000 rubles, that defused the situation. Orthodox prisoners were released, and Christian churches re-opened throughout the country. The Sultan's invasion of the Holy Land coincided with the total solar eclipse of August 7, 1366. Eyewitnesses, of course, saw this natural phenomenon as an omen, as it was recorded in chronicles (*Nikonovskaja letopis'*, p. 7; Priselkov, s. 383; Schreiner).

The Cypriot chronicles are silent on all these dramatic events. Russian chroniclers could get information about these events only from their compatriots who had visited Cyprus and the Holy Land as they happened. Such a pilgrim-informant for the Russian chroniclers could well be, if not Agraphenius himself, who was focused almost exclusively on the biblical and ecclesiastical history of the holy sites, but one of his companions. After all, they had visited Cyprus, spent a long time in Jerusalem, the Holy Land, in the Sinai and Egypt exactly at that time and must have witnessed these events. Thus, we see a vivid example of pilgrimage-making as being of not only the most informative, but also cultural and historical importance.

The history of contacts between Russia and Cyprus in the 15th century was most clearly reflected in the writings of another Russian pilgrim: the monk Zosima. Zosima made his journey to the Holy Land in 1419–1422. One can hardly agree with the hypothesis that V.G. Chentsova put forward that Zosima performed a specific official church mission and was sent for the sake of a resolution on the canonization from the Patriarch of Constantinople (Chentsova, 1997). Firstly, his destination was not Constantinople, it was only that his route went through the Byzantine capital, where he spent almost the entire winter of 1419–1420. Secondly, Zosima's travel took a long time. He was clearly not in a hurry and was not dependent on anyone. He traveled all the Holy Land, where he stayed for nearly a year. Thirdly, his familiarity with Cyprus, which he visited in 1421 on his way back from Jerusalem to Constantinople, could not possibly enter that official mission plans. He allowed himself to remain in Cyprus as long as month and a half to calmly enjoy its cities and monuments.

He first arrived in Larnaca (Kition). Having honored St. Lazarus, the Penitent Thief's cross and marvel, like his predecessor, Abbot Daniel, at

the incense collection technology, Zosima went to the capital of the kingdom of Cyprus, Nicosia. The text makes it immediately clear that he spent more than one day in Cyprus, and that he perfectly understood the political, ecclesiastical, and economic system of the kingdom. Zosima lists all major cities of Cyprus: Nicosia, Famagusta, Limassol, Paphos, and Kition (Larnaca). Of course, he visited the holy sites of Cyprus: the monastery of Kikkos and the tomb of St. Mammes the miracle maker. He, in principle, correctly observes that the entire island was controlled by the Frankish king, even though he may not have understood that Famagusta was in the hands of the Genoese. Therefore, he personally did not go to Famagusta. Zosima noted that there were only four Greek bishops in Cyprus, two of whom belonged to the white clergy and the other two to black clergy.

The sound of the organ in the Greek churches could not have failed to surprise Zosima (*Hozhenie inoka Zosimy*, p. 24). Unknowingly, he reported on the most important result of the long synthesis of Greek and Latin cultures in Cyprus, the interpenetration, and mutual infiltration of the two cultures in the state of the Lusignans. His observation is fully consistent with the data of Western pilgrims of that time, as well as modern research on the adoption of some elements of the Catholic liturgy, mystery, and music of the Greek Orthodox Church of Cyprus (Bliznyuk, 2016, pp. 688–690; Puchner). His remark that near Kyrenia there was the richest royal estate of Morphou,[4] where sugar was produced and fruits of the carob tree were collected, is highly significant (*Hozhenie Hozhenie inoka Zosimy*, pp. 23–24). The confirmation of sugar production in Morphou is also found in Western sources (Bliznyuk, 1994, p. 91). Carob fruits were valued in the international market as highly as sugar, in the Middle Ages and in modern times alike (*Hozhenie inoka Zosimy*, p. 24; *Stranstvija Vasilija Grigorovicha-Barskogo*…, vol. I, p. 275; Mogabgab, p. 42, 46; Richard, p. 339).

So, in the late Middle Ages, Ruthenians had a viable image of Cyprus. The island was a "gate" to Jerusalem for the pilgrims. It was hard to pass by from a geographical point of view, and it was difficult not to notice, not to meet with the Christian relics and holy sites, that it was so rich that it caused a feeling of pride among the Cypriots themselves. It is no accident the most famous Cypriot chronicler, Leontios Machairas, begins his narrative with the story about the shrines, the many saints and the miracles of his native island. Thus, the worship of the Christian shrines of the island of Cyprus was a mandatory part of the "program" for many pilgrims on their way to the Holy Sepulcher and Jerusalem.

4 Morphou was in fact part of the royal domain.

Philippe de Mézières suggested a very accurate allegory of Cyprus. For him, Cyprus was a "bulwark of Christianity," the gates of the East, the gateway to heaven, a purgatory (*Purgatoire*) before Paradise (Mézières, vol. I, pp. 109, 257–259), but not yet paradise itself. In order to enter into this paradise, that is, Jerusalem, each pilgrim had to pass through Cyprus, as an immortal soul passes through purgatory, to reach heaven. Russian pilgrims did not find such a precise metaphor for Cyprus and so clear to every Christian as de Mezieres did, but for them, the island surely was an important Christian site on the way to Jerusalem.

However, we can hardly speak about any permanent Russian-Cypriot relations in the late Middle Ages whatsoever. These were just random, sporadic contacts, first encounters and first impressions of each other. But it was exactly Ruthenian pilgrims of the Middle Ages who laid the foundations for further religious, cultural and later political relations between the two countries. A relationship differs from a contact in that it is: 1) reciprocated, and 2) regular. Thus, not only Russian pilgrims, the "wanderers" would find themselves in Cyprus, but the Greek Cypriots would visit Russia as well. Purely ecclesiastical contacts would be necessary to join the political relations and political interests.

The establishment of permanent Russian-Cypriot links, oddly enough, was facilitated by the Turkish threat and the Turkish conquest of the island in 1570. Russian tsars closely observed the expansion of Turkish power, that was then directly approaching their borders. The role of the first ambassadors could well have been played by merchants, who also acted both as diplomats and pilgrims. The study of Cypriot-Russian relations from the 16th century one could be divided into three areas: 1) Russians in Cyprus; 2) Cypriots in Russia; 3) knowledge of and interest in Cyprus in Russia.

Among the Russian people of the 16th and 17th centuries, as before, there were many priests who ceased to be just pilgrims. Merchants, monks and representatives of the Church began to simultaneously perform diplomatic and representative functions. The church ties of Russia with Athos, the Patriarchate of Jerusalem and Antioch were becoming permanent and regular.

One of the first Russian envoys in the East turned out to be a merchant, Trifon Korobeynikov, who was able to also visit Cyprus. In 1582, he was sent by tsar Ivan IV the Terrible to the holy sites for formal prayer for the soul of the eldest son of Tsar Ivan. According to the official version of the story, the tsar's son died in 1581, and according to the unofficial one, widely distributed throughout Russia, he was killed by his father. The monarch generously supplied the Russian pilgrims with money, having donated 500 rubles for the construction of a church on Mount Sinai

alone. The manuscript contains an interpolation which refers to Cyprus. The text is largely congruent with the story of Abbot Daniel, the only difference is that it tells about the production of olive oil on the island and the Greek soap. In addition, Trifon notes that great ships arrived to the island and that intensive trading was conducted there (*Hozhdenie kuptza Trifona Korobejnikova*, p. 4). This observation is particularly interesting, because it was recorded only ten years after the Turkish invasion of the island. Therefore, the harbors, the international market and the production of traditional Cypriot goods continued to function as before. Vasil Grigorovich-Barsky, who visited Cyprus in the first half of the 18th century, also pointed out that the island actively exported wine and carob to Venice (*Stranstvija Vasilija Grigorovicha-Barskogo*…, vol. I, p. 275). It is not quite clear, however, whether Trifon visited Cyprus himself or if he wrote about the island as described by others. Concerning the collection of frankincense, he wrote clearly that he had only heard about it. He also reports about "nails" of the Holy Cross kept on the island, which he could not have actually seen, especially minding the plural form he uses! Did he even write the quoted text himself or was it written by an anonymous author or a copyist of manuscripts? The latter is more likely.

Whatever the truth was, the accounts about Cyprus itself and their accumulation in Russia, together with its reflection at the turn of the 18th century, are important for us here. In Russia the extraordinary importance of the geographical location of the island on the way to Jerusalem, its size and wealth were still remembered. The Turkish authorities did not interfere with visiting Cyprus or other Greek islands: Patmos, Lesbos, Chios, Crete or Rhodes (*Proskinitarij Arsenija Suhanova*, p. 20–31; *Putešestvie Ieromonaha Ippolita Višenskago*…, p. 20–26; *Stranstvija Vasilija Grigoroviča-Barskogo*…, vol. I–IV). Russia's relations with Turkey were quite peaceful until the second half of the 18th century. Russian pilgrims experienced no problems passing through the Turkish territory. However, Arsenyi Sukhanov almost passed Cyprus on his way to Alexandria.

Let us look at the pilgrims of Peter the Great's time: the Chernigov monk Ippolit Vishenskyi and Vasil Grigorovich-Barsky both chose to stay on Cyprus for a while and left rather detailed descriptions (*Putešestvie Ieromonaha Ippolita Višenskago*…, p. 27–29; *Stranstvija Vasilija Grigoroviča-Barskogo*…, vol. I, pp. 273–275; vol. II, pp. 243–334).

As traditional Russian pilgrims, they included details about the size of the island, the richness of its natural values and Christian shrines, about St. Lazarus and St. Spiridon, and the miracle-working icon of the Blessed Virgin Mary painted by the evangelist Luke. In the works of the mentioned authors, there is also information about the situation on Cyprus and the Cypriot population in the Ottoman Empire. Both report on the desolation

of the former Christian centers. According to Ippolit Vishenskyi, the island had only 24 monasteries, while over a hundred were abandoned. Grigorovich-Barsky counted more than 60 active monasteries. However, in many of them there were no more than 5–30 inhabitants. In the largest one, there was between 50 and 100 monks. He also confirmed the destruction and ruin of many monasteries, where the new conquerors were looking for treasures. The monks were forced to leave their monasteries and flee to the mountains and deserts (*Putešestvie Ieromonaha Ippolita Višenskago*…, p. 27; *Stranstvija Vasilija Grigoroviča-Barskogo*…, vol. II, pp. 244, 246–247, 250–252, 295, 326). A Metropolitan archbishop of Cyprus, Christodule, complained to the Russian Tsar Mikhail Romanov about the ruin of monasteries and the oppression of monks in 1626 (Belobrova, p. 89).

At the same time, Russian travelers noted significant changes in the system of ecclesiastical organization of Cyprus. Both pilgrims confirm the presence the Autocephalous Orthodox Church, controlled by the Metropolitan, on Cyprus: "To no patriarch they belong, they rule themselves" (*Putešestvie Ieromonaha Ippolita Višenskago*…, p. 27). In official letters, the Archbishop of Cyprus used red ink, he wore a purple robe, he would hold an apple and scepter as symbols of his power, and during Ecumenical Councils he would be sitting just below the Patriarchs (ibidem; *Stranstvija Vasilija Grigoroviča-Barskogo*…, vol. II, p. 315).

Thus, the Orthodox Church of Cyprus had changed dramatically compared to the Lusignan period. The Russian authors mention four metropolitans, archbishops, bishops, archimandrites and abbots of monasteries among the hierarchs of the Church. The words for *metropolitan* and *bishop* for are synonymous for Ippolit Vishenskyi: he refers to a bishop as a metropolitan and vice versa. Grigorovich-Barsky says that the Church of Cyprus was controlled by the archbishop, whose residence was in Nicosia, and three bishops of Larnaca, Paphos and Kyrenia (*Stranstvija Vasilija Grigoroviča-Barskogo*…, vol. II, p. 249). Therefore, after the Turkish conquest of the island, the terms of contracts of 1220 and 1222, according to which the office of the Greek archbishop was abolished and the number of bishops was reduced from fourteen to four (Coureas, pp. 259–287; Schabel, Nicolau-Konnari, pp. 190–198), were completely abolished. Autocephaly, the supreme power of the Greek bishopate and the ancient structure of the Cyprus church was restored. At the same time, the structure, consisting of four metropolitans (bishops) with one senior among them, is very similar to the Roman Church system of the 13th–15th centuries with three bishops and an archbishop (metropolitan) standing above them.

It would seem that the Cypriot Orthodox Church was able to feel free and independent from the new rulers of the island. However, Russian pilgrims as if advise us not to hurry with optimistic conclusions. Immediately

after his narration about the Church, Ippolit Vishenskyi speaks vividly and emotionally about the heavy tax burden and per capita taxes imposed by the new conquerors on the entire island, including the hierarchs of the Orthodox Church. "On the island of Cyprus, everyone but the wives pay tribute to the Turks, of seventeen thousand; and as soon as a male child is born, they immediately impose a tribute; this is how the Turks abuse our people. This was told to us by Metropolitan John, that he pays a tax for his monks and priests and himself of one and a half thousand levs" (*Putešestvie Ieromonaha Ippolita Višenskago*…, p. 27). The payment of tribute money to the Turks (called *harach*, from the Arabic *haraz*) and in nature by all the Greek population, including the clergy, is confirmed by Grigorovich-Barsky: "Turks do a lot of nasty things, forcibly taking away food and drink." Not paying the tribute was possible only by renouncing Christianity and accepting Islam. According to Grigorovich-Barsky, there were cases of Islamization of the local population in Cyprus (*Stranstvija Vasilija Grigoroviča-Barskogo*…, vol. II, pp. 244, 261, 324–325). In order to keep track of the population and to collect all the due taxes, everyone, which included foreign visitors, was issued with a kind of an identity card, a special "charter," signed and sealed with five stamps, which indicated the gender, age, social status, appearance, faith and amount of payment. It was all done so no one could pass on the charter to another person. Having such a charter the holder was allowed to move freely across the country. Curiously, the charters differed in color. They could be white, red or yellow, depending on the year of issue. In addition, each man receiving one had to pay for it, depending on his social or economic status: "But it is issued differently, according to function and rank, for the rich or merchants for fifteen thalers, for the lower ones ten, for the poor for five, and for the poorest and oldest traveling, they are sold for three thalers" (*Stranstvija Vasilija Grigoroviča-Barskogo*…, vol. II, p. 325).

Thus, we see that from the beginning of the 12th century until to the middle of the 18th century, Russians went a long way in their learning about Cyprus, established strong contacts and relations with the Orthodox Church of Cyprus, and the local population. With the strengthening of political, economic, ecclesiastical and cultural power of the Russian state, visitors from the Orient would come to Moscow: Patriarchs of Antioch and Jerusalem, monks of Athos, Greek churchmen and laymen. Among them there are also newcomers from Cyprus. The first Cypriots appeared in Moscow shortly after the end of the Time of Troubles ("Smuta") in the 1620s. Only from 1623 to 1652, according to the research by A. Belobrova, eleven delegations of Cypriots arrived in Moscow. They were seeking protection, patronage and financial assistance from the Russian Tsar (Belobrova, pp. 86–88). As a rule, they were monks and representatives of

the Church. However, laymen were also among them. At the same time, there was constant correspondence between Russian tsars and hierarchs of the Cyprus Orthodox Church, and an exchange of diplomatic documents and diplomats was taking place. Some documents and letters have been preserved in the Russian manuscript collections (Belobrova, p. 50). The establishment of bilateral relations between Cyprus and Russia, no doubt, contributed to a better mutual cultural acquaintance.

In the 17th–18th centuries, written accounts by Russians concerning their travels to the Holy Land were perceived in Russian society as literary and artistic works intended for reading for leisure. This explains the large number of surviving copies. It can be argued that works of Cypriot saints were already known in Rus' in the 11th century. Especially popular among them was St. Epiphanius. He has been portrayed among other Fathers of the Church on an 11th century mosaic in the St. Sophia Church in Kiev. His dissertation *About the Twelve Stones* was included in the Miscellany of Prince Svyatoslav back in 1073, and his *Sermon on the burial of the body of Christ* was read during Church worship. In 16th to 17th century, the author was no less popular and widely cited in Russian literature (Belobrova, pp. 13, 21–22, 30). However, in reality, the Russian reader did get acquainted with Cypriot themes in literature before the 17th through 18th centuries, when the first translations of Cypriot stories into Russian appeared. In Russian manuscript collections, official letters and records from the chronicles of Pseudo-Dorotheus and Szymon Starowolski have survived that contain information about real events of the Turkish conquest of the island by Sultan Selim II from the Venetians (Belobrova, pp. 89–90, 92). Russian writers and translators of the 17th century first of all wanted to show the reader the heroism of the Cypriot military leaders, the victories of the Cypriot army overcoming incredible obstacles, dangers and cunning enemies. They selected such collections and passages from them that helped them form a literary image of the glorious and invincible Cyprus.

Thus, pilgrims from the area of Russia who visited the island in the Middle Ages and early Modernity, made an important contribution to the shaping of a positive image of Cyprus in Russia. The pilgrimages played an important cultural, historical and political role. After the Russian-Turkish war of 1768–1774 and the signing of the Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainarji (1774) was founded in Cyprus in 1784 the first diplomatic representation—the consulate of Russia was founded and permanent Russian-Cypriot diplomatic relations were established. Clergy and monks were gradually replaced by diplomats and politicians, but Russian people's interest in Cyprus remained unchanged.

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Géraud de Veyrines, Bishop of Paphos, and the Defense of the Kingdom of Armenia in the 1320s

ABSTRACT

The activities of Géraud de Veyrines, papal nuncio and then bishop of Paphos in the 1320s, have been known since 1962, when Jean Richard published *Instrumenta Miscellanea* in the Vatican Archives on the accounts of his financial dealings as nuncio on Cyprus. These accounts concern his handling of a large fund of 30,000 gold florins for the defense of the Kingdom of Armenia in Cilicia, the raising of clerical tithes and taxes on Cyprus in support of the Kingdoms of Cyprus and Armenia, the legacy of Patriarch Pierre of Jerusalem, and the debts and property of Géraud's predecessor as bishop of Paphos, Aimery de Nabinaud. This article publishes the remaining *Instrumenta Miscellanea* pertaining to these accounts—number 1086 and the unpublished portion of number 1045—and updates the history of the Armenian fund in papal letters, many of which Professor Richard only discovered later, while compiling the third volume of the *Bullarium Cyprium*, published a half-century later, in 2012.[1]

KEYWORDS: Armenia, Cyprus, papacy, Crusades, Géraud de Veyrines

STRESZCZENIE

Géraud de Veyrines, biskup Pafos i obrona Królestwa Armenii w 1320

Pierwsze wzmianki o działalności Gérauda de Veyrinesa, nuncjusza papieskiego, a następnie biskupa Pafos w latach dwudziestych XIV wieku, pojawiły się w 1962 roku, kiedy Jean Richard opublikował w Archiwach Watykańskich kursywa: *Instrumenta miscellanea* – zapis swoich transakcji finansowych jako

1 Generally the papal letters are only accessible in often inadequate and sometimes inaccurate summaries. These summaries are cited below, but frequently the information is found solely in the full text in the manuscripts cited in the summaries. The full text will be published in the continuation of the *Bullarium Cyprium*. A few of the letters are in Raynaldus (1646–1677), but this is not noted below. Pertinent earlier summaries are used sporadically in Coureas (2010), but without the benefit of the *Bullarium Cyprium*. I thank Peter Edbury for his comments.

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nuncjusza na Cyprze. Dokument ten stanowi źródło informacji o wykorzystaniu znacznych funduszy w wysokości 30 000 złotych florenów na obronę Królestwa Armenii w Cylicji oraz zbieraniu dziesięcin duchownych i podatków na Cyprze na wsparcie Królestw Cypru i Armenii. Ponadto opisuje on schedę patriarchy Piotra z Jerozolimy oraz wymienia długi i majątek poprzednika Géraudа, wcześniejszego biskupa Pafos, Aimerego de Nabinaud. W niniejszym artykule udostępnione zostaną pozostałe kursywa: *Instrumenta miscellanea* odnoszące się do tychże ksiąg – dokument nr 1086 i niepublikowana część dokumentu 1045. Przedstawione zostaną tu także nowe fakty dotyczące zapisanej w listach papieskich historii funduszu ormiańskiego. Wiele z tych listów profesor Richard odkrył w późniejszym okresie, podczas opracowywania trzeciego tomu książki *Bullarium Cyprium*, który ujrzał światło dzienne pół wieku później, w 2012 roku.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: Armenia, Cypr, papiestwo, krucjaty, Géraud de Veyrines

The history of the relations between the Kingdoms of Cyprus and Armenia from the fall of Acre in 1291 to the final fall of Cilician Armenia in 1375 has yet to be written, because not all the source material is available in print. This article is a small contribution to this project, including the edition of two documents in the recently renamed Archivio Apostolico Vaticano: *Instrumenta Miscellanea* 1045 and 1086. Because of space limitations, the paper deals with these documents only insofar as they concern the project of Géraud de Veyrines, first papal nuncio and then bishop of Paphos, to support the defense of the Kingdom of Armenia in the 1320s.

Cyprus and Armenia after the Fall of Acre

After the fall of Acre and most other Western Christian outposts in Syria–Palestine in 1291, the Kingdoms of Cyprus and Armenia took on a more important geopolitical role as the last bastions of Latin Christianity in the Eastern Mediterranean. Not only would the two kingdoms be crucial for any recuperation of the Holy Land, but they were now more vulnerable to attack from the advancing Muslims, primarily Mamluk Egypt, but also the Turks of Asia Minor. Although the general population of Cyprus was mostly Greek, with a number of Syrians of various rites, some Armenians, and various other groups, the nobility and some of the merchant class were of Western origin and of the Latin rite, ecclesiastically loyal to Rome. The situation in Cilician Armenia was even more complicated: the nobility consisted of culturally Westernized Armenians, but again the general

population included many Greeks and other groups. After 1198 the Armenian Church was officially united with Rome, but much of the Armenian aristocracy and episcopal hierarchy was hostile to this union, while the Greeks and others remained loyal to their own traditions (Coureas, 1994, 1995; Mutafian, 2012).

The royal houses of Cyprus and Armenia grew closer in the course of the thirteenth century, and before the fall of Acre the popes supplied dispensations for children of King Hugh III of Cyprus (1267–1284), who had eleven legitimate offspring, to marry children of King Leo II (or III) of Armenia (1269–1289), who had sixteen of his own. Hugh's eighth child, Margaret, married the future King Thoros III of Armenia (1293–1298), who was murdered, and her son by Thoros became Leo III (or IV, 1303–1307), who was also murdered. Hugh's fourth son and child, Amaury, married Leo II's tenth child and fourth daughter, Isabella. Moreover, of the six children Amaury had with Isabella, his third son and child, Guy, would become King Constantine II of Armenia (1342–1344), his fourth, John, would be the father of the last king, Leo V (or VI, 1374–1375), and his sixth child and only daughter, Agnes or Maria, either married or became engaged to her unfortunate cousin Leo III (or IV), who died without children (Hill, 1948; Edbury, 1991; Coureas, 1994, 1995; Mutafian 2012).

It would seem that the lineages were interwoven enough that the two isolated kingdoms would support one another against the Muslim threat, and as fate would have it Amaury became heir to his childless older brother, King Henry II (1385–1324). In 1306 a coup overthrew Henry and placed Amaury in power, which at first seemed to bode well for relations between Cyprus and Armenia. Among the justifications for the coup were complaints about Henry's foreign policy and defense initiatives. Henry's failure to aid the Kingdom of Armenia, which was then under the rule of Amaury's nephew and perhaps son-in-law Leo III, was very high on the list. After Leo's murder, Amaury's brother-in-law via Isabella, Oshin (1307–1320), became king. In early 1310, when Amaury's support on Cyprus had dwindled, he sent his brother King Henry into exile and confinement at the court of King Oshin in Armenia, who around this time even married Henry's and Amaury's youngest sister, the eleventh child of Hugh III, Isabella (divorcing her in 1316) (Hill, 1948; Edbury, 1991; Schabel & Minervini, 2008; Edbury, 2016).

Unfortunately for ties between the two kingdoms, Amaury himself was murdered in 1310, and King Henry was forced swear to terms that were beneficial to Armenia in order to secure his release. Naturally, once he was safely back in Cyprus Henry refused to abide by the oath, which he claimed was given under duress, and for the next decade the diplomatic efforts of the papacy managed to prevent open war, but could not establish

peace between the two Christian outposts. Oshin died in mid-1320, succeeded by his son Leo IV (or V, 1320–1341), who in the summer of 1321 married Alice, the daughter of Margaret of Ibelin by the regent of Armenia—another Oshin, of Gorhigos. This Oshin was thought to have poisoned King Oshin, and, in early 1323, to have had Amaury's widow, Isabella, and their eldest surviving son, Henry, killed; their firstborn, Hugh, had died earlier. If this is true, or if King Henry II of Cyprus believed it to be true, he may have been less negatively disposed toward Armenia at the very end of his life (Perrat, 1927; Edbury, 1991; Schabel & Georgiou, 2016).

If so, the timing was right, because Armenia suffered from Mamluk attacks in the early 1320s. When Henry II finally decided to come to Armenia's aid, he drew the wrath of the Sultan against Cyprus (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-161). On December 20, 1322 Pope John XXII sent three versions of a long bull with at least twenty surviving copies in which he called for general assistance and a crusade for both kingdoms (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-151). It was in this context that the pope sent Géraud de Veyrines to Outremer.

Géraud de Veyrines

The first known mention of *Geraldus de Vitrinis* is in a letter of Pope Clement V dated July 1, 1311 concerning Templar property, in which Géraud is said to have drawn up a document as public notary by royal authority of Agen, about 60 km west-southwest of John XXII's hometown of Cahors, in southwest France (Clement V, 1885–1892, no. 7183). On the basis of a letter dated February 21, 1325 granting the rectorship of the church of St. Michael in Nicosia to a "Helyas de Virtinis" of the diocese of Périgueux in the Dordogne region (Jean XXII, 1904–1947, no. 21612), Jean Richard was certain that Géraud and Hélie were relatives and that "de Virtinis" corresponded to Veyrines-de-Vergt, which lies about 20 km south-southeast of Périgueux. Nevertheless, according to a papal letter of June 8, 1321 (Jean XXII, 1904–1947, no. 13602), Géraud himself was from the neighboring diocese of Sarlat, about 35 km east-southeast of Veyrines-de-Vergt, but only 14 km northeast of Veyrines-de-Domme. Given that the only published papal letters from 1316 to 1378 to people in the region from *Vitrinis* are to Géraud and Hélie, who both ended up in Nicosia at the same time, Richard is surely right that they are relatives, but whether they hailed from Veyrines-de-Vergt in the diocese of Périgueux or from Veyrines-de-Domme in the diocese of Sarlat cannot be determined (Richard, 1962; Salles, 2007).

Géraud's services for Clement V must have been valuable, for the next we hear of Géraud, on January 2, 1314, he was archdeacon of Troia, in faraway Apulia, when the pope made him the rector in the spiritual affairs of the city and the district of Benevento (Clement V, 1885–1892, no. 10121). When Géraud reappears on June 8, 1321, as canon with prebend and still archdeacon of Troia, he is given an expectancy of a benefice in the city or diocese of Bordeaux by Pope John XXII (Jean XXII, 1904–1947, no. 13602). Less than two weeks later, on June 21, Pope John—on being informed of the death of the incumbent—granted Géraud the canonry with prebend and the position of archdeacon in Benevento, while allowing Géraud to retain his posts in Troia and even his expectancy in Bordeaux (Jean XXII, 1904–1947, no. 13866). Finally, in the context of his crusading plans, on February 13, 1323 John XXII granted Archdeacon Géraud of Benevento the canonry with prebend in Nicosia Cathedral that was vacated by Pierre de Genouillac's promotion to patriarch of Jerusalem (at some point, Géraud received a parallel post in Famagusta; *Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, f-315). Unlike in the previous letters, this time Géraud is addressed as "magister," indicating a high level of education. John made a point that the grant was made *motu proprio* and not at Géraud's or anyone else's request. Unusually, there is no mention at all of Géraud's other benefices. The letter was addressed to the bishops of Paphos and Famagusta as well as a canon of Benevento itself, to get the message across (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-134, 158). The situation was urgent.

The choice of Géraud de Veyrines has been seen as part of a trend whereby clerics from the Périgord region, centered on Périgueux but including Sarlat, were sent to Cyprus and became prominent local figures, especially the Nabinaud and Chambarlhac families, which supplied archbishops to Nicosia and bishops to the other dioceses. Besides John XXII himself, Cardinal Hélie Talleyrand of Périgord has been seen as a driving force (Salles, 2007), from before being raised to the purple in 1331 until his death in 1364, when he was preparing to go as legate on the crusade that Peter I of Cyprus would eventually lead to Alexandria in 1365, with Peter Thomae as legate. However, the rise of Périgord in Cyprus predates John XXII's pontificate, since Aimery of Nabinaud was already lector at the Franciscan convent in Famagusta during the negotiations for King Henry II's release in 1310 (Perrat, 1927).

Géraud and the Armenian Question

Aimery of Nabinaud was in fact one of the recipients of the February 13, 1323 letter granting Géraud a canonry in Nicosia, because John XXII had made Aimery bishop of Paphos the previous year, on July 18, 1322

(*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-139). Even here, however, Pope John merely accepted the chapter's election of Friar Aimery, replacing the late Jacques More, who had been active in the dispute between Cyprus and Armenia (Schabel & Georgiou, 2016). In fact, in his monumental *Annales Minorum* from the mid-seventeenth century, the Irish scholar Luke Wadding not only edited Pope John's letter promoting Aimery, but described the situation, and his words serve as a transition to our theme:

> This year the Pontiff committed much serious business to be carried out in the East to Friar Aimery, who … rose to the bishopric of Paphos the previous year, especially in order to pacify King Henry of Cyprus and the Grand Master Hélion of the Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem and the other brothers of the same military order, who were sharply at variance with one another and dealing with each other with hostility (cf. *Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-168, 192), and to conclude pacts of peace between the same king and King Leon of Armenia (cf. *Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-166, 194) and finally between the same Henry and the Genoese (cf. *Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-167, 195), working along with Patriarch Pierre of Jerusalem. (Wadding, 1625–1654, for 1322 and 1323)

Wadding then introduces our Géraud:

> The Pontiff had sent the sum of 30,000 florins of Florence, via the Florentine merchants and associates of the Bardi, to be handed over to Master Géraud de Veyrines, archdeacon of Benevento, nuncio of the Apostolic See in areas of Outremer, for the relief of King Leon of the Armenians … and of all Christians living in his kingdom, whom the treachery and neighboring madness of the Saracens was cruelly and monstrously afflicting (cf. *Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-163). But once truces of long duration were made between the aforesaid king and the Armenian barons, on one side, and the Sultan of Babylon and his peoples opposed to the Armenians, on the other (cf. *Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-230), this year the Pontiff wrote to the aforesaid nuncio so that, with the advice of the aforesaid Bishop Aimery of Paphos, he would spend the money for the good of the Armenians, either in repairing the castles of Laiazzo [Ayas], and other fortified places of said kingdom, which the Saracens had just cruelly destroyed, or in purchasing arms or acquiring other things necessary to protect the kingdom (cf. *Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-233-234). (Wadding, 1625–1654, for 1322 and 1323)

Wadding had direct access to the Vatican Archives and put together his paragraph on the basis of a number of still-unpublished materials. Let us unpack his dense paragraph.

In letters from the spring of 1323, Pope John XXII outlined plans for a crusade in 1324 (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-162). On April 1, 1323,

in a letter to both Patriarch Pierre and Archdeacon Géraud, Pope John informed them that in support of the Kingdom of Armenia he had sent the staggering sum of 30,000 gold florins of Florence, which at the time was the equivalent of 180,000 bezants. It is difficult to put this into perspective, but one could pay the annual salaries of roughly 500 cathedral canons with that money, the equivalent of many tens of millions of euros today. The funds were to be transferred via the Bardi bank, payable in the port city of Famagusta or in the capital of Nicosia in four unequal monthly installments of 10,500, 10,500, 4,500, and 4,500 florins, and the patriarch was to carry out arrangements for the money. The reason for the unequal sums is given in another letter to the same recipients, 17 columns in length, undated but presumably around the same time. Most of this is taken up by the texts of two notarial documents drawn up in Avignon that Pope John XXII included; they provide the details of two agreements with the Bardi bank, one dated September 7, 1322 concerning 12,960 florins—12,000 of which would go to the East in two monthly installments of 6,000—and the second dated March 5, 1323 involving 19,440 florins, of which 18,000 would go to Cyprus in four monthly installments of 4,500. The remaining 2,400 florins, 8% of the 30,000, would remain with the Bardi bank for its services (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-163; Schaefer, 1904).

A few days later, on April 6, Pope John again wrote Pierre and Géraud the first of a series of letters that month ordering them to raise various tithes and taxes on ecclesiastical income in Cyprus for the defense of both kingdoms (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-165, 191, 197, 199–201). On April 10, the pope granted Géraud the rather generous per diem of two gold florins and safe passage for his journey east (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-188, 190), although he was also allowed to retain the income from his benefices for a number of years (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-249). On April 28, John wrote to Patriarch Pierre and Géraud asking Pierre to hand over to Géraud his accounts for his activities as papal nuncio, now that Géraud was replacing him (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-198).

In the summer of 1324, however, Pope John XXII learned from a letter sent from representatives of the Bardi bank in Famagusta, dated May 31, that the Armenians had come to terms with the Mamluks at the request of the Tartars, with the Armenians paying—in addition to a share of duties, tolls, and other royal income—an astronomical annual tribute to the Sultan of 1,200,000 dirhams, the equivalent of 300,000 white bezants of Cyprus or 50,000 gold florins, more than the entire sum of the papal aid package. In exchange, the Sultan was obliged to repair the castle of Laiazzo and every other fortification that he had destroyed to the point where they were at least as strong as before (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-230).

The crusade was thus cancelled, but despite the Sultan's alleged obligation to repair the castles, as Pope John XXII informed Géraud on August 9, 1324, the pope and the cardinals decided that the 30,000 florins should still be used for the defense of Armenia. By this time, Patriarch Pierre had died on Cyprus, so the pope instructed Géraud—with the advice and aid of Bishop Aimery of Paphos, if he would and could, or else alone—to discern from trustworthy prelates and others in the area whether the money should be used for the reconstruction and repair of the castle of Laiazzo and other fortified places in Armenia that were recently destroyed by the infidels, or the purchase of arms, or supplies, or anything else for the defense of Armenia. After the investigation, Géraud was to dispense the money accordingly, with the help of able and worthy persons chosen carefully, who would render accounts afterwards. He was told to make sure that no money should fall into the hands of other individuals or groups. Whatever he decided to do with the money, he was to keep the pope informed via public documents, acting with ecclesiastical censure against anyone who took away, usurped, misappropriated, or converted any or all of the money to other uses without papal permission, or against anyone who helped such people in any way (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-233). A few days later, on August 13, Pope John reminded Géraud to be careful with the 30,000 florins, but to inform him about what he and Bishop Aimery did with the money collected or to be collected from the tithes and fruits of vacant benefices on Cyprus, about how it could best be used for the defense of Cyprus against the enemies of the Cross, and about the state of the area and rumor circulating (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-235). Still, on October 25, 1324 the pope told Géraud to exempt Maurice de Pagnac—who was in charge of half of the Hospitaller holdings in Cyprus—from the clerical tithe, because Maurice was also preceptor in the Kingdom of Armenia, from which he was no longer receiving anything because of the Mamluk destruction, and yet he had to continue to support the Armenian holdings (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-243).

With the crusade cancelled and the local funds from the Cypriot clergy thus diverted to Cyprus, only the 30,000 florins were left for Géraud to direct to Armenia. By this point, King Henry II had already died—on March 31, 1324 (Edbury, 1991). Nevertheless, as late as June 3, 1324 the news had not reached Avignon, since Pope John addressed a letter to King Henry on that date (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-229). For some reason, the first sign that the pope was aware of Henry's death and Hugh IV's succession is a letter dated March 20, 1325 addressed to "the same king" (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-256), in the manuscript immediately following a letter to "Hugoni regi Cipri illustri" (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-260, June 10, 1325). Indeed, the letter from March 20 informing the king

that his nuncio, the knight Jacques Vidal, had arrived bearing the king's letter declaring his fealty seems to be the pope's reply to Hugh's official announcement. Pope John also commended to King Hugh Master Géraud of Veyrines, archdeacon of Benevento, papal nuncio, as if for the first time. Nevertheless, for some reason, on June 10, Pope John sent another letter to King Hugh commending Géraud (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-261).

Almost two years later, on 17 March 1327, Pope John commended Géraud to Hugh IV yet again, but this time it was because of Géraud's promotion to bishop of Paphos. The pope was responding to Hugh's letter in which the king described his actions toward Géraud after the latter's promotion (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-307). By February 24, 1327 Pope John had appointed a new archdeacon of Benevento because of Géraud's promotion, and the pope specified that Géraud had already been consecrated in Outremer while carrying out his duties as nuncio (Jean XXII, 1904–1947, no. 27984). The previous time we hear of Géraud is in a letter dated September 20, 1326, in which Pope John acknowledges receipt of the nuncio's own letter (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-298). Following Bishop Aimery's death, Géraud must have been elected or appointed bishop toward the end of 1326.

Following Géraud's promotion, Pope John replaced him as nuncio with Pierre de Manso, who was given Géraud's canonry and prebend in Nicosia on May 14 (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-314), and Jacques Raymond Sartor—who received Géraud's corresponding benefice in Famagusta on May 14 (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-315)—on 22 May (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-319). On May 25, the new nuncios were instructed to look into the fate of the 30,000 florins, with Bishop Géraud's assistance (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-325). The pope explained the background, how Patriarch Pierre and Archdeacon Géraud were assigned to deal with the money, but that following Pierre's death Géraud was told to go ahead with the funds with Bishop Aimery's assistance, despite the truces between Armenia and the Sultan. Pierre and Jacques were to have Géraud render an account of the money. If nothing had been used or only a portion of it, they were to recover the money or what was left and put it in a safe place. On the advice of Géraud and other prelates and trustworthy persons, they were to put the money to as good and expedient use as possible. In any event, they were to inform the pope about Géraud's accounts and their actions. John XXII addressed other letters to the same nuncios in parallel on the tithes, clerical taxes, and other financial matters touching on Géraud's actions as nuncio (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-322–324, 326–328).

That much was standard and expected, but on June 1, 1327 the nuncios were also told to recover the goods of the late Bishop Aimery of Paphos,

which included sugar, revenues from the *casalia* (villages) of the bishopric, chalices and ornaments for the chapel, cloth of gold, silk, and camlet, silver vessels, animals, furniture, wine, and various items in the *casalia*, amounting to approximately 50,000 bezants, not counting the 26,000 bezants that Aimery had collected from the tithe (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-329). Unfortunately for Géraud, his diocese was in debt, and this would have repercussions for the Armenian fund.

On July 24, 1327, having learned that Jacques Raymond was unable to travel to Cyprus, Pope John replaced him with the Dominican Arnald de Fabricis, and in a series of letters sent them to Cyprus with a per diem of 1/2 florin each, one-fourth of what Géraud had enjoyed throughout his period as nuncio (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-338–341). On August 1, John informed King Hugh of the fact that Pierre and Arnald were replacing Géraud as nuncios (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-342). According to Géraud's later accounts (Richard, 1962), his activities as nuncio ceased on September 30, 1327, probably with the arrival of the letter to Hugh and of the nuncios themselves.

The activities of the pope's new nuncios, Pierre de Manso and Arnald de Fabricis, are well known, perhaps even infamous (Richard, 1962; Kaoulla & Schabel, 2007), but we hear nothing else about the case of Bishop Géraud for over a year. On October 15, 1328 Pope John wrote to Géraud, relating that King Leon of Armenia and the regents Oshin of Gorighos and Ethon de Nigrino had sent nuncios to the pope asking that the money the pope had entrusted to Géraud for regaining and repairing the castles of Armenia be given to them now for repairing the castle of Laiazzo, despite the truce between the two sides, so that if any discord should arise between the king and the Sultan of Babylon the Armenians could be secure. With a view to helping the king and kingdom and for the Orthodox faith, since the pope's letters to Géraud on this matter both while Géraud was nuncio and after he became bishop always indicated that this money was for the support of the Kingdom of Armenia, Pope John ordered Géraud to turn over the money to the nuncios in Cyprus in full and immediately, so that they could spend it as intended. Géraud was also told to have three public instruments drawn up recording this restitution to the nuncios, keeping one, giving one to the nuncios, and sending the third to Avignon without delay. On the same day Pope John wrote his nuncios to this effect, asking them to spend the money as intended, once they received it from Géraud (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-382).

It seems that the pope had no information on the fate of the 30,000 florins that he had arranged to send to Cyprus over five years earlier. The letters to Géraud, or at least to the nuncios, had an immediate effect, as we shall see. Before the pope knew of this effect, however, he sent a series of

five letters to his nuncios, Pierre de Manso and Arnald de Fabricis, on February 22, 1329. One letter summarizes the problems that the nuncios had with Géraud concerning Paphos: he had seized the possessions of the late Aimery, who had significant debts to the apostolic camera that were still unpaid; the back tithes of nine years from the diocese now amounted to 36,000 bezants or 6,000 florins; as a result, the nuncios excommunicated and suspended Géraud and placed his church under interdict. Because of this, Géraud paid 1,000 florins in order to delay payment by one year, and Pope John ordered the nuncios to allow it (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-391). Since Géraud had appealed to the pope, in another letter John XXII ordered the nuncios to relax the sentences and absolve him of any irregularities that he may have incurred while celebrating the divine offices while under such sentences, on the condition that Géraud dealt with the debts within a year, as mentioned (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-388). In another letter, the pope authorized Géraud to borrow up to 6,000 florins for the above, matching what Paphos owed the papacy for the tithes (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-392).

The other two letters concerned the 30,000 florins. In one, Pope John reminded his nuncios of his earlier letter ordering them to receive the accounts from Géraud, demand the return of whatever had not been spent, place that remainder or the full amount in a safe place, and seek advice about what best to do with it. Although Géraud offered to render these accounts and return the remainder to the best of his ability, Géraud had the pope informed that, because he did not turn over the money to them, they resorted to sentences of excommunication and suspension for this as well, despite Géraud's appeal to the pope on this matter. The pope told his nuncios that if Géraud rendered a proper account and returned the 30,000 florins or the part that remained—which should be deposited in a safe place—they should absolve him of these sentences and harass him no more (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-389). In the other letter, the pope relates that Géraud sent word that he had already placed the remainder of the 30,000 florins in a safe place, so the pope ordered the nuncios to absolve him of any irregularity he may have incurred if he celebrated or involved himself in the divine offices while bound by the sentences, except if he was in contempt, with the proviso that Géraud must deposit the money within 15 days of being presented with this letter. Thus, the nuncios were to announce publicly that Géraud was absolved or still bound, depending on his actions with respect to the 30,000 florins (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-390).

The Agreements and Accounts of Early 1329

On January 15, precisely three months after John dispatched his previous letter of October 15, 1328, the bishop of Paphos came to an agreement with the nuncios, as recorded in *Instrumentum Miscellaneum* 1086, which was described previously (Richard, 1962, pp. 33–34), but is published below for the first time. The agreement was drawn up in the lodgings of the bishopric of Paphos in Nicosia by the public notary (on apostolic authority) Arnaud Bregas, a cleric of the diocese of Rieux, south of Toulouse, with another copy made by the notary Master Radolfo de Osuertulo of Cremona, in the presence of the Carmelite vicar provincial of the Holy Land Guillaume Garde, the Carmelite Thomas Catalan, the Dominican Bernard Sarrazin, the priest Giovanni Cosenza, Géraud's relative Hélie de Veyrines, cantor of Paphos, the master chaplain of Paphos Gerald of Geneva, and the notary Raymond Vidal. The agreement concerned several issues, listed in this order: the debts that the late Bishop Aimery of Paphos owed the apostolic camera; the 30,000 florins; the restitution of the goods of Bishop Aimery; the sugar already collected that was in Paphos and in Famagusta; and the modest expenses of the nuncios in the "expeditio" of the above-mentioned master chaplain Gerald of Geneva (perhaps to Avignon), the "business of the inquisition" of Stephen "Pacisingressi" (who must have been assisting them), the collection of the above-mentioned sugar, and other things pertaining to the Church of Paphos.

The agreement contained seven articles, the second of which stated that within eight days of receiving this document Bishop Géraud would render an account to the nuncios of what he had done with the 30,000 florins intended for the relief and support of Armenia. The first item, however, was the debt of the bishop of Paphos, which Géraud had inherited, and of which Géraud pledged to pay each year 18,000 white bezants (3,000 florins)—9,000 in August and the other 9,000 in February—although the repayment was not to begin until March 1, 1329. The bishopric of Paphos was relatively wealthy, but this still amounted to half of the bishop's estimated income (Hoberg, 1949). These payments would continue until Bishop Aimery's debts had been paid, especially the six-year tithe on the Church of Paphos. According to the third article, the new bishop agreed to turn over to the nuncios whatever goods of Aimery had ended up with Géraud, or their value, in accordance with the inventory that had been conducted, as well as anything not mentioned in the inventory. The bishop's assets in sugar were to be sold in Famagusta to reduce the debt, both what was already in Famagusta and what was still in Paphos, which was to be shipped to Famagusta for sale. The income from the tithe on royal property in the diocese of Paphos for 1328 was to be turned over to the

nuncios for the same purpose of debt reduction. The nuncios agreed to make an accurate account of these transactions. Finally, Bishop Géraud would pay the modest expenses of the nuncios mentioned above.

Géraud quickly supplied some of the required accounts. *Instrumentum Miscellaneum* 1088, which was dated February 3 in the Dominican convent of Nicosia and which has been published (Richard, 1962, pp. 35–36), concerns the goods of the late Patriarch Pierre, which were not mentioned in the January 15 agreement. Géraud had already secured from Archbishop Homodeus of Tarsus in Armenia a document drawn up in Tarsus and dated June 15, 1328—the previously published part of *Instrumentum Miscellaneum* 1045 (Richard, 1962, pp. 37–38)—which recorded the money he had received from Géraud for the castles in Armenia, taken from the 30,000 florins: 5,000 white bezants of Cyprus on March 26, 1326; 10,000 bezants on December 12, 1326; 10,000 bezants on March 2, 1327; 10,000 bezants on April 30, 1327; and at various times in 1327 (old style), via Count Oshin of Gorighos, 30,000 bezants, as recorded in a letter from August 24, 1327.

Archbishop Homodeus's letter is incorporated into a document published below, the remainder of *Instrumentum Miscellaneum* 1045, drawn up for the nuncios by the same Arnaud Bregas on March 3, 1329 in Famagusta, after Géraud had shown them Homodeus's sealed letter in the Dominican convent of Nicosia, likely either on February 3, on the occasion of the account of Patriarch Pierre's legacy, or on January 26, when Géraud's own account was drawn up (see below). In Famagusta the Dominican John Torelli and Odino Valerius of the diocese of Verdun, along with Master Raymond Vidal, served as witnesses, while the priest Giovanni Cosenza assisted Bregas with the collation of Homodeus's letter.

That accounted for 65,000 bezants, 10,833 florins, just over one-third of the original amount (Richard, 1962). The most exciting document, *Instrumentum Miscellaneum* 1087, which was published previously (Richard, 1962, pp. 41–49), is Géraud's own account of how he used the money on Cyprus in support of Armenia, notably in the construction of ships, covering the period from August 10, 1325 to May 1326. The copy of Géraud's account was drawn up on January 26, 1329 by the same Arnaud Bregas in the Dominican convent of Nicosia. The total amount came to around 35,000 bezants, 5,868 florins (Richard, 1962).

The Aftermath

As has been remarked (Richard, 1962), together with what was sent to Armenia in cash for the reconstruction and restoration of fortifications in Laiazzo and perhaps elsewhere, only 16,671 of the original 30,000 florins

were accounted for, and 3,268 of that went to Géraud's own per diem and expenses. But what of the more than 13,000 florins that remained? Papal letters from June 4, 1329, before the August payments were due, reveal that the nuncios, according to Géraud, continued to harass him over his predecessor Aimery's debts despite the agreement, while Géraud continued to negotiate with the pope concerning the sugar stocks, which Aimery had apparently pledged as security (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-407–408). In a letter dated August 5, 1329, John responded to the nuncios' explanation of the debts of and agreement with Géraud concerning everything but the 30,000—the subject of another letter—asking for distinct clarification about the origins of the various debts and the terms of the payments (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-424). The saga continued into 1330, when, on March 22, the pope wrote another five letters on these and other matters relating to Paphos, the tithe, and Géraud's handling of the goods of deceased clerics (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-434–438).

On August 5, 1329 Pope John also responded to the nuncios concerning the accounts of Bishop Géraud regarding the 30,000 florins, which accounts the nuncios had sent to Avignon. The nuncios had asked the pope whether Géraud's own salary and expenses as nuncio, i.e., 3,268 florins, should be deducted from the 30,000, as the bishop insisted. The pope answered that the camera was still ill-informed about what had been done in those parts and could not easily examine the accounts, although if the nuncios had specific doubts they could write for clarification. So the pope ordered Pierre and Arnald to carefully examine the accounts themselves and, if they had doubts or suspicions, to explain them clearly to the apostolic camera, and not to deduct anything for Géraud's salary until they had the pope's response to their examination, specific doubts, and suspicions (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-425).

Meanwhile, King Hugh IV must have got wind that there was still money left over from the Armenian fund and that the Armenians were requesting the remainder be sent to them directly. For this and other matters Hugh sent an embassy to Avignon, asking that the "rest of the money sent by us [the pope] at one time for the defense of your [Hugh's] kingdom and the Kingdom of Armenia" be given to Hugh for the defense of Cyprus and the construction of castles, with the tithes and taxes on Cyprus to be devoted to work on the walls of Nicosia. On the same day he sent the other letters, August 5, 1329, Pope John replied to Hugh that the money the pope had sent was actually for the defense of the Kingdom of Armenia and this grant could not be revoked (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-423). Earlier, on May 7, probably soon after the Cypriot embassy arrived (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-404–406), Pope John had written to his nuncios that he had heard—possibly from the Cypriots—doubts about the

solidity of the faith and devotion to the Church of the Kingdom of Armenia. If true, the nuncios were not to send any more of the money to Armenia, but to keep it safe and to be cautious about it. If instead Armenia persisted in its loyalty, the nuncios were to spend the money for its defense as previously ordered without impediment, except for obvious reasons (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-423). Indeed, in January 1329 King Leon IV, coming of age, had murdered Oshin of Gorighos and several others (Richard, 1962; Coureas, 1994), and among his letters from March 22, 1330 Pope John wrote one to his nuncios informing them that he had heard that Leon had destroyed churches and other religious places constructed for the Latin rite, so Pierre and Arnaud were ordered not to give any (more) of the 30,000 florins sent in aid "of the Kingdoms of Cyprus and Armenia"—reflecting the perspective of King Hugh of Cyprus—until they received further papal orders (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-432).

Pope John must have learned that the report about King Leon IV was untrue and that he favored the Roman Church, and on February 28, 1331 John referred again to the money "*dudum* directed for the repair of the castles and fortifications of the Kingdom of Armenia." Pierre and Arnaud, the pope's nuncios, had informed him that part of the money had in fact been used for the repair of the castle of Laiazzo, but that a certain portion of the money remained, no doubt the 13,000 florins. Pope John ordered his nuncios to employ the money as earlier directed, i.e., in aid to Armenia, and to report back to him (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-451). Prima facie, our story seems to end here.

Post mortem

We hear no more about the 30,000 florins during Géraud's lifetime, probably because the remainder was spent as directed. Understandably, having discovered the fascinating document concerning the specifics of the effort to build ships for the defense of Armenia, Jean Richard was less interested in Géraud himself, although more than a half century later he would publish a detailed report on Géraud's almost immediate successor, Eudes de Cauquelies (Richard, 2016). It turns out that the issue of the 30,000 florins did not end in 1331 or die with Géraud, so let us glance quickly at the succession. According to Pope Benedict XII's letter to Eudes appointing him bishop of Paphos, dated June 2, 1337 (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, s-29), Pope John XXII had reserved for himself and the Apostolic See the appointment of Géraud's successor while Géraud was alive. At some point after Pope John's death on December 4, 1334, and after the news of Benedict's election on December 30 and rumors that he had cancelled all of

John XXII's reservations reached Cyprus, Bishop Géraud died in Cyprus and the chapter convened and elected as bishop Philippe Alaman, canon and cantor of Nicosia and papal chaplain (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-523). The de facto Bishop-elect Philippe himself then died in Cyprus, and the chapter once again gathered and elected Eudes, treasurer of Nicosia, whose election was confirmed by Archbishop Hélie of Nicosia. Eudes was consecrated, and he took over duties as bishop. Only then did Eudes learn that Benedict XII had not cancelled all of Pope John's reservations, so Eudes travelled to Rome and eventually obtained his position from Benedict (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, s-29). The date of Géraud's death can be established with more precision, because on June 3, 1336 Pope Benedict gave to Lambertino of Bologna Philippe Alaman's position of canon and cantor of Nicosia, having learned of Philippe's death (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, s-18). Lambertino was in Avignon by January 3, 1336, when Benedict wrote to King Hugh IV announcing Lambertino's arrival (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, s-7), yet on February 10 the pope was still addressing letters to the unnamed bishop of Paphos (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, s-15). Thus Géraud's death occurred after Lambertino's departure in the fall of 1335 and probably before the spring of 1336, allowing time for Philippe's election, death, and the arrival of the news in Avignon by June 3.

On June 22, 1336 Benedict wrote to Archbishop Hélie concerning the late Bishop Géraud and the Armenian money. The Bardi bank had sent a petition to the pope concerning the money that the late Pope John had assigned to the late Bishop Géraud for the defense of Cyprus, probably an error for Armenia. Géraud had not spent the money for the defense of the island, the petition claimed, and John ordered Géraud to return it. The petition then continued that Géraud asserted that he had spent the money for the "evident utility" of his Church of Paphos and could not repay the apostolic camera. As a result, John allowed Géraud to borrow up to a certain sum and oblige his successors and the Church of Paphos to repay, they claimed. The agents of the Bardi bank in Cyprus then lent Géraud a certain sum of money, which Géraud used to pay the apostolic camera. The Bardi petition concluded that Bishop Géraud and the chapter of Paphos had obliged themselves to repay the money before a certain deadline, which had now elapsed. Since Géraud had died before repaying the loan, and the new bishop (Eudes) and the chapter were refusing to repay the bank the loan that Géraud borrowed *indebite*, the Bardi agents asked the pope for a remedy. Pope Benedict wrote to Archbishop Hélie of Nicosia, a relative of the late Bishop Aimery of Paphos, ordering him to summon the parties, force witnesses to testify, and decide what was just, any obstacles notwithstanding (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, s-19).

This loan was not the 6,000 florins that Pope John XXII had permitted Géraud to borrow on February 22, 1329 (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, r-388), as we learn from the last letter on the subject, dated July 23, 1337. Pope Benedict wrote again to Archbishop Hélie and the bishop of Limassol, summarizing what Bishop Eudes of Paphos had told him: not administering his see well, the late Bishop Géraud had obliged himself and his church to the agents of the Florentine Bardi bank on Cyprus to the amount of 25,000 florins or thereabouts, or roughly 150,000 bezants. At the time of his death, Géraud still owed 11,000 florins to the bank. After his election, confirmation, and consecration in Cyprus, Bishop Eudes was asked many times to pay the remaining principal of the loan. Eventually, the Bardi agents and Bishop Eudes agreed to the arbitration of Archbishop Hélie, the bishop of Famagusta, and two knights, but Eudes had expressly protested beforehand that he would not oblige his church or his successors in any way. The panel of arbitration decided that, although the loan was not taken out for the use of the Church of Paphos, which it was not, nor for any reasonable necessity of that church, Eudes should nevertheless pay the 11,000 florins. Fearing what would happen if he refused completely, Eudes paid 1,000 of this amount and wrote to the pope. The pope ordered the archbishop and bishop of Limassol to summon the parties, hear the case in Nicosia, and put a just end to the matter, restoring Eudes and his church if justice demanded (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, s-36).

According to the Bardi petition of June 22, 1336 (*Bullarium Cyprium III*, 2012, s-19), Bishop Géraud had used the money from the Armenian defense fund, likely the roughly 13,000 florins, for the Church of Paphos. It is thus probable that, upon learning of the dire financial straits of the church he had inherited from Aimery, Géraud shifted money around to lessen his Paphos burden. Later, probably in late 1328 or early 1329 when he was under pressure from the pope and his nuncios, Géraud borrowed around 25,000 florins from the Bardi bank. (By the time of his death roughly seven years later, Géraud had managed to repay 14,000, so perhaps the terms were that he would pay 2,000 florins per year.) Given that more than 13,000 florins of the original 30,000 earmarked for the defense of Armenia were unaccounted for, and Géraud was saddled with the huge debt of Bishop Aimery, it is reasonable to assume that he had first used the roughly 25,000 florins to repay the nuncios, and thus the apostolic camera, the remaining 13,000 or so florins of the Armenian fund, which is why we never hear about that after 1331. Géraud probably applied the remaining 12,000 to satisfy part of the Paphos debt.

It is likely that Archbishop Hélie found a solution, but it was in Eudes's and his church's interest to delay, for in the mid-1340s the Bardi bank famously collapsed, largely because King Edward III of England defaulted

on his loans. As for Laiazzo, the Mamluks took the city again in 1337 (Edbury, 1991; Coureas, 1994; Mutafian, 2012), the same year the story of the 30,000 florins destined principally for the fortification of the city ends. The already fascinating narrative that Jean Richard began in 1962 is made much richer by pursuing the details in the full text of unpublished papal letters, the existence of many of which was only revealed in 2012 by Professor Richard, completing the research that Charles Perrat had begun in 1926. For the half century of Cypriot history between the restoration of Henry II in 1310 and the coronation of Peter I as king of Jerusalem in 1360, papal letters are our main source. The publication of the full text of all these letters is crucial for further advances in the historiography of this period of Frankish Cyprus.

Note on the Editions

The initial transcription of *Instrumentum Miscellaneum* 1086 was done by Christina Kaoulla more than a decade ago in the context of my class on Latin palaeography, and I have made minor corrections.

INSTRUMENTUM MISCELLANEUM 1086

Nicosia, house of the bishop of Paphos, January 15, 1329

In nomine Domini, amen. Noverint universi presentes pariter et futuri quod reverendus in Christo pater dominus Geraldus Dei gratia Paphensis episcopus, ex parte una, et venerabiles et discreti viri domini Petrus de Manso decanus Pacensis et frater Arnaldus de Fabricis Ordinis Predicatorum, Apostolice Sedis nuncii in partibus cismarinis, ex altera, de debitis in quibus bone memorie dominus frater Aymericus, quondam Paphensis episcopus, dicti domini episcopi proximus predecessor, camere domini nostri pape tenebatur, dum viveret; item, de ratione ac depositione reddenda et facienda dictis dominis nunciis per eundem dominum Geraldum episcopum summe triginta milium florenorum auri sibi traditorum in subventionem et tuitionem regni Armenie per ipsum expendendorum; item, super restitutione ab ipso domino episcopo facienda de bonis dicti fratris Aymerici, predecessoris sui; item, super zucara iam collecta tam in Papho quam Famagusta, necnon de expensis moderate factis ab ipsis nunciis seu aliis eorum nomine in expeditione domini Geraldi de Lagenebra magistri capellani Paphensis, et in negotio inquisitionis Stephani Pacisengressi, atque collectione zucare antedicte, et aliis dictam Paphensem ecclesiam contingentibus; in presencia mei notarii et testium infrascriptorum ad hoc specialiter vocatorum et rogatorum, pro bono pacis et quietis utriusque partis, ad ordinationem et conventionem que sequitur devenerunt:

[1] In primis, quod dictus dominus Geraldus Paphensis episcopus cum hoc presenti publico instrumento obligavit se et omnia bona sua et dicte sue Paphensis ecclesie dictis dominis nunciis nomine Romane Ecclesie recipientibus dare, solvere, et restituere annis singulis, incipiendum in prima die mensis Marcii proxime futuri, decem et octo milia bisanciorum argenti alborum de Cipro in terminis qui sequntur, videlicet novem milia bisanciorum argenti per totum mensem Augusti proxime futurum et novem milia bisanciorum argenti per totum mensem Februarii continue sequentem predictum mensem Augusti, tamdiu donec sit integre satisfactum camere domini nostri summi pontificis de omnibus debitis in quibus bone memorie dictus dominus frater Aymericus tenebatur, dum viveret, domino pape et eius camere antedicte, et specialiter de decima sexannali ecclesie sue Paphensis.

[2] Item, dictus dominus Geraldus Paphensis episcopus obligavit modo quo supra se positurum rationem et depositum facere assignari pro posse suo dictis dominis nunciis, secundum tenorem litterarum apostolicarum, infra octo dies a receptione huius instrumenti continue computandos, de summa triginta milium florenorum auri sibi traditorum et assignatorum ex parte dicti domini nostri summi pontificis, pro succursu et subventione regni Armenie.

[3] Item, obligavit se dictus dominus episcopus modo quo supra ad reddendum et restituendum dominis nunciis antedictis bona que penes ipsum restant, vel eorum iustum precium, iuxta tenorem inventariorum exinde factorum, que fuerunt dicti predecessoris sui, et alia dicti predecessoris que per ipsum vel de eius mandato recepta fuerunt, licet non fiat de ipsis mentio in inventariis antedictis, hinc ad festum Pasche Domini proxime futurum.

[4] Item, prefatus dominus episcopus debet zucaram que est in Papho per dictos nuncios collectam recipere et facere integre aportari quam cito comode poterit Famagustam. Et zucara que est in Famagusta collecta per ipsos nuncios per duos homines electos a dictis domino episcopo et nunciis statim vendatur, et zucara que est in Papho, quam cito erit Famaguste, per dictos homines electos in continenti modo simili debet vendi et precium utriusque zucare statim post venditionem dictis dominis nunciis pro diminutione predictorum debitorum plenarie assignari. Et dicti etiam nuncii debent totam pecuniam regalium anni millesimi trecentisimi vicesimi octavi statim recipere pro diminutione antedicta, preter solutionem decem et octo milium bisanciorum argenti que annis singulis debet fieri, ut superius est expressum. Cetera autem preter dictam zucaram et regalia debet recipere episcopus antedictus et sibi integraliter responderi.

[5] Item, quod dicti domini nuncii Apostolice Sedis debent ponere rationem sive calculum de omnibus per ipsos receptis de bonis proximi predecessoris dicti episcopi per eundem episcopum sibi assignatis et de omnibus aliis receptis per ipsos sive eorum mandato de redditibus sui

episcopatus predicti, et totum illud allocabunt in extenuatione debitorum predictorum, ita quod possit sciri quantum restabit ad solvendum camere domini nostri pape de debitis supradictis.

[6] Item, quod omnes expensas moderatas quas fecerunt dicti nuncii in expeditione domini Geraldi de Lagenebra magistri capellani Paphensis, et in negotio inquisitionis et liberatione Stephani Pacisengressi, atque collectione zucare antedicte, seu aliis dictam Paphensem ecclesiam contingentibus, solvet dominus episcopus memoratus.

[7] Item, mandabunt dicti domini nuncii quod respondeatur dicto domino episcopo de omnibus redditibus, proventibus, et debitis, preteritis, presentibus, et futuris, ecclesie Paphensis predicte, et decetero ipsum non impedient – ymo sibi prestabunt auxilium, consilium, et favorem in agendis – ita dumtaxat si eis respondeatur de predictis decem et octo milibus bisanciorum annis singulis donec fuerit de toto debito satisfactum et de aliis prout est superius expressatum; et quod de residuo reddituum et proventuum dicti episcopatus teneatur idem dominus episcopus providere clero et capitulo de prebendis, assiziis, et aliis stipendiis consuetis, necnon et alia onera dicte Paphensis ecclesie incumbencia supportare. Quibus sic peractis, dicti domini nuncii pronunciaverunt ex processibus factis per eos super premissis contra dictum dominum episcopum ipsum episcopum decetero non ligari, submoventes interdictum in eius ecclesiam promulgatum.

Per hanc autem ordinationem seu conventionem dicti domini nuncii et episcopus memoratus non intendunt in aliquo obviare declarationi, ordinationi, seu dispositioni domini nostri pape faciende vel iam facte super omnibus et singulis supradictis, sed quod omnia et singula in dicta ordinatione seu conventione contenta tantum medio tempore a dictis dominis episcopo et nunciis inviolabiliter observentur.

Et renunciaverunt partes predicte exceptioni doli, mali, metus et in factum actioni rei predicto modo non geste, et exceptioni nullitatis, et omni exceptioni, defensioni ac auxilio iuris scripti canonici et civilis, consuetudinis vel statuti, ac iuri dicenti generalem renunciationem non valere nisi precesserit specialis, et illi legi qua cavetur quod partes possint penitere ante litem contestatam, renunciaverunt ex certa scientia et expresse. Voluerunt enim partes perinde renunciationem presentem valere ac si quecumque defensio vel inpugnatio alicui ipsarum competens contra premissa vel eorum aliquod expresse nominata fuisset et renunciatum eidem per que contra premissa vel eorum aliquod venire possent, per se vel alium seu alios, publice vel occulte, seu quomodolibet se tueri.

Qui predictus dominus Geraldus Paphensis episcopus, ex parte una, et dicti domini nuncii, ex altera, de communi concordia et voluntate rogaverunt magistrum Raphaelem de Osuertulo de Cremona et me Arnaldum Bregas notarios quod de predictis omnibus conficiamus duo publica instrumenta sicut de iure melius fieri poterunt et dictari, non mutata substancia de consilio sapientum.

Acta fuerunt hec Nicossie, in domibus episcopalibus ecclesie Paphensis, sub anno a nativitate Domini millesimo trecentesimo vicesimo nono, die quintadecima mensis Januarii, presentibus discretis et religiosis viris fratribus Guillelmo Garde Ordinis Beate Marie de Monte Carmelo, vicario provinciali provincie Terre Sancte, Thoma Catalani eiusdem ordinis, Bernardo Sarraceni Ordinis Predicatorum, domino Johanne de Cusencia presbytero, domino Helia de Vitrinis cantore Paphensi, domino Geraldo de Lagenebra magistro capellano Paphensi, et magistro Raymundo Vitalis notario, testibus ad predicta vocatis et rogatis.

[NOTARIAL SIGN] Et ego Arnaldus Bregas predictus, clericus diocesis Rivensis, auctoritate apostolica publicus notarius, omnibus et singulis supradictis una cum dictis testibus presens fui et de mandato dictorum dominorum episcopi et nunciorum ea omnia propria manu scipsi et in hanc formam publicam redegi meoque signo solito signavi vocatus specialiter et rogatus.

INSTRUMENTUM MISCELLANEUM 1045

Famagusta, March 3, 1329

In nomine Domini, amen. Noverint universi quod, reverendo patre domino Geraldo episcopo Paphensi nuper rationem reddente de expensis quas asseruit se fecisse in facto reparationis castrorum et aliorum locorum regni Armenie dissipatorum per Sarracenos, venerabilibus et discretis viris domino Petro de Manso decano Pacensi et fratri Arnaldo de Fabricis Ordinis Fratrum Predicatorum, Apostolice Sedis nunciis, fuit exhibita ex parte dicti domini episcopi in capitulo Predicatorum Nicossie quedam littera in pergameno scripta sigillo pendente sigillata, ut prima facie aparebat, reverendi patris domini Homodei archiepiscopi Tarsensis. Cuius tenor dinoscitur esse talis: [see Richard, 1962, pp. 37–38].
[…]
Unde ut iidem domini nuncii possent de tenore predicte littere cameram domini nostri summi pontificis plenius informare, petierunt a me notario infrascripto[a)] tenorem supradicte littere in publicam formam transferri. Facta fuit dicta petitio et requisitio per dictos dominos nuncios in Famagusta, die tercia mensis Marcii, anno a nativitate Domini M° CCC° XXIX°, pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo patris et domini domini Johannis divina providentia pape XXII^di^ anno terciodecimo, presentibus fratre Johanne Torrelli Ordinis Fratrum Predicatorum, magistro Raymundo Vitalis notario diocesis Tholosane, et Odino Valerii Virdunensis diocesis, testibus ad predicta vocatis et rogatis.

[NOTARIAL SIGN] Et ego Arnaldus Bregas clericus diocesis Rivensis, auctoritate apostolica publicus notarius, qui predictis interfui, de mandato

dictorum dominorum nunciorum dictam litteram fideliter hic inserui ac transscripsi de verbo ad verbum, habita prius collatione de tenore predicte littere cum domino Johanne de Cusencia, presbytero domini episcopi memorati, et in hanc formam publicam redegi signoque meo solito signavi in testimonium premissorum.

a) infrascripto] tenorem *add. et exp*.

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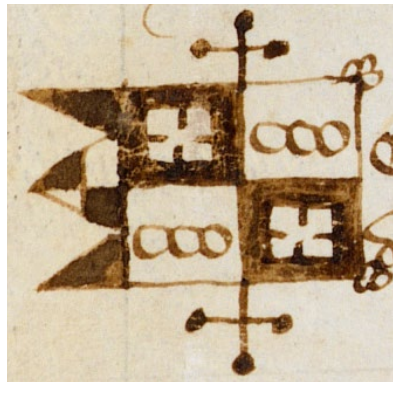

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The Influence of Mediterranean Culture on Polish Cuisine in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Era

ABSTRACT

The article explores the Mediterranean influences on Polish cuisine in the centuries that followed the adoption of Christianity at the end of the 10th century. This memorable act brought Poland into the circle of Western culture anchored in the Greco-Roman tradition, which also heavily impacted the everyday life of representatives of all strata of Polish society. The author draws attention to the variety of such contact, which includes the journeys of clergymen, diplomatic missions, and trips of young people to universities. Trade and economic exchange, as well as the activity of Italian merchants and craftsmen on the Vistula, also had a strong bearing on the refashioning of the culinary culture. The breakthrough moment was the arrival in Krakow in 1518 of Bona Sforza—who became the wife of the Polish king Sigismund I—and her many courtiers.

KEYWORDS: Kingdom of Poland, Italy, medieval cuisine, Mediterranean culture

STRESZCZENIE

Wpływ kultury śródziemnomorskiej na polską kuchnię w okresie średniowiecza i wczesnej nowoczesności

W artykule poruszona została kwestia wpływów śródziemnomorskich na kuchnię polską w okresie po przyjęciu pod koniec X wieku chrześcijaństwa. Ten wiekopomny akt wprowadził Polskę w obszar niezwykle bogatej kultury zakotwiczonej w tradycji grecko-rzymskiej, silnie oddziałującej również na życie codzienne przedstawicieli wszystkich warstw polskiego społeczeństwa. Autor zwrócił uwagę na różnorodność tych kontaktów, do których zaliczyć należy podróże duchownych, misje dyplomatyczne oraz wyjazdy młodzieży na studia. Duży wpływ na przemiany w obrębie kultury stołu wywarły też handel i wymiana gospodarcza oraz działalność nad Wisłą włoskich kupców

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i rzemieślników. Za moment przełomowy należy uznać przybycie do Krakowa w 1518 roku w towarzystwie licznego dworu Bony Sforzy, która została żoną króla polskiego Zygmunta I.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: Królestwo Polskie, Italia, średniowieczna kuchnia, kultura śródziemnomorska

The early Middle Ages were a time of deep social and political change in Europe, but it was also a period of impressive stability. During this long period of time food production and food processing were not undergoing any significant change. Until great geographical discoveries the same plants and farm animals were used that had been known to ancient civilizations (Garnsey, 1999). The only changes that could be observed had to do with food preparation and storage technologies. During that period we witness a slow decline of the Roman Empire, and at the same time an emergence of new barbaric states. It was the period the great world cultures and religions developed, and a new type of farming based on feudalism originated. At that time the Old Continent was inhabited by peoples who gave rise to modern European civilization. Also the division of Europe into Roman, Germanic and Slavic countries happened during that period. It was then that the cultural, social and culinary differences for which Europe is famous were formed.

The ancestors of Poles appeared in Central Europe following the Germans moving to the West at the end of the 6th century after Christ. Their cuisine was simple and limited to obtaining food from hunting and gathering. Animal husbandry and primitive farming were not so widespread in the Early Middle Ages. It seems that except raw and roasted meat, some wild plants such as sorel and borscht were used to prepare soups. The skill of pickling vegetables and preparing sour soups and borscht also comes from this early period of Polish history (Dembinska, 1999, p. 10). The origin of medieval Polish cuisine goes back to the year 966 and is strongly associated with the baptism of its ruler, Prince Mesco I. The decision, which he made was not an easy one. By that he not only introduced his subjects to a completely new civilization and cultural area, but also he put the country in the new international reality. Reception of Christianity made it possible for a new state to overcome threats and join a vibrant and energetic Western civilization. It was born on the coast of the Mediterranean Sea and in ancient times spread to many regions of Europe. The important constituents of this civilization were the table culture and highly sophisticated etiquette. At the time it was brought in to Poland in the 10th century, it was a mixture of ancient and Christian traditions.

Each region in Medieval Europe had slightly different culinary traditions, but they all included old Roman elements. Like in ancient Rome, the basic food was based on bread, olive oil, and wine (Weiss Adamson, 2002, pp. 2–13). Because in the northern regions of Europe there were difficulties in growing olives and grapevines, these products were often replaced with butter and beer. After the adoption of Christianity, there was a need to grow grapevines even in the far north. The wine could not be replaced during the Holy Mass by any other drink, and importing it from distant countries was expensive and often difficult. So the local people were taught to grow grapevines even in the Northern areas. It should be said here that the climate in the Middle Ages, until the mid-fourteenth century, was much warmer in Europe than it is today and in the areas such as Poland, it was possible to make wine without any problems. It is worth mentioning that the largest producer and exporter of wine in the Middle Ages was not Italy or France, but West Germany which had a wide belt of vineyards stretching along the Rhine, where the famous Riesling was produced.

A large impact on the diet of old Poland had prohibitions introduced by Christianity, especially those related to fasting. There were proclaimed by the clergy but often supervised by secular authorities, which severely punished for violating them. The habits that accompanied the Lent period in the Middle Ages were much more restrictive than today.[1] It was forbidden to eat not only meats but also dairy products, including eggs, butter, cheese, cream, and even milk. This prohibition applied to everyone regardless of age, marital status or social background. The period of Lent in Poland in the Middle Ages lasted nine weeks. In the liturgical year, there were 192 days of fasting during which the choice of dishes was limited. During fasting days, vegetables, fruit, and fish were primarily eaten. There was no problem with them near natural water bodies such as seas, lakes, and rivers. In other cases, in the inland places, fish ponds were dug. A lot of them existed around large urban centers. For instance near Krakow, the place I come from, which is a former capital of Poland, there are still dozens of fish ponds which served that purpose and operate to this day. The ponds were the reservoirs of fresh eels, pike, sturgeons, and trout to be delivered to the royal court, as well as to the episcopal palace and monasteries, and to the tables of rich burghers throughout the year. Poor people could afford only cheaper fish, such as carp. The most famous one was from the town of Zator (Lirski, 2007, pp. 11–22). Carp was also very popular in Jewish communities. Already in the Middle Ages, there were many

1 For more on the Jewish, classical, and Christian motives and practices of fasting in the Middle Ages, see Grimm, 1996.

recipes for preparing this fish, which were common to Poles and Jews. One of these is the so-called "Sweet-and-Sour Jewish-Style Carp." Today the Polish people both in-country and abroad eat carp in various types for Christmas Eve supper. Salted Baltic herrings were also popular. The fish was brought in barrels from the seaport of Gdansk and came from both their own fisheries and from the Scandinavian countries, primarily from Denmark and Sweden (Frandsen, 2004, pp. 145–167; Dembinska, 1999, pp. 99–103). It is interesting that in Poland, in the Middle Ages beavers were also considered fish because of their scaled tail. It was used to prepare a special, nutritious soup. It was so popular that even today you can find it in some restaurants in certain regions of the country.

The religious and cultural relations with Rome caused the need for numerous contacts with Italy, not only commercial exchange. At first, from Poland, clergy, priests and religious in matters of their churches and monasteries went to the Apennine Peninsula. Often their stays extended to several weeks, several months and even several years. It was time for them to learn about the dishes, products, and flavors of the best cuisine in the medieval world. They were new, better and addictive experiences. No wonder that after returning to the country they tried to familiarize them with their companions by bringing the necessary products and trying to prepare Italian favorite dishes. The second channel of contacts were Italian merchants who imported sought goods, including food, into Central Europe. There were two main routes connecting Krakow, the capital of Poland, with Italian ports, which were large centers of trade in food products. The first road led south through the Alps to Venice, which is on the coast of the Adriatic Sea. The second route is the road to the east, which ran through Lvov, in today's Ukraine, to the Genoese Kaffa colony in Crimea on the Black Sea coast (Małowist, 1947; Hryszko, 2004). Krakow was at the intersection of these two old trade routes, and for this reason, it was the most important hub in Central Europe in the trade of exclusive, oriental goods (Carter, 1994, pp. 43 ff). In Medieval Poland apples, pears, and plums were known, thanks to the Cistercian monks who taught new methods of pruning and grafting fruit trees. Peaches, sweet melons, lemons, and oranges, which grow in southern countries were imported to Poland. They began to be brought to Poland along with other exotic products, like figs, raisins, and dates already at the end of the fourteenth century (Carter, 1994, pp. 198–199).

We know from historical sources that about a hundred Italians lived in Krakow around 1500. Most of them were rich burghers—merchants and bankers. Certainly, in their homes, the cooks prepared meals in Italian fashion. A very large group of Italians came to Krakow in the spring of 1518 together with Bona Sforza the Princess of Bari. She became the

wife of King Sigismund I. The wedding "per procura," what means that the king was not personally present, took place in Naples on December 6, 1517 (Pociecha, 1949, p. 207; Petroni, 1835, pp. 562–563). The wedding reception lasted for one month, and a large delegation of Polish aristocracy and nobility of several hundred people participated in this splendid event. During that time lavish feasts, banquets, and festivals were organized and the best Apulian cuisine was served to the guests and the people of Naples (Sada, 1987, pp. 41–61).

A few months later queen Bona came to Poland with a court of almost 300 entourage, among which were, not only secretaries, clergy and scholars, but also some great cooks (Smołucha, 2019, pp. 31–41). After their arrival to Krakow, they were employed in the royal kitchen in the Wawel Castle. Queen Bona established such type of garden on the Wawel Castle Hill, where eggplants, artichokes, squashes and different varieties of lettuce, previously unknown in Poland were grown. She also grew other important herbs in cuisine, such as basil, oregano, and rosemary.

A large number of beautiful, young Italian ladies from the Queen's court soon attracted an attention of young Polish aristocrats. It was a bit of a scandal, but those young men founded the "Drunkards and Gluttons" Society (in Latin *Bibones et Comedones*), which was dedicated to Bachus and Venera—the gods of Wine and Love (Pociecha, 2005, p. 31). The young court ladies, against the will of the Queen, were more than happy to attend the feasts and parties organized by this company. Some of them got married to the sons of rich Polish noblemen. As you might suspect, these ladies introduced Italian cuisine to their new homes. The last important element of these Italian influences and contacts are Polish students at Italian universities, at Rome, Bologna, and Padua, where 1,400 Poles studied only during the Renaissance (Szczucki, 1997, pp. 37–47; Golemo, 2010, pp. 64–65). One can easily imagine that on return to their homeland after such a long stay, many of them had completely changed their eating habits and food preferences, which must also have had an impact on their immediate surroundings. These were the main factors of transformation in Old Polish cuisine, which I will try to explain in details in a moment.

The cuisine of the various states differed more in the quality and quantity of dishes than in the ingredients used. The rich could afford not only filling dishes but also delicacies such as venison, white bread, sweets, expensive spices, and mead. Poor people had to settle for inferior types of meats and fishes. So it was very common among them custom of preparing dishes from tripe, liver, hearts, and lungs. As a matter of fact, it is still very popular in Poland nowadays. Even pig ears and tails were eaten, which were used to fill the famous headcheese, called in Poland "salceson."

The word comes from "salsiccia," which means sausage in Italian (Cavaciocchi, ed., 1997, p. 559). It may be interesting to know that Italians themselves use the term *coppa di testa* for that product. But this dish comes from the ancient Roman cuisine, and is known in various parts of continental Europe and even in Greece and Great Britain (Allen, 2015, p. 12).

The first European cooking manuscripts, which have survived to our times go back to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Medieval Polish recipes were made in manuscripts and survived only to a small extent. The first recipes contained only ingredients, and they did not say much how to prepare dishes. They were developed and copied for the rich—the clergy, nobility and rich middle class. We can not find in them any reliable information about the food of the lower social groups. One of the first and the most popular books of this kind entitled *Compendium ferculorum* was written by Stanislaw Czerniecki, who was the cook and secretary of Aleksander Lubomirski, a very influential nobleman, was produced much later, in the seventeenth century. But the content of the book was based on the medieval recipes. The book consists of three chapters and contains 333 recipes. The first part describes meat dishes, the second chapter contains recipes for fish dishes. In this part, you can find how in old Poland fish sauces had been prepared. The last part of the book has a number of recipes for dairy dishes and among them you can find how to prepare pies and cakes (Czerniecki, 2009).

It is important to remember that the work not only provides information on how to cook and prepare food but also must be read in a larger context of, we can say, the table culture. This is a manual of how to stimulate taste and imagination of guest, how to surprise and charm them, by preparing and serving dishes in a spectacular and theatrical way. Like today, ordinary water was an important drink. But, in the Middle Ages, fresh, potable water was only in the countryside, where there was access to clean springs and wells. In the cities, the wells were polluted, full of dangerous bacteria, and the water was not safe to drink even after boiling. For this reason in Polish cities mainly beer was drunk. It was produced in urban breweries, but also in monasteries, mainly Franciscan and Cistercian ones (Besala, 2015, pp. 22–50). Beer was consumed even in the morning, usually in the form of the famous beer soup. The medieval beer looked and tasted a little different from the modern. Very few filters were used in the production of beer, as a result of which the drink was cloudy, did not foam and had the consistency of a soup. The alcohol content was low, ranging from 1 to 5%, so light beers were served even to children. The beer was also unstable and was not suitable for longer storage. Very early on, experimenting with flavor additives began. To this end, hops began to be added, which became widespread in the 13th century. Due to this ingredient, it

was possible to store and preserve beer much longer. That gave birth to the brewing business (Dembinska, 1999, pp. 78–80). Breweries operated in virtually every major city of the kingdom. In Małopolska, the most famous ones were located in Bochnia, Wieliczka, and Niepołomice. It is worth mentioning that there were as many as 25 breweries in medieval Krakow, and that Silesia was famous for the export of beer to Italy and other places (Dobosz, 2017, p. 283).

With the arrival of a large number of Italians in Poland, as well as after the mass returns of Polish students from Italy after graduating in the fifteenth century, beer began to be slowly replaced, especially in rich homes, by wine imported from southern countries. Classic Italian wines were drunk, mainly produced in the Veneto region, but also sweet Malvasia imported from the Greek islands. The white wine called Moscato de 'Polachi (or Moscato of Poles), which was cultivated in the hills of Colli Euganei, west of Padua (Cantù, ed., 1859, p. 997), enjoyed great fame in the Republic of Saint Mark at that time. Purportedly, the name Moscato de 'Polachi derived from the large number of Poles studying at the University of Padua. After returning to their homeland on the Vistula River, they also contributed to a change in culinary tastes and a popularization of wine drinking in Poland in the 16th century (Barycz, 1965, p. 196 ff; Bystroń, 1933, p. 490; Smołucha, 2016, p. 54–55).

In the 16th century, high-quality wine from Hungary began to be imported to Poland: red wine from Eger and delicious white Tokaj. Krakow was an important center of Hungarian wine trade throughout Europe, a remnant of which is the huge cellar spaces extending for miles under the Old Town Square (Carter, 1994, pp. 301–314; Dembinska, 1999, pp. 75–78). They are known to all who have visited Krakow at least once, because currently all the best restaurants and bars are located deep underground in these venues. At one time, there were thousands of barrels of wine propped against the walls of these premises.

As can be seen, the numerous interactions with the Mediterranean world—mainly with Italy—which started at the end of the 10th century with Poland's adoption of Christianity, had a profound impact on the culinary culture of the country. These relations were well-developed by the end of the Middle Ages and during the Renaissance. The presence of a large Italian colony in the capital city of Krakow and the extensive trade of Italian merchants on the trade routes leading from the Black Sea and the Adriatic Sea widened the Polish culinary repertoire with new products and increased the quality of meals. These Italian influences began to weaken towards the end of the First Polish Republic, when the fashion for French culture began.

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Polish Middle Eastern Travels Until the End of the 19th Century: Current Research

ABSTRACT

The objective of the article is to summarize the efforts made so far by Polish researchers of pilgrimages to the Holy Land, traveling around Egypt and the Levant. The academic interest in visits of Poles in this part of the Ottoman Empire is relatively fresh, because the first publications on this issue appeared sporadically at the beginning of the 19th century. For several decades, a book by Jan Stanisław Bystroń was the main source of knowledge about the presence of Poles in Egypt and the Levant. Scholarly interest in this topic grew in the second half of the 20th century. Despite an abundance of publications, our knowledge of the Polish presence in the Arab part of the Ottoman state is still incomplete. This is mainly due to the limited source materials and the lack of a broad search for archival and museum resources. The rising number of researchers on this subject may change this situation in the long run.

KEYWORDS: Poland, the Levant, pilgrims

STRESZCZENIE

Polskie podróżnictwo bliskowschodnie do końca XIX wieku. Stan badań

Celem artykułu jest próba wstępnego podsumowania dotychczasowych wysiłków polskich badaczy pątnictwa do Ziemi Świętej, podróży po Egipcie i Lewancie. Zainteresowanie pobytem Polaków w tej części Imperium Osmańskiego jest stosunkowo świeże, bowiem pierwsze publikacje z badań nad tym problemem pojawiają się sporadycznie od przełomu XIX i XX wieku. Przez kilka dziesięcioleci głównym źródłem wiedzy o obecności Polaków w Egipcie i Lewancie była książka Jana Stanisława Bystronia. Wzrost zainteresowania tym problemem nastąpił w drugiej połowie XX wieku. Mimo obfitości pojawiających się publikacji nasza wiedza o polskiej obecności w arabskiej części Państwa Otomańskiego nadal jest niepełna. Wynika to przede wszystkim z wąskiej bazy źródłowej, braku szerszych poszukiwań zasobów archiwalnych

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i muzealnych. Wzrastająca liczba badaczy tej problematyki być może w perspektywie dłuższego czasu zmieni tę sytuację.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: Polska, Lewant, pielgrzymki

Poles have been traveling to the countries of the Middle East for centuries. For several decades, I have been trying to collect information about Poles living in the Middle East, scattered in various Polish and foreign publications and archives. The material collected so far covers several thousand names of people who have visited this region (Egypt, Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, the territory of Mesopotamia, and Iran), from the first mentions (before 1139) until basically 1914. I believe that this year marks an important caesura in the history of Polish travels in the Middle East, as the number of trips (most of them gathering several hundred participants) had been rising since the end of the 19th century. These journeys were guided according to preplanned, detailed itineraries and did not allow individuals to see any sites other than those selected by the organizers.

Certainly, these do not include all the Poles who have visited the Middle East throughout history. Some authors of memoirs, when writing about their countrymen who they met, did not mention full names, and were often satisfied with only counting them. For example, in *Letters from Egypt 1903–1904*, August Krasicki (1903–1904, p. 16b) wrote about 12 Poles with whom he celebrated the anniversary of Abbas II Hilmi's accession to the throne. Foreign pilgrims, who rarely noted any Polish surnames, usually limited themselves to the nationality of the foreign pilgrims they met on their way.

The number of Polish pilgrims to the Holy Land fluctuated. Norbert Golichowski (n.d.-b, p. 18), referring to Jukundyn Bielak's notes and his own calculations, estimated that between 1862 and 1890 Palestine was visited by 1,286 Polish women and men, while Anselm Szteinke (1972, p. 188) stated that there were thirty Poles in 1872, fifty in 1875, only thirteen in 1877, seventeen in 1878, thirty-two in 1880, twenty-five in 1883, thirty-five in 1884, and forty in 1885. Golichowski (n.d.-b, p. 18) indicated that the number of Polish groups (caravans) in the 19th century varied (in 1891, the group of Polish pilgrims numbered 52 people). Golichowski (n.d.-c, p. 81a) also noted a gap in the records of Bernardine Fathers at the monastery of St. Salvatore, covering the years 1870–1876.

The traveling Poles came from different social strata, had different educational levels, and practiced different professions. There were not only clergymen, doctors, military personnel, and members of the upper class, but also representatives of the countryside (mainly homesteaders and other rural poor), small craftsmen, and hired workers.

The first documented traces of the presence of Poles in the Holy Land, the most visited area in all historical periods, date back to the 12th century, i.e., the time of the Crusades. According to Jan Stanisław Bystroń (1930) it would have been the year 1147, whereas Reinhold Röhricht (1894, p. 22), referring to a mention in the Silesian diplomatic code (1884, p. 29), writes about Father Otto from the Church of St. Michael, who visited the Holy Land twice before 1139.

The degree of Polish contact with the Middle East has certainly increased significantly since the mid-nineteenth century, when many facilities for tourists and pilgrims traveling to Christian holy places were built, and the demand of the Europeanizing Ottoman Empire and its satellites for professionals—engineers, doctors, and soldiers—grew. Poland, which did not exist in the 19th century on the political map of Europe, yielded a large number of professionals of various trades who emigrated to European countries, Turkey, and Egypt, fleeing political persecution or economic hardship. At that time, scores of Polish emigrants also appeared in Persia and the Caucasus, regions with which Poland had less frequent relationships, constrained mainly to royal envoys or even less numerous trade expeditions.

We cannot say much about the frequency of these contacts, which is mainly due to the extent and quality of the archival sources.

Sources

The basic data came from materials collected by Norbert Golichowski during his work in the Custody of the Holy Land and currently kept in the Provincial Archive of Bernardine Monks in Krakow. These include Norbert Golichowski's personal handwritten memories from his stay in the Holy Land (Golichowski, n.d.-d), descriptions of Palestine (Golichowski, n.d.-b, n.d.-c), and his various notes (Golichowski, n.d.-a). A wealth of information about Polish pilgrims can also be found in his publications (Golichowski, 1892a, 1892b, 1895, 1896). The numerous annotations and incorrect page numbering create a certain difficulty in reading his manuscripts.

Based on entries in guest books in Jerusalem, Norbert Golichowski created a list of people from the Polish land visiting the city, often noting the pilgrims' previous stays in Egypt and their social and geographical background. The list covers mainly nineteenth-century travelers, but also includes information about earlier pilgrims, although we cannot always be sure that they came from the territories of former Poland. Golichowski's criteria of religious denomination (Roman Catholic) and the Slavic wording of the surnames sometimes cause serious problems in identifying the true origin of the pilgrim.

Golichowski used the *Navis Peregrinorum*. This guest book of visitors from Jerusalem, kept in the Franciscan archives, has only been preserved in fragments since 1561. The gaps are 1562–1572, 1575, 1577–1581, 1591–1596, and 1692–1845 (Zimolong, 1938). It was used to identify the names of Polish pilgrims. These extracts were not always accurate. Recently, such a list was published by Olgierd Lenczewski (2019).

The memoirs of the travelers are another very valuable source of information. Unfortunately, the exact number of handwritten memoirs and letters from journeys to the East is unknown; according to my estimates, there are over 200 of them. Some of them have appeared in print, while others circulate as manuscripts. From time to time, news breaks out about the discovery of new documents. Unfortunately, so far no one has attempted to inventory them.

It is still unknown how much material can be found in archival, library, and museum collections outside the present-day borders of Poland. These resources are yet to be explored. Museum repositories are also largely uncatalogued. Perhaps they will contribute little to the research on the inhabitants of the Republic of Poland visiting the Middle East, but they should also be browsed. Perhaps they will allow us to determine whether the donors of oriental objects were in the regions of our interest. Travelers or their families donated imported artifacts to museum collections in the 19th century, which is confirmed by lists of donors and gifts published in journals of scientific societies.

In the case of foreign archives, another problem arises: the spelling conventions of Polish surnames. The individuals who entered the guests' names into the hotel books were often culpable for some distortions in the surnames, so these cannot always be identified with a real Polish name form. Golichowski (n.d.-c, 2, 136 [78a] gloss) complained about the distortions of Polish names in the records of pilgrims in Jerusalem. Nevertheless, he noted them meticulously when they were annotated with the label "Polacco" or "Polacca."

As Stefan Kieniewicz (1986, 17, footnote 13)—a prominent expert in the history of the 19th century—reminds us, the alternation of surnames was a major obstacle in identifying travelers and was quite common until the end of the 19th century.

It is also difficult to identify the surnames of travelers when the authors of the memoirs only provide a first name and initials or an abbreviation of the surname. When there are no other sources, this practice very often makes it impossible to even identify the person that the pilgrim met.

I did not manage to access hotel guest books. The names of various hotels frequently appear in the surviving diaries of travelers to the Middle East. Nor do we have guest lists for Egyptian resorts. It seems that most of

the guest books, especially those from the 19th century, have not survived. One unique example is guests' entries from 1920–1935 from the Winter Palace hotel in Luxor published by André B. Wiese (1998).

History of the Research

In the last few decades, Polish scholars have become increasingly interested in the Polish presence in the Middle East. So far, many of the articles that have been published have changed our understanding of this issue. However, the research has so far has focused mainly on the presence of Poles in the Holy Land and Egypt. Other areas of the Arabic Middle East have not received much attention.

Despite the increasing interest, we still do not know when the first Polish wanderers reached these lands, or who they were. Sources from the oldest periods of Polish history have been preserved in fragments. This fact seems to have deterred historians from taking up the subject. Thus, there is still no detailed research on this problem, although the number of publications on Polish travel to the Middle East has recently gone up in Poland. The first attempts to compile lists of Poles visiting the Middle East were made as early as the 19th century (Grzegorzewski, 1896; Baruch, 1901). Until now, the point of reference about Poles in the Middle East was the study by Jan Stanisław Bystroń, published in 1930; it was a long, popular essay, written without the benefit or aid of any scientific apparatus.

Research on the presence of Poles in Arabic countries did not expand until decades after that publication. Short studies dealing with the presence of Poles in Iran (Kościałkowski, 1943) and Lebanon (Kościałkowski, 1947) came out in the 1940s. It was the time of World War II, i.e., the period when a large group of Poles in the ranks of the Polish army stayed in the area for several years. In the post-war period, interest in this topic somewhat faded. However, several valuable studies were written: Jan Reychman's books (1972) about Poles in the 19th century visiting the Middle East (without Egypt), and Stanisław Korwin Pawłowski's work (1958) on Polish pilgrims in the Holy Land. Father Janusz Anzelm Szteinke, who published numerous contributions (1972, 1981, 2001)—culminating in an excellent dictionary (Szteinke, 1998, 1999)—devoted a lot of attention to Polish friars serving in the Holy Land.

An important element of this research is the studies devoted to individual Polish travelers visiting the Middle East. From this group of monographs, we should mention the biographies of the Jesuit Father Maksymilian Ryłło (Czermiński, 1911–1912), Father Adam Prosper Burzyński (Wiśniewski, 1929), and General Józef Zajączek (Nadzieja, 1975).

Some of these studies are devoted exclusively to the stays of specific people in the Middle East. The greatest contribution in this field was made by Joachim Śliwa, the author of numerous articles focused on the stays of Poles in Egypt (e.g., 1996, 2005, 2010, 2012). It is also worth mentioning the studies on the mission of Father Adam Prosper Burzyński (Włoczyk, 1995), Feliks Boroń's travels to the Holy Land (Grodziski, 1984), the Hussarzewskis (Figiela, 2010), and the Potockis (Grzechnik, 2010). Some travelers' journeys merited several descriptions. The "record holder" is probably Juliusz Słowacki's peregrination to the East (Hoesick, 1894; Przybylski, 1982; Weryho, 2001; Łukaszewicz, 2018). Another noteworthy one was the expedition of Count Adam Potocki (Tracz, 2009; Zinkow, 1999; Grabczewska, 2012).

Aleksander Klugman (1994) and Artur Patek (2009, 2016) devoted their publications to the memorabilia that testify to Poles' visits to Palestine.

Recently, Agnieszka Teterycz-Puzio's work on Poles in the Middle Ages who traveled in the footsteps of Jesus in Palestine (2017) was released. In the research on pilgrimages from individual districts of the Republic of Poland, Silesians' pilgrimages to the Holy Land were studied more closely. Halina Manikowska (1995, 2002), later mainly Zbyszko Bednorz (1978), Jan Górecki (2005), and Jerzy Myszor (2017) pursued the issue of medieval pilgrims from Silesia. Joachim Zdrenka (1995, 2002) explored Pomeranian princes' medieval pilgrimages to the Holy Sepulcher.

In Krakow, Wojciech Mruk (2001, 2002, 2005, 2010) has been dealing with the matter of pilgrimages, especially those to the Holy Land in the Middle Ages, for several decades years. Halina Manikowska (2006, 2008) from the Institute of History of the Polish Academy of Sciences, has also addressed the topic in her research. Additionally, my books about Poles in Egypt until the end of the 19th century should also be listed here (Kaczmarek, 2008, 2018).

Bohdan Baranowski (1950), Jerzy Grobicki (1956), Wacław Słabczyński (1973, 1988), Jerzy Pertek (1981), Alojzy Sajkowski (1991), Jacek Knopek (1997, 1999, 2000, 2001), Duc Ha Nguyen (2006), Agnieszka Żal-Kędziora (2010), and Łukasz Burkiewicz (2018) have studied the presence of Poles in the Middle East incidentally. We must also recall Hubert Chudzio's study on the efforts to employ Polish officers in Muhammad Ali's army (2014).

Specialist dictionaries by Anselm Janusz Szteinke (1999), Marek M. Dziekan (1998), Jerzy S. Łątka (2005, 2015), and Joachim Śliwa (2019) also provide valuable insights on the matter. Next are lists of Polish travelers around the world, such as the dictionaries of Stanisław Zieliński (1933, 1935), Józef Hieronim Retinger (1937), and Wacław and Tadeusz Słabczyński (1992). Thesauruses also seem to be helpful. An important role is played by the biographical dictionaries of clergymen, like the book

titled Henryk Mross (1995) by Ludwik Gadacz (1985), or military personnel: Jan Pachoński's biographical dictionary of the officers of the Legions (1998–2003), Robert Bielecki's unfinished dictionary of the officers of the November Uprising (1995–1998), the dictionary of the Polish participants of the Hungarian Spring of Nations by István Kovács (2016), Ludwik Hass's Dictionary of Polish Freemasonry (1999), Jan Marian Tyrowicz's Dictionary of Polish Conspirators (1964), and the dictionaries of Polish doctors by Stanisław Kośmiński (1888) and Piotr Szarejko (1991). Speaking of the biographical dictionaries dedicated to various regions of Poland, I consider the dictionaries of Tadeusz Oracki (1963, 1983) to be of great value. In other dictionaries, not mentioned here, we can also find some facts about Polish travelers visiting the Middle East. The Polish Biographical Dictionary, published since 1935 and still far from complete, is an immensely valuable source of information about individual travelers.

Another group of studies that contain information about the stays of various people in the Middle East are "armorials." Information about the presence of representatives of the aristocracy is shown not only in the multi-volume studies by Wielądko (1792–1798), Boniecki (1899–1913), Niesiecki (1839–1845), and Uruski (1904–1938), but also in smaller works by Dachnowski (1995).

We can also find mentions of Poles traveling in the Middle East in foreign-language literature. In this regard, the excellent works of the German scholars Titus Tobler (1867) and Reinhold Röhricht (1890, 1894, 1900) are noteworthy. Heinrich Wendt (1916) devoted his book to Silesian pilgrims in the Holy Land. Information about Lithuanians who arrived in Egypt can be found in Aldona Snitkuviene's publication (2011). The study by Irina Fiedorowa (2014) on the pilgrimage of Mikołaj Krzysztof Radziwiłł, "Orphan," is also very useful.

The names of people from the lands of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth were also noted by Carlos de Odriozola y Grimaud (1900, 1905) in the published lists of the Knights of the Holy Sepulcher. According to modern research, Polish names also appear in inscriptions placed on ancient monuments of the Near East (Goyon, 1944; Dewachter, 1971; de Keersmaecker, 2001, 2003, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2012). However, two more recent Anglo-Saxon studies, the books by Martin R. Kalfatovic (1992) and Izabela Kalinowska (2004), are very disappointing.

Directions for further research

Until now, apart from Stanisław Kościałkowski (1949) and the Krakow Bernardine Father Władysław Waśko, no one has examined the parish

books of churches operating in the former Ottoman empire, which also recorded the Polish faithful whose fate was tied to the East for many years. Archives in the Middle East have not been reviewed from this aspect, either. Also, the diplomatic archives of the countries that had permanent representatives (consuls) in various places of the Ottoman Empire have not yet been consulted. Taking into account the publications of Rudolf Agstner (1993, 1994, 2000, 2018) based on the Austro-Hungarian archives in Egypt and the work of O. Petruninova (Leks 2016), who published the letters of Ivan Leksa, the Russian consul in Cairo to his superior in Istanbul, I believe that this must be done.

The 19th- and 20th-century daily press can also provide knowledge about the pilgrims. Unfortunately, it is very incomplete. News on trips abroad or returns was often published in the press, in the section on "social life." The information these newspapers contain is valuable, as they often provide materials of interest to researchers—for example, the articles by Augustyn Weltzel (1868) and Adam Żarnowski (1980).

Following the example of other countries, Poland has also published specialist magazines devoted to missionary activities in Palestine (*Towarzystwo Grobu Bożego* [Society of the Holy Sepulcher] in the years 1868–1885), or more widely all over the world (*Missyje Katolickie* [Catholic Missions] from the 1880s through the 1930s). The extracts from *Kurier Warszawski* [The Warsaw Courier] (Tyszka, 2001–2012) made by Andrzej Tadeusz Tyszka prove how valuable a resource the daily press is to such research.

This short article probably does not exhaust the topic. The articles and studies cited herein are not a complete bibliography concerning the presence of the inhabitants of the Republic of Poland in the Middle East. So far, no one has compiled one. More contributions on this topic are appearing as interest in this topic grows. However, many topics and materials remain unexplored. Perhaps the appointment in 2020 of a research team on the reception of the East by the Institute of Mediterranean and Oriental Cultures will lead to more research.

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Literary Representation of the Self in Medieval Arabic Autobiographies and the Cultural Barriers to Self-Cognition: The Literacy Theory Perspective. Part I

ABSTRACT

This article addresses the problems associated with the relationship between the influence of writing on cognitive processes and the features of the culture within which writing appears. Classical literacy theory, with the modifications that were introduced over the course of time, was embraced as the research perspective. According to these modifications, the change in the cognitive processes and content which occurs under the influence of writing is not automatic. Every culture has at its disposal a specific array of factors which influence writing and literacy and which determine the extent to which the potential of writing will be used. The aim of this article is to demonstrate the most important cultural norms and values which, by being practiced socially, could have limited the influence of writing on self-cognitive processes—the consequences of such processes can be found in the literary representation of the self in medieval Arabic autobiographies of the 12th–15th centuries. These features were referred to as traditionalism, the domination of collective awareness over individual awareness, the acceptance of social hierarchical structure, and a Quranic vision of the limits to man's freedom.

KEYWORDS: Arabic medieval literature, autobiography, literary representation of the self, medieval Arab-Islamic culture, literacy theory

STRESZCZENIE

Literacka reprezentacja „ja" w średniowiecznych autobiografiach arabskich a kulturowe bariery samopoznania w perspektywie teorii piśmienności. Część I

Artykuł podejmuje problematykę związku pomiędzy wpływem pisma na procesy poznawcze a cechami kultury, w obrębie której przyjęcie pisma następuje. Jako perspektywę badawczą przyjęto klasyczną teorię piśmienności,

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sprofilowaną wprowadzonymi do niej z czasem modyfikacjami. Zgodnie z nimi zmiana procesów i treści poznawczych następująca pod wpływem pisma nie ma charakteru automatycznego. Każda kultura dysponuje określonym zasobem czynników oddziałujących na pismo oraz piśmienność i decydujących, w jakim stopniu potencjał pisma zostanie wykorzystany. Celem artykułu jest wskazanie najistotniejszych kulturowych norm i wartości, które – będąc obecne w praktyce społecznej – mogły ograniczyć możliwości oddziaływania pisma na procesy samopoznawcze, a których konsekwencje obecne są w literackim obrazie „ja" w średniowiecznych arabskich autobiografiach XII–XV wieku. Cechy te określono jako: tradycjonalizm, przewagę świadomości zbiorowej nad indywidualną, akceptację dla hierarchiczności oraz koraniczną wizję granic wolności człowieka.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: autobiografia, literacka reprezentacja „ja", średniowieczna kultura arabsko-muzułmańska, średniowieczna literatura arabska, teoria piśmienności

"Self-consciousness is coextensive with humanity: everyone who can say 'I' has an acute sense of self. But reflectiveness and articulateness about the self take time to grow." (Ong, 2005, p. 174)

"The perception of interiority is itself a byproduct of the literate mentality." (Stock, 1986, p. 301)

Introduction—Scope and Methodology

The subject of this article is an expression of my interest in the ever-developing scholarly tradition, instigated in the 1960s by the "Toronto school," which determined the path by which the communication-related concepts of culture developed. From the very beginning, research on the influence of the systems of communication on what can be broadly perceived of as culture was conducted in the context of various scholarly disciplines: classical philology, anthropology, literary criticism, theory of communication, and subsequently, linguistics, history, and psychology.[1] The literacy theory which emerged during the course of the research—to simplify things

1 A critical overview of the research conducted in reference to the influence of systems of communication on culture, ranging from classical philologists Milman Parry and Albert Lord to cultural psychologists Sylvia Scribner and Michael Cole, may be consulted in Khosrow Jahandarie (1999).

considerably—treats writing, which is the work of mankind, as a technology that is also able to influence its creator, thus engendering fundamental changes in the institutional and mental dimensions of culture. As demonstrated by theoreticians of literacy, writing has a great potential for generating new types of culture by accelerating social change and establishing new cognitive processes.

However, the change in cognitive processes and content under the influence of writing does not always occur automatically or to the same degree. According to David Olson (1994, p. 38; also Brockmeier & Olson, 2013, p. 8), "technological determinism" does not apply here. Every culture (or subculture) has at its disposal a specific array of factors which influence writing and literacy and which determine the extent to which the possibilities of writing will be exploited.

In this article I would like to discuss the literary representation of the self in medieval Arabic autobiographies from the perspective suggested by theoreticians of literacy.[2] The aim that I set myself was to demonstrate the most important (in my opinion) cultural factors whose consequence was the form of the literary representation of the self and which, at the same time, could have limited the extent of the development of a new literary way of perceiving and ordering reality, including self-cognition.

The subject mentioned in the title calls for a number of methodological remarks. Firstly, when we speak about the literary representation of the self, the most promising source material—relatively speaking—has to do with works in which the authors write about themselves and in which they express their experiences (Leclerque, 1973, p. 447).[3] Therefore, from the perspective of the Western theory of literature we may refer to autobiographical writing. However, if the modern Western definition of autobiography[4] were to be applied to medieval Arabic literature, it would rule out the existence of such a genre. Therefore, when I use the term "autobiography" in reference to sources which were created not only a few centuries

2 The original theory has already been modified by its creators. Further research, for example that of the previously mentioned Olson, as well as studies in the field of the anthropologically-oriented history of culture, brought further verification. See, for example, Khosrow Jahandarie (1999, pp. 199–262) and Andrzej Mencwel (2006, pp. 59–98).

3 The possibility of studying the social personality through autobiographical literature was discussed by Aaron Gurevich (1995).

4 There is a debate among literature specialists over the definition of autobiography as a literary genre. A French literary specialist, Phillipe Lejeune (1975, p. 14), suggested four criteria according to which one may classify a work as an autobiography: 1) the form of language (narrative or prose); 2) the subject (the life of an individual or the story of a personality); 3) the author's situation (the identity of the author and the narrator); and 4) the position of the narrator (his/her identity with the main character and the retrospective standpoint of the narrative).

earlier but also in a different culture, I have in mind books or entries in encyclopedic compendia whose main theme is the life and the experiences of the author himself.

Secondly, the influence of writing was not uniform in all circles of intellectual elites (where the competence of reading and writing was basically widespread) in medieval Arab-Islamic culture and did not manifest itself to the same extent.[5] Therefore, I limit my considerations (with a few slight exceptions) to a milieu which was relatively homogenous as far as the intellectual aspects are concerned and which was related to the native knowledge that arose around studies of the Quran.

Furthermore, the profiling of the field of research, as far as the geographical and historical aspects are concerned, was dictated above all by cultural and intellectual dynamics. In this article, I will utilize the literature which arose in the eastern part of the Arab-Muslim world[6] in the period of the 6th/12th–9th/15th[7] centuries.[8]

Finally, one should bear in mind that in the literary representation of "the plane of content", to use Aaron Gurevich's term (1995, p. 78), overlaps with the "the plane of expression" in the form of a literary convention, the canons of rhetoric, and topoi (which were valid at a given time).[9] Both of these planes overlapped to a certain extent, so it would be extremely

5 For example, among scholars representing the sciences such as mathematical sciences, astronomy, technology, and philosophy—which were based on the long-standing intellectual heritage of conquered peoples—knowledge functioned from the very beginning in written form, which could have changed the influence of writing slightly.

6 Despite the cultural links between the Mashriq and the Maghrib, and the interpenetration of many traditions, including literary ones, the peculiar nature of the world of Muslim Spain and North Africa (which was undoubtedly determined by the cultural, religious, and social activities of various ethnic groups) would call for separate treatment in the context of this article's subject.

7 The article adopts the following sequence for listing dates: the first date represents the Muslim lunar calendar (Anno Hegirae), whereas the second date follows the European model (Anno Domini).

8 As far as the 6th/12th century is concerned, we may speak about a mature form of autobiography. The political decline of the Mamluks (648/1250–923/1517) entailed the decline of culture and intellectual life. Activity in this area of life waned. It was concentrated above all on the drawing up of copies and writing of commentaries to the works of their predecessors. The world of Islam lapsed into lethargy for a few centuries. What was being written frequently duplicated earlier examples. Until the present day, some of the manuscripts from this period have not been published or cannot be identified. The listing of autobiographies written before the 20th century with a short description or with information about their potential existence can be found in Dwight E. Reynolds (2001, pp. 255–288).

9 A similar situation occurred in the European Middle Ages, when—according to Jean Leclerque (1973, p. 476)—the author's thoughts and feelings were obfuscated by literary technique (*loci communes*, clichés, fixed phrases, formulae of humility and remorse, and other rhetorical

difficult (if possible at all) to reach the authentic extraliterary personality and the profound depths of the self. A reconstruction of the psychological state of the medieval Arab authors is also impossible due to the fact that the variables which determined it at that time cannot be examined.

The article has been divided into two parts. This part (i.e., the first one) is dedicated to the literary representation of the self in medieval Arabic autobiographies. The second part discusses the most important cultural norms and values which could have limited the influence of writing on self-cognitive processes.

Autobiography in Medieval Arabic Literature

The self continues to be the object of interest of many scholarly disciplines—not only of psychology and its subdisciplines, but also philosophy, sociology, and anthropology. By engendering many debates and polemics, it occasioned the emergence of a number of concepts which treated its nature differently—according to the research paradigm which was embraced. In the context of this article, it seems sufficient to introduce a basic dual approach to the self—subject and object—upon which the majority of the modern psychological concepts of the self are based. The basis of such an approach is the distinction between "I" and "me" which was introduced by the American philosopher and psychologist William James (d. 1910), according to whom "I" represents the private, interior sense of oneself, whereas "me" represents the self as an object (as cited in Hammack, 2014, p. 14). These are not separate realities but two aspects of one whole, for the self has the ability to be both the subject and the object.

The self in its subject aspect experiences thoughts, feelings, perceptions (either assimilating or rejecting them) and directs behavior. It creates a concept of itself and a feeling of identity for a person. However, the object-self may be observed; it is a kind of self-knowledge. Man has the ability to make himself the object of reflection and cognition, of analyzing, interpreting, and evaluating himself. The concept of oneself, created and integrated by the subject-self, provides information about various aspects of the self which is conceived of as an object in terms of its own abilities, inclinations, and experiences as well as the values which are recognized.

During the course of history, man developed a feeling of his own self, a certain image of his own person whose components were collected in

devices). They constituted a kind of defense mechanism, which ruled out the possibility of reaching the true personality of the author.

memory and communicated either in the oral or written form.[10] Understanding oneself is a cultural phenomenon, subject to historical and social changes. Man thinks about himself in terms of his own culture. According to David Matsumoto and Linda Juang (2013, p. 344), "the concept of self is part of one's cultural worldviews because how one sees oneself in relation to the rest of the world is an integral part of one's culture". Therefore, the concepts of self vary in different cultural circles (and even within subcultures) due to worldview-related differences:

> these differences in self-concepts occur because different cultures are associated with different systems of rules of living and exist within different social and economic environments and natural habitats. The varied demands that cultures place on individual members mean that individuals integrate, synthesize, and coordinate their worlds in a variety of ways, producing differences in self-concepts. (Matsumoto & Juang, 2013, p. 345)

In the context of Arabic literature from the classical and post-classical period, the term "autobiographical literature" is a source of much debate. According to the research paradigms which are embraced, it is defined as an independent literary genre or as an example of biographical literature (this point is discussed by Enderwitz, 1998, pp. 1–10, 2007, pp. 35–41). Generally speaking, according to some researchers, in Arabic literature until the end of the pre-modern period, autobiography was not developed because in fact the Arabs had not developed "a sense for individual autonomy" (Rosenthal, 1937, p. 30; Zionis, 1991, p. 61).[11] Others claim that for the authors of that period, any content that revealed their personality, what they experienced in various situations, their struggle with themselves and the surrounding world, were irrelevant to this kind of literary endeavor, whereas they could be revealed in the course of a closer study (e.g., Bustard, 1997, pp. 327–344; Kilpatrick, 1991, pp. 1–20). In one of the best-known modern treatments of Arabic autobiographies developed by the end of the pre-modern period, the author, Dwight F. Reynolds (2001, p. 9), assumes that an autobiography is "a description or summation of the author's life, or a major portion thereof, as viewed retrospectively from a particular point in time". In a situation in which the definition omits such terms as "individual" or "personality," autobiography could be formally distinguished, whereas the works which represented it

10 It was not until two centuries later that the concept of the self was used in the European context as the fundamental category of awareness: see, e.g., Marcel Mauss (1938, pp. 263–281).

11 For more information on this subject, see Susanne Enderwitz (2007, pp. 37–38).

could number approximately 140 (Enderwitz, 2007, p. 38).[12] As Susanne Enderwitz remarked, if we assume a deconstructionist method of treating a text, the works which are classified by Reynolds and other scholars within the category of autobiographical literature may actually adjust even more than traditional Western autobiographies to the postmodernist approach to "selfhood," where the concept of "I" as "a self-contained entity with a self-assured identity capable of reflexive self-expression [is] deceptive or misleading" (Enderwitz, 2007, p. 40).

Because the resolution of problems of a genealogical nature is not essential for the purpose of this article, I embrace Reynolds's definition of an autobiography, which enables us to determine the source corpus and the use of the term "autobiography" for the sake of introducing order to our discussion.

In the eastern part of the Arab-Muslim world, autobiographies were usually referred to as *sīra*[13] and *tarjamat an-nafs* (although these terms did not necessarily appear in the titles of the works themselves). Autobiography represents a kind of native literature,[14] based on biographical and prosopographical literature, whereas the latter constitutes an element of historical writing. According to the typology suggested by Chase F. Robinson (2007, p. XXV), *sīra*[15] represented biographical writing and indicated a "single-subject work that relates the life of a person", whereas *tarjama*[16] originally constituted an individual entry in prosopographical works, which contained biographical data "that mark[ed] an individual's belonging to a group." This term basically contained the idea of knowing someone in an intellectual context, which was accomplished not only through providing

12 In comparison with the remaining areas of classical and post-classical Arabic literature, this number indeed continues to be small.

13 In this article, the ALA-LC transcription is used, with the exception of Arabic terms which have long been rooted in the English language and/or widely recognized in the scholarly discourse (in which case the simplified transcription rules are applied).

14 In the context of the autobiographies of Arab physicians and philosophers of the 4th/10th–6th/12th centuries, one may perceive some influence (although a limited one) from the Greek and Persian biographical traditions. As far as Sufi autobiographies are concerned, they were spiritual autobiographies which developed within the proper experiences of mystics and they influenced to a certain extent traditional (non-spiritual) autobiographies—see Reynolds (2001, pp. 45–48) and Michael J.L. Young (1990, p. 183).

15 Grammatically speaking, the term *sīra* is the *nomina speciei* derived from the verb *sāra* ("to go," "to pass," "to proceed," "to journey"), usually translated as "a mode, manner of going," or "a way, mode, manner of acting, or conduct or life" (Lane, 2002, s.v.). For more information about the meaning of this term, see Chase F. Robinson (2007, pp. 64–65).

16 The form *tarjama* is a deverbal noun from *tarjama* meaning "to interpret sth," "to translate sth from one language into another," "to explain sth in another language," "to write sb's life," or "to write a biography, biographical notice, of sb" (Lane, 2002, s.v.).

the most important pieces of biographical information—since the reader was familiarized with a given figure and his achievements above all by quoting his works or teachings (poetry, prose, letters, bons mots, etc.). This was a kind of a commentary about a given figure (Reynolds, 2001, pp. 43–44). Over the course of time, *tarjama* developed into a "single-subject stand-alone biography," which caused a blurring of the distinctions between the genres of biographical literature and prosopographical literature (Robinson, 2007, pp. XXV, 61).

The earliest example of biographical literature is the *sīra* of the prophet Muhammad preserved in Ibn Hishām's version (d. ca. 218/833). Over time, this term began to be applied not only to a narrative devoted to the life of the prophet Muhammad, but also to other people, including autobiographical narratives (although they could be written in the third person). *Tarjama* becomes self-*tarjama* (*tarjamat an-nafs*) the moment the author introduces information about himself. Also, self-*tarjama* is not always written in the first person. Such autobiographies were frequently incorporated into a greater biographical compendium by a compiler, who could have incorporated an autobiographical note in its entirety or performed an authorial selection.[17]

Autobiographies—in contradistinction to biographies, which were characterized by a continuity of the convention—assumed various formal solutions (e.g., authors could include passages about themselves in biographical or chronographical works); hence, Reynolds (2001, pp. 48, 59) writes that "the corpus of Arabic autobiographies displays a high degree of formal variety and includes a number of highly idiosyncratic texts." Despite formal changes, the creation of self-*sīra* or self-*tarjama* was understood as "writing an account of one's life for posterity".

The earliest autobiographies began to appear in the 9th century. One of the first examples is the autobiography of a Nestorian physician, one of the most important translators of the works of Galen and Hippocrates, Ḥunayn Ibn Isḥāq (d. 260/873). Initially, the authors wrote autobiographies independently of each other. When, over the course of time, they began to circulate in compilations, they became more familiar among circles of intellectual elites. The history of literature knows clusters of autobiographical texts, written in a similar period, region, and milieu, whereby the authors frequently knew each other personally. At that time, such works

17 There are also narratives (*aḫbār*) which were incorporated into greater compilatory, non-biographical works—e.g., into geographical or *adab* ones—which are autobiographical in nature, which means that they convey the remembrances of the author himself, the memories associated with events, observations, and commentaries. An article by Hilary Kilpatrick is devoted to this subject (1991, pp. 1–20).

were written mainly by physicians, philosophers, and the representatives of other "foreign sciences" (*'ulūm 'ajamiyya*). Initially, the justification for autobiography was not incorporated; it became standard in approximately the 5th/11th century. We can observe an actual blossoming of autobiographical literature at the end of the 5th/11th century and in the 6th/12th century. A background for an autobiography could be furnished by many things, so many types of this literary tradition are indicated: academic, political, belletristic, conversion, spiritual, or syncretic autobiography, which involved various narrative traditions (Reynolds, 2001, pp. 64, 66).[18]

A Literary Representation of the Self and the Literary Means of Perceiving and Arranging Reality

One of the most peculiar features of autobiography involved authors who presented themselves by describing their own deeds or events in which they participated.[19] In other words, the self was expressed above all in a situational context. Certain concepts which could characterize the figure of the author were presented in the form of his specific activities. Autobiographies, especially academic ones, were a type of *vita* in which the author collected genealogical information, enumerated his teachers, the subjects he studied, the works he remembered, the journeys he made, and the positions he held. In one of the biographical compendia devoted to the judges of Egypt, Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, a hadith scholar, judge and historian (d. 852/1449), wrote about himself in the following way:

> Ibn Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī: Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Aḥmad. From the town of 'Asqalān by origin, Egyptian by birth and upbringing, resident of Cairo. He was born in the month of Sha'bān in the year A.H. 773 [1372 C.E.] and his father died in the month of Rajab 777 [1375 C.E.]. His mother had already died while he was still a young child, so he was raised an orphan. He did not enter Qur'ān school until he was five years old and only completed memorizing the Qur'ān when he was nine. … Then [the author] travelled to Alexandria and attended lessons from its authorities at that time. Later, he went on the pilgrimage and travelled through Yemen. He attended lessons from scholars in Mecca, Medina, Yanbū', Zabīd, Ta'izz, Aden, and other cities and villages. In Yemen, he

18 Researchers also suggest different typologies, see e.g. Iḥsān 'Abbās (1996, pp. 114–130) and Shawqī Ḍayf (1956).

19 A description of the external (therefore also a description of events and activities) was peculiar to the entire bulk of biographical and prosopographical literature (Robinson, 2007, p. 62).

> met the great scholar of Arabic lexicography, a man without rival, Majd al-Dīn b. al-Shīrāzī, and received from him one of his most famous works, called al-Qāmūs fī al-lugha [Dictionary of the Arabic Language]. He met many of the learned men of those cities and then returned to Cairo. … He worked at writing books and was then appointed to the position of shaykh of the Baybarsiyya college, then with the teaching of Shāfi'ite law at the al-Mu'ayyadiyya al-Jadīda college. Then, he was appointed judge on the seventeenth of the month of Muḥarram in the year 827 [1423 C.E.]. (Al-Asqalānī, 1998, pp. 62–64; translated by Reynolds, 2001, 81–82).

Without doubt, this is one of the driest passages in the autobiographical tradition. According to Reynolds (2001, p. 82), this relation is the reason for the emergence among Western Arabists of a stereotype of a static and completely impersonal autobiographical narrative. Even if we do not oppose such a statement, we should emphasize that there are many examples of equally static autobiographies. Abū al-Ḥasan al-Bayhaqī (d. 565/1169), a religious scholar and historian, is only one of many writers in whose autobiography the self is represented by narration at the specific stages of education, professional career, or journeys that had been taken (see, e.g., Stewart, 1997, pp. 346–347; Khoury, 1997, pp. 292–293):

> then I returned to my place of birth and I visited my mother in Bayhaq. I spent three months there, and it was in the year 21 [i.e., 521/1127] that I returned to Nishapur, then to Bayhaq. I entered a relationship by affinity with the governor of Rayy, the subsequent *mushrif al-mamlaka* [a title of a state official who was responsible for financial supervision in a province], Shihāb ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Mas'ūd, and my relationship with [his] family lasted many years. In the month of Jumāda al-Ūlā of the year 526 [i.e., 1132] I was entrusted with the position of the judge of Bayhaq. (Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, 1993, vol. 4, p. 1761)[20]

Autobiographies frequently resemble chronicle narration in their dynamics. Abū Shāma, a historian (d. 665/1268), incorporated information about the death of his mother into other events of the year 620/1224 which are described in chronological order:

> In this year Ibn Abī Firās led the people in pilgrimage from Iraq, and Sharaf al-Dīn, ruler of Sarkas, those from Syria. Also in this year my mother passed away, may God have mercy on her. I buried her in the foothills on the road near al-Imaj and al-Maghar, next to the wadi. I hope to

20 The complete text of the autobiography was not preserved. Yāqūt quotes excerpts and maintains the first-person narration.

> be buried next to her. Her death occurred on Saturday, the sixth of Rajab. She was pious and virtuous, may God be pleased with her. Also in this year the Amir Mubāriz al-Dīn Sunqur of Aleppo died, one of Saladdin's contingent. (Abū Shāma, 1974, p. 134; translated by Lowry, 1997, p. 314)

Sometimes the authors expressed emotions and feelings they experienced in reference to a situation by relating specific activities. For example, Aṣ-Ṣuyūṭī (a hadith scholar, exegete of the Quran, lawyer, and historian, d. 911/1505) expressed his anger associated with the incoming deadline of his first lecture to be held in the presence of one of his renowned teachers in the following way: "I went to the tomb of the Imām al-Shāfi'ī, may God be pleased with him, and requested him to intercede for me for God's help" (Aṣ-Ṣuyūṭī, 1975, p. 240; translated by Bustard, 1997, p. 332)

Such a solution also appears not only in academic autobiographies, but also in spiritual autobiographies, where spiritual experiences assume the form of specific events. It was At-Tirmidhī, (d. ca. 295–300/905–910), one of the early Sufi authors, who had already presented them by means of the oneiric convention:[21]

> I beheld in a dream that the Messenger of God entered the congregational mosque in our city, and I entered the mosque immediately afterwards, remaining close behind his neck. He continued walking until he was in the maqṣūra. I followed at his heels and was very close to him. It was as if I were almost clinging to his back, and I placed my footsteps in the same spot where he walked and so I entered the maqṣūra. Then he mounted the pulpit and I ascended immediately behind him. This went on until he reached the highest step and sat down on it, and then I sat down at his feet on the next step below where he was sitting. My right hand was toward his face, whereas my face looked in the direction of the doors that opened onto the market, and my left hand was towards the people. Then, while in that situation, I woke from my dream. (as cited in Radtke & O'Kane, 1996, p. 18)

We may see clearly that the meticulously described scene of entering a mosque and exiting the pulpit following the prophet Muhammad's footsteps corresponds with the experience of the spiritual growth of the author and the guidance of the community of believers according to his pattern.

21 Belief in dreams was very strong in the Muslim tradition—it was supported by both the Quran and the sunna of the Prophet. One distinguished dreams from [dream] visions (*ru'ya*), which were understood as a means through which God communicates with us. In a dream vision, one could receive injunctions from God himself or from his prophet, and the realization of these injunctions signified the subjection to divine will. One could be warned against peril, and sometimes one could interpret the shape of things to come.

What does this widely applied strategy attest to? From the perspective of theliteracy thesis, it may indicate that the culture failed to use the complete array of possibilities which writing offers in the sphere of cognition. Undoubtedly, one must remember that such a situation is not uncommon in certain cultures. The complete transition from orality to literacy is a long process and the so-called transitional mode of communication frequently functions within a literacy that has been established to a greater or lesser extent.[22]

One of the basic properties of writing is above all its "separating" property that occurs at multiple levels. Its diaeretic function was expressed by Walter J. Ong (1986, p. 36) in the following way: "[Writing] divides and distances all sorts of things in all sorts of ways." Due to its potential to decontextualize, writing enables the object of knowledge to be distinguished from the subject (Ong, 1986, p. 38). The object of cognition does not have to remain immersed in specific situations—it may be abstracted from them. By inspecting the "distinguished" object of cognition, the subject may describe and examine it (Havelock, 1963, p. 208). In other words, after the adoption of writing, at some point language begins to be perceived as a thing which is composed of words combined by the instruments of syntax, as an entity which is independent from the things to which it refers. At some stage of its development, writing—as a model for language—furnishes categories which enable us to think about the constituents of speech (Olson, 1994, pp. 134–140). Therefore, it contributes to the establishment of concepts which generate a new awareness, to the establishment of a mind which acquires the ability to think independently and to reflect consciously in the place of mental identification. It facilitates the development of abstract thinking which is necessary for the development of knowledge, including self-knowledge, which facilitates the operation of concepts which exist at a considerable level of generality. Thus, it provides us with the possibility to formulate general judgments about ourselves and to arrange them hierarchically.

It was Eric Havelock (1963, pp. 199–200), followed by Ong (1986, pp. 37–38), who pointed out that thanks to writing, the self was separated as an independent, self-steering awareness (of one's own internal world), pursuing an impulse in itself, operating according to its own will. Even if writing did not cause this automatically—even if the process of the development of subjectivity lasted many centuries and even though in the

22 A culture which uses writing but in which texts are written predominantly for listeners (instead of readers) is sometimes called an "auditory" culture. At such a stage of culture, texts no longer have a formulaic structure, but they continue to differ from texts which emerged in a culture which interiorized writing to a considerable extent (Godzich, 1994, pp. 79–80).

Western world (and also in Arab-Muslim cultural circles, due to the influence of Western models) it was associated with the modern era and print—it was the adoption of writing which initiated historic changes in this area.

Parenthetically, Soviet psychologist and neuropsychologist Alexander Luria (d. 1977) conducted research (in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan) that aimed to describe the operational thinking of illiterate, semiliterate, and literate people. Even though the research was not devoted to the possibilities of literacy, it confirmed the findings of the theoreticians of literacy.

The results of that research may be summarized as follows: the analysis of one's own mental features failed in the non-literary group. The respondents either refused to answer or attempted to describe these features by presenting specific, material aspects of their lives. The request to describe oneself was understood as a request to describe the external conditions of one's life. The respondents described their internal features by describing external forms of behavior—one's drawbacks were understood as material and situational defects. The evaluation of one's behavior, the description of one's defects in terms of internal rather than external life, was noted when Luria dealt with people who demonstrated a certain standard of literacy. In the narrations provided by people who were educated, new spheres of life appeared (social experience, an awareness of oneself as a participant in social life); the analysis was more conscious. In the statements that were made, one could perceive the ability of the respondents to represent not only the external reality, but also the world of social relations and finally their own internal world (in relation to other people). This ability was proportional to the degree of literacy (Luria, 1976, pp. 146–159).[23]

As we return to the proper subject of my article, we should emphasize that the medieval Arab-Islamic culture was a manuscript culture. In the first centuries after the Quran was written down, texts functioned merely as a mnemonic aid, especially for scholars, lecturers, and the students who made notes during lectures. Although texts began to assume the form of an actual manuscript book (in Greek, *syngramma*)[24] after the 9th century, its appearance as an account furnished with the means to completely convey illocutionary capabilities, a completely autonomous account understood as a representation of individual thought which liberates one from a community and "allows for the contemplation of alternative responses and the trying on of new emotions" (Riesman, 1993, p. 424) was not possible.

23 Changes in mental processes even at a slight degree of literacy were also attested by John C. Carothers's research (1959, pp. 307–320).

24 For a more comprehensive discussion, see Gregor Schoeler (2006, pp. 45–61). He uses the Greek term *hypomnēma* to refer to private notes which did not function as manuscript books *sensu stricto*.

One of the reasons for this was the fact that books functioned in a culture which favored oral/auditory forms of transmission, and thus the creators and consumers of culture (subculture) belonged to the same community of memory through the internalization of the texts which were written.

Memorization and oral transmission were a deeply-rooted tradition in the Arab community. There was a considerable cultural emphasis on the memorization of the Quran, the sunna of the prophet Muhammad, poetry, proverbs, and anecdotal material among the intellectual elites. As far as scholarship and education was concerned (especially the scholarship which developed around multifaceted studies in the Quran), until the end of the pre-modern era the basic model for the transmission of content was listening, and the direct contact of the teacher with the student was the basic principle which governed the process of education. Literary salons (*mujālasāt*) were governed by similar principles, and starting in the middle of the 3rd/9th century they became a prestigious institution—a center for poets, writers, and enthusiasts of cultural life (Ali, 2010, p. 38).

However, it was not only manuscript books and the preference for oral/auditory forms of transmission that made writing modify the style of communication and the mode of thinking in a limited way.[25] The complexity of the problem leads us to examine the dominant worldview-related evaluation in a broader context and to distinguish some cultural causes which could have "regulated" the influence of writing. These causes will be presented in the second part of the article.

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25 Printing brought the greatest capabilities for decontextualisation (Riesman, 1993, pp. 423–424).

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Italian Inspiration for the Painting Decorations by Maciej Jan Meyer from the First Half of the Eighteenth Century in Szembek Chapel at the Cathedral in Frombork

ABSTRACT

The Bishop of Warmia, Krzysztof Andrzej Jan Szembek from Słupów (1680–1740), erected a domed reliquary chapel devoted to the Most Holy Savior and St. Theodore the Martyr (Saint Theodore of Amasea) at the cathedral in Frombork, also known as Szembek Chapel. The entire interior of the chapel is covered with frescoes dating from around 1735 by Maciej Jan Meyer (Matthias Johann Meyer) from Lidzbark Warmiński. Educated in Italy, the artist made polychrome decorations in the style of illusionistic architectural painting known as quadrature. In the lower part of the chapel stand busts of saints and the entire figure of St. Theodore of Amasea; in the cupola of the dome is the adoration of the Holy Trinity and the Holy Cross by the Mother of God and the Saints. Using the comparative method, I discuss the decoration of the chapel in the context of quadrature painting, which was developing in Italy and then in Central Europe, especially at the end of the 17th and the first half of the 18th centuries. Influential artists who played an important role for Polish *quadratura* techniques were Andrea Pozzo (1642–1709) and painters who came from Italy or studied painting there, such as Maciej Jan Meyer. I also show the prototype for the decoration of the chapel's dome, namely, the frescoes from 1664–1665 by Pietro Berrettini da Cortona in the dome of Santa Maria in Valicella in Rome, as well as for medallions with busts of saints modeled on the structure of the main altar from 1699–1700 in the Church of the Holy Cross in Warsaw, funded by Meyer's first patron, Bishop Teodor Potocki, primate of Poland.

KEYWORDS: chapel, fresco, wall painting, Italian influence, Meyer

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STRESZCZENIE

Włoskie inspiracje malarskiej dekoracji Macieja Jana Meyera z pierwszej połowy XVIII wieku w kaplicy Szembekowskiej przy katedrze we Fromborku

Biskup warmiński Krzysztof Andrzej Jan Szembek ze Słupowa (1680–1740) przy archikatedrze we Fromborku ufundował kopułową kaplicę relikwiarzową pw. Najświętszego Salwatora i św. Teodora Męczennika (Teodora z Amazji), zwaną także Szembekowską. Całość wnętrza kaplicy pokrywają freski wykonane około 1735 roku przez Macieja Jana Meyera (Matthiasa Johanna Meyera) z Lidzbarka Warmińskiego. Wykształcony w Italii artysta wykonał polichromię w typie malarstwa iluzjonistyczno-architektonicznego określanego jako kwadratura. W dolnej części kaplicy przedstawiono popiersia świętych oraz w całej postaci św. Teodora z Amazji, a w czaszy kopuły adorację Trójcy Świętej oraz Krzyża Świętego przez Matkę Boską i świętych. Poprzez metodę porównawczą omówiono dekorację kaplicy w kontekście zagadnień malarstwa kwadraturowego rozwijającego się we Włoszech, a następnie w Europie Środkowej, zwłaszcza pod koniec XVII i w I połowie XVIII wieku. Ważną rolę w tym zakresie odegrał Andrea Pozzo (1642-1709) oraz artyści, którzy z Italii pochodzili bądź też tam studiowali malarstwo, jak Maciej Jan Meyer. Wskazano pierwowzór dla dekoracji kopuły kaplicy, którym są freski z lat 1664-1665 Pietra Berrettinieo da Cortony w kopule Santa Maria in Valicella w Rzymie, a także dla medalionów z popiersiami świętych wzorowanych na strukturze ołtarza głównego z lat 1699–1700 w kościele Krzyża Świętego w Warszawie, ufundowanego przez pierwszego mecenasa Meyera biskupa Teodora Potockiego, prymasa Polski.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: kaplica, freski, dekoracje ścienne, wpływy włoskie, Meyer

The Chapel of the Most Holy Savior in Frombork, commonly known as Szembek Chapel, has not yet received the focused attention it deserves in a separate study. Both earlier German researchers (Boetticher, 1894, pp. 84–85, 99–100; Dittrich, 1916, pp. 14–17) and Polish ones, especially in the post-war period, mention the chapel only in the context of the cathedral or the activity of its founder in Warmia (Arszyński & Kutzner, 1980, pp. 85–88; Szorc, 1991, p. 82; Achremczyk, 1987, p. 18, 2008, p. 331; Żochowski, 1993, pp. 70–72; Starek & Kotłowski, 2017, p. 359). The reliquaries located there were only of partial interest to art historians (Samulowska, 1968, pp. 54–58, Figs. 10–13; Mączyński, 2003, pp. 583–584; Semkow, 2006, pp. 1–36; Semkow, 2012a, pp. 47–53; Okulicz, 2006, pp. 15–16, 346–351). This is also true for the polychrome painting in the chapel, which Andrzej Stoga discussed in very general terms (Stoga, 1981,

pp. 258–261, 1993, p. 519). The scholar recognized the innovative composition of the figures in the dome, referring the whole decoration to the Italian art characteristic of the "style that was popular around 1650." Hence, it is worth taking a closer look at Meyer's polychrome artwork, which was deeply rooted in the Italian painting tradition.

The polychrome made by the fresco artist from Lidzbark covered the interior of the chapel built in 1732–1735 at the Gothic corpus of the Cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Andrew the Apostle in Frombork (Fig. 1). The man responsible for the oratory and the frescoes was Bishop Krzysztof Andrzej Jan Szembek from Słupów (1680–1740), who served in Warmia from 1723 to 1740 (Żochowski, 1993; Szorc, 1991, p. 82; Kopiczko, 1996, pp. 244–245; Akhremczyk, 2008, pp. 323–334). The Chapel of the Most Holy Savior and St. Theodore the Martyr (Saint Theodore of Amasea), also known as Szembek Chapel, was intended as a reliquary from the very beginning. The Archives of the Archdiocese of Warmia in Olsztyn hold several important historical documents related to the chapel and its furnishings and materials.[1] A lot of valuable information also came from the thorough conservation of the entire monument, including the polychrome, which was carried out in the 2010s, by the conservation company of Dr. hab. Edgar Pill and Aleksandra Pill, MA from Toruń (Pill & Pill, 2014; Maćko, 2014; Szumińska, 2015).

Szembek Chapel was erected in the seventh bay of the southern aisle of the cathedral, which was built in 1388. On behalf of Szembek, the cornerstone for the chapel was laid on August 15, 1732 by auxiliary bishop Michał Remigiusz Łaszewski (1730–1746). Bishop Krzysztof Andrzej Jan Szembek consecrated the chapel in 1735 (AAWO, AB, A 31, sheet 81), even though

1 The documents of particular importance include the foundation decree for the chapel, *Erectio Beneficium Szembekiani in Capella S(ancti)s(i)mi Salvatoris*, issued in Lidzbark Warmiński on December 29, 1736; the first inventory of its contents without the date of creation, defined as *Connotatio. Argenteriae, Reliqviarum, Ornamentum totiusque Supellectislis Capellae S (anctis) simi Salvatoris D (omin) ni Nostri*; and a second document, from 1785, preceded by the status of the oratory and a description of its furnishings—*Status et Rescriptio Capellae Sanctissimi Salvatoris a Perillustri Reverendissimo Domino Joanne Cichowski Canonico Varmiensis Anno 1785 facta*. These three documents are bound together and labelled as *Capella Szembekiana Ecclesae Cathedralis Varmiensis. Archiv(um) Capitulare Frauenburg. R. C11a,* and all bear the reference number AAWO, AK, RC 11a. The chapel was also mentioned by Bishop Szembek himself in his report on the Warmia diocese sent to Rome on September 12, 1735, preserved in *Acta Cancellariae Illustrissimi Christophori Joannis Szembek Episcopi Warmiensis 1735–1740* (AAWO, AB, A 31, sheets 78–90). Some important information is also included in the extensive testimony of Szembek from January 25, 1740: *Testamentum Codicilli et Rationes Executoriales b.m. C(e)l(enti)ssimi R(everendissi)mi D(omi)ni Christophori Szembek Principis Ep(isco)pi Warmiensis* (AAWO, AK I T 16, sheets 19–64v; AAWO, AB, A 46, sheets 55–57), published, in the main part, by Hipler (1886, pp. 121–122).

the finishing work continued for three years after his death, until 1743. In the decree of December 29, 1736, the founder took care of the appropriate funds for the maintenance of the chapel and the liturgy celebrated there (AAWO, AK, RC 11a (1), a loose sheet without numbering, and sheets 1-2v; AAWO, AK, RC 11a (3), sheet. 1v-2; Dittrich, 1916, p. 51). In accordance with his wish, outlined in his will of January 25, 1740, the founder—who died on March 16, 1740—was buried in the crypt of the chapel on June 1, 1740 (AAWO, AB, A 46, sheets 55-55v; Hipler, 1886, p. 121) (Fig. 1).

Figure 1. Frombork, Cathedral of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary and St. Andrew with the Chapel of the Most Holy Savior (the Szembek Chapel), 1732–1743. Photo by Szymon Tracz, 2011.

The chapel was erected on a floor plan with a different appearance of the outer and inner sides. Outside, it is projected onto a plan similar to a square (9 × 10 m) with concave corners, while inside the ground floor area is marked by a circle inscribed in a square with four rectangular recesses in the middle of the sides (an altar is situated in the southern recess, an entrance in the northern recess, and benches in the east and west recesses), which in effect is shaped similar to two Greek crosses inscribed inside each other.

The entrance to the chapel is located in the northern arcade. From the inside of the cathedral nave, it is formed by a deep, high arcade framed by

an illusionistically painted portal made in 1742 by the painter Rogawski.[2] The entrance to the oratory is finished with a decorative double-leaf trellis, richly forged in spatial plant motifs. In the semicircular transom, there is an openwork cartouche with the coat of arms of Bishop Szembek. The grating was made around 1742 by a blacksmith from Reszel, Jan Schwartz (1691–1760), and in 1742 it was painted and gilded by Rogawski (Dittrich, 1916, p. 15, footnote 1; Celińska, 1969, pp. 331–346, illustration 2, Fig. 5; Arszyński & Kutzner, 1980, p. 86; Maćko, 2014).

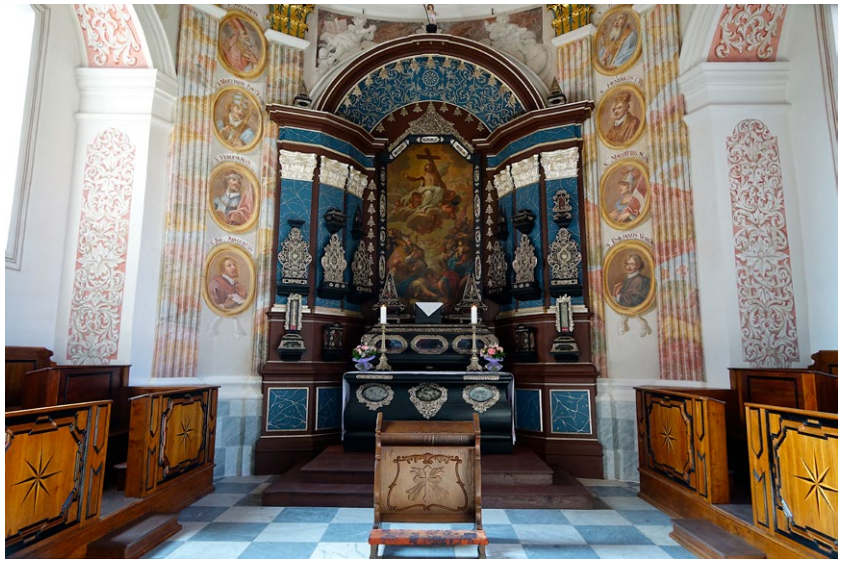

Figure 2. Frombork, Chapel of the Most Holy Savior (the Szembek Chapel). View of the interior with the altarpiece. Photo by Szymon Tracz, 2018.

At the focal point of the chapel is a polychromed and silvered reliquary wall altar with a painting of the Victorious Christ with a cross surrounded by saints, which was placed in the southern arcade in 1734. On his mensa, there is a wooden coffin in the shape of a sarcophagus with visors and silver appliqués with relics of Saint Theodore of Amasea (Dittrich, 1916, p. 15; Arszyński & Kutzner, 1980, p. 86; Mączyński, 2003, pp. 583–584;

2 Rogawski (Rogalski) is an unknown painter and gilder who was active in Warmia in the second half of the 18th century, which is mentioned in the archival sources when works in the cathedral in Frombork and at the chapel of St. Bruno, canon Eulenburg in Frombork were being commissioned for Bishop Szembek (Dittrich, 1916, p. 15, footnote 1; Starek & Kotłowski, 2017, p. 362, note 415).

Semkow, 2012a, pp. 48–50; Pill & Pill, 2014, illustrations 46–49). Relics of St. Theodore are accompanied by numerous relics of various saints and by wax Agnus Dei sacramentals. They were placed in black glass reliquaries of various shapes decorated with silver, embossed appliqués as well as in glazed openings in the picture frame and the altar. The silver fittings and decorations of the retable and reliquaries were created around 1730–1743 in the workshops of goldsmith Jan Krzysztof Geese († 1761) in Olsztyn and Samuel Grewe, who was active in Królewiec from 1712 to 1750 (Dittrich, 1916, pp. 15, 57–58; Samulowska, 1968, pp. 54–58, illustrations 10–13; Mączyński, 2003, p. 584; Semkow, 2006, pp. 7–16; Semkow, 2012a, pp. 50–52; Okulicz 2006, pp. 15–16, 346–351) (Fig. 2).

Inside the chapel, special attention should be drawn to the magnificent polychrome painting, executed in the fresco technique around 1735 by Maciej Jan Meyer from Lidzbark Warmiński. The frescoes were painted in light, pastel colors with the dominant, wide range of shades of brown, ocher, whitewashed blues, reds, and olive green. Several components can be distinguished in the decoration system. The arcades, pilasters, friezes, wall panels, and window recesses articulating the interior of the chapel were covered with decorations in the form of marbling and regency ornamentation. Then, between four pairs of pilasters in each row, four busts of saints were piled up vertically in illusionistically painted frames. The medallions were hung on a painted grey-white ribbon tied with a bow at the top. Above each medallion there was a band with a red Latin inscription identifying the saint. The saints were shown in frontal, profile, and three-quarter views.[3] Above the entrance to the oratory, Meyer embedded the monumental *Vision of St. Theodore of Amasea*, surrounded by an illusionistically painted, profiled frame. The martyr was portrayed as an *all'antica* Roman soldier, in a late Renaissance burgonet helmet with a plume, cuirass, and a purple cloak flowing from his shoulders. The saint is kneeling on a smashed pagan deity. He is accompanied by an angel who is placing a palm branch in his hands, entwined with a band with

3 The chapel on the southeastern side represents St. Macarius (S[anctus] Macarius), St. Martin, the Pope (S[anctus] Martinus, Pontifex), St. Wenceslaus (S[anctus] Venceslaus, M[artyr?]), and St. Ivo Advocatus (S[anctus] Ivo, Advocatus). Then, the southwest side shows the semblances of St. Blasius (S[anctus] Blasius), St. Henry II, Emperor (S[anctus] Henericus C[aesar] R[omanorum]), St. Maurice (S[anctus] Mauritius M[artyr] c[um] 10000), and St. Hieronymus Emiliani of Venice (S[anctus] Emilianus, Veneciae). In turn, on the northwest side, we see St. Hilary (S[anctus] Hilarius), St. Louis the King (S[anctus] Ludovicus, R[ex] Gal[liae]), St. John of Nepomuk (S[anctus] Ioan[n]es, Nepomucen[us], and St. Isidor (S[anctus] Isidorus). Finally, on the northwest side the artist painted St. John the Almoner (S[anctus] Ioannes), St. Charles Borromeo (S[anctus] Carolus Boromeus), St. Alban of Mainz (S[anctus] Albanu[us], Sacerdos), and St. Lazarus (S[anctus] Lazarus) (see Starek & Kotłowski, 2017, pp. 365–370).

the Latin inscription "Justus ut palama florebit. Ps[almus] 91, Ver[sus] 13" (Starek & Kotłowski, 2017, p. 371). Above the martyr among the clouds, in the luminous rim, we can see the Tetragrammaton with the Hebrew name of God (Yahweh, יהוה). The whole picture is completed by the painter's signature, which is visible on the left side of the saint: "MATTHIAS I (OHANNES) MAYER / PICTOR CIVISQU (UE) / HELISBERGAE" (Starek & Kotłowski, 2017, p. 372) (Fig. 3).

Figure 3. Frombork, Chapel of the Most Holy Savior (the Szembek Chapel). North wall with entrance and representation of *St. Theodore of Amasea*, painter Maciej Jan Meyer, ca. 1735. Photo by Szymon Tracz, 2019.

In turn, in the arches of the arcades that provide the structure for the interior of the chapel, the decorations were executed in the *en grisaille* style. On a marbled background, the artist depicted putti in pairs with attributes that personify the eight blessings.[4] Meyer drew on the Gospel of St. Matthew (Mt 5:3–12). It is possible to correctly identify the subsequent personifications after we compare them to similar representations of the eight blessings by Maciej Jan Meyer in the interior of the dome of the Holy Trinity Chapel, located in the northwest corner of the cloisters in the church in Święta Lipka. Those frescoes were created between October 1733 and

4 In the literature, personifications in the arches are wrongly interpreted as virtues: see Arszyński & Kutzner (1980, p. 86).

October 1734 (Paszenda, 2008, pp. 114, 117). Contrary to the Frombork representations, in the Swięta Lipka sanctuary, each of the blessings is embodied by a female figure, defined by a larger set of attributes, only some of which were repeated in Szembek Chapel. In addition, bands with the text of each of the eight blessings appear in the painting.

Finally, the last element of the Frombork artwork are frescoes covering the dome's vault and roof lantern. Here, the artist from Lidzbark depicted the adoration of the Holy Trinity and the Holy Cross by the inhabitants of heaven, led by the Assumed Mother of God. The composition was based on the principle of three: expertly interconnected circles of figures gathered in groups are visible among swirling, fleecy clouds. The first ring is made up of figures standing directly behind an illusionistically painted balustrade. They are men and women of different ages known from the pages of the Old Testament, portrayed in half-figures. The second ring is comprised of figures accompanying the Holy Trinity. It shows the apostles, holy martyrs, and followers, who can be identified by their attributes. The saints are surmounted by winged angels. The third ring consists of dancing angels holding a flower and rose garland, surrounding the lantern opening, against a background of clouds. The roof lantern is filled with a representation of a golden crown (Fig. 4).

The bottom of the entire composition of the dome's vault is finished by an illusionistically painted baluster railing with a profiled banister, articulated with four low posts decorated with a stylized volute motif. The tangibility of the balustrade, which is an extension of the actual architectural divisions in the lower part of the chapel, is accentuated by a convex stucco half-shaft running around the lower edge of the vault. It is also a marbled pedestal for painted angular balusters placed on square plinths (Fig. 4).

In front of the balustrade, the artist painted an illusionistically framed greenish-mirror globe entwined by a serpent, suspended in space. The globe rests on a profiled, stucco half-shaft, which constitutes the previously mentioned lower edge of the dome. The head of the serpent, with an apple in its mouth, is being crushed by a huge cross carried by angels. Also against the background of the balustrade, slightly to the left of the Earth's globe, the Mother of God can be seen, supported by an angel and ascending to heaven with her arms spread, in white and pale blue robes blowing in the wind. Her head is surrounded by a wreath of twelve stars. The Madonna in the pose of adoration is facing the Holy Trinity, shown centrally above the globe, sitting on the clouds (Fig. 4).

The interior of the arcade opening onto the nave of the cathedral, where the entrance to the chapel is located, was also decorated with frescoes. The arcade is finished by the aforementioned lattice, while in its roof there is a triangle with the Eye of Divine Providence in a luminous

Figure 4. Frombork, Chapel of the Most Holy Savior (the Szembek Chapel). Dome decoration—*Adoration of the Holy Trinity*, painter Maciej Jan Meyer, ca. 1735, photo by the author, 2019.

perimeter, against the background of clouds, surrounded by winged heads of angels. On the sides of the arcade interior, the fresco shows angels holding a crown, a palm of martyrdom, and a lily. In turn, in the field above the entrance to the oratory there is an angel holding an open book and a pen, which reads "Nomi/na con/scrip/ta / sunt / in libro / vita(e)" (Arszyński & Kutzner, 1980, p. 86, illustrations 276, 278–281; Semkow, 2006, pp. 17–22; Starek & Kotłowski, 2017, p. 363).

The creator of the Frombork frescoes is Maciej Jan Meyer (Matthias Johann Meyer). Not much biographical information has survived about him. He most likely studied painting in his hometown of Lidzbark, where he was born. In Kraszewo, near Lidzbark, he was the artist behind the presbytery of the local parish church of St. Elżbieta Węgierska, the first known painting decorations. Meyer was sent to study painting in Italy, after he was noticed by the local parish priest, Fr. Maciej Berendt and recommended to the Bishop of Warmia, the later primate of Poland, Teodor Andrzej Potocki († 1738). There, he possessed the ability to paint in the fresco technique. It is not known where Meyer studied, nor with whom he practiced. It was most likely one of the northern Italian workshops. Everything indicates that after his return from Italy, the talented frescoist finished the polychrome painting in Kraszewo. There are several elements in the way the decorations are built which are similar to those that the

painter later used in Święta Lipka. It must have happened before 1722, because at that time the artist had already started working in the northern sacristy in the Święta Lipka sanctuary. The work in the church must have been completed before 1727, as it is not mentioned in the sanctuary's accounting book, which began in the middle of that year. In the same year, the painter decorated the chapel of St. Bruno at the church in Wozławki, commissioned to him by the Warmian canon Gotfryd Henryk von Eulenburg of Galiny († 1734). However, a year later, in 1728, he created frescoes for his patron—Teodor Andrzej Potocki, who from 1722 was the archbishop of Gniezno and the primate of Poland—in the chapel that he funded at the cathedral in Gniezno. In 1733, the fresco artist was seen again in Święta Lipka, where he began painting the cloisters and four chapels surrounding the sanctuary. This work was discontinued around 1735, because the artist was summoned to Frombork by bishop Krzysztof Andrzej Jan Szembek, who ordered him to decorate the chapel of the Most Holy Savior (Szembek) that he had funded. After that, the painter returned to his work on frescoes in the cloisters of the Święta Lipka sanctuary. There, as a result of a fall from scaffolding, he died in July or August 1737. In recognition of his work, he was buried with three brushes in his hand in a crypt under the church in Święta Lipka (Achremczyk, 1987, p. 24; Arszyński, 1993, pp. 236–238; Achremczyk, 2004, p. 459; Paszenda, 2008, p. 112–114). In Warmia, Jan Lossau from Braniewo followed in the footsteps of Meyer, who in 1748–1749 made the polychrome of the pilgrimage church in Chwalęcin based on a quadrature, and in 1750 the one in Osetnik (Arszyński & Kutzner, 1980, pp. 36–37, 85–86, 164–165); Stoga, 1981, pp. 249–264; Witwińska, 1981, pp. 198).[5]

Italy was the cradle of architectural and illusionistic painting (see Bauer & von der Mülbe, 2000; Farneti & Bertocci, 2002; Verdon, 2008, pp. 71–87; Čičo, 2011). It was from the Italian tradition that Polish painting drew its inspiration from the first half of the 16th century. However, by giving it an innovative form in the first half of the 18th century, thanks to artists who came from Italy—or who were educated there, as in the case of Meyer—illusionist painting, also known as quadrature, gained an unprecedented quality and momentum, which also remained visible in the following decades of that century (see Stoga, 1980, pp. 365–376; Witwińska, 1981, pp. 180–202; Michalczyk, 2016, pp. 165–200). Its development was greatly influenced by unsurpassed works and theoretical considerations on the illusionist painting contained in the treatise *Perspectiva pictorum et architectorum* (Roma 1693—volume I, 1700—volume II) by the Italian Jesuit

5 The polychrome painting on the wooden ceiling was lost along with the church, which was destroyed during World War II in 1945.

Fr. Andrea Pozzo (1642–1709). It was he and his coworkers who did the decorations in Italy and Austria which excited the admiration of the public (Kowalczyk, 1975, pp. 335–350; Folga-Januszewska, 1981, pp. 203–212; Möseneder, 1999b, pp. 303– 318; Bianchi et al., 2009; Bösel & Salviucci Insolera, 2009, pp. 175–200, 2010). Artists creating works in the same spirit as Pozzo, who arrived in Poland from Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, also played a major role in promoting this type of decoration (Hubala, 1964, pp. 208–220; Kowalczyk, 1975, p. 336; Kozieł, 2017, pp. 56–73).

Vaulted panoramas were especially appreciated. The first one in Europe was executed between 1667 and 1673 by Francesco Cozza on the vault of the Palazzo Pamphili library in Rome. However, their popularity among Italian wall decorations only became noticeable in the 1720s. The most prominent representatives of this style were artists associated with Venice and Southern Germany, such as Tiepolo, Cosmas Damian Asam, Jacopo Amigoni, and others (Karpowicz, 1981, p. 98; Witwińska, 1981, p. 188; Bauer & von der Mülbe, 2000, pp. 32–59). The fresco from Lidzbark decorating the cupola vaulting in the Frombork chapel borrows from the principles of the panorama. It is organically linked to the tradition of Italian monumental painting. Meyer adeptly reworked the techniques and patterns known from Italy, as well as those he saw thanks to Italian artists working in Poland and with whom he became acquainted during his artistic journey, and created a set of monumental and innovative works that had not been seen in our country before. This is visible in both the oratory of Bishop Szembek and in earlier works in Święta Lipka and Wozławki, or in Gniezno.

The very decoration of the dome of the Frombork chapel fits in with similar trends initiated in the north of Italy, for example by Correggio in *Ascension of Christ* from 1520–1523 in the dome of the Benedictine Church of San Giovanni Evangelista in Parma and *Assumption of Mary*, painted later—between 1524 and 1530—in the dome of the Parma cathedral. In both works, the artist shows the represented figures surrounded by billows of clouds. In the Benedictine church, these are seated apostles, captured in foreshortening along the lower edge of the dome and looking at the centrally portrayed Christ hovering above their heads at the zenith of the cupola. To compare, in the dome of the Parma cathedral, the composition was further expanded by introducing whirling bands of clouds "ascending" upwards, among which heavenly figures were arranged. It is also worth noting that in the octagonal tambour of the Parma dome, an illusionistically painted windowsill was introduced, interrupted by oculars illuminating the interior. Correggio, in order to increase the impression of spaciousness, presented the apostles and accompanying figures sitting on the sill or standing behind it (Verdon, 2006, pp. 296–297, Fig. 317).

Decades later, Giovanni Lanfranco followed the path of Correggio. Between 1622 and 1625, he made impressive frescoes in the interior of the dome of the Church of Sant'Andrea della Valle in Rome, and later in 1631 in the dome of the Tesoro di san Gennaro chapel at the Cathedral of Naples. In the former church, he painted the *Assumption of Mary*; in the latter, Christ triumphant among the saints. In both works, the artist placed prominently foreshortened groups of celestial beings sitting on the clouds, which form concentric rings "rising" upwards. In the Roman duomo, they are rising towards the lantern, while in Naples they stretch towards the figure of God the Father depicted at the zenith. Additionally, in the Roman cupola, we can see figures peeking out from behind the lower edge of the dome and putti playing around the lumen of the lantern (Verdon, 2008, p. 72, Fig. 77).[6] An important work of this kind was the adoration of the Holy Trinity by Pietra Berrettini da Cortona in the dome of Santa Maria in Valicella in Rome from 1664–1665, which was popularized by Francesco Faraone Aquila in 1696 in a copperplate engraving from 1696 (Verdon, 2008, pp. 72–75; Michalczyk, 2016, pp. 185, 630, Fig. 253b). Cortona depicted angels and saints seated on concentric clouds adoring the Holy Trinity, and a cross held up by a group of angels. Around the light of the lantern there are playful putti carrying a leafy garland decorated with flowing ribbons (Fig. 5). In a similar style, Luca Giordano made a polychrome painting in 1683 of the Glory of St. Andrew the Apostle in the dome of the Corsini chapel at the Church of Santa Maria del Carmine in Florence (Verdon, 2008, p. 85, Fig. 90). These visual molds were broken by Giovanni Cola and Filippo Gherardi in the cupola of the dome of the Church of San Nicolo da Tolentino in Rome in 1670 (Cerrato, 1959, p. 162; Stoga, 1981, p. 261). The frescoes showing the apotheosis of St. Nicholas of Tolentino presented the saints in loose groups sitting on clouds, which clearly blurred the existing spherical division without a definitive climax of the entire composition. Only the little angels playing around the opening, holding a rich floral and leaf wreath, link the whole with the earlier works.

In the following years, similar decorations created in Italy were a point of reference for the painting groups emerging north of the Alps. From among the early dome polychromes, it is worth recalling South German frescoes: the one by Carpoforo Tencalla in the Cathedral of St. Stephen in Passau from 1679–1685, depicting the adoration of God the Father by angels; Giovanni Battista Carlone's paintings on the sail vaults of successive spans of the nave, complementing the stucco (Möseneder, 1999a, pp. 54–55); *The Triumph of*

6 Perhaps the triumphant Christ depicted here was the model for the image of the Savior that Meyer portrayed in the dome of St. Bruno in Wozławki.

the Saved by Georg Asam from 1690 in the Benedictine abbey church in Tegernesee; *Coronation of the Blessed Virgin Mary* by Cosmas Damian Asam from 1721 in the Benedictine abbey church in Weltenburg; and *Lamentation for Christ* by Venetian frescoist Jacop Amigoni from 1726 in the chapel at the Benedictine abbey church in Ottobeuren (Bauer & von der Mülbe, 2000, pp. 72, 73, 97, 98, 106, 107).

Another example is the domed works from Austrian territories, such as the frescoes inspired by the adoration of the Holy Trinity by Pietro Berrettini da Cortona from 1664–1665 from Santa Maria in Valicella in Rome with the scene of the coronation of Mary in the Dreifaltigkeitskirche dome in Salzburg by Johann Michael Rottmayer from 1697 (Möseneder, 1999b, pp. 312, 340–341, Fig. 114). More examples include the paintings of the Venetian Antonio Pellegrini in the Salesianerinnenkirche in Vienna from 1727, and the work of Matthias von Görz from 1718 in the Augustinian abbey church in Pöllau, or the monumental apotheosis of St. Charles Borromeo from 1725–1730 by the above-mentioned Johann Michael Rottmayer in the Viennese Karlskirche, who clearly followed the path initiated in 1670 by Giovanni Cola and Filippo Gherardi in San Nicolo da Tolentino in Rome (Cerrato, 1959, p. 162; Stoga, 1981, p. 261; Möseneder, 1999a, p. 59, Fig. 53; Möseneder, 1999b, p. 312, Fig. 312, pp. 343–344, Fig. p. 116).

The interiors of the domes in Bohemia and Silesia were decorated with frescoes in the same spirit. One example would be the scene of the Assumption of Mary by Cosmas Damian Asam in the monastery church in Kladruby from 1726–1727, and the frescoes with the apotheosis of St. Nicholas in the dome of St. Nicholas church in Lesser Town in Prague, created by Franz Xaver Karl Palko between 1752 and 1753 (Hubala, 1964, pp. 215, 324, Fig. 120). As for Silesian artwork, we should first mention the Wrocław dome decorations in the cathedral chapels—the St. Elizabeth Chapel and the Electoral Chapel (Corpus Christi). Pioneering frescoes from 1680–1682 by Giacomo Scianzi picturing the legend of St. Elizabeth and her heavenly glory in the dome in the chapel dedicated to her are done in the tradition of post-Berninian monumental illusionist painting, and draw inspiration from the above-mentioned Roman frescoes by Cortona in the dome of the Church of Santa Maria in Valicella (1655–1656; Fig. 5) and by Lanfranco in the Church of Sant'Andrea della Valle (1625–1628) (Kozioł, 2018, pp. 60, 196, 668–670). The frescoes in the cupola of the Electoral Chapel with the scene of the fall of the rebel angels were executed in a similar vein, done between 1721 and 1723 by Carlo Innozenzo Carlone, influenced by the works of the Venetian painters Sebastian Ricci, Giovanni Battista Gaulli—also known as Baciccia—and Michael Wilmann (Kozioł, 2018, p. 336–338, fig. 431).

The beginnings of the illusionistic, multi-figure decorations of dome structures in Poland date back to the end of the 16th century. One of the first projects of this type include the uncovered fragments of frescoes that complement the architectural divisions of the interior of the Branicki Chapel at the church in Niepołomice. The chapel itself was completed in 1596. Perhaps an architectural painting was created around that time, from which the remains of a figural polychrome have survived in the dome (Łoziński, 1973, pp. 138–139, Fig. 100). However, illusionist paintings inside the domes appeared on a large scale only at the turn of the 17th century, to dominate the entire 18th century, quickly replacing the existing stucco and stucco-painting decoration systems.

Among many such works, it is worth mentioning the earliest ones here, which will later become an inspiration and a benchmark for the next ones. This was the case with the Church of St. Anthony of Padua in Czerniaków in Warsaw, erected by the Grand Marshal of the Crown, Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski († 1702). The temple was built by Tylman van Gameren († 1706) with the interior decoration completed between 1686 and 1693. Four artists worked on the frescoes painted in the *fresco buono* technique, while the paintings in the dome showing the heavenly glory of St. Anthony of Padua, surrounded by the heavenly beings sitting on the clouds and with his miracles represented in the lower part, were done along with a collaborator from the Swiss–Italian border, Francesco Antonio Giorgioli († 1725). The fresco artist, who was well-acquainted with illusionist painting, had "a clear predilection for massive, almost sculpted physical figures, especially male, with developed musculature"; he must have seen the figures depicted by Michelangelo on the vault of the Sistine Chapel, and his love of ancient tradition is visible, for example, in the way women are painted (Witwińska, 1996, p. 139).

The paintings from the royal foundation, attributed to Michelangelo Palloni from 1692 and created around the same time as the frescoes in Czerniaków are known only from description. They once adorned the dome of the Church of the Sacraments in the New Town in Warsaw (the paintings were done between 1897 and 1917, and finally destroyed in 1944). The smooth octagonal vault shows "the Glory of the Most High, many angels and saints in heavenly glory against the backdrop of light clouds" (Walicka, 1988, p. 76). The fresco consisted of "figural circles in the clouds painted in such a way that the dome seems deepened and leads the eye upwards" (Górska, 2017, pp. 31–32). One cannot ignore the later (done after 1709) decoration of the central dome and the cupola in the side chapel in the post-reform church of St. Peter of Alcantara and St. Antoni of Padua in Węgrów. The former shows the apotheosis of St. Francis of Assisi and the triumphant Church, while the other pictures

the apotheosis of St. Anthony of Padua (Górska, 2017, p. 35, Figs. 204–210, 213–214).

An important role was also played by a homogeneous complex of monumental late-baroque wall polychromes decorating the interior (including the central dome and the domes of side chapels) in the academic collegiate church of St. Anna in Krakow. Painting decorations from the years 1695–1703 were made by two brothers, Karol and Innocenty Monti, and Karol Dankwart, who completed Baltazar Fontana's sculptural and stucco decorations. In this piece, the vault of the central dome particularly stands out, in which in 1703 Charles Dankwart portrayed heaven with the Holy Trinity and the Mother of God with St. John the Baptist, prophets, apostles, martyrs, doctors of the Church, believers, and virgins participating in the adoration of the Mystical Lamb (Bochnak & Samek, 1971, pp. 79–84; Kurzej, 2018, pp. 159–160, Fig. 256).[7]

In this rich context, the painted decoration of Szembek Chapel appears to be an important link in transposing Italian patterns and combining them with the native tradition, which had already taken root. In the Oratorio in Frombork, Meyer followed the guidelines of Andrea Pozzo, for whom the relationship between real and fictive architecture was an important element in building the decorations. Thus, the quadrature was to extend or complete the real structure. Thanks to this, the interior opened its lumen towards the heavenly sphere and the faithful standing on the floor of the church or chapel could join in watching the glory of heaven.

In Frombork, the transition between what is real and what is fictive occurs by means of a balustrade painted in the illusionist style running along the lower edge of the dome's vault. Importantly, the balustrade is perpendicular to the chapel floor. In addition, this effect is strengthened by the use of a stucco half-shaft forming the lower edge of the dome, which—decorated with marbling—constitutes the plinth of the trompe-l'œil balustrade. In this way, the realistic articulation of the lower part of the chapel, augmented by ornaments and marbling, vividly painted portraits of saints in illusionistic frames, and *en grisaille* representations of the blessings in the buttresses, is continued in the upper tier thanks to the faux balustrade crowning the real entablature. Above the balustrade there is a lumen of the heavenly sphere, where the inhabitants of the sky, illuminated by the natural light from the dome's roof lantern, live among the clouds (Fig. 4). It is significant that in this work Meyer does not try to blur the boundaries of real and faux architecture and invade the interior using

7 The polychrome and the decoration of the collegiate church of St. Anna in Krakow, together with its ideological content, is discussed in detail and with reference to the previous literature by Kurzej (2018, pp. 113–169).

stucco or carved heavenly figures, as he did in Święta Lipka. This technique was used by Pozzo, for example, in the Church of San Ignazio in Rome. This can also be seen in the Polish works of Palloni and Dankwart. Meyer himself referred to the works of Dankwart, a fact which is reflected in the painting technique and the characteristic features of the characters represented (Stoga, 1981, p. 261). The only painting effect that is intended to create the impression of spatiality in the dome's vault is "extending" the earthly globe in front of the illusionist balustrade, on which the angels lean the cross and groups with the Madonna ascending to heaven (Fig. 4).

Andrzej Stoga noticed that it was in the vault of the Frombork dome, and a few years earlier in the dome of St. Bruno Chapel in Wozławki—done by Meyer, for the first time in Poland—that the characters were gathered in loose groups of several people. In this way, the fresco from Lidzbark modified the practice of the 17th century, which was used in the above-mentioned work by Giovanni Lanfranc from 1622–1625 in the Church of Sant'Andrea della Valle in Rome, in which consecutive circles tightly filled with figures and separated by clouds decreased as they rose upwards, following the style of Giovanni Cola and Filippo Gherardi's frescoes in the dome of San Nicolo da Tolentino in Rome from 1670 (Cerrato, 1959, p. 162; Stoga, 1981, p. 261). Contrary to the church in Wozławki, where there are fewer figures in the dome, in Frombork, the rings crowded with figures were skillfully connected with each other. Thanks to this, we get the impression that the mutual interpenetration of the rotating, almost spiraling circles rising up towards the lantern are emitting natural light. This was made possible thanks to the use of "connectors." These were whole figures located in various places, for example, the Assumed Madonna, the Queen of Sheba, saints, a group of angels holding the cross, angelic figures, and more emphatic clouds. Thanks to this effect, the composition is very coherent and homogeneous, as well as very dynamic. Meyer achieved this by means of foreshortening and by differentiating the size of individual people seen in whole or only partially among the billowing clouds. They are characterized by gestures full of theatrical pathos and expression as well as flowing clothes. Polychrome composed in a *horror vacui* style retains the sense of lightness and ephemerality (Fig. 4).

The basic difficulty faced by every frescoist, including Meyer, was how to properly select the visual pattern, which then had to be adjusted to the large surfaces to be filled. In the case of vault paintings, it was essential to show the figures from the right angle and in a foreshortened view. For this reason, painters often sought patterns which interpreted such paintings. Zbigniew Michalczyk, who examined this issue, noted that

Figure 5. Rome, Church of Santa Maria in Valicella. Dome decoration—*Adoration of the Holy Trinity and the Holy Cross Tree*, painter Pietro Berrettini da Cortona, 1664–1665.

> when compared with the gigantic productions of modern times, the engravings showing the polychrome of vaults and domes were definitely not as numerous as copies of easel paintings or works of original visual arts. Making such "reproductions" was a difficult undertaking, and the main center where works of this type were created was Rome. (Michalczyk, 2016, p. 185)

When even a skilled painter used copperplates to reproduce monumental paintings, he usually had to adapt them and fit them into his artistic work.

The prototype for the composition in the dome of Szembek Chapel is probably the painting which illustrates the adoration of the Holy Trinity and adorns the dome of Santa Maria in Valicella in Rome. It was made in 1664–1665 by Pietro Berrettini da Cortona (Fig. 5). In 1696, Cortona's work was popularized by Francesco Faraone Aquila († 1740) thanks to the published copperplate engraving (Michalczyk, 2016, pp. 185, 630,

Fig. 253b). Perhaps Meyer saw it firsthand during his stay in Italy, or was in possession of the above-mentioned copperplate. The engraving differs slightly from the original. In the lower part of the dome decoration, Aqulia added a layer suggesting the existence of a tambour with oculars articulated with pilasters supporting the entablature, which is not present in the original. In the Roman work of Cortona, as in the work of Meyer, we can clearly distinguish a group of the Holy Trinity, a separate group of angels holding a wooden cross further to the left, saints sitting on concentrically depicted clouds in larger groups, and putti carrying a massive flower-leaf garland around the lantern opening. The roof of the lantern is filled with a brightened dove of the Holy Spirit. Meyer introduced modifications in the Frombork dome as compared with the original. The tambour visible on the copperplate was replaced with a balustrade, the angels carrying the cross were placed out in front of the balustrade, and the cross itself was supported by the globe added by the artist. The saints were loosely placed in more distinct groups. The dove of the Holy Spirit was moved from the lantern roof into the close vicinity of the figure of God the Father and Christ, and its place was taken by the crown of glory of all the saved. Cortona's massive garland around the lumen of the lantern was reformatted into a light flower and rose wreath carried by angels (Figs. 4–5).

It seems that Maciej Meyer borrowed the *en grisaille* allegories of eight blessings in the arches of the chapel's arcades from the works of Andrea Pozzo. Pozzo placed similar allegorical figures in a prominent frieze above the entablature in the apse with the scene of *St. Ignatius Pleading for the Sick* from 1684–1688 in Sant'Ignazio in Rome (Salviucci Insolera, 2010, p. 86, Fig. pp. 88-89). Most likely, Pozzo's work was inspired by an illusionistic balustrade, which was a link between the real architecture and the world of illusion in the dome of the Frombork. In 1676–1677, Andrea Pozzo created a similar balustrade with angular balusters in the apse of the Church of San Francesco Saverio in Mondova, depicting the baptism of Queen Neachile administered by St. Francis Xavier in Moluccas, which was repeated by an anonymous collaborator of the master in a painting with the same representation in the collection of Castello del Buonconsiglio in Vescovado di Biella (Dardanello, 2009, pp. 54–59, Figs. 29, 37; pp. 198–200, illustration 37; Pfeiffer, 2009, p. 77, Fig. pp. 38-39).

Pozzo and his collaborator Antonio Colli also used the balustrade motif on the walls of the refectory of the Trinit à dei Monti Monastery in Rome in 1694 by placing the participants of the wedding at Cana in Galilee behind it. A similar balustrade was painted by the Jesuit fresco artists in the refectory of the Roman convent of Sant'Orsola (Bigari, 2009, pp. 127–132, Fig. 96; Salviucci Insolera, 2010, pp. 82–83, Fig. pp. 83-85). The balustrades painted by Pozzo bring to mind the monumental canvases by Paolo

Veronese illustrating the wedding at Cana in Galilee from 1562–1563 (Paris, the Louvre), or the feast at Levi's house from 1573 (Venice, Gallerie dell'Accademia) (Verdon, 2006, pp. 351–352).

Meyer could also have come across the motif of the balustrade from behind which the figures lean out in Silesia, an example of which is the decoration with *Adoration of the Holy Name of Jesus* by Johann Michael Rottmayer von Rosenbrunn from 1703–1706 in the University Church of the Holy Name of Jesus in Wrocław. This motif is later referred to by Ignaz Depée in frescoes in the former Dominican church of St. Wacław in Opawa (Kozioł, 2017, pp. 60–61, Fig. pp. 52, 55).

We can also notice that the form of the balustrade in the dome of Szembek Chapel could have been inspired by the marble balustrade surrounding the first morning mass altar in the Frombork cathedral. On the order of Bishop Teodor Andrzej Potocki and the Warmian Chapter, it was made out of black Dębnica marble in 1725 according to the design of the Krakow artist Kacper Bażanka, as part of a free-standing canopy altar (Dittrich, 1916, pp. 19–21; Rynkiewicz-Domino, 1999, pp. 57–60, Fig. 5).

It seems that the choice of Pietro Berrettini da Cortona's work in the dome of Santa Maria in Valicella in Rome as a point of reference for the Frombork Roman oratory was not accidental (Fig. 5). It was certainly influenced by the popularity of this artwork, as indicated by Francesca Faraone Aquila, but perhaps even more by its ideological content. At the request of Bishop Szembek, the chapel was built in honor of the Savior, the relics of the Holy Cross, St. Theodore, and All Saints. Cortona's decoration and Aqulia's copperplate that came after it clearly emphasize the Holy Trinity and the cross, next to which the angels are holding the tools of the Lord's Passion. In the background, angels and saints are visible. This composition and arrangement fits very well with the commissioners' expectations.

Another element of indirect Italian origin is the busts of saints between the pairs of pilasters articulating the lower tier of the episcopal oratory. This method of arranging the images of saints dates back to the Middle Ages, when the images of the twelve apostles, Fathers of the Church, or saints were placed on the pillars of churches (Bandmann, 1951, pp. 80–81; Kobielus, 2002, pp. 87–89). In reference to this tradition, Gianlorenzo Bernini and his collaborators introduced a set of bas-relief marble busts of martyred popes in oval frames supported by putti, completed in 1649, into the interior of the Basilica of St. Peter in Rome, on the shafts of monumental pilasters in the interiors of the inter-nave arcades and on the pilasters in the aisles (Ferrari & Papaldo, 1999, p. 542). Vertically piled oval, stucco, and gilded frames with painted figural representations are set against the background of pilasters providing the structure of the nave of the Cistercian church in Austrian Schlierbach. They were made in 1679–1680 by

Pietro Francesco, Carlo Antonio, and Giovanni Battista Carlone. Additionally, the pilasters were decorated with full-figure sculptures of saints on consoles (Lorenz, 1999, pp. 244–246, Fig. p. 245).

Most likely, however, the arrangement of the busts of saints between the pilasters in Szembek Chapel was inspired by the main altar in the Church of the Holy Cross in Warsaw from 1699–1700. As already mentioned, the retable was funded by the then bishop of Chełmno (from 1699) Teodor Andrzej Potocki, supporting Meyer's painting education; in 1712 Meyer was transferred to the Warmian bishopric during the construction of the Świętokrzyskie retable.[8] The goldsmithing works financed by Potocki continued from May 1717 to June 1718 (Wardzyńska, 2010, pp. 164–166) (Fig. 6).

Created by Johannes Söfferens and Matys Hankis, the Świętokrzyska altarpiece represents a monumental, entirely gilded, three-axis architectural retable, which was destroyed during World War II and has been reconstructed. The columned edicula with the painting of the Crucifixion, originally the work of Jerzy Eleuter Siemiginowski, stands in the foreground of the altar wall. The altar structure behind it was divided into three axes by means of Corinthian pilasters. They rest on a high pedestal that extends the entire width of the reredos and support the grooved entablature that runs along its entire width. In this way, the retable brings to mind an ancient triumphal arch. The top of the altar takes the form of a square pilaster edicula composed on a square outline, containing an oval picture frame and topped with a cornice and a triangular tympanum. Against the background of the crowning picture stands a cross presented by a fully carved group of angels, which fills an interrupted pediment resting on an entablature supported by the above-mentioned Corinthian columns of the central edicula. In the side axes of the altarpiece between the pilasters, three oval, glazed openings were axially piled up, originally containing the relics of saints: the martyr St. Vincent, St. Maurus, St. Helena, St. Philomena, and St. Constance.[9] Above the bas-relief laurel frames of the glazed opening, at the top, there are partially framed flower and plant branches tied on the axis with bows (Wardzyńska, 2010, pp. 161–166, Figs. 2, 3, 8, and 17) (Fig. 6).

8 In November 1723, Teodor Andrzej Potocki became the Archbishop of Gniezno and the primate of Poland (Archemczyk, 2008, pp. 309–322).

9 After the reconstruction of the altarpiece from the war damage, the glazed openings were filled with paintings with busts of saints from the Congregation of the Missionary Fathers of St. Vincent à Paulo painted between 1968 and 1970 by Stanisław Korcz-Komorowski in cooperation with Maria Słoniowska-Ciechomska.

Figure 6. Warsaw, Holy Cross Basilica in Warsaw. Main altar (present condition), woodcarvers Johannes Söfferens and Matys Hankis, 1699–1700. Photo by Szymon Tracz,2020.

Katarzyna Wardzyńska noticed that the stacked oval medallions located in the axes of the Świętokrzyska altarpiece were eagerly used by Tylman of Gameren. His designs referred to the visual designs of Claude Perrault and Jean II Lepautre, who used abundant decorations *à la romaine* and *à l'italienne* in their artwork. As examples, the researcher cites the design of the calendar-almanac with St. Francis Xavier of Jean II Lepautre, where oval medallions were hung vertically on the pilasters flanking the central space in the form of a wreath framed by laurel branches and garlands, and his design of the triumphal gate *all'antica* from 1659, decorated on the sides with four vertically piled portrait medallions hung on a ribbon between the columns (Wardzyńska, 2010, p. 172, Fig. pp. 18–19).

The monumental polychrome by Maciej Jan Meyer in Szembek Chapel in Frombork is a unique work in Poland. There is no doubt that the Italian experience of the artist from Lidzbark translated very well into his

frescoes. They also contain elements of trends which were popular in the north of the Alps that arose from or referred to the Italian artistic heritage, and were already living their own lives. First of all, in the Szembek oratory, Meyer included the most important achievements of the Italian artistic tradition of illusionist and architectural painting, commonly referred to as quadrature. At the same time, using his talent and careful observation of the world around him through the original transposition of patterns that he witnessed during his artistic journey, he created a work of art that still arouses admiration and recognition today.

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"In mare et in terra": la Lega Santa del 1684 e la diplomazia pontificia

RIASSUNTO

Subito dopo la liberazione di Vienna ad opera dell'esercito congiunto polacco-imperiale guidato da Jan III Sobieski, la diplomazia internazionale si adoperò per estendere la lega ad altre potenze europee con l'obiettivo di proseguire la guerra contro *l'infedele* turco. Su espressa volontà di Innocenzo XI, la Santa Sede attivò immediatamente i propri canali diplomatici: l'opera del nunzio Francesco Buonvisi a Vienna e del suo omologo Opizio Pallavicini a Varsavia, si rivelò determinante per l'adesione alla Lega Santa della *Serenissima* Repubblica di Venezia. Con la firma del trattato, avvenuta il 6 marzo 1684 tra Varsavia, Vienna e Venezia – e giurata solennemente a Roma il 24 maggio successive – papa Odescalchi prefigurava un'azione congiunta contro gli ottomani: "in mare et in terra", poteva contare sulla flotta veneta unita agli eserciti di Jan III Sobieski e di Leopoldo I. L'articolo intende ripercorrere le fasi diplomatiche, non sempre facili, che portarono alla firma della Lega del 1684, prestando attenzione al ruolo determinante svolto dalla diplomazia della Santa Sede con i suoi rappresentanti a Vienna e Varsavia.

PAROLE CHIAVE: Diplomazia pontificia, Lega Santa, Repubblica di Venezia, Polonia, Impero

ABSTRACT

"In terra et in mare": The Holy League in 1684 and Papal Diplomacy

In the aftermath of the Liberation of Vienna by the army commanded by Jan III Sobieski, international diplomacy was activated immediately to extend the Polish-Imperial League and continue the war against the Turkish. The diplomacy of the Holy See, planned by Innocent XI, was particularly active: Francesco Buonvisi, ordinary nuncio in Vienna, and Opizio Pallavicini, nuncio in Warsaw, worked hard to encourage the adhesion of the *Serenissima* Republic

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of Venice. With the signing of the treaty on March 6, 1684 between Warsaw, Vienna, and Venice—solemnly celebrated in Rome on the following May 24—Innocent XI could count on joint action against the *infidels* by land and sea, with the armies of Poland, of the Empire, and the naval fleet of the *Serenissima*. The article intends to retrace the diplomatic phases—not always an easy task—which led to the signing of the League, paying attention to the decisive role played by the diplomacy of the Holy See.

KEYWORDS: papal diplomacy, Holy League, Republic of Venice, Polonia, Impero

1.

Il 12 settembre 1683, a sera inoltrata, le armate polacco-imperiali comandate da Jan III Sobieski, avevano impartito una cocente sconfitta all'esercito turco appostato da ormai due mesi sotto le mura della capitale imperiale. Una vittoria che era stata accolta con giubilo in tutta Europa.[1] Si festeggiò per le strade di Roma, Vienna, Varsavia, Madrid e persino a Lisbona. Nella capitale pontificia, Innocenzo XI per mezzo del Segretario di Stato, il cardinale Alderano Cybo, aveva inviato una lettera a tutti i nunzi impegnati nelle diverse sedi europee, partecipando loro la gioia che aveva suscitato in lui una notizia così attesa e desiderata:[2] per giorni in città si celebrarono le gesta eroiche del *gran polacco* (Biliński, 1990; Pizzo, 2000) con poesie e accademie a memoria di una battaglia cruciale per le sorti della cristianità.

Superata la fase dei festeggiamenti, da subito tra i vincitori sorsero dubbi e perplessità su come si dovesse procedere: in analisi, la possibilità di inseguire l'esercito in fuga oppure fermarsi per discutere e predisporre le strategie future. Soprattutto, si rifletteva sull'opportunità di estendere la lega ad altre potenze cristiane per massimizzare la congiuntura di un Impero Ottomano che appariva in «confusione».[3] Problematiche e interrogativi che rimbalzavano da Roma a Vienna fino a Varsavia.

1 La notizia fu riportata con avvisi che presero a circolare in tutta Europa: *Avviso Manoscritto* (Linz 14 settembre 1683), Barb. Lat. 6392, ff. 56r-57r, B.A.V.

2 La lettera inviata da Roma a tutti i nunzi operanti all'estero: Cybo, A. (Roma 25 settembre 1683), [Lettera a F. Buonvisi (a tutti i nunzi)], Segreteria di Stato. Germania (vol. 38, ff. 213r–v), AAV.

3 *Avviso Manoscritto*, (Campo di Altemburgo, 20 settembre 1683), Barb. Lat. (6392, f. 68r), B.A.V. Anche Buonvisi aveva intuito tutta la debolezza dell'esercito turco: Buonvisi F. (Linz23 settembre 1683), [Lettera a O. Pallavicini], *Archivio Buonvisi* (II/19, n. 318), ASL.

Le incertezze iniziali furono superate qualche giorno dopo la vittoria da Jan III, il quale decise di rimettersi «in battaglia per seguitar i Turchi che si ritiravano verso le montagne di Vienna per calare verso l'Ungheria».[4] Un'azione – poi infruttuosa (Guillot, 1912, pp. 587–589)[5] – destinata a concludersi ben presto per il sopravanzare della cattiva stagione; con la necessità di acquartierare le truppe lontano dai rigori dell'inverno, le forze congiunte polacco-imperiali decisero di rinviare ulteriori mosse alla primavera successiva (Chiarello, 1687, pp. 140-143).

Una scelta azzardata che per molti osservatori del tempo significava vanificare l'occasione unica di poter annientare il nemico con una mossa fulminea e diretta sul suo esercito in fuga, magari puntando anche ad una diserzione da parte di Moldavi e Valacchi (Eickhoff, 1991, pp. 429–432). Non la pensava così Innocenzo XI, il quale, pur continuando ad incitare la coalizione affinché proseguisse la guerra garantendo somme di denaro,[6] cominciò a rivalutare quell'idea, «senza interruzione in Oriente e in Occidente, dalla Persia alla penisola iberica, di preparare una grande lega contro la Mezzaluna» (Pastor, 1932, p. 61; De Bojani 1910). Un progetto che aveva coltivato fin dalla sua elezione al soglio pontificio avvenuta nel 1676 (Caccamo, 1993; Platania, 1998a),[7] e tentato di concretizzare negli anni precedenti l'assedio di Vienna secondo il modello illustrato da Paul de Lagny (*Lexicon Capucinum*, coll. 1300–01; Blet 1990, pp. 391–92; Platania, 1998b) con i suoi *Memoriali*,[8] ovvero un'azione congiunta dei Principi Cristiani sul Mediterraneo e sull'area danubiano-balcanica. Tuttavia, il diniego espresso da Spagna, Portogallo, Francia e Moscovia ne aveva vanificato la realizzazione.[9]

4 *Avviso Manoscritto*, (Linz, 14 settembre 1683), Barb. Lat. (6392, f. 61r-v), B.A.V.

5 A Párkán, Sobieski, con il figlio Jakub al seguito, si trovò perfino a rischiare la morte. La città tornò in mano cristiana dopo un'azione del generale Stanisław Jan Jabłonowski. A tutti era però chiaro che non si potesse andare oltre. Testimonianze del momento in: *Avviso manoscritto*, (Linz 14 ottobre 1683), Barb. Lat. (6392, f. 73r); *Avviso manoscritto*, (Dal Campo di Barkam 19 ottobre 1683), Barb. Lat. (6392, f. 76r), B.A.V.

6 Buonvisi, F. (Roma 9 ottobre 1683), [Lettera a A. Cybo], Segreteria di Stato. Germania (vol. 38, f. 217r-v), AAV.

7 Da sottolineare che già da cardinale, Benedetto Odescalchi fu uno dei maggiori finanziatori della lotta al turco: tra gli anni 1672-75, dei 41.836 scudi inviati da Roma in Polonia, 13.733 erano stati inviati dalla famiglia Odescalchi: *Denari che furono rimessi al Re di Polonia per aiuto contro la guerra aveva con il Turco […]*, Fondo Camerale II (Decime, 2, fasc. 7, ff.n.n.), ASR.

8 I *Memoriali* sono consultabili in: *Memoriali di fra' Paolo da Lagni*, Fondo Vaticano Latino (6926, ff. n.n.), B.A.V. Si rimanda a: Platania G. 2009, pp. 87–170.

9 La lega immaginata da Innocenzo XI doveva essere "offensiva" e "difensiva" prevedendo l'intervento di tutti i Principi Cristiani. Jan III Sobieski appoggiò subito l'idea e con la Dieta di Grodno (1679–80) il sejm polacco decretò l'invio di ambasciatori nelle maggiori corti europee per testarne i sentimenti. Con i rifiuti ottenuti e la pressione del turco che nel frattempo era

Memore del fallimento, all'indomani della liberazione della capitale asburgica, Papa Odescalchi puntava sull'intervento, al fianco della Polonia e degli Asburgo d'Austria, dell'unica potenza veramente interessata al crollo di Costantinopoli. Il riferimento va naturalmente alla *Serenissima* repubblica di Venezia che, tenutasi neutrale fino a quel momento, sembrava disposta ad ascoltare e rivalutare una campagna bellica in funzione anti-ottomana; pronta a recuperare quanto aveva perso con la lunga guerra di Candia e, per questo, disposta a risolvere – o comunque a soprassedere – ai noti contenziosi giurisdizionali aperti con la capitale pontificia, già motivo nel 1679 della rottura di ogni loro rapporto diplomatico (Stella 1964, pp. 73–82; Caccamo 2010, pp. 286–304).

Da regista più o meno occulto, Innocenzo XI riprese dunque a tessere la tela contro il nemico comune della cristianità, a Roma come in Europa. Ricevette a corte nel gennaio del 1684 Giovanni Lando (Dal Borgo 2004, pp. 449–451; De Bojani, p. 929), ambasciatore della repubblica veneta, chiedendo contestualmente ai propri nunzi, Francesco Buonvisi (Boccolini, 2018) a Vienna e Opizio Pallavicini[10] a Varsavia, di lavorare nelle rispettive sedi affinché creassero le condizioni per una *Lega Santa a tre* che comprendesse, oltre all'Impero e alla Polonia, appunto la repubblica veneta.

Una strategia ben ponderata che avrebbe dato i suoi frutti il 6 marzo del 1684,[11] quando nella capitale imperiale venne firmato il trattato, poi giurato il 24 maggio successivo a Roma dai cardinali Carlo Pio di Savoia a nome dell'Imperatore, Carlo Barberini per il re di Polonia e Pietro Ottoboni per conto di Venezia, protettori delle tre parti.[12]

Seppure lontana dall'essere quella grande crociata tanto sognata, la nuova Lega Santa venne accolta con sincero giubilo da Innocenzo XI desideroso di vedere un'azione congiunta contro l'*infedele* turco: «in mare et in terra»,[13] la compagine cristiana formata dalle truppe asburgiche e polacche, alle quali si aggiungevano le flotte venete, avrebbe dovuto operare all'unisono per annientare e allontanare definitivamente il pericolo

arrivato sotto Vienna, la Polonia e l'Impero si unirono nell'aprile del 1683 in una lega di tipo "difensivo". (Platania, 2017, pp. 187–231).

10 Nunzio in Polonia dal 1680 al 1688 (Wojtyska, 1990, pp. 277–279 e bibliografia citata; Domin-Jačov, 1995–2015).

11 Il resoconto dell'accordo raggiunto prese a circolare in tutta Europa. Un esempio è lo stampato: *Relazione della lega e capitoli di essa, conclusa tra le Maestà dell'Imperatore Leopoldo I, Re di Polonia Giovanni III e la Repubblica di Venezia*, Venezia 1684, (173. A. 10, cc. n.n), Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana-Roma.

12 *Relazione del giuramento della Lega* (Roma 27 maggio 1684), Barb. Lat. (6650, ff. 187r–189v), B.A.V.

13 Buonvisi F. (Linz 6 marzo 1684), [Lettera a A. Cybo], *Archivio Buonvisi* (II/20, n. 74), ASL.

turco dall'Europa (Bernardy, 1902; Levi-Weiss, 1925–26; Caccamo 2010, pp. 39–57).

2.

La corte imperiale, per «essere nel mezzo tra la Polonia e Venezia»,[14] era stata scelta come sede delle consultazioni: decisione assai gradita da papa Odescalchi che poteva puntare sulle note abilità di Buonvisi, nunzio presso Leopoldo ormai dal lontano 1675. A questi, il pontefice chiese immediatamente di coordinarsi con il proprio omologo a Varsavia e con l'ambasciatore veneto, Domenico Contarini (Benzoni, 1983, pp. 565–571), presente nella capitale asburgica già dai primi di gennaio del 1684. Corrispondendo con Pallavicini, il rappresentante pontificio non nascondeva le insidie insite nelle trattative che si sarebbero dovute intavolare, addebitandone le cause alla titubanza di Venezia che, a suo dire, sembrava non comprendere l'enorme possibilità «di ricuperare l'isole che hanno perdute e che con tanta facilità li caderebbero nelle mani, essendo tutte sguarnite de' presidij».[15] Una posizione che – sappiamo – la *Serenissima* avrebbe rivisto di lì a pochissimo; anche grazie alle forti istanze avanzate da Jan III Sobieski che abilmente sfruttò l'informativa di Tommaso Talenti, suo segretario personale, che di passaggio a Venezia, dopo aver portato ad Innocenzo XI lo stendardo strappato ai turchi sotto Vienna, aveva constatato una timida apertura dei veneziani verso un'impresa contro il turco (Platania, 2017, pp. 281–321). Un cambio di rotta che avrebbe portato il 21 gennaio del 1684 il Senato della Repubblica a notificare la predisposizione alla lega con polacchi e imperiali (Theiner, 1859, p. 266).[16]

Una notizia appresa con grande sollievo dal pontefice che chiese ai propri nunzi di «intendersi sì in questa come in ogn'oltra cosa che riguardi e gl'affari della guerra e il mantenimento stabile della lega istessa, poiché colla buona corrispondenza e salda unione bene può farsi alla Christianità tutta».[17]

14 Buonvisi, F. (Linz 1 febbraio 1684), [Lettera a A. Cybo], Segreteria di Stato. Germania (vol. 208, ff. 76r–77v), AAV.

15 Buonvisi F. (Linz 30 settembre 1683), [Lettera a O. Pallavicini], *Archivio Buonvisi* (II/19, n. 234), ASL.

16 Copia in: *Lettera Dati in Ducali Palatio sub sigillo S. Marci et insigni Georgii Quirino Maioris consiliarii die 21 Januarii ind.e 7 1684. F.to: Antonius Nigro Secretarius*, Nunziatura Polonia (vol. Add./4, Lettere Diverse 1661–1721), AAV.

17 Cybo, A. (Roma 11 dicembre 1683), [Lettera a O. Pallavicini], Segreteria di Stato. Polonia (vol. 185, ff. 124v–125r). AAV.

Assecondando il volere di papa Odescalchi, Buonvisi informava subito Pallavicini circa i progressi in atto per agevolare l'entrata della *Serenissima* nella coalizione.[18] Allo stesso tempo – il primo febbraio del 1684 – informava Roma della rete diplomatica che si andava formando intorno alla sua figura.[19] Un momento delicato durante il quale riuscì efficientemente a mantenere contatti diretti con i maggiori artefici dei negoziati, da Leopoldo, a Sobieski fino al cardinale Cybo, e perfino con Lando, già arrivato a Roma. Non solo, corrispondeva in modo serrato a distanza di due-tre giorni con il proprio omologo a Varsavia, ma soprattutto aveva trovato un appoggio in Domenico Contarini, il quale gli aveva mostrato perfino le *istruzioni* ricevute cosicché potessero operare di concerto. Una condotta, quella decisa tra i due, che mirava ad unire Leopoldo a Venezia, andando in udienza dall'imperatore in tempi diversi e presentando le stesse condizioni; semplici ma precise, ovvero che si dovesse riconoscere alla Repubblica quanto già in essere tra l'Impero e la Polonia nella «lega offensiva con la condizione che uno non si potesse aggiustare senza l'altro, e che ognuno operi dalla sua parte, e che terminata la guerra con scambievole consenso, resti poi in perpetuo la Lega defensiva in caso di nuovi attacchi».[20] Una forma – riteneva Buonvisi – «non larga né stretta» che era molto piaciuta a Leopoldo, il quale aveva posto solo la sola condizione che il trattato venisse stipulato presso la propria corte e sotto la supervisione del rappresentante di Innocenzo XI.

Notizie che lo stesso Buonvisi aveva subito trasmesso a Pallavicini,[21] il quale gli riferiva a sua volta cosa si stesse discutendo a Varsavia; soprattutto lo informava in merito ad alcune richieste che Jan III sembrava voler avanzare a Venezia. Si trattava di due istanze che, se presentate in modo ufficiale, avrebbero rischiato di far saltare le trattative, poiché prevedevano non solo che l'armata veneta saltasse l'intero Adriatico per porsi direttamente davanti ai Dardanelli ma anche che il Senato rinunciasse a qualsiasi pretesa sulle decime d'Italia già destinate dal pontefice alla Polonia.[22]

Quando gli ambasciatori delle tre potenze dovevano ancora sedersi attorno ad un tavolo, gli interessi di parte ostacolavano l'intero negozio.

18 Buonvisi, F. (Linz 28 gennaio 1684), [Lettera a O. Pallavicini], *Archivio Buonvisi* (II/20, n. 32), ASL.

19 Buonvisi, F. (Linz 1 febbraio 1684), [Lettera a A. Cybo], *Segreteria di Stato. Germania* (vol. 208, ff. 70r–71v), AAV.

20 Buonvisi, F. (Linz 1 febbraio 1684), [Lettera a A. Cybo], *Segreteria di Stato. Germania* (vol. 208, ff. 76r–77v), AAV.

21 Buonvisi, F. (Linz 30 gennaio 1684), [Lettera a O. Pallavicini], *Archivio Buonvisi* (II/20, n. 31), ASL.

22 Pallavicini, O. (Cracovia 2 febbraio 1684), [Lettera a F. Buonvisi], *Archivio Buonvisi* (II/48, n. 64), ASL.

Un equilibrio alquanto precario preservato solo grazie alle doti diplomatiche dei rappresentanti pontifici a Vienna e a Varsavia, abili ad evitare l'inasprimento generale della situazione. Buonvisi, intuita la minaccia, scrisse immediatamente una lunga lettera a Pallavicini[23] spiegando i motivi per cui i veneziani non avrebbero mai accettato le indicazioni imposte da Varsavia perché ritenute nocive ai propri interessi; da parte sua, il nunzio in Polonia riuscì efficacemente a fare pressioni su Jan III affinché desistesse dalle richieste avanzate, informando subito Roma e il suo collega a Vienna dello scampato pericolo.[24] Un comunicato gradito a Buonvisi che dalla sua sede, e con grande slancio, replicava illustrando a Pallavicini quelli che erano i propri *disegni*;[25] un progetto che aveva manifestato anche a Cybo, e che aveva portato la sua «mente a nuovi pensieri per il servizio di Dio»[26] nello specifico, un attacco poderoso contro il turco da compiersi davanti Costantinopoli con la partecipazione di alcuni vascelli del re di Portogallo uniti alle galere del pontefice e a quelle del Gran Ducato di Toscana e di Malta. Un'operazione congiunta sul Mediterraneo orientale che per il nunzio avrebbe indotto perfino Luigi XIV a scendere in campagna contro il nemico giurato della cristianità.

Le discussioni tra le cancellerie furono da subito molto serrate e già il 22 febbraio giunsero a Vienna le plenipotenze di Polonia e Venezia (Caccamo 1986, pp. 39–57):[27] con Hieronim Augustyn Lubomirski quale ambasciatore polacco[28] e Domenico Contarini plenipotenziario di Venezia, si poté dare inizio alle riunioni preventive per la lega. Sessioni che ebbero come sede ufficiale il palazzo della nunziatura[29] e che, al principio, sembrarono scorrere senza grandi difficoltà, nonostante alcuni intoppi dovuti alle comunicazioni che da Vienna partivano in contemporanea per Venezia e Varsavia e di cui si dovevano necessariamente attendere le risposte. Nulla di preoccupante per Buonvisi, sempre più certo che le

23 Buonvisi, F. (Linz 11 febbraio 1684), [Lettera a O. Pallavicini], *Archivio Buonvisi* (II/20, n. 50), ASL.

24 Pallavicini, O. (Cracovia 13 febbraio 1684), [Lettera a A. Cybo], *Segreteria di Stato. Polonia* (vol. 103, ff. 62r–63v), AAV; Pallavicini, O. (Cracovia 13 febbraio 1684), [Lettera a F. Buonvisi], *Archivio Buonvisi* (II/54 n. 168), ASL.

25 Buonvisi, F. (Linz 11 febbraio 1684), [Lettera a O. Pallavicini], *Archivio Buonvisi* (II/20 n. 50), ASL.

26 Buonvisi, F. (Linz 1 febbraio 1684), [Lettera a A. Cybo], *Segreteria di Stato. Germania* (vol. 208, ff. 76r–77v), AAV.

27 Notizia trasmessa da Buonvisi a Roma: Buonvisi, F. (Linz 22 febbraio 1684), [Lettera a A. Cybo], *Segreteria di Stato. Germania*, (vol. 208, f. 150r), AAV.

28 *Avviso* (Linz 15 febbraio 1684), *Segreteria di Stato. Germania*, (vol. 208, f. 119r–120v), AAV.

29 Buonvisi, F. (Linz 18 febbraio 1684), [Lettera a O. Pallavicini], *Archivio Buonvisi* (II/20 n. 58), ASL.

negoziazioni si sarebbero risolte in pochi giorni considerato che le parti in causa avevano già deciso di stipulare la nuova lega sulla base di quella che univa Leopoldo e Sobieski.[30] Una previsione troppo fiduciosa, formulata senza considerare alcune riserve subito sollevate da Vienna e Varsavia alla *Serenissima*: da un lato il conte Teodoro Enrico di Stratmann, Cancelliere di Corte dell'imperatore, chiese di approfondire la questione dei confini e della libertà di navigazione nelle acque dell'Adriatico, mentre da parte polacca era stato presentato il problema delle forze umane che Venezia aveva garantito ma che erano state ritenute insufficienti. Due vincoli che rischiavano di allungare i tempi delle discussioni, con il pericolo che una dilazione potesse far emergere altre divergenze tra i futuri collegati.

Di fronte ad una eventualità simile, Buonvisi e Pallavicini lavorarono perché si arrivasse quanto prima alla firma della lega, impegnandosi – ognuno nelle proprie sedi – perché le pregiudiziali non venissero incluse nel trattato, convinti che «quanto minori saranno gl'articoli che si propuoranno, tanto maggiore sarà la brevità nel concludere».[31] Proprio la necessità di indurre le tre potenze alla stipula, rimandando i cavilli in un secondo momento, fu la via suggerita dai nunzi per facilitare le negoziazioni: una soluzione, suggerita dal lucchese, che i due avevano ben ponderato con lunghe missive,[32] e poi trasmesso al cardinale Cybo.[33]

Rileggendo la lettera/relazione che Buonvisi inviò alla Segreteria di Stato il 6 marzo[34] con la quale aveva ragguagliato circa le firme apposte dai tre plenipotenziari, possiamo apprezzare il fine e abile lavoro diplomatico e di mediazione svolto dal rappresentante di Innocenzo XI a Vienna, senza il quale – è certo – non si sarebbe giunti alla stipula della nuova lega santa. Soprattutto, ne ammiriamo la capacità di aver saputo operare su più fronti contemporaneamente, invitando il Gran Cancelliere dell'impero e il sovrano polacco per mezzo di Pallavicini a recedere da quanto proposto, e animando Domenico Contarini a rappresentare al Senato veneto la necessità di non tentare subito l'impresa di Candia, essendo più importante applicarsi gradualmente sull'Adriatico col conquistare una serie di piazze e porti in Albania, Macedonia, Epiro e Grecia, per giungere infine

30 Buonvisi, F. (Linz 29 febbraio 1684), [Lettera a A. Cybo], *Segreteria di Stato. Germania* (vol. 208, f. 169r–v), AAV.

31 Buonvisi, F. (Linz 11 febbraio 1684), [Lettera a O. Pallavicini], *Archivio Buonvisi* (II/20 n. 50), ASL.

32 Fu Buonvisi, in particolare, a suggerire questa soluzione a Pallavicini: Buonvisi, F. (Linz 22 febbraio 1684), [Lettera a O. Pallavicini], *Archivio Buonvisi* (II/20 n. 58), ASL.

33 Buonvisi, F. (Linz 22 febbraio 1684), [Lettera a A. Cybo], *Segreteria di Stato. Germania* (vol. 208, f. 94r–95v), AAV.

34 Buonvisi, F. (Linz 6 marzo 1684), [Lettera a A. Cybo], *Segreteria di Stato. Germania* (vol. 208, f. 173r–174v), AAV.

all'isola tanto desiderata.[35] Una grande opera di diplomazia che portò alla felice chiusura dei trattati, dando vita al progetto bellico voluto da Roma (Pastor, 1932, pp. 141–47).

All'interno di una prospettiva che puntava al totale annientamento dell'impero Ottomano, il piano pensato da Innocenzo XI e messo in pratica da Buonvisi a Vienna, con l'ausilio a Varsavia da Pallavicini, doveva partire dalla lega appena stipulata per estendersi poi ad ampio raggio da occidente ad oriente: il lucchese, in particolare, sperava che ad ovest i principi tedeschi potessero aderire al trattato fornendo piena disponibilità di uomini e mezzi; mentre ad est immaginava di poter coinvolgere sia il transilvano Aphafi staccandolo dal ribelle magiaro Tököli,[36] sia i moscoviti,[37] guardando perfino ai persiani, il cui re si vociferava – notizia poi infondata[38] – si stesse preparando per invadere i territori soggetti a Costantinopoli.[39] Nulla di tutto ciò si sarebbe realizzato, nonostante questo Buonvisi aveva fatto pressione più volte sul pontefice affinché sollecitasse Dom Pedro II di Braganza ad inviare una squadra di vascello per unirla a quelle pontificie e maltesi per concorrere con i veneziani a presidiare tutto il Mediterraneo orientale, dall'Adriatico fino alle bocche di Costantinopoli.[40]

È necessario sottolineare che nonostante in quei giorni l'interesse principale della diplomazia pontificia fosse rivolta all'accordo tra Polonia, Impero e Venezia, gettando – come detto – uno sguardo interessato alla Moscovia e alla Persia, non tralasciava di impegnarsi affinché Leopoldo

35 *Copia di lettera scritta dal Signor Cardinale Buonvisi a Monsignor Pallavicino Nunzio Apostolico in Polonia* (Linz 18 febbraio 1684), *Segreteria di Stato. Germania* (vol. 208, f. 142r–v), AAV.

36 Buonvisi, F. (Linz 22 febbraio 1684), [Lettera a A. Cybo], *Segreteria di Stato. Germania* (vol. 208, f. 149r–150r), AAV.

37 Dopo essere falliti i negoziati polacco-moscoviti nel luglio 1683, i contatti tra le due erano subito ripresi. Un affare per il quale Pallavicini aveva chiesto a Buonvisi di fare in modo che l'imperatore inviasse un proprio rappresentante come mediatore «perché la pace perpetua fra i Polacchi e Moscoviti mai si concluderà senza l'interpositione di Cesare, e senza questa i Moscoviti non s'uniranno in lega contro il Turco»: Pallavicini, O. (Cracovia 9 novembre 1683), [Lettera a A. Cybo], *Segreteria di Stato. Polonia* (vol. 101, f. 512r), AAV; cosa che poi avvenne con l'invio in Moscovia del residente cesareo in Polonia, il Barone Zierowsky. Nonostante il nunzio polacco avesse raccomandato la pronta spedizione, il barone arrivò in ritardo, quando le trattative erano già saltate: Pallavicini, O. (Jaworow 3 maggio 1684), [Lettera a A. Cybo], *Segreteria di Stato. Polonia* (vol. 103, f. 180r). La contesa tra Polonia e Moscovia si sarebbe chiusa solo nel 1686 con la Pace Perpetua.

38 Pallavicini, O. (Jaworow 5 aprile 1684), [Lettera a F. Buonvisi], *Archivio Buonvisi* (II/54 n. 150), ASL.

39 Buonvisi, F. (Linz 25 gennaio 1684), [Lettera a O. Pallavicini], *Archivio Buonvisi* (II/20 n. 23), ASL.

40 *Copia di lettera scritta dal Signor Cardinale Buonvisi a Monsignor Pallavicino Nunzio Apostolico in Polonia* (Linz 18 febbraio 1684), *Segreteria di Stato. Germania* (vol. 208, f. 142r–143r), AAV.

e Luigi XIV arrivassero ad un accordo stabile sulla zona renana. Un confine nuovamente in fiamme dopo che la Francia aveva deciso di invadere la Fiandra spagnola travalicando quanto deciso a Nimega nel 1678, con il timore che potesse fare lo stesso anche verso alcuni territori imperiali e italiani «prevalendosi della buona congiuntura e non complendoli che il Turco resti distrutto, perché con la diversione hanno sempre fatto le maggiori conquiste».[41]

Buonvisi, sempre attento e impegnato a trovare una soluzione tra le due maggiori corone europee fin dal tempo della sua nunziatura a Colonia, cercò nuovamente di mediare tra le parti interessate, anzitutto mettendosi in contatto con Monsignor Angelo Maria Ranuzzi, inviato da Innocenzo XI come nunzio straordinario a Parigi per presentare le «fasce per il figlio del Delfino»[42] ma in realtà come pretesto per sollecitare il *Christianissimo* ad intervenire contro il turco. Al suo omologo non mancò di rappresentare fino a che punto le azioni francesi in Fiandra potessero scatenare le ire di Spagna e Impero, alle quali si sarebbero uniti Olanda, Inghilterra e Brandeburgo, certamente infastiditi dalle azioni di Parigi.[43] Una sciagura per l'Europa continentale, con ripercussioni nefaste per la lotta agli *infedeli* ad oriente: di certo, l'invasione dei Paesi Bassi avrebbe costretto Madrid al disimpegno sul fronte danubiano-balcanico e allarmato i principi e gli elettori dell'Impero obbligandoli a ritirare le proprie truppe dal fronte orientale per predisporre una difesa ad occidente. Una possibilità che da Vienna Buonvisi aveva colto in tutta la sua tragicità già nel gennaio del 1684, informando Roma della decisione presa dal bavarese di richiamare il proprio esercito per disporlo sulla linea renana.[44]

A Buonvisi non sfuggiva l'attività di disturbo di una Francia notoriamente contraria ad una lega che avrebbe fatto la sola "fortuna" dell'Impero. Per questo, pur continuando a sollecitare Ranuzzi affinché rappresentasse a Parigi la necessità di una pace continentale duratura «giacché quelle di Vestfalia, de' Pirenei, di Aquisgrana e di Nimega hanno tanto poco durato»,[45] gli suggerì l'idea di prospettare al sovrano francese – subito dopo il congresso – l'opportunità di aderire alla coalizione cristiana. In questo modo, con la propria flotta avrebbe potuto fare man bassa degli stati

41 Buonvisi, F. (Linz 14 ottobre 1683), [Lettera a O. Pallavicini], *Archivio Buonvisi* (II/19, n. 342), ASL.

42 Cartari, C. (Roma 1683), [Diario], *Fondo Cartari-Febei*, (vol. 89, f. 60v), ASR.

43 *Copia di lettera scritta dal Signor Cardinale Buonvisi a Monsignor Ranucci Nunzio Straordinario in Parigi* (Linz 22 gennaio 1684), *Segreteria di Stato. Germania* (vol. 208, ff. 44r–45v), AAV.

44 Buonvisi, F. (Linz 25 gennaio 1684), [Lettera a A. Cybo], *Segreteria di Stato. Germania* (vol. 208, f. 57r), AAV.

45 *Copia di lettera del Signor Cardinale Buonvisi a Monsignor Ranuzzi* (Linz 29 gennaio 1684), *Segreteria di Stato. Germania* (vol. 208, ff. 81r–82v), AAV.

costieri magrebini e mediorientali dell'Impero Ottomano, oltre a tentare un'azione mirata alla suggestiva liberazione della Terra Santa.[46] Nonostante queste allettanti visioni, e l'estremo tentativo operato da Buonvisi con l'inviato francese presente alla corte imperiale,[47] nulla poté mitigare le pretese del *Christianissmo* sul fronte occidentale, ulteriormente inasprito dalla decisione di mettere sotto assedio il Lussemburgo. Con una situazione già molto critica, qualche mese più tardi, Leopoldo fu costretto a firmare a Ratisbona [15 agosto 1684] una pace con la quale si dava facoltà alla Francia di conservare gran parte dei territori annessi dopo la pace di Nimega.[48]

3.

Volendo approfondire il tema relativo alla *Sacra Lega a tre* stipulata il 6 marzo del 1684, raggiunta non senza difficoltà, e grazie all'abilità politica e alla mediazione svolta dagli "uomini" di Innocenzo XI, è doveroso sottolineare che il trattato – conclusosi informalmente il giorno precedente[49] – firmato a Vienna dai plenipotenziari, necessitava per essere valido della ratifica dei rispettivi governi.

Tra i più compiaciuti dell'entrata di Venezia nella coalizione vi era proprio Buonvisi, ben consapevole del ruolo strategico che avrebbe assunto la flotta della *Serenissima* dopo il disimpegno di Portogallo e Spagna.[50] Una prospettiva che il nunzio aveva confidato anche all'amico Lorenzo Casoni (Pignatelli, 1978, pp. 409–18): a lui, infatti, aveva prospettato l'intervento veneto come decisivo per mettere in subbuglio l'intero Levante,

46 *Copia di lettera scritta dal Signor Cardinale Buonvisi a Monsignor Ranuzzi Nunzio di Francia* (Linz 17 giugno 1684), *Segreteria Stato. Germania* (vol. 208, ff. 522r-523v), AAV. La prospettiva presentata alla Francia di entrare in Lega e divertire le forze turche con la propria armata di fronte alle isole di Cipro e Rodi così da conquistare la Terra Santa e fondare «un grande stato per un secondogenito» della corona francese, fu avanzata da Buonvisi direttamente a Luigi XIV: *Progetto spedito al Re Luigi XIV* (s.d., s.l. ma agosto 1684), *Segreteria di Stato. Germania* (vol. 208, ff. 697r–698v), AAV.

47 Buonvisi, F. (Linz 13 gennaio 1684), [Lettera a A. Cybo], *Segreteria Stato. Germania* (vol. 208, ff. 493r–496v), AAV.

48 La notizia giungeva a Roma attraverso Ottavio de Tassis, residente polacco a Venezia, con una sua indirizzata al cardinale Barberini: De Tassis, O. (Venezia 26 agosto 1684), [Lettera a C. Barberini], Barb. Lat. (6668, f. 127r), B.A.V.

49 Collettti, A. (Vienna 12 marzo 1684), [Lettera a C. Barberini], Barb. Lat. (6671, ff. 49r–50r), B.A.V.

50 Buonvisi, F. (Linz 15 febbraio 1684), [Lettera a A. Cybo], *Segreteria di Stato. Germania* (vol. 208, f. 130r), AAV.

obbligando i turchi a presidiare l'Adriatico e il Mediterraneo orientale; una contingenza che avrebbe avuto conseguenze per il trasporto di viveri e soldatesche dal medio-oriente e dalle coste maghrebine verso lo scacchiere danubiano-balcanico, zona d'azione di imperiali e polacchi.[51] Una soddisfazione anche personale per il lucchese, al quale Leopoldo aveva chiesto di intervenire direttamente nelle trattative[52] e di mettere in calce al documento la propria firma,[53] come segno di ossequio e di riconoscimento verso la figura di Innocenzo XI e l'intenso lavoro svolto dalla diplomazia della Santa Sede.[54]

I sedici articoli della lega stabilivano tra le altre cose la suddivisione tra le parti firmatarie delle responsabilità militari, ma soprattutto, come riferito dall'ambasciatore della *Serenissima* Domenico Contarini al Senato,[55] le competenze geografiche verso le quali ognuno dei collegati avrebbe potuto liberamente espandersi. Fu tuttavia l'ultimo punto espresso nel trattato – che recitava «che li detti Potentati faranno reciproco cambio delle ratificazione» (Chiarello, 1687, p. 190)[56] – a nascondere insidie inaspettate per una effettiva riuscita della lega astro-polacca-veneziana, poiché il termine dei trenta giorni previsto per il passaggio obbligatorio del documento nei rispettivi senati, apriva ad operazioni di disturbo e instanze di modifica o rettifica di quanto accordato.

Così, infatti, avvenne. Il 21 marzo da Vienna il nunzio avvisava Cybo che qualche giorno prima (16 marzo) era giunto alla corte imperiale la ratificazione della lega da parte del Senato della *Serenissima* con la richiesta di approfondimenti sopra due articoli. Il primo era relativo a cosa si dovesse intendere in merito alla lega con il termine "difensiva", il secondo concernente gli acquisti territoriali che la Repubblica avrebbe ottenuto, particolarmente per quella Dalmazia contesa tra Venezia che l'aveva posseduta

51 Buonvisi, F. (Linz 8 febbraio 1684), [Lettera a L. Casoni], *Archivio Buonvisi* (vol. 20/II, ff. n.n.), ASL.

52 Buonvisi, F. (Linz 22 febbraio 1684), [Lettera a A. Cybo], *Segreteria di Stato. Germania* (vol. 208, f. 131r–134r), AAV.

53 È nella lettera/relazione inviata il 6 marzo che Buonvisi trascrisse per conoscenza a Roma la formula con cui egli si era reso testimone ufficiale della lega conclusa: Buonvisi, F. (Linz 6 marzo 1684), [Lettera a A. Cybo], *Segreteria di Stato. Germania* (vol. 208, f. 173r–174v), AAV. Aggiungeva poi un avviso: *Avviso manoscritto-Duplicato* (Linz 6 marzo 1684), *Segreteria di Stato. Germania* (vol. 208, f. 186r–v), AAV.

54 Buonvisi, F. (Linz 22 febbraio 1684), [Lettera a Pio di Savoia], *Archivio Buonvisi* (vol. 66/II, ff. n.n.), ASL.

55 *Contarini al Senato* (5 marzo 1684), *Senato. Dispacci Germania* (filza 159, ff. n.n), ASVen.

56 Testo della Lega: *Relazione della Lega e Capitoli di essa conclusa tra le Maestà dell'Imperatore Leopoldo Primo, Re di Polonia Giovanni III e la Repubblica di Venezia …* (Venezia 1684), [Diario], *Fondo Cartari-Febei* (vol. 90/I, ff.n.n), ASR.

e gli Asburgo che la reclamavano come antica "dipendenza" del vecchio Regno di Ungheria. Due questioni che sollevavano importanti problematiche da chiarire perché legate sia alla volontà di Venezia di tenersi neutrali in eventuali conflitti che avrebbero interessato l'Impero contro una Francia che minacciava le Fiandre e Milano, sia alle conquiste che si sarebbero conseguite durante tutta la campagna bellica.

Di fronte alle riserve mostrate dall'ambasciatore veneto, la mediazione richiesta al nunzio a Vienna appariva assai complessa. Una situazione difficoltata dal fatto che, seppure l'Imperatore avesse concesso ai suoi ministri la facoltà di negoziare, il *sejm* polacco non aveva dato plenipotenza al proprio delegato per trattare oltre il documento iniziale, mentre il rappresentante di Venezia tornava a ribadire che senza la garanzia di discutere sui due articoli non avrebbe presentato la ratifica dei sedici articoli. Nonostante questo, Buonvisi riuscì ancora una volta a preservare le negoziazioni in corso, chiedendo a Contarini di inserire i due punti in postille separate rispetto a quanto concordato il 6 marzo. Dopo ben quattro ore di consultazione e di dibattito, il nunzio era riuscito a risolvere i problemi avanzati da Venezia, rappresentando a Roma:

> Che fatta la pace di comun consenso rimanesse la Lega Defensiva la quale tornasse ad esser offensiva con l'istesse condizioni della presente, ogni volta che il Turco con guerra aperta invadesse uno de' Collegati. Ma la gran disputa fu sopra gl'acquisti de' Veneziani, perché il Signor Ambasciatore li voleva libero particolarmente nella Dalmazia et il Cancelliero di Corte resisteva volendo preservare le Provincie dependenti dal Regno d'Ungheria tanto più che l'Imperatore usava il titolo di Re di Dalmazia, all'incontro l'Ambasciatore diceva che così la Repubblica sarebbe stata obbligata a tentare imprese lontane che non avessero disputa, et era quello che i Collegati non volevano perché in tal caso le diversioni lontane non li avrebbero giovato. Replicava il Cancelliero che questo era vero, ma che gl'Ungari si sarebbero troppo doluti se si fossero conceduti gl'acquisti in una Provincia dependente dalla loro Corona. Io replicai che non poteva chiamarsi alienazione il concedere che la Repubblica acquistasse quello che già era perduto, anzi che negl'ultimi tempi era stato posseduto da Lei, e propuosi che eccettuato tutti gl'altri Stati e Provincie dependenti dalla Corona d'Ungaria, potessero i veneziani nella sola Dalmazia pigliare tutto quello che presentemente possedevano i Turchi.[57]

L'intervento del rappresentante pontificio fu, dunque, provvidenziale per risolvere le controversie sorte tra i collegati, e la sera stessa Domenico

57 Buonvisi, F. (Linz 21 marzo 1684), [Lettera a A. Cybo], *Segreteria di Stato. Germania* (vol. 208, ff. 211r–212r), AAV.

Contarini poté inviare un dispaccio su quanto si era discusso intorno alle delucidazioni richieste. Da una parte si era concluso che la lega "difensiva" sarebbe tornata "offensiva" qualora il Turco avesse attaccato uno dei collegati, dall'altra si erano stabilite le coordinate geografiche per i futuri acquisti, evitando la sovrapposizione delle zone di competenza tra Venezia e Vienna, alla quale andarono i diritti primari sul regno di Ungheria e sue *dependenze* ad esclusione della sola Dalmazia ceduta alla *Serenissima*.[58]

Soddisfatto di quanto operato, Buonvisi poteva spedire corrieri straordinari a Venezia e in Polonia, attendendo fiducioso a corte che facessero ritorno con la ratifica dei due nuovi articoli. Di lì a qualche giorno, tuttavia, fu costretto a prendere atto che da ambo le parti erano state sollevate diverse problematiche relative alle due aggiunte.

Le maggiori difficoltà vennero inaspettatamente da Venezia dove – scriveva Buonvisi a Cybo l'11 aprile – era mutata nel frattempo la composizione del *collegio dei savi* con una nuova maggioranza che riteneva il punto della lega difensiva troppo "ampio" e quello delle conquiste "ristretto" per le ambizioni venete sull'Adriatico. Posizioni che, ovviamente, crearono sconcerto nell'animo di quanti a Vienna stavano lavorando alla conclusione delle negoziazioni. Particolarmente Buonvisi che si attivò subito per appianare le divergenze emerse, sollecitando Contarini a rappresentare al proprio Senato come i due articoli non costituissero affatto dei vincoli limitativi per Venezia, semmai strumenti per tutelarla da future discussioni con i collegati: la lega "difensiva" le avrebbe garantito maggiore sicurezza, essendo tra le potenze firmatarie certamente la più debole, mentre per la questione degli acquisti, il trattato lasciava piena libertà alle sue flotte di spingersi in Albania, Macedonia fino in Grecia, territori mai stati soggetti all'antico regno di Ungheria.

È necessario sottolineare che queste rassicurazioni non cancellarono del tutto le titubanze e rimostranze che provenivano da Venezia, tanto da far crescere il sospetto negli alleati che la *Serenissima* fosse più interessata a sottoscrivere un trattato con la Sublime Porta piuttosto che partecipare alla lega (Caccamo, 1986, p. 52). Un sentimento non condiviso da Buonvisi che minimizzò tali dicerie con la Segreteria di Stato[59] facendo presente che Contarini aveva già spedito un nuovo dispaccio al Senato contenente le precisazioni formulate e chiedendone immediata ratifica. Fiducioso che il *Collegio de' savi* approvasse quanto contenuto nella nuova informativa, il lucchese poteva riprendere la corrispondenza anche con il proprio omologo polacco: in una lettera del 14 aprile, Buonvisi riferiva della necessità

58 *Contarini al Senato* (21 marzo 1684), *Senato. Dispacci Germania* (filza 159, ff. n.n.), ASVen.

59 Buonvisi, F. (Linz 11 aprile 1684), [Lettera a A. Cybo], *Segreteria di Stato. Germania* (vol. 208, ff. 288r–289r), AAV.

di portare in approvazione e ratificazione i due, ormai noti, articoli da inserire, convinto che il *sejm* polacco avrebbe accettato con facilità perché – specificava a Pallavicini – la Polonia «non ha alcun interesse»[60] su quanto era stato aggiunto al trattato iniziale. Una visione troppo ottimistica: la concessione fatta a Venezia sulla Dalmazia, antica *dependenza* del regno d'Ungheria, aprì uno spinosissimo dibattito in seno alla corte polacca, con Varsavia che arrivò a sollevare il problema della Valacchia, della Moldavia, ma soprattutto della Transilvania, anch'essa spettante alla corona ungherese, e sulla quale la Polonia aveva da sempre un forte interesse.

In una lunghissima lettera che Pallavicini inviava il 3 maggio a Cybo apprezziamo l'abile lavoro diplomatico svolto dal rappresentante pontificio polacco; dopo intensi sforzi e superando la forte opposizione del Gran Cancelliere di Corte, il nunzio era riuscito ad abbattere tutti gli ostacoli animando Jan III Sobieski a far ratificare al *sejm* il documento originario «senza veruna conditione, onde si tolga di mezzo ogn'intoppo»[61] cosicché gli eserciti potessero uscire quanto prima in campagna.

A questo punto sembrava che l'intera operazione dovesse concludersi felicemente e in tempi stretti, anche perché il 26 aprile a Linz, giunte le approvazioni dei sedici articoli del 6 marzo da parte della *Serenissima* e della Polonia, si era proceduto alla ratificazione definitiva della Lega austro-polacca-veneziana;[62] un'ufficializzazione avvenuta senza fare alcun cenno ai due famosi punti da aggiungere e dei quali si attendevano ancora i consensi di Varsavia e Venezia.

Buonvisi, anche se soddisfatto di quello che riteneva essere un ottimo risultato seppure parziale, continuò a mediare tra le tre potenze, soprattutto con la *Serenissima* e il suo ambasciatore, affinché ratificassero quanto prima le aggiunte. Suo malgrado, di lì a qualche giorno, fu costretto a constatare la riluttanza del *Collegio* veneziano ad approvare le specifiche contese.[63] Di fronte all'ennesimo intoppo, il nunzio, dopo aver avvertito Roma di quanto stava accadendo intorno all'affare della lega e del rifiuto espresso dall'Imperatore di farla giurare se non fossero arrivate le ratificazioni,[64] non si perse d'animo e il 6 giugno tornava sull'argomento con la Segreteria

60 Buonvisi, F. (Linz 14 aprile 1684), [Lettera a O. Pallavicini], *Archivio Buonvisi* (II/20, n. 108) ASL.

61 Pallavicini, O. (Jaworow 3 maggio 1684), [Lettera a A. Cybo], *Segreteria di Stato. Polonia* (vol. 103, ff. 184r–186r), AAV.

62 Buonvisi, F. (Linz 26 aprile 1684), [Lettera a O. Pallavicini], *Archivio Buonvisi* (II/20, n. 125), ASL.

63 Buonvisi, F. (Linz 26 maggio 1684), [Lettera a O. Pallavicini], *Archivio Buonvisi* (II/20, n. 150), ASL. Copia in: *Segreteria di Stato. Germania* (vol. 208, ff. 454r-455v), AAV.

64 Buonvisi, F. (Linz 30 maggio 1684), [Lettera a A. Cybo], *Segreteria di Stato. Germania* (vol. 208, ff. 451r–452v), AAV.

di Stato. Ammettendo lo stallo diplomatico, pregava il cardinale Cybo perché rappresentasse a Sua Santità la necessità di procedere al giuramento del trattato originario, convinto della possibilità di ritornare sulle due questioni aperte in un secondo momento.[65] Una prospettiva legittima e lungimirante, già per altro intuita da Roma che in tutta fretta aveva già solennizzato quanto pattuito dai collegati il 24 maggio 1684, quando, di fronte a Innocenzo XI Odescalchi e al Sacro Collegio, i tre protettori, i cardinali Barberini, Pio di Savoia e Pietro Ottoboni, giurarono la lega santa austro-polacco-veneziana.[66]

Un momento che avrebbe segnato una tappa fondamentale nella lunga lotta agli *infedeli* e alla loro progressiva ritirata dai territori sul quadrante danubiano-balcanico e dai porti sull'Adriatico. Non tutti i collegati, tuttavia, ne beneficiarono: se gli Asburgo d'Austria riconquistarono l'intera Ungheria e Venezia acquisì il controllo sulla Dalmazia e sulla Morea, la Polonia non riuscì ad ottenere quanto sperato. Non solo le campagne di Moldavia e Valacchia portate avanti da Sobieski si rivelarono un vero e proprio fallimento, ma la Pace Perpetua siglata nel 1686 con la Moscovia che permise a quest'ultima di entrare in guerra contro i turchi, aveva finito col favorire le sole strategie di Mosca che si poneva, ora, come unica grande forza a contendersi l'area del Mar Nero con gli Ottomani.

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ASL – Archivio di Stato di Lucca
ASR – Archivio di Stato di Roma
ASVe – Archivio di Stato di Venezia
BAV – Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

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66 *Relazione del giuramento* (Roma 24 maggio 1684), Barb. Lat (6650, ff. 187r–189v), B.A.V.

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Lungo le rotte dell'Ecumene. Il viaggio verso il Levante dell'inglese Sir George Wheler (1675–1676)

RIASSUNTO

L'articolo presenta l'edizione in lingua francese, stampata a L'Aia nel 1723, di un significativo esempio di letteratura di viaggio della fine del secolo XVII: *A Journey into Grece* (1682) di Sir George Wheler (1651–1724). Il testo è profondamente segnato da studi in archeologia, epigrafia e numismatica dell'area balcanica, della Grecia e del mondo bizantino. L'articolo illustra i rilevanti dati raccolti dal viaggiatore, botanico, studioso di antichità e pastore inglese, con riferimento al mosaico culturale e confessionale dello spazio del Sud-Est europeo. Le sue descrizioni dovrebbero essere interpretate come un rappresentativo ritratto dei resti dell'antica ecumene euro-mediterranea. Lo spirito di osservazione, la sensibilità del viaggiatore e dell'ecclesiastico fanno di Wheler un autore emblematico nella letteratura colta di viaggio del Seicento.

PAROLE CHIAVE: Letteratura di viaggio, George Wheler, Ecumene, Balcani, Impero Ottomano

ABSTRACT

Along the Routes of the Ecumene: The Journey of Sir George Wheler to the Levant (1675–1676)

The article presents the French edition—printed in The Hague in 1723—of a significant example of travel literature from the end of the 17th century: *A Journey into Greece* (1682) by Sir George Wheler (1651–1724). The book made a profound mark on the studies of archeology, epigraphy, and the numismatics of the Balkans, Greece, and the Byzantine world. The article illustrates the significant data collected by the English traveler, botanist, scholar of classical antiquity, and clergyman, relating to the cultural and confessional mosaic in the space of southeastern Europe. His descriptions should be interpreted as a representative portrait of the remains of the ancient Euro-Mediterranean

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ecumene. The traveler-churchman's spirit of observation and sensitivity made Wheler a model author in the scholarly travel literature of the 17th century.

KEYWORDS: travel literature, George Wheler, Ecumene, Balkans, Ottoman Empire

Al centro di questo contributo è l'edizione in lingua francese stampata all'Aia nel 1723 di un significativo esempio di letteratura di viaggio della fine del Seicento (Fig. 1) Il testo segnò profondamente gli studi sull'archeologia, l'epigrafia e la numismatica della Romània balcanica, della Grecia e del mondo bizantino. Nello specifico vengo ad illustrare alcuni dei dati raccolti dal viaggiatore, erudito ed ecclesiastico inglese George Wheler, relativi al mosaico culturale e confessionale presente nello spazio del sud-est europeo, intesi in questo assunto come rappresentativo retaggio dell'antica Ecumene euro-mediterranea.

Tutto nasce, anni fa, dal fortuito ritrovamento sul mercato antiquario dell'opera. Non in cataloghi specializzati ai quali questo libro è ben noto, ma, durante una domenica piovosa, di buon mattino, sul banco di un venditore in un mercato di libri a Milano, appuntamento mensile di *trouvailles* per molti appassionati frequentatori, fra i quali figurava, fino a qualche anno fa, prima della morte, anche un assiduo cercatore e collezionista di libri rari come Umberto Eco la cui presenza, silenziosa e discreta, suscitava un simpatico timore reverenziale.

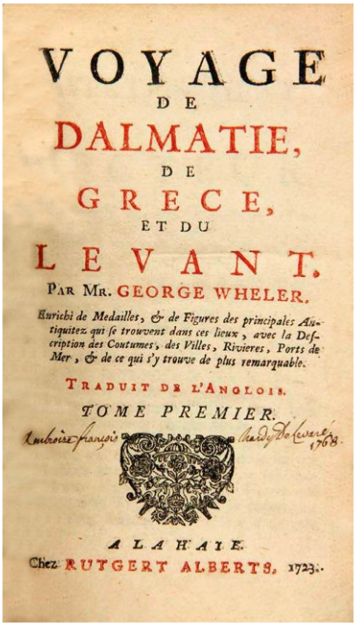
La figura di George Wheler è ben nota ai biografi britannici, agli studiosi di antichità greche e bizantine e di letteratura di viaggio (Wilson, 2004; Ramsey, 1942; Wroth, 1899; Urban, 1833). Figlio del colonnello Charles Wheler di Charing, nel Kent, e di Anne Hutchin, egli nacque a Breda, in Olanda nel 1651, città dove i genitori, realisti, si trovavano in esilio. Ricevette gli studi nel Kent e successivamente al Lincoln College di Oxford dove fu proclamato *magister artium* nel marzo del 1683 e ottenne il diploma dottorale in Teologia nel maggio 1702. Nel frattempo però ricevette non solo il cavalierato (1682) dopo la dedica a re Carlo II Stuart del suo libro di viaggio, ma, nel 1683, anche gli ordini sacri, e dal 1685 al 1702 fu vicario nello Hampshire e successivamente rettore nella contea di Durham, dove morì dopo breve malattia agli inizi del 1724. Dalla moglie, Grace Higgons, ebbe ben diciotto figli. Wheler fu sepolto nella cattedrale di Durham. Dopo la morte la sua collezione di manoscritti greci e latini andò al Lincoln College mentre gli erbari all'Università di Oxford, la stessa cui nel 1683 donò i marmi e i reperti antichi che aveva portato con sé dalla Grecia. Fu membro della Royal Society (eletto nel 1677, ma espulso nel 1685). Di lui possediamo un bel

ritratto: l'incisione ricavata da un dipinto da William Bromley (1769–1842) (Fig. 2).[1]

Wheler era, come si è detto, anche un botanico. Questa sua passione appare significativa per comprendere il suo attento spirito osservatore. Di costituzione fragile, Wheler in giovane età maturò un vivo interesse per le scienze naturali, in particolare per la botanica e il giardinaggio. Questa passione la sviluppò durante la sua presenza al Lincoln College di Oxford, frequentando con assiduità il giardino botanico dell'università dove venne immatricolato nel gennaio del 1668. Contemporaneamente studiò anche araldica e successivamente passò allo studio del diritto. Al ritorno dai suoi viaggi in Levante, non mancò di portare in Inghilterra specie botaniche prima sconosciute nell'isola, come l'Erba di san Giovanni sempreverde o *Hypericum calycinum*. Wheler donò esemplari di piante ai botanici John Ray, Robert Morison e Leonard Plukenet, e tra i suoi lasciti testamentari si ricordano – come già detto – quattro grandi raccoglitori con esemplari botanici essiccati e pressati, destinati all'università dove aveva ricevuto la sua poliedrica formazione accademica. L'interesse naturalistico aveva contribuito, prima del grande apporto scientifico e sistematico di Linneo, a valorizzare la conoscenza della natura come parte integrante di quella scienza erudita che si stava sviluppando in Europa grazie alla letteratura di viaggio, stabilendo talora delle interessanti connessioni tra la botanica, il clima e la cultura.

Ma non furono certo gli interessi naturalistici a consacrare la memoria letteraria di Wheler quanto quelli antiquari, grazie allo straordinario viaggio di poco meno di un anno in Grecia e in Levante che, ancora giovane, intraprese nel 1675 assieme a Jacob Spon (1647–1685), medico, erudito e numismatico lionese, autentico pioniere nell'indagine archeologica sull'antichità classica (Fig. 3). Di fede calvinista, Spon, addottoratosi in medicina a Montpellier (1668), ebbe corrispondenza con Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, Pierre Bayle, il Père de La Chaise (che cercò di convertirlo al cattolicesimo) e Jean Mabillon. Autore, come lo sarà il Wheler, di libri di viaggio, nonché di una storia della Repubblica di Ginevra oltre che di repertori antiquari, si distinse anche nella trattatistica medica con un trattato sulle febbri (1681) che successivamente ampliò con un ricettario comprendente i rimedi offerti dalla flora del Nuovo Mondo. Morì neppure quarantenne e poverissimo a Vevey, in Svizzera, dove si era rifugiato in seguito alla revoca dell'Editto di Nantes per non rinnegare la sua fede calvinista (Étienne e Mossière, 1993).

1 Come ecclesiastico Wheler si distinse per la buona amministrazione. Al tema dedicò due scritti: *An Account of the Churches or Places of Assembly of the Primitive Christians*, London 1689; The Protestant Monastery; or *Christian Œconomicks, containing Directions for the Religious Conduct of a Family*, [London] 1698.



VOYAGE
DE
DALMATIE,
DE
GRECE,
ET DU
LEVANT.
PAR MR. GEORGE WHELER.
Enrichi de Medailles, & de Figures des principales Antiquitez qui se trouvent dans ces lieux, avec la Description des Coutumes, des Villes, Rivieres, Ports de Mer, & de ce qui s'y trouve de plus remarquable.
TRADUIT DE L'ANGLOIS.
TOME PREMIER.
A LA HAYE.
Chez RUTGERT ALBERTS, 1723.

Figure 1

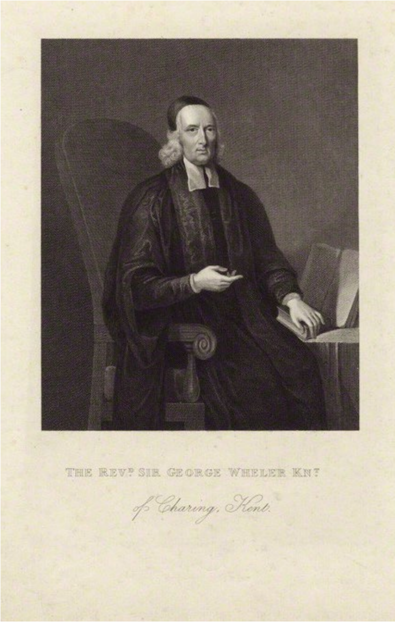


Figure 2

Figure 3

Figure 4

Figure 5

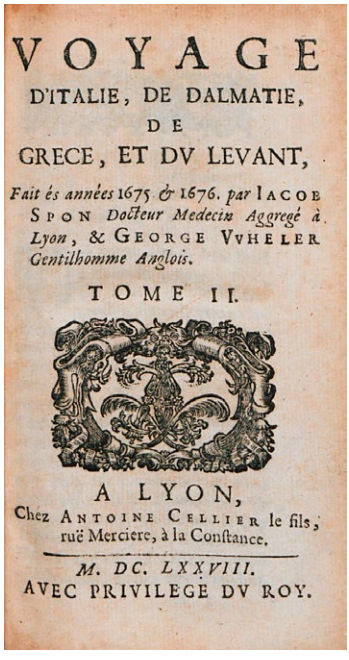

VOYAGE
D'ITALIE, DE DALMATIE,
DE
GRECE, ET DV LEVANT,
Fait és années 1675. & 1676. par IACOB SPON *Docteur Medecin Aggregé à Lyon, &* GEORGE VVHELER *Gentilhomme Anglois.*
TOME II.
A LYON,
Chez ANTOINE CELLIER le fils, ruë Merciere, à la Conſtance.
M. DC. LXXVIII.
AVEC PRIVILEGE DV ROY.

Figure 6

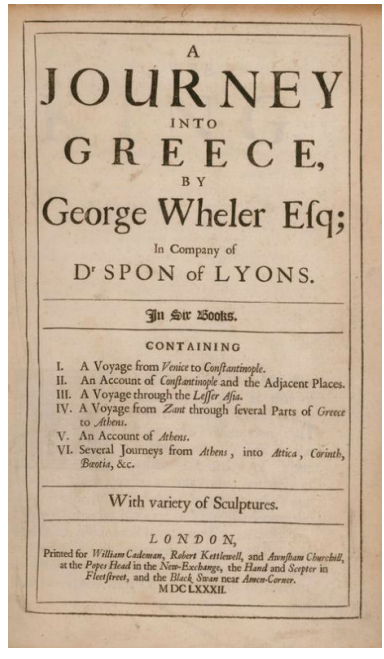

A
JOURNEY
INTO
GREECE,
BY
George Wheler Eſq;
In Company of
Dr SPON of LYONS.
In Six Books.
CONTAINING
I. A Voyage from *Venice* to *Conſtantinople*.
II. An Account of *Conſtantinople* and the Adjacent Places.
III. A Voyage through the *Leſſer Aſia*.
IV. A Voyage from *Zant* through ſeveral Parts of *Greece* to *Athens*.
V. An Account of *Athens*.
VI. Several Journeys from *Athens*, into *Attica*, *Corinth*, *Beotia*, &c.
With variety of Sculptures.
LONDON,
Printed for *William Cademan*, *Robert Kettlewell*, and *Awnſham Churchill*, at the *Popes Head* in the *New-Exchange*, the *Hand* and *Scepter* in *Fleetſtreet*, and the *Black Swan* near *Amen-Corner*.
MDCLXXXII.

Figure 7

Nell'ottobre del 1673, George Wheler, dopo aver interrotto i suoi studi, assieme al suo *tutor* del Lincoln College, partì per un viaggio attraverso la Francia, la Svizzera e l'Italia, e nel giugno del 1675 si trovava a Venezia con Jacob Spon che aveva precedentemente conosciuto a Roma. I due decisero di intraprendere un viaggio ad Atene e Wheler si offrì di finanziarlo. Saputo che il nuovo baìlo veneziano era prossimo alla partenza per Costantinopoli, nell'attesa di salpare decisero di visitare la città di Padova e il suo celebre Studio (Wheler, 1723, p. 2). A Venezia incontrarono altri due viaggiatori inglesi: l'astronomo e matematico Francis Vernon e il nobile Sir Giles Eastcourt, anch'essi decisi a raggiungere il Levante. Salpati da Venezia alla fine di giugno di quell'anno, ottenuto dal capitano Benedetto Sanuti un passaggio su una delle galere che accompagnavano il Baìlo (battezzata "Ercole in fasce": Wheler, 1723, p. 5), costeggiarono dapprima l'Istria, fecero sosta a Corfù, Zante e Cerigo (Cythera), e dopo aver passato i Dardanelli giunsero a Constantinopoli, dove incontrarono l'ambasciatore di Francia presso la Porta, buon conoscitore di Atene (nonché amico di Vernon), che diede loro utili informazioni per la loro ambita mèta. Continuato l'itinerario a Bursa, trascorsero quanche tempo a Smirne (Fig. 5), dove furono ricevuti dal console inglese Sir Paul Rycaut. Successivamente viaggiarono sino a Delfi per poi giungere ad Atene, dalla quale si spinsero in Attica. Il viaggio durò dal giugno 1675 al marzo dell'anno successivo.

Spon, due anni dopo il viaggio, nel 1678, diede alle stampe, con il nome anche di Wheler in frontespizio, il libro *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grece et du Levant* (Lyon, Chez Antoine Cellier le fils, Fig. 6) opera ben presto tradotta in tedesco, italiano e olandese (cfr. edizione Fig. 5), mai così ricca di notizie dettagliate e di prima mano sulla Grecia e sul Levante dai tempi degli scritti dell'umanista, *pater antiquitatis*, Ciriaco d'Ancona. I due viaggiatori furono gli ultimi ad aver visto e descritto il Partenone pressoché intatto prima dell'infausto giorno del 26 settembre 1687, quando il tempio – utilizzato come deposito di polveri – venne bombardato dai veneziani nel corso della guerra di Morea. La lunga tregua tra Venezia e la Porta, che aveva permesso l'intensificarsi dei viaggi verso il Levante, con la concomitante riscoperta della civiltà della Grecia classica, era cessata.

Quattro anni più tardi di Spon, Wheler pubblicò in lingua inglese a Londra il suo *A Journey into Greece in company of Dr. Spon of Lyons* (London, William Cademan, Robert Kettlewell and Awnsham Churchill, 1682) (Fig. 7), tradotto sette anni più tardi in francese ad Amsterdam (presso Jean Wolters) e più volte riedito e arricchito, con un titolo più esteso (*Voyage de Dalmatie, de Grèce et du Levant*) sino all'edizione in 12º qui esaminata, apparsa a L'Aia, presso Rutgert Alberts l'anno prima della morte di Wheler, il 1723. Le vicende editoriali dell'opera furono segnate da

un'accusa di plagio, giacché Wheler riportò nel suo libro, tradotte in lingua inglese, ampie descrizioni antiquarie di Spon, anche se va detto che i due erano animati da prospettive indagatrici diverse: schiettamente archeologica quella del francese, più filosofica e moraleggiante quella dell'inglese, per la sua stessa vocazione ecclesiastica e per una maggiore sensibilità osservatrice nel rappresentare la società della Grecia e del Levante al pubblico dei lettori inglesi. Diversamente da Spon, per esempio, Wheler non mancò di manifestare la sua costernazione per l'abbandono e la distruzione delle prime chiese cristiane di Efeso, Laodicea e Pergamo e di altri monumenti cristiani. Wheler stesso nell'avvertenza ai lettori qualifica le sue annotazioni come quelle di un "viaggiatore cristiano e di un filosofo", rimarcando la diversità dall'approccio di Spon. Pertanto, come è stato opportunamente scritto (Mitsi, 2006), piuttosto di assolvere Wheler dall'accusa di plagio, sarebbe più corretto, dopo aver evidenziato le loro differenze, inquadrare la sua scelta in quella appropriazione, per nulla rara nella nascente letteratura di viaggio, caratterizzata da una ricorrente intertestualità e da una "autorialità" sovente diffusa, volta ad adottare ricordi ed esperienze di chi già aveva ripercorso quelle rotte o quegli itinerari (Mitsi, 2006). Torna alla mente la definizione "transdiscorsiva" di autore fornita da Foucault, intesa come continuo rimando di senso, con la conseguente scomparsa dell'individualità dell'autore quale soggetto fisico per confluire in "modi di circolazione, valorizzazione, attribuzione e appropriazione dei discorsi". L'autore dunque – scrisse Foucault – come "funzione variabile e complessa del discorso" (Foucault, 1971, p. 20).[2]

Certamente quello che distingue più nettamente le due opere sono anzitutto la particolare attenzione botanica riservata da Wheler alle specie incontrate durante il suo viaggio, osservazioni naturalistiche curiosamente mescolate dall'inglese a quelle etnografiche e antiquarie, non trattate in una sezione a parte come avveniva tradizionalmente nella letteratura di viaggio sin dal '500. Va segnalata poi la sua attenzione cartografica, e ciò diversamente – egli stesso lo rimarcò – da Spon. Come è stato sottolineato, *memory, remember* e *remembrance* sono termini (con il paventato *oblivion*) ripetutamente presenti nel testo di Wheler (Mitsi, 2006), confermando quanto il viaggio fosse per lui esperienza personale, *Erfahrung* spirituale e formativa per l'autentico gentiluomo del tempo.

2 Una difesa di Wheler dall'antica accusa di plagio fu quella di Edward Daniel Clarke, professore di mineralogia a Cambridge e viaggiatore, come si evince da una lunga lettera indirizzata l'11 giugno 1819 al rev. Wrangham che si apprestava a ripubblicare il *Journey into Greece* e riportata in: Otter, 1827, pp. 467–470. Nell'edizione presso Alberts del 1724 compare in frontespizio anche il nome di Spon.

Un altro tratto distintivo è l'attenzione che Wheler riservò agli usi e ai costumi delle popolazioni incontrate durante l'itinerario, diversamente da Spon che fu proiettato decisamente sul passato archeologico dei luoghi. È su questo aspetto etnografico della scrittura di Wheler che ci soffermeremo in questo articolo.

Va però anzitutto brevemente illustrato il quadro politico in cui i due viaggiatori si mossero. Due furono le potenze mediterranee, marittime ma nello stesso tempo saldamente presenti nell'entroterra balcanico e cisalpino, le cui rotte e i cui territori furono attraversati da Wheler e Spon: Venezia e la Porta. Cent'anni dopo la perdita di Cipro e la vittoria conseguita a Lepanto, le sorti della Serenissima erano ancora legate al suo dominio marittimo, sebbene la nobiltà lagunare da tempo avesse rivolto i propri interessi anche verso la Terraferma. Nel 1669, al termine della guerra di Candia, combattuta lungo più di un ventennio e che aveva dissanguato le risorse della Repubblica, i turchi avevano conquistato Candia e con essa ebbero il totale controllo sull'isola di Creta, il più prospero possesso veneziano in Oltremare. La pace siglata nel 1671 non riuscì compensare la perdita dell'isola con l'acquisto veneziano di nuovi territori in Dalmazia. L'isola di Zante – che i due viaggiatori visitarono – rimase veneziana, ma in cambio di un tributo annuale. Un decennio dopo il viaggio di Wheler e Spon, fra il 1683 e il 1687, sotto la guida di Francesco Morosini venne conquistata dai veneziani la Morea, ovvero il Peloponneso. Fu l'ultima grande rivincita della Serenissima. La pace di Carlowitz del 1699 ne sancì l'annessione ed estese ulteriormente i territori veneziani in Dalmazia. La Morea verrà persa da Venezia quasi vent'anni più tardi.

Salpati dunque da Venezia i due giunsero in breve tempo in vista della costa istriana e di Rovigno, che Wheler descrive come una terra di marinai ma con un territorio fertile di ulivi e vigneti, e dove le donne portano guardinfanti alla spagnola (Wheler, 1723, p. 7). Giunsero a Zara, capitale della Dalmazia veneta, caposaldo contro le incursioni ottomane che minacciavano Venezia e l'Adriatico dall'entroterra illirico. La città rimase veneziana fino alla caduta della Repubblica nel 1797. A Zara Wheler è impressionato dallo stanziamento di truppe della Repubblica: otto compagnie di fanteria e tre di cavalleria, composte per lo più da schiavoni, morlacchi, croati e tramontani della Dalmazia settentrionale (Wheler, 1723, p. 15). L'inglese descrive i morlacchi come montanari coraggiosi, di "taglia forte" e abituati ai climi rigidi e all'ambiente arido delle alture balcaniche.

> Persone degne di fede – annota – ci hanno assicurato che questi morlacchi sono così robusti che quattro di loro sono in grado di sollevare un uomo a cavallo e di trasportarlo per 20, 30 passi lungo i tratti più impervi delle

> loro montagne. E questo è accaduto con alcuni dei loro ufficiali mentre attraversavano quei luoghi. (Wheler, 1723, p. 15)

I loro abiti apparvero di diversi e inusuali colori e foggia, e Wheler li descrive con grande accuratezza inserendo nell'opera una incisione in rame che ritrae un morlacco. Se i contadini morlacchi giravano solitamente armati di un'ascia, i soldati portavano con sé una scimitarra (Wheler, 1723, p. 16). Sempre a Zara, Wheler descrive il culto tributato dai locali a san Simeone, compresa la descrizione anatomica della mummia del santo, simile – lui stesso precisa – a quelle della chiesa dei Francescani a Tolosa o alla celebre e venerata mummia di santa Caterina de' Vigri a Bologna, città nella quale il viaggiatore inglese aveva precedentemente visitato il gabinetto di meraviglie del farmacista Zani, che conservava molti esemplari di animali mummificati (Wheler, 1723, pp. 16–17). Wheler descrive anche il culto locale di san Spiridione, autore in quegli anni di miracoli inusitati come la restituzione della vista a un cieco. Giunti a Spalato, grande è la meraviglia suscitata dal Lazzaretto, nome comune – si annota – dato in Italia e nelle città governate dai Veneziani a queste istituzioni sanitarie. Il Lazzaretto, nei pressi del porto, è destinato ai viaggiatori che giungono in particolare dalla Turchia, nel timore che possano essere portatori del bacillo della peste. Da qui la pratica della "quarantena" obbligatoria, per scongiurare il rischio di epidemie nella città (Wheler, 1723, p. 26).

I viaggiatori, scendendo la costa illirica, giunsero ai piedi dei monti Acrocerauni, lungo il litorale meridionale dell'odierna Albania. Viene perciò visitata Chimera, o Cimarra, uno dei villaggi principali dell'area. La popolazione di questa zona della costa adriatico-balcanica viene descritta di religione greco-ortodossa, sottoposta all'autorità dell'arcivescovo di Giannina, di robusta costituzione e forse discendente dei macedoni, tanto da fornire valenti soldati alla Porta (Wheler, 1723, pp. 48–49). Sbarcati a Corfù, Wheler vi visitò la chiesa di Panagia, soffermandosi sulle credenze fiorite attorno ad un'icona della Madre di Dio, e all'uso dei fedeli di appoggiare alla tavola dipinta delle monete per conoscere il destino dei propri cari lontani. Se il familiare fosse stato vivo essa sarebbe rimasta attaccata, se ne frattempo fosse morto, ciò non si sarebbe verificato. L'anglicano Wheler, con spirito disincantato ed empirico, attribuisce il prodigio alla maggiore o minore viscosità dei colori del dipinto (Wheler, 1723, pp. 50–51). Osserva poi nell'isola gli usi liturgici della Chiesa greca e li descrive piuttosto latineggianti, tranne per alcuni principi non osservati: come l'obbedienza alla sede di Roma, l'infallibilità del papa e il *Filioque* (Wheler, 1723, p. 52). Wheler è impressionato dalla natura vendicativa degli isolani, che non dimenticano mai un'offesa arrecata loro o alla propria famiglia, e descrive il fenomeno della faida, con toni efficaci,

drammatici, definendola una barbarie, e riportando il caso di un matrimonio apparentemente riconciliatore finito poi a tradimento in un massacro familiare consumato dopo la sua celebrazione (Wheler, 1723, p. 58). Corfù godeva di uno *status* amministrativo particolare, retta da un patrizio veneziano col titolo di baìlo, affiancato da due consiglieri. Come nelle città di Terraferma erano presenti un provveditore e un capitano, cui erano demandati gli affari militari essendo l'isola un porto strategico in quanto base della marina veneziana per il Mediterraneo orientale. Anche a Zante i riti e la dottrina ortodossi appaiono all'inglese latineggianti, ma radicata è l'avversione verso la Chiesa latina (Wheler, 1723, p. 58). L'isola di Zante era notevolmente cresciuta sul piano demografico dopo la caduta di Creta, per l'arrivo dei profughi da Candia che impressero un'impronta veneziana agli edifici religiosi e civili. Sul piano confessionale, la comunità cristiana era divisa fra ortodossi e cattolici latini, e come tale caratterizzata da un quotidiano e intenso contatto non senza momenti di tensione.

Molte le annotazioni curiose registrate da Wheler nell'isola di Mìcono (Mykonos), i cui abitanti vengono definiti per lo più pirati e dove i villaggi sono abitati per la maggioranza da donne che vantano reputazione di bellezza e fedeltà coniugale, trovandosi la maggior parte dei mariti lontana. Vengono descritte con estrema attenzione le vesti femminili, assieme ai corredi e alle capigliature ricercate, coperte da un velo di colore giallo intenso e visibile da lontano (Wheler, 1723, p. 111). Il dettaglio sociale della pirateria è estremamente interessante. Infatti, nel 1537, allorché l'isola era ancora sotto il dominio veneziano, fu attaccata e conquistata da Khayr al-Din Barbarossa, il celebre corsaro e ammiraglio al servizio di Solimano il Magnifico. Gli ottomani vi crearono un sistema di autogoverno retto da un governatore affiancato da un consiglio di sindaci. Al termine della seconda guerra di Morea, nel 1718, venne cacciata dai turchi l'ultima resistenza veneziana dalla vicina isola di Tinos.

Giunto sempre in compagnia di Spon a Costantinopoli, la descrizione dei luoghi visitati diventa spesso squisitamente antiquaria tranne le osservazioni di rito sullo stato della città e qualche accenno al sistema di governo degli ottomani (Fig. 4), definito senza mezzi termini tirannico, e il ripetuto rinvio, con tono moralistico e partecipato, alla difficile condizione dei cristiani sotto il Turco. Una solenne magnificenza caratterizza la basilica di Santa Sofia, trasformata in moschea. Nel testo è contenuta una descrizione sommaria ma efficace della struttura, degli ingressi monumentali, dei minareti aggiunti dagli ottomani, degli interni come dei mosaici bizantini in parte cancellati per motivi religiosi. Non manca il paragone con la Basilica di San Pietro a Roma, vista come più elevata ma non maggiore in grandezza e in bellezza. Sono poi descritti i grandi sarcofagi dei sultani collocati attorno alla grande moschea, e gli atti di

devozione che vi si compiono da parte dei poveri della città per ricevere elemosine, recitando preghiere per le anime dei defunti attraverso rosari di legno, i cui grani – simili a "proiettili di moschetto" – fanno girare fra le mani uno dopo l'altro. Curiosa l'annotazione sull'uso differente del rosario da parte dei fedeli cristiani latini e greci. I primi recitano differenti preghiere in "circolo", i secondi ripetono l'invocazione *Kyrie Eleison* (Wheler, 1723, pp. 154–156) Curiose le note sui bagni pubblici, collocati nei pressi delle moschee, per consentire sia la purificazione ai fedeli, sia la sanità dei corpi, essendo ritenuti i lavacri il principale rimedio contro ogni malanno (Wheler, 1723, p. 173). Passati in Anatolia, a Smirne, come in altre località della regione, si intensificano e ripetono le osservazioni naturalistiche, con riferimento a piante ed animali esotici quale il camaleonte o il pellicano. Nell'importante città portuale di Smirne si osserva il grande numero di moschee e di sinagoghe. Folta la presenza europea: inglesi, francesi, olandesi, gli onnipresenti veneziani, accanto alle genti dell'Impero ottomano, ad armeni e persiani (Wheler, 1723, p. 267 ss.), confermando in tal modo l'appellativo turco di *gâvur Izmir*, "infedele Smirne", assegnatole per la sua popolazione multietnica e multiconfessionale guardata spesso dalle autorità con sospetto. Ricordiamo che solo dieci anni prima l'arrivo di Wheler era scoppiato il caso dello pseudo-messia Shabbetay Tzevì, nato proprio a Smirne da famiglia ebraica sefardita, in seguito imprigionato dalle autorità turche per aver provocato disordini. Dopo essersi convertito alla religione islamica morì in esilio a Dulcigno, in Montenegro, nell'estremità meridionale della costa dalmata, ma il credo sabbatiano non scomparve del tutto nei territori ottomani, osservato da ebrei formalmente islamici ma praticanti in segreto la fede dei padri.

Degli abitanti di Atene, dove fecero tappa l'anno successivo 1676, Wheler scrive che rispetto al resto dei Greci conservano nella loro lingua maggiori retaggi del greco antico, concludendo che l'atmosfera della città, come il clima, erano la causa principale dell'acume dei suoi abitanti, e che la natura compensava in tal modo la situazione di oppressione politica in cui si trovavano. Il destino avverso non aveva perciò privato gli ateniesi di ciò che la natura aveva un tempo loro riservato, compresa la limpidezza e la bontà dell'aria. Scandalo invece suscitavano i costumi ottomani, come la trasformazione dell'*Erechtheion* in una residenza privata, compresa di "Seraglio" che impediva l'accesso ai visitatori. Rimarchevole l'annotazione sull'allevamento delle api da parte della popolazione, vera e propria arte, culminante nella realizzazione degli alveari dalla forma curiosa, larga in alto e stretta alla base, come cesti.

Concludendo, il testo di Wheler, fortemente debitore a quello di Spon, giacché si può affermare che fu il resoconto di uno sguardo comune, di un'esperienza condivisa da entrambi, si segnala per le curiose annotazioni

di carattere etnostorico, e per molti versi etnografico, attraverso una cifra erudita, fortemente enciclopedica e ancora lontana nello sviluppo dai successivi esempi della letteratura di viaggio caratterizzata da piglio più squisitamente antropologico, tutto settecentesco, verso l'alterità. Resta il fatto che l'opera di questo viaggiatore (come quella di Spon) costituì un importante *vademecum* per generazioni di eruditi, e divenne un modello per la letteratura di viaggio moderna (Stoneman, 2010, pp. 56–83; Constantine, 2011, pp. 7–33). Lo conferma un dettaglio, felicemente riscontrato nella copia del *Voyage* qui analizzata. Accanto all'antiporta figura infatti un'elegante firma di appartenenza: "Belonging to the Earl of Guilford".

Non è remoto ipotizzare che il proprietario del libro fosse Frederick North, quinto conte di Guilford, figlio di Lord North, primo ministro d'Inghilterra dal 1770 al 1782, appassionato ed eccentrico cultore della cultura greca e italiana. Dopo gli studi a Eton e al Christ College di Oxford, viaggiò intensamente in Europa e nel Vicino oriente, e ricoprì incarichi governativi per conto della corona in Corsica e a Ceylon. Promosse la rinascita dell'Accademia Ionica e dal 1824, allorché essa fu fondata nell'isola di Corfù, fino alla morte, nel 1827, egli ne fu il cancelliere e il mecenate. In vita raccolse una vasta collezione di libri e manoscritti che fu venduta in ben sette aste negli anni successivi alla morte. Non è escluso che uno di questi libri, quasi due secoli dopo, sia approdato a Milano sul banco di un libraio.

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Il *Ritratto di donna italiana* di Olga Boznanska eposto alla Biennale di Venezia del 1938: nuovi elementi dall'indagine stilistica e archivistica

RIASSUNTO

Una mirata indagine stilistica, bibliografica e archivistica ha permesso di fare maggiore luce su un rilevante ritratto femminile della pittrice polacca Olga Boznanska, mettendo in evidenza la sua fortuna espositiva e collezionistica. La recente apparizione in un'asta polacca di un dipinto simile ha permesso inoltre di ipotizzare che la donna effigiata, la cui identità rimane tuttavia ancora misteriosa, potrebbe essere la medesima nei due dipinti.

PAROLE CHIAVE: Olga Boznanska, Storia dell'arte, Arte polacca, Storia del collezionismo, Ricerca d'archivio, Biennale di Venezia, Collezione Giovanni Finazzi, Museo Nazionale di Cracovia

ABSTRACT

The Portrait of an Italian Woman by Olga Boznanska Exhibited at the Venice Biennale in 1938: New Elements from a Stylistic and Archival Perspective

This targeted stylistic, bibliographical, and archival investigation casts a major light on a relevant portrait of a woman by the Polish painter Olga Boznanska, highlighting its rich exhibition and collection. The recent appearance in a Polish auction of a similar painting by Boznanska leads to the hypothesis that the subject of the painting—whose identity still remains a mystery—is the same in both paintings.

KEYWORDS: Olga Boznanska, art history, Polish art, history of collecting, archival research, Venice Biennale, Giovanni Finazzi Collection, National Museum in Krakow

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Olga Boznanska (Fig. 1–2) ha raggiunto la più alta considerazione di critica e pubblico per i suoi ritratti, dallo stile inconfondibile e che la hanno consacrata come una delle pittrici 'impressioniste'[1] più rilevanti nel panorama dell'arte polacca e internazionale. Il dipinto, passato in asta a Varsavia nel 2018 e attualmente in una collezione privata polacca, è firmato due volte: a destra con la matita[2] e a sinistra con il pennello[3] (Fig. 3–7). Appartiene al primo periodo parigino della pittrice, che – dopo avere studiato a Cracovia e a Monaco – si stabilisce definitivamente nella capitale francese dal 1898 sino alla morte (Higersberger, 2015; Król, Deryng, e Mazowiecki, 2015).

Figure 1. Olga Boznanska nella sua casa di Cracovia nel 1913 circa © Cracovia, Museo Nazionale, Archivio, inv. n. DI 104271.

1 La tecnica di Olga Boznanska è in realtà molto più personale in rapporto all'Impressionimo: la pittrice non dipingeva mai *en plein air* ma sempre in studio, prediligendo il ritratto piuttosto che il paesaggio.

2 Forse è la prima firma apposta sul dipinto, perchè sembra quasi una bozza.

3 Olga Boznanska, *Ritratto di donna italiana*, olio su cartone, 82 x 60 cm, firmato in alto a sinistra «olga boznanska» (con colore nero) e in alto a destra «olga B.» (con matita), nella sua cornice lignea originale, Parigi, 1902 circa. Il dipinto è stato battuto in asta a Varsavia presso Desa Unicum, il 13 dicembre del 2018, asta "Old Masters, 19th Century and Modern Art", lotto 10. Si vedano la scheda *on line* sul sito di Desa (*Olga Boznanska, "Portrait of Italian Woman"*, 2018) e il catalogo a stampa: *Olga Boznanska, "Portreit Włoszki"*, 2018, lotto 10 (senza numeri di pagina). Era la prima volta, dalla data di esecuzione, che il dipinto arrivava in Polonia. Ringrazio Julia Materna e tutto lo staff di Desa Unicum per la disponibilità dimostrata.

Figure 2. Olga ritratta al lavoro nel suo atelier di Cracovia nel 1920 circa © Cracovia, Museo Nazionale, Archivio, inv. n. DI 97315/1.

Sullo sfondo è raffigurata una finestra con vista sui palazzi di Parigi, dai caratteristici tetti blu: è lo stesso sfondo del dipinto *La maternità* (*Macierzyństwo*, firmato e datato 1902, olio su tela, 58,5 per 46,5 cm) in collezione privata (Fig. 8). Come *La maternità* si tratta di un ritratto realizzato, con sedute di posa dal vero, nel primo atelier di Parigi (al n. 114 di rue Vaugirard) ove la pittrice lavorò dal 1902 e il 1907, consolidando il suo stile personale. In questo caso Olga ritrasse dal vero una donna la cui identità rimane ancora misteriosa ma che dovette lasciarle il dipinto. I ritratti della pittrice svelavano, difatti, oltre alle fattezze fisiche – che non erano mai abbellite, ma sempre rese vere – il reale ed intimo carattere della persona, erano dei veri e propri 'ritratti psicologici', per cui talvolta il risultato finale non sempre accontentava l'effigiato, che poteva sentirsi persino 'smascherato' e poteva decidere perciò di non ritirare il dipinto, sebbene commissionato.

Olga dunque dovette tenere con sè il ritratto (o riceverlo in un secondo momento ma non sappiamo ancora per quale motivo) e presentarlo – come vedremo, a seconda delle necessità espositive – come un ritratto femminile o come il prototipo di una donna italiana. La pittrice dovette inoltre conservarlo a lungo forse per un legame affettivo che la tenne intimamente legata all'opera: una fotografia rinvenuta in un archivio privato polacco raffigura, infatti, il dipinto nel secondo atelier parigino della pittrice (al n. 49 del

Figure 3. Il dipinto © Fotografo Paolo Imperatori (Milano). Archivio dell'autore.

Figure 4. La firma con la matita a destra: «olga B.» © Fotografo Paolo Imperatori (Milano). Archivio dell'autore.

Figure 5. La firma con il pennello a sinistra: «olga boznanska» © Fotografo Paolo Imperatori (Milano). Archivio dell'autore.

Figure 6. Il verso del dipinto con le etichette, i timbre e le scritte © Fotografo Paolo Imperatori (Milano). Archivio dell'autore.

Figure 7. Dettaglio del verso © Fotografo Paolo Imperatori (Milano). Archivio dell'autore.

Boulevard Montparnasse), ove Olga si trasferì nel 1907. Il dipinto occupa una posizione privilegiata nell'atelier, sopra il suo pianoforte e vicino al dipinto del padre realizzato attorno al 1903.[4] Al verso del "nostro" ritratto (Fig. 6–7) compare, ancora nel 1938, l'indicazione sulla provenienza: «49 Bld. de Montparnasse» e i documenti rinvenuti negli archivi della Biennale di Venezia e negli archivi di Parigi attestano che il ritratto fu comprato (solo) nel 1938 direttamente da Olga e non da un collezionista privato.

Per tali ragioni rimane ancora difficile da interpretare l'etichetta al verso relativa alla provenienza (con il n. 24) dalla collezione di Mademoiselle «Jassowska» o «Lassowska» (residente in 10 rue Chalgrin a Parigi),[5] forse la prima proprietaria – e forse anche la donna ritratta nel quadro – che poi decise di restituire il suo dipinto o si accordò con Olga perché lo conservasse lei. Jassowska o Lassowska è un nome di origini russe e il colore dei capelli e della pelle dell'effigiata inducono e ritenere che si possa trattare effettivamente di una donna russa, forse sposata ad un italiano, circostanza che giustificherebbe il titolo con cui talvolta il dipinto è citato nelle fonti, "Ritratto di donna italiana", "Portrait d'Italienne", "Italienne", "Donna italiana" o, come messo in rilievo in un documento che si presenta qui per la prima volta, "Siracusana" ("Syrakuzanka").[6] Inoltre la recente apparizione[7] in un'asta polacca di un dipinto simile mostra come la donna ritratta potrebbe essere la stessa[8] (Fig. 9). Tale dipinto è datato,

4 APP, la foto è pubblicata in: *Olga Boznanska, "Portreit Włoszki"*, 2018, lotto 10 (senza numero di pagina). Il dipinto posto accanto sul pianoforte nell'atelier della pittrice è: *Portret Adama Nowiny-Boznańskiego, ojca artystki* (*Ritratto di Adama Nowiny-Boznańskiego, padre dell'artista*), olio su tela, 75 x 64 cm, 1903 circa, Cracovia, Museo Nazionale, inv. n. MNK II-b-1337MNK II-b-1337.

5 La grafia dell'etichetta non è chiaramente leggibile. Si tratta di un nome sino ad ora non noto nella biografia della pittrice, su cui si spera possano essere trovati degli elementi di identificazione più chiari.

6 SHLP-AAAO, *Spuścizna Heleny Olgi Nowina BOZNAŃSKIEJ dans Bibliothèque Polonaise à Paris dział rękopisów, Akcyza 1745, tom III ("Registre de la Succession de l'artiste")*, Lista dei dipinti scelti da Mieczyslaw Treter (Commissario generale del Padiglione Polacco della Biennale di Venezia del 1938) nello studio parigino di Olga Boznanska (in Boulevard Montparnasse). Il dipinto compare al numero 5 come "Syrakuzanka", olio su cartone, 82 x 59 cm, a penna è aggiunto il prezzo di vendita "10.000" senza indicazione di valuta. Ringrazio Anna Czarnocka della Bibliothèque Polonaise di Parigi e Alice Orawski degli Archives Alice & Adam Orawski di Parigi. Ad Alice Orawski va la mia profonda riconoscenza per la preziosa collaborazione nel reperimento delle fonti archivistiche di Parigi citate anche di seguito.

7 Ringrazio Alice Orawski per avermi molto gentilmente segnalato questo dipinto.

8 Olga Boznanska, *Ritratto di donna con camicetta bianca*, olio su cartone, 68 x 53 cm, datato 1902, al verso "Ritratto di donna con un uomo" (probabilmente Olga Boznanska con Jozef Czajkowski), *ante* 1900. Il dipinto è stato battuto in asta a Varsavia presso la casa d'aste Polswiss Art, il 10 dicembre del 2019, lotto 33: si veda la scheda sul dipinto nel catalogo on-line di Polswiss Art (*Olga Boznanska, "Kobieta w białej bluzce"*, 2019). Il dipinto proviene da una collezione privata polacca, è poi entrato in una collezione parigina, è stato messo all'asta a Parigi il

come *Maternità*, «1902». La donna sembra però più disinibita che nel dipinto qui in esame, per l'atteggiamento e per l'abbigliamento.

Se l'identificazione fosse corretta, si potrebbe ipotizzare o che il dipinto qui in analisi sia da datare a qualche anno dopo il 1902, e dunque che la donna ritratta sia meno giovane e che forse nel frattempo si sia sposata, assumendo una posa e un abbigliamento più consono alla sua età e al suo nuovo stato sociale, o – circostanza molto più affascinante – che i due dipinti rappresentino due attitudini psicologiche differenti della medesima persona e dunque che si tratti di un doppio ritratto 'psicologico' volto a mettere in luce le due differenti personalità della donna. Si tratta al momento di ipotesi e non di certezze e soltanto il ritrovamento di altri documenti potrebbe aiutare a fare più luce sull'argomento.

I timbri, le scritte e le etichette al verso del dipinto "Donna italiana" o "Siracusana", molto numerosi e puntuali (è un caso molto raro e singolare nei dipinti della pittrice polacca), forniscono diverse informazioni utili per ricostruirne la sua storia collezionisica ed espositiva. Il ritratto arrivò a Vienna (transitando nella Galleria Arnot)[9] e fu esposto a Londra, Parigi e Venezia. Era un dipinto a cui Olga, dunque, teneva particolarmente e che scelse di inviare a molte delle più rilevanti esposizioni dell'epoca per presentare la sua attività, tanto che potè separarsene in età avanzata, a soli due anni dalla morte.

Entro il 1925 il riratto fu esposto a Londra alla *International Society of Sculptors, Engravers and Painters*, società di cui Olga Boznanska era membra.[10] L'etichetta corrispondente è lacerata e non consente di leggere con chiarezza l'anno dell'esposizione e il numero di catalogo. Nel 1925, l'ultimo anno in cui le esposizioni della società ebbero luogo, fu esposto con il n. 141 un *Portrait de Femme*,[11] titolo con cui il dipinto è talvolta identificato nelle pubblicazioni e che si trova anche al verso.

Venne probabilmente inviato a Venezia già nel 1936, come attesta l'etichetta, per essere presentato alla Biennale che si sarebbe svolta quell'anno, ma non venne esposto. Nel 1936, infatti – come si evince dai materiali rinvenuti negli archivi della Biennale – si decise che nel padiglione polacco

4 dicembre 2018 ed è pervenuto in una nuova collezione francese prima dell'ultimo passaggio in asta. Ringrazio lo staff di Polswiss Art per la disponibilità dimostrata.

9 Non si quando: la galleria Arnot (interpellata via mail nell'ottobre del 2018) non conserva documentazione storica sul dipinto.

10 La società ebbe vita dal 1898 al 1925. Le esposizioni ebbero luogo in sedi diverse, ma sempre a Londra.

11 Il dipinto è forse da indentificare con l'opera registrata in: *The International Society*, 1925, ed. "Under Revision" p. 27, n. 141, ed. definitiva p. 30, n. 141 (come "Portrait de Femme").

Figure 8. Olga Boznanska, *La maternità* (*Macierzyństwo*), 1902, olio su tela, 58,5 per 46,5 cm, collezione privata © Curiator Beta.

Figure 9. Olga Boznanska, *Ritratto di donna con camicetta bianca*, 1902, olio su cartone, 68 x 53 cm, al verso "Ritratto di donna con un uomo" (probabilmente Olga Boznanska con Jozef Czajkowski), *ante* 1900 © Varsavia, Polswiss Art, Asta 10 dicembre 2019, lotto 33.

avrebbero esposto altri due artisti polacchi, assieme a due scultori e ad una sezione di opere polacche grafiche.[12]

Il ritratto potè però essere spedito a Parigi già l'anno dopo ed essere selezionato per la "Exposition Universelle" dove la pittrice vinse il rinomato "Grand Prix" per il suo lavoro: è segnalato nel *Catalogue officiel de la Section polonaise* con il n. 5 e con il titolo generico di *Potrait de Femme*.[13]

Nel 1938 venne inviato nuovamente a Venezia e finalmente selezionato per la Biennale: si trattò di un evento molto significativo in quanto fu l'ultima esposizione pubblica di Olga Boznanska, all'epoca ottantenne. Quell'anno a Venezia furono decise quattro mostre individuali di due pittori e di due scultori polacchi e questa volta Olga, forte del "Grand Prix" da poco vinto a Parigi, fu selezionata come pittrice meritoria. Come si legge nella proposta del programma per il padiglione polacco, conservata negli archivi della Biennale, fu prevista difatti una "mostra di quadri di Olga Bonznanska, premiata con il Grand Prix all'Esposizione di Parigi" e considerata una dei pittori polacchi più "eminenti", oltre che "una vecchietta, nata nel 1865" che non cessava "ancora di lavorare".[14] Alla pittrice verrà dedicata una delle due sale laterali del padiglione polacco,[15] ove – questa volta – il dipinto fu esposto come *Ritratto di donna italiana* (o *Italiana*) (*XXI Esposizione Biennale*, 1938, p. 303, n. 4),[16] per cui forse il titolo veniva cambiato a seconda della circostanza: a Londra e Parigi veniva considerato più semplicemente un ritratto femminile, mentre in Italia poteva diventare il ritratto di una donna italiana.[17] La scelta ebbe successo perchè il dipinto fu venduto come tale.

12 ASAC, *Attività 1894-1944*, serie Scatole nere, B. 126, Fascicolo "Biennale del 1936, Polonia", Lettera del Commissario del Padiglione Polacco (Direttore della Società di espansione dell'arte polacca all'estero), Mieczyslaw Treter, al Segretario generale della Biennale, Antonio Maraini, Varsavia, 26 marzo 1936: Treter propone il programma del 1936 per il padiglione polacco.

13 *Catalogue officiel*, 1937, p. G 102 ("Polonia pavillon: Peinture"), n. 5, "Potrait de Femme", 80 x 65 cm, p. 287 ("Boznanska Olga, B.ld. du Montparnasse 49"), esposto con un "Portrait d'homme" (delle stesse dimensioni). Il prezzo proposto per la vendita dovette essere in tale occasione di 7.000 franchi francesi, come attesta l'etichetta al verso del dipinto.

14 ASAC, *Attività 1894–1944*, serie Scatole nere, B. 126, Fascicolo "Biennale del 1936, Polonia", Lettera del Commissario del Padiglione Polacco, Mieczyslaw Treter, al Segretario generale della Biennale, Antonio Maraini, Varsavia, 12 febbraio 1938: Treter invia il programma del 1938 per la sezione polacca e propone la mostra monografica su Olga Boznanska.

15 Il padiglione polacco era stato inuagurato nel 1932, ogni due anni veniva presentata la produzione di nuovi artisti polacchi in modo da dare, nell'arco di sei biennali, un quadro dell'arte polacca contemporanea. Olga aveva partecipato alla Biennale di Venezia già nel 1910 e nel 1914: M. Treter, *Padiglione della Polonia*, in *XXI Esposizione Biennale*, 1938, p. 301.

16 "Padiglione Polacco", come: "Donna italiana".

17 Esisteva perlatro già un *Ritratto di donna italiana* di Olga Boznanska del 1896, oggi in collezione privata (olio su tela): in questo dipinto la donna effigiata sembra avere realmente le fattezze di una donna italiana.

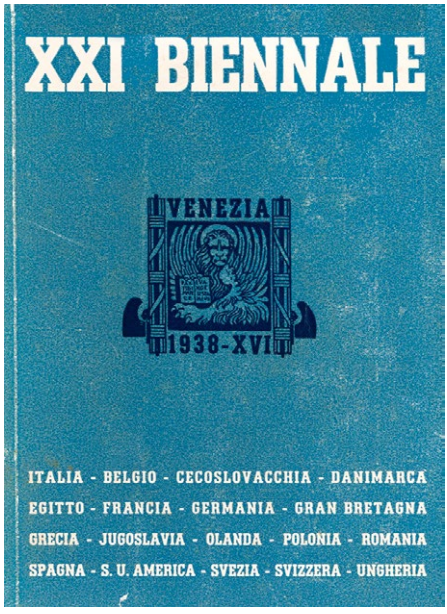

Figure 10. La copertina del Catalogo della Biennale di Venezia del 1938 © Archivio dell'autore.

Figure 11. La sala del Padiglione polacco della Biennale di Venezia del 1938, dove il dipinto era esposto © Cracovia, Museo Nazionale, Archivio.

Nell'archivio della Biennale sono state rinvenute tre fotografie del ritratto e due della sala centrale del Padiglione polacco,[18] queste ultime permettono di identificare nella Biennale del 1938 anche il luogo dello scatto di una foto conservata negli Archivi del Museo Nazionale di Cracovia, ove è in questo caso ritratta proprio la sala in cui il dipinto fu esposto ed il "nostro" è ben identificabile sulla parete[19] (Fig. 10–11). A venezia si conservano anche le foto d'epoca – peraltro molto affascinanti – dell'arrivo del dipinto nella città lagunare, assieme ad altre opere selezionate per la biennale di quell'anno.[20] Il ritratto venne spedito direttamente dallo studio parigino dell'artista tramite la ditta Lucien Lefébvre-Foinet di Pairgi (come conferma anche l'etichetta al verso) e fu esposto dal primo di giugno al 30 settembre del 1938.[21]

Già nel luglio, nel corso dunque dell'esposizione, fu venduto. Dai documenti rinvenuti a Venezia e a Parigi si apprende inoltre che fu inizialmente valutato 10.000 franchi francesi e che fu comprato assieme ad *Natura morta di fiori* (*Tulipani*), valutata all'inizio 2.000 franchi, dal Commendatore italiano Giovanni Finazzi di Bergamo. Il 23 luglio del 1938, con un telegamma, la pittrice da Parigi accettò la proposta di acquisto dei due quadri da parte di Finazzi per 9.000 franchi netti per lei. Alla fine delle trattative con la Biennale, si concordò, infatti, un pagamento di 10.000 franchi per i due quadri, cifra che l'ente veneziano accettò il 24 luglio del 1938. Il 2 novembre di quell'anno, a Biennale conclusa da più di un mese, Finazzi sollecitò la spedizione, non avendo ancora ricevuto i due acquisti ed essendo molto desideroso, come si evince dalle lettere, di avere i due

18 ASAC, Fototeca, serie Artisti, B. 149, "Boznanska Olga, 1938.3/Generali", 3 foto del dipinto (Fotografo Giacomelli, Venezia). La stessa foto è anche in: GNAM, Archivio bioiconografico, faldone 40, depositi, foto n. 730 (ringrazio Stefania Navarra per la collaborazione nel reperimento dell'immagine). ASAC, Fototeca, serie Attualità e allestimenti, B. 37, A.V.37.1938.56–57: due foto del Padiglione Polacco, sala centrale (Fotografo Giacomelli, Venezia).

19 CMN. Ringrazio la Conservatrice, Urszula Kozakowska-Zaucha, per la gentilezza dimostrata nella ricerca dell'immagine d'archivio.

20 ASAC, Fototeca, serie Attualità e allestimenti, B. 37, A.V.37.1938.1; A.V.37.1938.5: foto dell'arrivo del dipinto, assieme agli altri per l'esposizione (Fotografo Cav. Pietro Fiorentini, Venezia), della giuria e di personalità eminenti che esaminano i dipinti prima della Biennale.

21 ASAC, Raccolta documentaria, "Olga Boznanska", inv. 6307, documento del 12 maggio 1938: "49, Boulevard Montparnasse, Paris … n. 4, Italienne, p. à l'huile, 82 x 59 [cm] … Adresse pour le renvoi: nn. 1–25: Paris, VI^{e}, 2 rue Bréa, Lucien Lefébvre-Foinet, Prix de vente [aggiunto a matita in corrispondenza del dipinto] 10.000 fr.fr."; SHLP-AAAO, *Spuścizna Heleny Olgi Nowina BOZNAŃSKIEJ dans Bibliothèque Polonaise à Paris dział rękopisów, Akcyza 1745, tom III ("Registre de la Succession de l'artiste")*, Lista dei dipinti di Olga Boznanska esposti alla Biennale, Parigi, 12 novembre 1938, n. 4 "Italienne" (82 x 59 cm), "M.lle Boznanska, 49 Bld. Montparnasse": in totale sono 12 i dipinti che risultano provenire dallo studio parigino dell'artista, per gli altri nel documento sono indicati i collezionisti proprietari.

dipinti per la sua collezione. Le opere risultano spedite, solo dopo il suo sollecito, il 16 novembre 1938 a "grande velocità" al domicilio bergamasco del collezionista (situato in viale Vittorio Emanuele 20).[22] La somma, decurtata della percentuale per la Biennale, fu ricevuta dalla pittrice solo l'anno dopo.[23]

Un'interessante lettera, datata 22 dicembre del 1938 e conservata negli archivi di Parigi, documenta inoltre che le tele di Olga per la Biennale erano state restaurate prima dell'esposizione veneziana e senza il consenso della pittrice. Nel documento si apprende che Olga aveva manifestato una reazione di forte dissenso verso l'accaduto e alla vista delle tele pulite riconsegnatele al suo domicilio, ma che non nutriva alcun rancore verso il Commissario del padiglione polacco Treter per il quale provava, anzi, grande riconoscenza e gratitudine.[24]

Nel 1938, durante la stessa Biennale, il Re d'Italia, Vittorio Emanuele III, comprò il *Ritratto di Konstancja Dygatowa* (o Dygat) di Olga Boznanska[25] per destinarlo al Museo di Venezia.[26] Il re quell'anno selezionò un totale di nove dipinti di cui solo tre di artisti stranieri (provenienti oltre che dalla Polonia, dall'Olanda e dalla Svezia). Olga vendette cinque dei ventisette dipinti presentati.[27]

22 ASAC, Attività 1894-1944, serie Scatole nere, B. 128, Fascicolo "Giovanni Finazzi"; ibidem, Ufficio vendite, Registri, 37, I, n. 175/328: "Comm. Giovanni Finazzi, 4, Donna italiana, olio" (comprato con il n. 7 "Fiori, Tulipani") a "10.000 franchi francesi" per i due dipinti, corrispondenti a "5.300 lire" italiane.

23 ASAC, Attività 1894-1944, serie Scatole nere, B. 126, Fascicolo "Pagamenti vendite Polonia", 29 settembre 1938, richiesta di pagamento per la pittrice, concluso il 6 marzo 1939.

24 SHLP-AAAO, *Spuścizna Heleny Olgi Nowina BOZNAŃSKIEJ dans Bibliothèque Polonaise à Paris dział rękopisów, Akcyza 1745, tom III ("Registre de la Succession de l'artiste")*, Lettera del 22 dicembre 1938 di Jan Szymanski a Mieczyslaw Treter.

25 ASAC, Ufficio vendite, Registri, 37, I: è registrato il dipinto di Olga "Mme. Dygat, n. 3", acquistato dal Re per 6.000 franchi francesi, per destinarlo alla "Galleria di Venezia"; la stima iniziale era di 7.500 franchi (si veda: ibidem, Raccolta documentaria, "Olga Boznanska", inv. 6307, documento del 12 maggio 1938, n. 3).

26 Olga Boznańska, *Ritratto di Konstancja Dygat*, 1907, olio su tela, 100 x 77 cm, Venezia, Galleria Internazionale d'Arte Moderna di Ca' Pesaro: il dipinto fu donato al Museo veneziano dal Re Vittorio Emanuele III dopo che questi l'acquistò alla Biennale del 1938.

27 ASAC, Raccolta documentaria, "Olga Boznanska", inv. 6307, documento del 12 maggio 1938: nel documento i prezzi di vendita sono indicati sicuramente per sei dipinti; SHLP-AAAO, *Spuścizna Heleny Olgi Nowina BOZNAŃSKIEJ dans Bibliothèque Polonaise à Paris dział rękopisów, Akcyza 1745, tom III ("Registre de la Succession de l'artiste")*, Elenco delle opere vendute, n. 2 "Donna italiana", n. 3 "Fiori I (tulipani)", "Lire 9.000" (per i due dipinti). L'elenco comprende anche al n. 1 "Madame Dygat" venduta per "Lire 5.100", al n. 4 "Cortile" venduto assieme al n. 5 "Natura morta" per "Lire 5.100". Si noti che i prezzi sono diversi da quelli emersi nella carte veneziane (la divergenza potrebbe essere dovuta alle differenti indicazioni sulle valute); il documento non è datato. Nello stesso archivio parigino si conserva un'altra lista

Dal 1938 il dipinto entrò dunque nella collezione bergamasca di Giovanni Finazzi e fu pubblicato nel volume monografico dedicato alla collezione edito a Bergamo nel 1942 a cura del prestigioso Istituto Italiano d'Arti grafiche (*Collezione Giovanni Finazzi*, 1942, p. 23, n. 259) (Fig. 12–13). Finazzi era un industriale di Bergamo, la cui collezione annoverara un centinaio di quadri. Era solito viaggiare molto per lavoro, frequentava gallerie e vendite all'asta e le mostre di interesse, oltre che le Biennali e le Quadriennali (*Collezione Giovanni Finazzi*, 1942, p. 6). Nella sua raccolta erano presenti opere molte rilevanti, un tra cui un *Ritratto di fanciulla* di Amedeo Modigliani dalla collezione di Paul Guillaume, e un piccolo nucleo di opere non italiane, di cui ben tre di Olga Boznanska: oltre al presente dipinto, la natura morta acquistata alla biennale e un paesaggio (quest'ultimi forse considerati meno rilevanti del "nostro" in quanto non illustrati nel catalogo della collezione). Olga era allora una pittrice quasi del tutto sconosciuta in Italia, ma – come ricordava Attilio Podestà nell'introduzione del volume – era considerata "una delle più decise personalità pittoriche della Polonia" (*Collezione Giovanni Finazzi*, 1942, p. 23). Nel 1940, il 26 ottobre, solo due anni dopo la vendita del dipinto a Venezia, Olga morì a Parigi e venne sepolta nel cimitero di Montmorcency.

Come si osserva bene nel "nostro" ritratto,[28] accanto all'emergere di un'istanza realistica, Olga a Parigi affina le sue doti di penetrazione e di espressione artistica delle caratteristiche psicologiche e dei 'moti interiori' dell'animo umano. La pittura, raffinatissima, diviene quasi traslucida, l'intensità dello sguardo della donna (specchio del suo animo) e la bellezza delle sue mani affiorarono sulla superficie del quadro, mentre il corpo sembra come ritirarsi dentro gli abiti, dematerializzandosi. Nel dipinto dominano i giochi di sfumature che conferiscono al soggetto una nebulosità e un fascino misterioso, basato su una "particolare tecnica di vibrazioni" tipica della pittrice (Treter, 1938, p. 301). La donna inoltre rivolge lo sguardo verso lo spettatore come a 'catturarlo' teatralmente dentro il dipinto. Si tratta di uno sguardo piuttosto timido e pacato, molto diverso da quello deciso e sfacciato dell'altro ritratto: indizio che i due dipinti ritraggono due persone differenti o la stessa persona colta in due attitudini di animo diverse. Un mistero che, nonostante i documenti rinvenuti, rimane ancora da svelare.

delle opere di Olga per la Biennale ove il dipinto figura al n. 4 come "Italienne" con aggiunto a matita il valore di "7.000" senza indicazione di valuta.

28 Il dipinto sarà inserito nel catalogo ragionato delle opere della pittrice a cura del Museo Nazionale di Cracovia (con la curatela delle Conservatrici del museo, Ewa Bobrowska e Urszula Kozakowska-Zaucha).

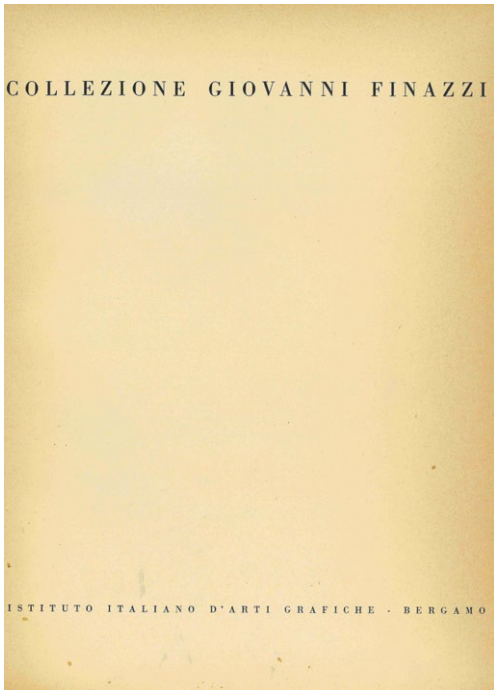

Figure 12. Il catalogo del 1942 della collezione di Giovanni Finazzi (la copertina) © Archivio dell'autore.

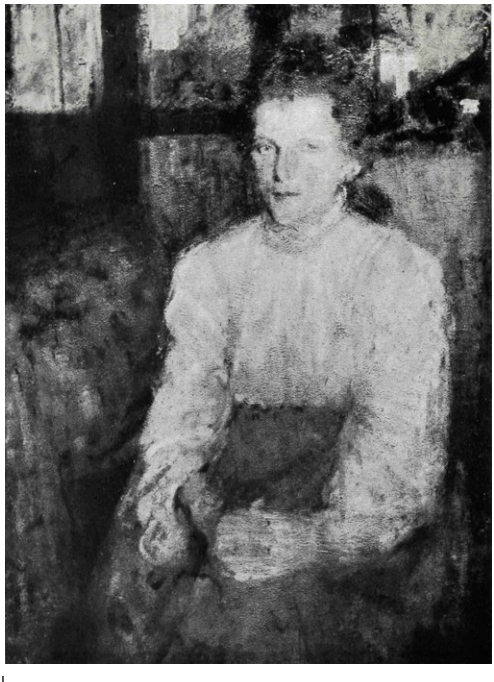

Figure 13. Il catalogo del 1942 della collezione di Giovanni Finazzi (la pagina con il dipinto) © Archivio dell'autore.

FOCUS SUL DIPINTO

Olga Boznanska
Krakow, 1865 – Paris, 1940
Italian woman – Donna italiana
(*Portrait de Femme* or *Jeune fille*)
Olio su cartone
82 x 60 cm
Firmato in alto a sinistra «olga boznanska» (con colore nero) e a destra «olga B.» (a matita)
Parigi, 1902 circa

Labels, inscriptions and stamps on the reverse

«n. 78[2] / donna italiana / O. Boznanska»
«48»
«Galerie Arnot / Wien / I. Kartnering 13» (two labels: upper and low)
«53[? …]»
«Radley & Co. / 153 […]»
«International S. / Case Marks BC 3 / International Society's / Exhibition, 19[…] / 14[…] street / gare […]»
«Michaux & Guérin / Transports de tableuax & statues / 2 rue de Rocroy, Paris (10e) / Titre ou désignation: Portrait d'Italienne / Nom de l'auteur: M. elle Olga Boznanska / Tableaux / Nome et addresse / du proprietarie: M. elle Jassowska / 10 rue Chalgrin / Paris / n. 24»
«20»
«Dogana Italiana merci / visitate»
«Exposition Internationale – Paris 1937 / Nom et prénom: Boznanska Olga / Titre de l'oeuvre / Prix de vente: 7000 Fr. […] / Portrait de femme / Section de Pologne»
«XX Esposiz. Biennale Internaz. d'Arte / di Venezia 1936 – XIV / 14»
«Jeune fille […] / Boznanska / 49 Boul. Montparnasse / Paris»
«XXIème Exposition Biennale Internationale des Beaux-Arts – Venise 1938 / Prénom et nom: O. de Boznanska / Titre de l'oeuvre: P. d'une Italienne / Prix de vente / Provenance / Propriétaire / Adresse: Paris VIe 49 Bld. de Montparnasse […]»
«Lucien Lefebvre-Foinet / 19 rue Vavin et 2 rue Bréa Paris VIe /Couleurs et toiles fines [stamp:] Douane centrale Exportation Paris».
«Wien […]»

Provenance

- Parigi, Collezione M.lle Jassowska: 10 rue Chalgrin (come da etichetta al *verso*) [in data sconosciuta].
- Parigi, Collezione dell'artista: 114 rue Vaugirard [?].
- Parigi, Collezione dell'artista: 49 Boulevard de Montparnasse (come da etichetta al *verso*) (*post* 1907).
- Bergamo, Collezione Giovanni Finazzi (1938, Finazzi comprò il dipinto durante la XXI Biennale di Venezia).
- Roma, Eredi Finazzi (sino al 2000 circa).
- Collezione d'arte privata.
- Desa Unicum, Varsavia, 13 Dicembre 2018, *Old Masters, 19th Century and Modern Art*, lotto 10.
- Collezione d'arte privata polacca (acquistato all'asta, vedi sopra).

Archives

APP – Archivio privato polacco
CMN – Cracovia, Museo Nazionale, Archivio
SHLP-AAAO – Parigi, Société Historique et Littéraire Polonaise-Bibliothèque Polonaise de Paris, Département de manuscrits, Courtesy Archives Alice & Adam Orawski, Parigi
GNAM – Roma, Archivio della Galleria Nazionale d'Arte Moderna e Contemporanea, Archivio bioiconografico
ASAC – Venezia, Archivio Storico delle Arti Contemporanee, Biennale di Venezia

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Olga Boznanska, "Portreit Włoszki". (2018). [Desa Unicum Auction sheet from auction in Warsaw (Sztuka Dawna, XIX wiek, Modernizm, Międzywojnie) on December 13, 2018, lot 10]. Warsaw: Desa Unicum S.A.

Olga Boznanska, "Kobieta w białej bluzce", 1902. (2019). [Polswiss Art Auction sheet from auction in Warsaw on December 10, 2019, lot 33]. Warsaw: Polswiss Art Auction House. https://www.polswissart.pl/pl/aukcje/226-aukcja-dziel-sztuki/10814-kobieta-w-bialej-bluzce-1902.

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XXI Esposizione Biennale internazionale d'arte. Catalogo. II edition. (1938). Venice: Officine Grafiche Carlo Ferrari.

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Mavi Sürgün by Halikarnas Balıkçısı as a Testament to the Reporter's Discovery of the Mediterranean Sea for Turkish Literature

ABSTRACT

Mavi Sürgün [Blue Exile] by Halikarnas Balıkçısı is a memoir published in 1961, describing the events of 1920–1947. Its hybrid form contains elements of autobiography and reportage, and the leitmotif is an attempt to introduce the Mediterranean Sea into Turkish literature, and introduce Turkish literature itself into the circle of Mediterranean civilization. The article explains the phenomenon of such a late "discovery" of the Mediterranean Sea for Turkish literature and presents Halikarnas Balıkçısı, the Fisherman of Halicarnassus (his real name is Cevat Şakir Kabaağaçlı), as a person engaged in the literary, touristic, and cultural promotion of the Mediterranean Sea among Turks.

KEYWORDS: Halikarnas Balıkçısı, *Mavi Sürgün*, the Mediterranean Sea, Turkish literature

STRESZCZENIE

Mavi Sürgün Halikarnasa Balıkçısı jako świadectwo reporterskiego odkrywania Morza Śródziemnego dla literatury tureckiej

Mavi Sürgün [Błękitne wygnanie] Halikarnasa Balıkçısı to książka wspomnieniowa wydana w 1961 roku, a opisująca wydarzenia z lat 1920–1947. Jej hybrydyczna forma zawiera elementy autobiograficzne i reportażowe, motywem przewodnim są próby wprowadzenia Morza Śródziemnego do literatury tureckiej, a samej literatury tureckiej w krąg cywilizacji śródziemnomorskiej. Artykuł wyjaśnia fenomen tak późnego „odkrywania" Morza Śródziemnego dla literatury tureckiej i przedstawia Halikarnasa Balıkçısı, Rybaka z Halikarnasu (prawdziwe nazwisko to Cevat Şakir Kabaağaçlı), jako człowieka

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zaangażowanego w literacką, turystyczną i kulturową promocję Morza Śródziemnego wśród swoich rodaków.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: Halikarnas Balıkçısı, *Mavi Sürgün*, Morze Śródziemne, literatura turecka

The Mediterranean Sea[1] has been present in the Turkic consciousness for almost a thousand years. By the second half of the 11th century, just after migrating to Anatolia, the Seljuk Turks had reached the Mediterranean Sea at several distant points, including in Izmir ca. 1081 (İlgürel, 1993, p. 187) and near Antakya (Antioch) in 1086 (Gök, 2014, p. 245). As concerns Antioch, Turkish chroniclers often repeat a story according to which the Seljuk Sultan Malikshach rode into the sea at Süveydiye on horseback, dipped his sword three times into the water, and sanctioned the boundaries of his empire by reciting prayers of thanks. The Sultan was also rumored to sprinkle sand from the shore over the grave of his father, Alp Aslan, thus announcing to all and sundry the news of his rule over the world (Gök, 2014, p. 245). The Seljuks did not stay long in the global political arena. The desire to conquer the Mediterranean Sea was embraced by their kin, the Ottoman Turks, who dreamed of controlling the whole territory as an internal sea. They came closest to achieving their goal in the 16th century, during the times of the Ottoman admiral Hayreddin Pasha, known to Europeans as the pirate Barbarossa. According to historian Halil İnalcık, his naval conquests secured him the place of "the undisputed ruler of the entire Mediterranean" (Inalcik, 2006, p. 48). The enthusiasm of the Ottomans was somewhat tempered by the lost Battle of Lepanto in 1571, and despite successive victories, the wish to hold dominion over the entire Mediterranean basin remained nothing but a dream. The Mediterranean Sea, however, still served as a yardstick for imperial expansion, as evidenced by the order of Mustafa Kemal Pasha (later known as Atatürk, the founder and first president of the Republic of Turkey), issued in August 1922 during the Turkish War of Independence: "Soldiers! Your first destination is

1 The use of the name Mediterranean Sea deserves an explanation here (in Turkish, it is *Akdeniz*, literally "white sea"). Today it is customary to say, in tourist guidebook style, that Turkey is "the country of the four seas," and to list the Black Sea, the Sea of Marmara, the Aegean Sea, and the Mediterranean Sea. No inhabitant of Bodrum would likely say today that they live at the Mediterranean Sea, but at the Aegean Sea (which, incidentally, is part of the Mediterranean Sea from a hydrographic point of view). This resulted from the standardization of geographical names in Turkish: the name Aegean Sea began to be popularized in the 1940s. Halikarnas Balıkçısı interchangeably uses the names Akdeniz (Mediterranean Sea), Ege Denizi (Aegean Sea), Arşipel (Archipelago), and Adalar Denizi (literally island sea).

the Mediterranean Sea! Forward!" The historian İlber Ortaylı claimed that these words, engraved, among others, on the Atatürk monument on the Izmir coast, not only cheered and summoned the army to battle and helped them occupy Izmir as early as September 9, 1922, but most of all "marked the natural borders of the Republic of Turkey" (Ortaylı, 2016).[2]

Being at the center of the political, military, and economic life of the Turks for centuries, the Mediterranean Sea was nevertheless relegated to the periphery of Turkish literature. Admittedly, in a renowned Turkish encyclopedia, *İslam Ansiklopedisi*, İdris Bostan stated that "many works have been written on the Mediterranean Sea, which played such a large role in Ottoman shipping" (Bostan, 1989, p. 233), but he only mentioned 16th-century geographic and cartographic writings such as those by Piri Reis, which are extremely valuable from a historical—not literary—point of view. Cevat Şakir Kabaağaçlı, better known under the pseudonym Halikarnas Balıkçısı (1890–1973), is considered the true discoverer of the Mediterranean for Turkish literature. İnci Enginün dubbed him "the founder of [Turkish] Mediterranean literature" (Enginün, 2006, p. 298). In order to understand the Turks' interwar discovery of the allure of the Mediterranean Sea and Bodrum, one of the most popular seaside tourist destinations nowadays, we should bear in mind the specific character of Turkish literature, which for centuries was concentrated in large urban centers, especially Istanbul, was reduced to highly conventionalized poetry, and did not deal with common, everyday topics. Only the changes that began to take place in Turkish literature in the second half of the nineteenth century under European influence led to the flourishing of realism, which was gradually introducing the countryside as a literary subject. However, the lack of access to education and the high level of illiteracy in society meant that the discoverers of the coastal province could only be outsiders, such as an Istanbul journalist sent to Bodrum to serve his sentence.

Kabaağaçlı came from an upper-class and artistically talented Ottoman family. He was born in Crete, and spent his childhood in Athens and the Princes' Islands, where his father performed official duties. After completing the prestigious Istanbul school, Robert College, he was sent to the University of Oxford to study history. He married an Italian woman he had met in England, and in 1913 moved with her to Italy, where he spent a year learning Italian, Latin, and drawing. Upon his return to Turkey, he was accused of manslaughter in the death of his father, who was mysteriously shot by a gun belonging to Cevat Şakir. Kabaağaçlı served seven out of fourteen years of his sentence and was released in 1921 on account of tuberculosis. In Istanbul, occupied by the Entente Powers, and

2 The translations of all quotes from the Turkish language were made by Sylwia Filipowska.

also after the end of Turkish War of Independence, he worked in journalism: he wrote articles and carried out translation jobs, but above all became famous as a caricaturist, illustrator, and cover designer. In 1925, in the magazine *Resimli Hafta*, he published a story about several Turkish soldiers from the Afyon area who were hanged without trial for desertion at the end of the First World War. This article marked a turning point in Kabaağaçlı's life, as he was accused of encouraging desertion and showing military commanders in a bad light, for which he was sentenced to three years in a Bodrum fortress. After serving his sentence, the journalist stayed voluntarily in Bodrum for a long time, until 1947, when he moved to Izmir to educate his children there. The role that Bodrum played in the professional life of Kabaağaçlı, who transformed himself from a journalist into a writer, is emphasized by the pen name Halikarnas Balıkçısı, i.e. the Fisherman of Halicarnassus, referring to both the ancient name of the town and the simple jobs and activities that the writer did routinely. As Roger Williams rightly noted, Halikarnas Balıkçısı's novels and short stories about the sea and the everyday life of the seaside town "gained him a wide national readership, but he became involved in the community, too, improving fishing techniques and planting trees in public spaces" (Williams, 2013, p. 10). At the same time, as the subtitle of Williams's book says, he was *The Man Who Made Bodrum Famous*, laying the foundations for the development of coastal tourism. Coming back to the invaluable merits of Halikarnas Balıkçısı in the field of literature on the Mediterranean Sea, Münevver Borzęcka pompously calls him the Turkish Conrad (whose novel *Nostromo* was translated into Turkish by the writer, incidentally):

> In his oeuvre, adoration for the beauty of the sea and its coasts is intertwined with old legends and myths and an inquisitive observation of the surroundings. He himself knows the profession of a fisherman and sponge diver very well, and his work is a true epic in honor of the sea and its people. For him, the sea is something of a mythical deity, which he describes with a Homeric panache. (Płaskowicka-Rymkiewicz et al., 1971, p. 224)

The history of the transformation of Cevat Şakir Kabaağaçlı into Halikarnas Balıkçısı, as well as a testament to the discovery of the Mediterranean Sea and the growing infatuation with nature and the Mediterranean civilization, is the subject of the book *Mavi Sürgün* [Blue Exile], published in 1961 and describing the events of 1920–1947. It is surprising that literary scholars pay little attention to this work. While the writer's purely fictional narratives and biography attract the ever-enduring interest of researchers (as evidenced, for example, by the post-conference publication

on the subject of the Mediterranean in literature, in which three articles concern Halikarnas Balıkçısı [Turan & Yinanç, 2010, pp. 11–18, 45–52, 121–125[3]]), *Mavi Sürgün* remains on the sidelines of literary studies. Perhaps the reasons for this can be found in the hybrid form of the work, which is not easy to define. It is most often classified as memories (*anı* or *hatırat*) (Orman, 2005, p. 67; Okay, 2016, p. 698; Yalçın, ed., 2010, p. 503; Atılgan & Çoban, ed., 2019, p. 193), which is common practice in Turkey in order to avoid detailed theoretical distinctions within autobiographical writings. Turkish researchers sometimes label *Mavi Sürgün* with terms such as autobiography (*otobiyografi*) (Asiltürk, 2015, p. 28), essay (*deneme*) (Opperman, 2011, p. 24), or travel literature (*gezi yazısı*) (Köse, 2007), which also includes travel reportage in the Turkish tradition. Some academics (Kaplan, 2013) even attempt to classify this book as an autobiographical novel (*otobiyografik roman*), pointing to its high artistic value; however, their arguments are not convincing, especially in the context of the author's clearly expressed intention: in the preface, Halikarnas Balıkçısı wrote that his purpose was to describe "a fragment of his life" (Balıkçısı, 1986, p. 9). Apart from the discernible autobiographical "I", the structure of the work also contains elements of reportage, and here, too, the author himself comes to the rescue, explaining his purely reporter's desire to observe and inform in his narrative:

> In my daily life, I would not be able to move from place to place and observe people and events around me, so my sense of perception, which in the West is called *observation*, would not be so advanced. Meanwhile, even the limited sense of freedom after all the trials and tribulations and after months spent in confinement increased my ability to be interested in the world around me a thousand times. (Balıkçısı, 1986, p. 88)

Without a doubt, in *Mavi Sürgün* we can find elements of both autobiography and reportage; however, what is more important for us here than aspects of the theory of literature, are Halikarnas Balıkçısı's observations on the Mediterranean Sea, which are inscribed in the story of his life.

The sea was the background of the writer's life from childhood: he was born in Crete, went to school in the Princes' Islands, and studied in the British Isles. Back in Istanbul, he searched for homes overlooking the Sea of Marmara, even at the expense of the inconvenience of a third-floor apartment. When he gave up this location with a heavy heart, swayed

3 Recently, ecological interpretations of the works of Halikarnas Balıkçısı, whom Serpil Opperman called "Turkey's most environmentally oriented Modernist writer" (Opperman, 2011, p. 23), have become fashionable.

by his wife's complaints, he settled on the Asian side of Istanbul to have a view of the Bosphorus and to be able to cross it every day on his way to work. However, only living in Bodrum became a real inspiration for him and awakened the writer in him: an eulogist of the sea. This very moment of breakthrough was described in *Mavi Sürgün*:

> After I opened the door, my eyes and my heart saw the full sea, coast, and islands. Streaks of orange and scarlet in the western sky meant that the sun was saying goodbye to the horizon. The sharp silhouette of Bodrum Fortress towered over everything. The white houses on the coast turned pink, and the blue sky turned deep purple. The crests of waves flowing towards the house caught the last rays of the sun and splashing red sparks sideways dabbed the shore with pink foam. The area between the foam and the garden door was covered with sand and dried seaweed gleaming like silver wires.
>
> I fell to my knees and, for the first time since childhood, I cried loudly like a baby. I was excited and torn by violent feelings: delight, relief, gratitude! I ran my fingers over the sand and seaweed. I was picking up grains of sand, pebbles, and sea plants to my eyes as if they were precious pearls and diamonds. I was scooping them in handfuls and showering myself with them. This sea, these islands seemed to me a hundred times more beautiful than the most glorious picture of paradise. And the clear sky, how calm in the distance! I heard the sound of the sea and the rustling of leaves. I dreamed of the happiness that I could experience here, living even on stale bread and water.
>
> Falling to the knees can be a kind of an upsurge and a rising. While Cevat, saddled with the yoke of Babıali Hill,[4] lay struck down like an empty shell, Halikarnas Balıkçısı, huddled inside it, was preparing to rise with a sound similar to the chirping of a million birds. The shell remained on the ground. A completely different person emerged from within it. (Balıkçısı, 1986, p. 153)

This scene takes place in the garden at the back of the house that Balıkçısı rented just after reaching Bodrum. In order to understand the writer's feelings at the time, we need to follow the story of his several months of wandering. A court in Ankara sentenced him to three years in prison, and he was to serve his sentence in Bodrum. The very name of this place caused fear, because it means "a cellar, a dungeon." After several months of uncertainty, it turned out that due to the fortress's dilapidated state, he would not be jailed there, but would be permitted to settle down

4 A place in Istanbul, where the publishing houses and editorial offices of many magazines were located.

in Bodrum, without leaving that small town for three years. Kabaağaçlı guarded the document issued by the governor of Muğla province as a precious treasure, and when he arrived he showed it to a local official who helped him find a house to rent—a four-room seafront house with unexpectedly low rent. Walking past simple, whitewashed houses, with flowers in the windows and green plants around, feeling the salty gusts of wind on his face, and listening to the women singing while working in the gardens, he asked himself, "This is supposed to be Bodrum, the place of exile?" (Balıkçısı, 1986, p. 151). The town, whose name was associated with darkness and had made his skin crawl for months, proved to be a sunny and radiant place, a new home.

Kabaağaçlı expected that the journey to the place where he was supposed to serve his sentence would take him no more than 12 days (by train to Izmir, and then by the ferry, which ran once a week, to Bodrum); meanwhile, due to numerous delays and a lack of funds for the gendarmes escorting him, he arrived at Bodrum three and a half months after leaving Ankara, and six months after leaving his home in Istanbul. In the end, he traveled from Izmir by road—by bus, on horseback, and even on foot—which considerably extended the journey and prompted him to muse about the condition of the roads: "There was no road to Bodrum, the old Halicarnassus. Perhaps the wheels have not been seen there since the time of Alexander the Great, whose oxcarts and wagons surrounded the city?" (Balıkçısı, 1986, p. 123). Turkish literature undoubtedly benefited from it, because the feeling that overcame the wanderer at the sight of the sea which had not been seen for so long stayed with him for good and confirmed his belief that he had to translate these impressions into the language of literature. In addition, the effort he had to make to cross the mountains inspired him to place Bodrum within the broad circle of Mediterranean culture: "Bodrum, although part of Anatolia, remains separate from it and seems closer to the Aegean Islands, Crete, Alexandria, and the Mediterranean ports as far as Marseilles and Barcelona" (Balıkçısı, 1986, p. 133).

Longing for the sea, Kabaağaçlı asked the gendarmes escorting him when they would reach the shore. Already in Ankara, he was happy to think that he would follow the direction once set by Mustafa Kemal Pasha. Quoting the words of the order mentioned in the first paragraph of this article, he added, "So we're going to Izmir. The sea is there. Long live the Mediterranean Sea!" (Balıkçısı, 1986, p. 83). He made note of all the details that evidenced the proximity to the coast: the changing vegetation and soil, the smell of the wind, the presence of seagulls. He listened for the wailing and murmurs of the sea from a distance, and by using musical terms to describe it, he tried to guess its mood. He understood the

irregularity and monotony of the sounds when he reached the rocky coast in Güvercinlik. The technique of the personification of the sea ended in a conversation:

> Today the vastness has a serious tone:
> "Where have you been?"
> "Ah, don't ask! Outposts, prison cells… you name it! […] I'm finally here. Give me some of your blue, let me cool down, and take my soul." (Balıkçısı, 1986, p. 138)

In *Mavi Sürgün*, the enrapture with the sea is gradual and inscribed in the natural rhythm of the hike towards the coast. After leaving Güvercinlik, the prisoner and his escort set off towards Torba, a small town guarding the entrance to the peninsula. Although his feet were getting stuck in the sand and it was difficult to walk among the branches knocked down by storms, Kabaağaçlı noticed the beauty of the panorama changing with every turn. However, only the view from the hill above Bodrum completed his awe and swoon. This effect was strengthened both by the glare of the setting sun and the opportunity to look at the open sea, because there was no obstacle blocking the view, as the nearby island did in Güvercinlik. The feeling of breathlessness in the prisoner's chest resembled the elation that accompanies someone entering a large temple. The sound of the waves was reminiscent of the sound made by thousands of believers, repeating the words spoken by the religious leader, and the weary wanderer felt "as if he was looking into eternity" (Balıkçısı, 1986, p. 144).

The writer was aware that many descriptions of nature and his admiration for its beauty might seem exaggerated, so he made a point of informing the reader about his love for the Mediterranean Sea:

> My reader, do not think that I am exaggerating in describing all the places I pass. If you have been told that I am a reasonable person, it is not true. Even now, at the age of seventy, I am in love. […] And if you don't already know it, I will confess to you that a person in love experiences certain things more intensely. Ah, lie with restraint, speak the truth with restraint, believe with restraint, love with restraint. Damned be this restraint! I write as I feel. After all, I will not describe according to one template or another! (Balıkçısı, 1986, pp. 140–141)

Kabaağaçlı gladly returned to this place, where he had seen the sea for the first time in months. Most often he came by boat, looking not so much for a respite as for a companion who would listen to him and give him advice. During the first days of his stay in Bodrum, the sea was his best friend, and over time it became an inseparable element of his life:

immediately on the first day, he chose a room for his bedroom, from which he could see the boundless water; he spent time with fishermen, learning their craft and listening to their stories, which earned him the nickname Curious (*Meraklı*) and gave him literary inspiration; he spent many evenings and mornings sitting on the roof of the house, watching his boat with its nets thrown and thinking, he also wrote many times on a boat, going on lonely trips for several days (in such circumstances, he translated *Man and Superman* by George Bernard Shaw and wrote most of the novel *Aganta Burina Burinata*). He felt that the sea was calling him and drawing him almost physically, "grabbing his fingers and pulling the ends of his hair" (Balıkçısı, 1986, p. 169).

This spiritual and physical bond with the sea yielded his rich literary output. Sighing, "What a pity that only Istanbul is adored as a homeland" (Balıkçısı, 1986, p. 188), the writer decided to make amends and to introduce the Mediterranean Sea to Turkish literature, and introduce Turkish literature itself to Mediterranean civilization. He lamented that "this paradisal coast is so forgotten" (Balıkçısı, 1986, p. 142), although it is in no way inferior to the Cote d'Azur or Dalmatia. Standing in the evening by the deserted seashore, he remembered the resorts he knew well, such as Nice, Monte Carlo, or Biarritz, where hundreds of thousands of women would be sitting at dressing tables at this hour to do their makeup and squeeze into tight outfits preparing for the nightlife. Although he did not value these women highly, and called them "empty packages" (Balıkçısı, 1986, p. 142), he was aware of the impact of the entertainment industry on the global economy. It seems that in the very first moments of his stay in Bodrum, Kabaağaçlı made a decision to promote the Turkish Mediterranean coast not only in literature but also in tourism. The writer is considered to be the originator of the "blue cruises" (*mavi yolculuk*) in Turkish coastal waters, which paved the way for the development of yacht tourism (Yılmaz & Yetgin, 2018, p. 847). The idea of these trips was not only to rest on the water and admire nature, but also to discover and visit the remains of ancient Greek culture and other civilizations of ancient Anatolia scattered throughout this part of the coast. Thus, Kabaağaçlı took on the role of an educator, being aware of how little his countrymen know about the past of the places where they have lived for generations.

Well-educated himself and having travelled around the world, it was with real pleasure that he discovered the traces of the past in Bodrum and its surroundings. Like a seasoned reporter, he looked for mythological curiosities that could interest his readers. At the same time, he cared about the historical truth and its bearing on the present, as exemplified by the description of Bardakçı, a part of Bodrum which was called Salmakis in ancient times. When recalling the story of the love of the nymph Salmakis for

Hermaphrodite in one of the chapters of *Mavi Sürgün*, he recounted his search for the ruins of the temples of Hermes and Aphrodite. He also carried out field research: he compared the terrain with the record of the myth left by Ovid in *Metamorphoses*, he looked for traces of the spring, and when he was sure that he was in the right place, he spent the whole day fishing, wading in the water, and enjoying the beauty of nature and the atmosphere of history. His mood was only spoiled by the awareness that "although this place is in our homeland, hardly anyone knows about it" (Balıkçısı, 1986, p. 167). It was because of this awareness that he grounded many of his fictional works on myths, and "he did not treat them as belonging to only one civilization" (Sivri & Kuşca, 2013, p. 52). In his opinion, myths were more closely tied to geography, and all the communities which settled in a given place one after another took them over and adapted them to their needs, creating the foundations of a common Mediterranean civilization. The goal of Halikarnas Balıkçısı was therefore to make his fellow countrymen aware that as inhabitants of Anatolia they are part of this civilization. That is why he believed that historical and archaeological research based on mythological knowledge should be conducted in Turkey and its results should be disseminated. Thanks to his literary and popularizing activities, he became "the voice of this earth, revealing its secrets" (Sivri & Kuşca, 2013, p. 52).

According to Furkan Öztürk, "Halikarnas Balıkçısı builds his poetics around the concept of 'Mediterraneanness' (*Akdenizlilik*)" (Öztürk, p. 123), and belonging to Mediterranean culture became an extremely important element of his identity. He did not simply convince his countrymen about it, his educational efforts went beyond the borders of the country. The best evidence of this is an article published in 1974 in the French magazine *Carrefour*. In this article, whose title is a beautiful metaphor of "the eternal youth of the Mediterranean" (Balıkçısı, 1985, pp. 25–59), Halikarnas Balıkçısı not only displayed his erudition in knowledge of the history and literature of the Mediterranean countries, but also defended the thesis about the cultural liaisons between them. Skillfully maneuvering between the Minoans and Dante, Alexander the Great and Petrarch, Homer and Cervantes, and dropping countless names of famous people, he argued that "the inhabitants of the Mediterranean basin are children of the sun that illuminates days with its invigorating rays" (Balıkçısı, 1985, p. 56). This statement echoes the belief in the almost magical, culture-forming role of the Mediterranean Sea—a role that he himself experienced in his life and described with great reverence in *Mavi Sürgün*. The views of Halikarnas Balıkçısı can be easily juxtaposed with the holistic concepts of French historians Fernand Braudel and Georges Duby, "that it is in the Mediterranean region that the deep source of great culture originates" (Duby, 1994, p. 241).

Convinced in the first days of his stay in Bodrum that "three years will pass quickly" (Balıkçısı, 1986, p. 196), Kabaağaçlı did not expect how attached he would become to this place. True exile (this is the title of a chapter, *Asıl Sürgün*) was the unexpected need to return to Istanbul. After a year and a half in exile, Halikarnas Balıkçısı received word from the court that he was to serve the rest of his sentence in Istanbul. The next year and a half spent in this city once dear to him was quite a punishment. Looking at the leaden, winter Istanbul sky, he dreamed of the Mediterranean blue and spent his stay in the metropolis learning about modern plant cultivation and fishing. One day he even climbed a palm tree in the garden of the hotel where Trotsky once used to stay to obtain the seeds of a rare variety of tree. He was determined to leave Istanbul as soon as possible: the moment he finished serving his sentence, he immediately bought a ticket for a boat to Bodrum, even though his newborn daughter was only 21 days old. The return to the Mediterranean was once again described in terms of symbolic salvation: Halikarnas Balıkçısı felt like he was on Noah's Ark with all his family, fishing gear, and bags of seeds. Also this time, the whole natural world seemed to confirm that his life had taken the right direction:

> As the ship set course for Bodrum, the sky and sea became bluer and more serene. We got to Bodrum in the morning and headed straight to my mother-in-law's house. Instantly after entering the garden and saying hello, I put the palm seeds into the ground, the ones I had collected in the Princes' Islands in Trotsky's garden (I think we may call it that). Ah, for a year and a half, I had been imagining how I would plant and cultivate beautiful plants in Bodrum! How could I wait any longer? Sowing seeds half an hour earlier meant gaining half an hour of life. (Balıkçısı, 1986, p. 198)

Halikarnas Balıkçısı could barely wait to finish dinner to go to the seaside. Wanting to go to sea straightaway, he bought an old boat, the cheapest one, as that was all he could afford. His goal was not to fish, but to feel the breeze on his face and to visit his favorite spots.

The next twenty years that he spent in Bodrum were summarized as brief mentions of the most important events, such as the birth of his son, catching a shark, an earthquake, building a reinforced concrete house to withstand the greatest storms, or planting exotic plants from the ends of the earth in Bodrum. These several pages also include beautiful descriptions of the sea, but the main goal of *Mavi Sürgün* was already achieved: The Mediterranean has become a full-fledged character (and not just a background) in Turkish literature. The narration is closed with a description of the departure from Bodrum in 1947:

> The day of parting has come. It was morning. […] A truck ran through the trees that I had planted myself and reached the top of the hill. It is from that spot that, escorted by gendarmes twenty-five or twenty-seven years ago, I saw Bodrum and the Archipelago for the first time. I also cast a look now. The children burst into tears when they saw on the coast the roof of the house where they grew up. We turned a corner. You couldn't see Bodrum or the Archipelago anymore! And that's it… (Balıkçısı, 1986, p. 225)

Mavi Sürgün is the work of a mature writer, aware of his style and purpose, which he wants to achieve by recalling the events from decades past. Halikarnas Balıkçısı wants to explain his infatuation with the Mediterranean Sea, which became the dominant force of his entire adult life: a literary inspiration and the background and protagonist of his works. From the pages of *Mavi Sürgün* an image emerges, of a man sensitive not only to the beauty of nature, but also to the history of places, completely unknown to the Turks who have lived there for centuries. The Fisherman from Halicarnassus—even his pen name shows that the sea and antiquity are two inseparable elements of his life and work—presents his own country to his countrymen with the flair of a reporter, and *Mavi Sürgün* is a testament to the process of discovering the importance of the Mediterranean for Turkish culture.

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Hikmet Afif Mapolar: About *The Octopus Hunt*

ABSTRACT

Hikmet Afif Mapolar (1919–1989) was a Turkish Cypriot writer and journalist who contributed immensely to the development of Turkish-language prose, journalism, and the press in Cyprus. Tied to his native country all his life, and especially to his place of birth (the port city of Kyrenia on the Mediterranean Sea), he set most of his stories in coastal towns in the vicinity of Kyrenia, and his characters are inhabitants of this region: villagers and fishermen. This article discusses a short story by Mapolar, *Ahtapot Avı* [The Octopus Hunt], published in 1943, i.e., during the colonial period. The realism of the descriptions, which is typical of this writer, combined with the fast-paced and engrossing storytelling bring to mind scenes from a movie drama where the sea plays the lead role. Many plot elements in *The Octopus Hunt* evoke associations with Hemingway's short story, *The Old Man and the Sea*, which leads me to formulate a universal truth that sea people have similar desires and a similar fate no matter where they live, and that "their" sea is not a peripheral place, but a central one. For the inhabitants of the coastal region, the sea is the center of their world, the center of life, the meaning of life, and the determinant of fate.

KEYWORDS: Turkish Cypriot literature, Hikmet Afif Mapolar, Mediterranean Sea, Cyprus

STRESZCZENIE

Hikmet Afif Mapolar: rzecz o polowaniu na ośmiornice

Hikmet Afif Mapolar (1919–1989) to tureckocypryjski pisarz i publicysta, bardzo zasłużony dla rozwoju tureckojęzycznej prozy, publicystyki i prasy na Cyprze. Całe życie związany ze swoim ojczystym krajem, a szczególnie z miejscem urodzenia (miasto portowe Kyrenia nad Morzem Śródziemnym), w swojej twórczości na miejsce akcji najczęściej wybierał nadmorskie miejscowości okolic Kyrenii, a na bohaterów swoich utworów – mieszkańców tego rejonu: wieśniaków i rybaków. Przedmiotem opisu w tym artykule jest opowiadanie Mapolara *Ahtapot Avı* (Polowanie na ośmiornice) z roku 1943,

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a więc z okresu kolonialnego. Typowa dla tego pisarza realistyczna metoda opisu połączona z wartką, dramatyczną akcją sprawia, że fabuła przynosi na myśl scenę z dramatu filmowego z morzem w roli głównej. Wiele elementów fabuły *Polowania na ośmiornice* nasuwa skojarzenia z nowelą *Stary człowiek i morze* E. Hemingwaya, co pozwala sformułować uniwersalną prawdę, że ludzie morza mają podobne pragnienia i podobny los bez względu na to, gdzie żyją, oraz że „ich" morze nie jest miejscem peryferyjnym, a centralnym. Dla mieszkańców regionu nadmorskiego morze to ich centrum świata, centrum życia, sens życia i determinant ich losów.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: literatura Turków cypryjskich, Hikmet Afif Mapolar, Morze Śródziemne, Cypr

Introduction

Hikmet Afif Mapolar[1] (born in 1919 in Kyrenia, died in 1989 in Nicosia) was a Turkish Cypriot writer and essayist and the author of eighteen novels, two collections of short stories, and two volumes of memoirs. He also wrote stage plays and radio plays, collected and published Cypriot legends, and in the 1940s became known as a poet when he joined the poetry group *Çığcılar*, which was popular among Turkish Cypriots at the time. He published his poems under the telling penname Akdenizli Ozan (Mediterranean Songwriter).

Mapolar lived in economically hard times in Cyprus, which influenced the fate of his works: he published many of them in low-circulation newspapers and, in some cases, we only know the titles of these works. This is especially true of Mapolar's novels, of which only nine (i.e. half) appeared in a book form; the rest were published in installments in periodicals. They either survived in fragments or were irretrievably lost.

During his 70 years, the author witnessed the turbulent history of the island. He was born and raised during the colonial era, when Cyprus was under British rule. He first attended a Turkish elementary school, then an English elementary school, and finally a private secondary school—the American Academy Nicosia, which is still operating today—but he dropped out for financial reasons. Despite his lack of education, he was involved in journalistic, publishing, and literary activities throughout his adult life and he achieved success in those areas. For many years, the main source of his income was the book trade.

1 For more on the life and work of Hikmet Afif Mapolar, see Bozkurt & Karakartal (2019, Vol. 4, pp. 21–29; Vol. 5, pp. 23–29), Atun (2010, pp. 78–79, 87–91, 94–96), and Atun & Fevzioğlu (2004, pp. 41–62).

Mapolar made his debut at the age of 13, when he sent a short story and several poems to the magazine *Embros*,[2] which agreed to publish them. In 1936, he published his first novel and three years later his first collection of short stories. The story *Ahtapot Avı* [The Octopus Hunt] comes from the second collection, which came out in 1943. The first period of creativity in Mapolar's life was the years 1936–1963, although during both the British reign on the island and the period of joint power of the Greeks and Turks in the newly proclaimed Republic of Cyprus (1960–63), the conditions for writing literature were difficult, as was the economic situation of the inhabitants of Cyprus, and contact with native culture in Turkey was obstructed.

After the "Bloody Christmas,"[3] the cultural activity of the Turkish community was severely curtailed and contact with the outside world ceased almost completely. This translated into stagnation in literary and publishing life. After the division of the island (1974) into the southern and northern parts, the standard of living of Turkish-speaking Cypriots increased significantly and the culture began to recover. However, Mapolar remained silent. The reason was diabetes, which had not been diagnosed and was left untreated for several years, leading to blindness. The name Mapolar reappeared on the book market in 1982, when his first novel, dictated by the writer to his daughter, was published after a twenty-year hiatus. This was followed by several more novels, while two volumes of his memoirs did not become available to the public until the 21st century.

Mapolar went down in the history of Turkish Cypriot literature primarily as a pioneer of novels and short stories[4] and as a leading publicist: the creator of the modern Turkish-language press in Cyprus. His prose is classified as combining the features of realistic and naturalistic styles, but Mapolar likes to stray from serious writing, unexpectedly weaving in strongly romantic images and sometimes quite exalted descriptions and

2 *Embros*—a periodical from Nicosia in the 1930s which published texts in three languages—English, Greek, and Turkish—and was founded by the Englishman G. Blunt Pusey; it was the only periodical in this period in which Turkish Cypriots could publish in Turkish (See Soyalan, 2018).

3 *Kanlı Noel* [Bloody Christmas]—a term used by the Turks for the bloody events of late December 1963, which resulted in the escape of thousands of Turks to closed enclaves.

4 The novel and the short story as genres entered Turkish Cypriot literary discourse very late. In Ottoman Turkey, such works began to be published in the 1870s, which was the aftermath of modernization reforms and Turkey's opening up to Western culture during the Tanzimat era; however, under British rule, Cyprus was isolated from Ottoman influence, and British culture was available only to very a small group of Turkish Cypriots educated in British schools. The first Turkish Cypriot novel was not published until 1892, and the first novella was published in 1897. After a long hiatus, novels and short stories began to appear in Cyprus in the 1930s—they were written by Mapolar.

comparisons. A female character is always a very important plot element in his works. The author grants her full rights, puts her on an equal footing with men, and selects for his stories independent heroines who decide about themselves, or at least try—against tradition—to decide about their own fates. The setting of Mapolar's stories and novels is his hometown, the Mediterranean "pearl" of Kyrenia and the surrounding fishing villages. The author was born and raised in this picturesque city of unique beauty, where the azure of the Mediterranean Sea almost meets the steep rocks of the Kyrenia Mountains. This sea, known in our culture as the Mediterranean and called "white" (Akdeniz) by the Turks, is a very frequent setting for his works. In *The Octopus Hunt*, it even rises to the rank of one of the main characters and is a determinant of the tragic development of events.

The Plot of *The Octopus Hunt*

In the first sentences, the author provides details about the time and location in which the story takes place:

> It was already two hours after sunset. Preparations were still underway at the marina. Finally, the lamps were filled, two okka[5] of kerosene were added to them, each harpoon was thoroughly checked, the fishing rods and nets were inspected. The sea was calm. The boat swayed in the gentle waves of the dock, like a drunk woman. (Mapolar, 2004, p. 93)

Thus, it looks like another quiet night at sea—an ordinary, mundane night. One that holds no surprises to experienced octopus fishermen. In the following paragraphs, we learn who the character in the story are. The crews of two boats are preparing for a catch; two Greeks work in one boat—old Kakkari and his young helper, Pavlo; the crew of the other boat is three Turks—the elderly Osman and Hüdai and the young harpooner, Hasan. As Pavlo, who was sent to the shopkeeper for provisions, is late, the other fishermen begin a chat over a cigarette while waiting for him. The rule is that a boat never sets out on its own for a catch. If one of the crews is not ready to go to sea, the other must wait for them. Only after reaching the fishery do the boats move away from each other, and after the hunt is over, they go back to the harbor together. This custom guarantees their safety: if one of the boats starts to sink, the other one will come to its rescue.

5 *Okka*—an ancient Ottoman unit of weight, equivalent to 1,283 grams; the term has a Latin origin (*uncia*), and was passed into the Turkish language via Arabic.

Here we learn some details about the fishermen:

> Osman's and Hüdai's boat had long been ready to go to sea. They lit a cigarette and stood next to each other on the deck. They were both heavy smokers. It even happened that while they were eating barrel herring, which they mixed with onions to make something like a salad, they not only sipped on wine, but also puffed on cannabis joints … They both had spent their entire lives at sea, from early childhood. They didn't go to school. Only in their thirties did they go to the evening reading course organized by the imam at the mosque, and in three months they learned with great difficulty to write their names. (Mapolar, 2004, pp. 93–94)

When everything is finally ready and they are about to go to sea, the fishermen—despite the windless weather—unfurl their sails, hoping that the wind will pick up, and eagerly grab their oars.

> Leaving the marina behind, the boats moved like swans through the water. The strong light of the lamps sparkled in wide arcs on the surface of the water, turning the waves into a silvery mist, and the oars gracefully plunged in and out of the water. (Mapolar, 2004, p. 94)

As the boats sail towards the rocky islets where octopuses like to gather, one of the harpooners begins to sing his favorite folk song about a sea mermaid in a beautiful and poignant voice. It is his daily ritual: all participants of the fishing catch know that every trip to the sea will be accompanied by this singing. This is how we get to know the main, tragic character of the story, Hasan. His friends call him Hasanos, which is a playful distortion of a Muslim name, to make it sound Greek. Hasanos is a man of extraordinary beauty, with a statuesque build; "the fiery red of the Mediterranean sun has turned his body bronze" (Mapolar, 2004, p. 95). He always go fishing in red swimming trunks, bare to the waist.

Hasanos is an extraordinary character; his singing is also out of this world:

> If at that moment someone on the boat shone the light of the lamp on his face, he would see Hasanos weeping, lost in some boundless dream. He sang, tormented by the pain of an unknown memory, and cried, tormented by this pain. Every time he started singing the mermaid song, he would laugh, and he would always sob at the end. Even his closest friends in the boat did not know the reason for this behavior. (Mapolar, 2004, p. 96)

When the fishermen arrive at the fishing site, Hasanos, with a harpoon in his hand, jumps to the rock, followed by Hüdai carrying a lamp. Osman

stays on the boat and throws them a rope. They tie the boat to the rocks. It is a place where rocky islets rise above the water surface, and octopuses come at night to hunt for small fish hiding at the foot of the rocks. If the fishermen are lucky, they will bring back a few large octopuses from the catch and sell them to owners of Greek cafés, who will prepare a traditional Cypriot delicacy to be served to their guests: "The meat of these eight-legged sea animals was made into a pickled delicacy: first dried thoroughly in the sun, then boiled in vinegar, then poured into the jars" (Mapolar, 2004, p. 96).

It looks as though it is going to be a good catch tonight. After he disembarks from the boat, Hasanos immediately sees the shape of an octopus in the dark water and hurls his harpoon. Now he must dive in and see what he has caught.

> Hasanos jumped into the water. Diving to the foot of the rock, he found his harpoon. He smiled. And he said to himself in his mind, "Thanks be to God a thousand times! What a specimen! How lucky am I! Finally, I will be able to buy an engagement ring!"
>
> Then, without pulling out the harpoon, he grabbed the octopus by the head and turned it inside out with all his strength. The surface of the water turned navy blue. It was the ink that squirted from its head.
>
> Oh, too bad, thought Hasanos, a few bottles of ink are gone. Well, nothing can be done about it now!
>
> Octopuses always released their ink when caught: sometimes when a harpoon hit the head, but most often when the head was turned over. However, to do this was necessary, as an octopus that was not yet killed could be very dangerous. Sometimes it would wrap a fisherman with eight tentacles and, if he was alone, it could even kill him. (Mapolar, 2004, p. 96)

When Hasanos emerges from the water with his booty, the other fishermen hand him a scale from the boat. But before he weighs his trophy, he smashes the octopus's body against the rock with all his might until the carcass is completely white and soft.[6] After he is done weighing the octopus, Hasanos exclaims triumphantly to Hüdai, "5 okka 750 dirhem,[7] Captain! But we will not stop there! This night belongs to us!" (Mapolar, 2004, p. 96).

6 The author describes a method that has been used for centuries by the inhabitants of the Mediterranean Basin: to ensure the carcass remains supple, immediately after being caught, the fishermen would repeatedly hit the dead animal against a hard surface.

7 *Dirhem* [Greek: drachma]—an old Ottoman unit of weight corresponding to the weight of seventy millet grains; approximately equal to 3.2 grams.

Hasanos, delighted with the size of the first octopus hunted that evening, enthusiastically sets out in search of more prey. Leaping from rock to rock, he moves away from the boat, and the old Hüdai who follows him notices at one point that they have completely lost sight of the boat. Hasanos keeps throwing the harpoon and diving to follow it, then emerges from the water and tries his luck elsewhere by jumping from one rock to another. He uses the *anya*[8] to help in the search for prey. Suddenly, Hüdai notices a large shape in the water:

> "Hasanos! Watch out! A huge swordfish is swimming by!"
>
> Hasanos began to look around frantically. Suddenly something occurred to him. He jumped off the rocks and looked into the water with his mirror.
>
> "Boss, it's not a swordfish! It's a giant octopus! It's at least ten okka!!"
>
> Hüdai shouted, "Throw the harpoon, then!"
>
> Hasanos hurled the harpoon with all his might. The octopus shuddered, swam beneath the surface, and began slapping the rocks with its tentacles like a sword.
>
> "Oh, Hasanos! Careful! It might get away!"
>
> "Don't be afraid! Let it bruise itself a little against the rocks, and if it goes down deeper into the water, we'll hit it again! I'm sure I'll get it! My God, how enormous it is! We haven't caught such a giant one yet!" (Mapolar, 2004, p. 97).

The octopus calms down after a while and settles on the bottom, and Hasanos casts the harpoon again. This time he aims and hits better, because the tip hurts the octopus, but the huge animal, thrashing furiously, frees itself from the harpoon. The wounded octopus hits the rocks with terrifying force, and Hasanos decides to dive and finish the job as he has done before, manually catching an octopus he has wounded.

> As the octopus sank to the bottom again, Hasanos dove and grabbed one of the tentacles lying in the sand. At this point, the octopus began expelling ink. So much so that the sea became completely dark and the moonlight illuminating the surface of the water became invisible.
>
> Hasanos felt an enormous weight tightening his throat and his veins going numb. His whole body began to burn as if he was being whipped. In the depths of the sea, a terrible scuffle began, and a gurgling sound piercing through the water came to the surface. Hüdai fell to his knees just above the water, clutched at his head, whispered a short prayer, then shouted loudly:

8 *Ayna* [mirror]—here it refers to a primitive device made by fishermen for observing the underwater depths, made of a tin bucket with a cut-out bottom and a well-fitting round glass.

> "Hasanos, what's happening?! Should I get you a harpoon to finish it off?"
>
> The underwater struggle went quiet for a moment, then moved a little further and a little deeper. The gurgling sound was driving Hüdai mad. He started screaming as loud as he could, but no one answered him. After a while there was silence. The old fisherman saw a faint outline in the distance, amid the blue foam; something like a motionless human body. He washed his eyes, grabbed the mirror and pressed it against the water, which was starting to lighten.
>
> He saw the terrifying face of the drowned man. He threw the harpoon at the rocks, looked at the water with petrified eyes, and ran across the rocks, screaming in panic. Suddenly, he stopped and began pounding his head with his fists. Before him, on the surface of the water, the moon was reflected, and it grew, then shrank, then splashed into pieces. (Mapolar, 2004, pp. 97–98).

The author could have basically ended his story here, but it is at this point in the story that Mapolar's talent for writing starts to shine. When—it would seem—the story is over, the author separates the paragraphs with three stars, makes a space, and moves on to the last, short scene. Its scope is short when counted in sentences, but in terms of time, it lasts months and years. It is the culmination of the whole, a dramatic epilogue, a semi-fairy tale, and an explanation of why the poor octopus hunter cried whenever he sang a love song and why he wanted so much to get a good catch and a tidy profit. This desire was so strong that he was willing to risk his life for it.

* * *

> The day after the death of Hasanos, Esma, the village administrator's daughter, disappeared from the village. A long and thorough search was carried out, but no trace of the girl was found.
>
> Months and years passed… The villagers forgot both Esma and Hasanos. Like all memories, it faded.
>
> Until one evening, a mountain shepherd saw Esma lying on a sandy shore near where Hasan died in the moonlight. In a sad and poignant voice, she was singing a song about a mermaid, and shedding tears every now and then. (Mapolar, 2004, p. 98).

As we can see, the author deliberately leaves very important information "understated." The reader, following the plot of the story, becomes convinced that it is about the hard and dangerous work of a Mediterranean fisherman and that it will end tragically. The story does end tragically

for the main character, but in this epilogue, separated by the three stars from the main story, we encounter one more drama, which was not described directly. It is a tragedy of two young people in love who cannot be together because of the social rules established by the centuries-old tradition. Though handsome as an ancient statue, hard-working, courageous, and endowed with musical talent and a beautiful voice, the young man could not ask for the hand of the village administrator's daughter. To do this, he would need to be wealthier, and he is just a simple fisherman.

It does not seem that Mapolar's main message is the moral that the Cypriot researcher İsmail Bozkurt extracted from it: "In this story, the author, summoning the proverb 'Whoever goes hunting gets hunted,'[9] is trying to warn the reader that greed always ends badly" (Bozkurt&Karakartal 2019, vol. 5, p. 27). I tend to agree more with the statement of Dervişe Güneyyeli, who wrote that "in this work, the author tells the truth that time blurs the memory of events" (2003, p. 316). Without refuting either opinion, it is worth adding another important message flowing from this work: nature is a powerful being against which man is a tiny, powerless speck; you should respect the power of nature (here, the sea), but this does not mean it is not worth pursuing your dreams and your happiness.

The Young Man … the Old Man … and the Sea …

The motif of a fisherman at sea most often appears in literature in the context of struggles with the elements. It is the element of the sea, the power of the huge mass of water, an element which, especially in unfavorable weather, makes the protagonist powerless, lonely, and left completely at the mercy of fate. In Mapolar's story, the characters struggle not only with the elements, but also with another force, which turns out to be an even deadlier threat. It is—if an animal can be called an element—a powerful octopus. The author chose not to describe the fight that Hasanos fought. We can only guess the drama that took place below the surface of the water from the reaction of the old fisherman Hüdai, who remained on the rocks. Although we are not given a description of Hasanos's struggle with his victim, the story inevitably evokes in the reader associations with Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea*. This was also noted by Ali Nesim, who wrote that Mapolar's story is as moving as Hemingway's work (Nesim, 2011, p. 9). It is worth recalling here that *The Old Man and the Sea* was published in 1952, therefore much later than Mapolar's story.

9 A popular Turkish proverb (*Ava giden avlanır*).

When comparing the two pieces, we observe the similarity of the motifs. The victory motif of the aged Santiago—who, after eighty days of failure, finally captures a huge marlin—resembles the success of Hasanos, who harpoons and triumphantly pulls out of the water his first large octopus that day. Both stories approach the theme of struggle and failure. Santiago did not haul his enormous fish to the shore: he fought an unequal fight over it with the sharks and lost. Hasanos, on the other hand, had to fight a dramatic battle with two opponents: with the mighty octopus and with an even more dangerous element, the water. Reading both stories brings the reader to the conclusion that nature once again triumphs over man.

Both authors introduce the theme of an old fisherman, a man who, despite his advanced age and physical infirmity, still goes to sea. For both Santiago and the characters of Mapolar's story (Osman, Hüdai, and Kakkari), their job is difficult and dangerous. However, they continue their paid work because they have no other choice: they have to earn a living; besides, going out to sea for them is something that, once tasted, will not let them go. In Hemingway's short story, we find a vivid motif of a child (Manolin) accompanying the old man, helping him with the difficult tasks. There is no child character in Mapolar, but the main character Hasanos plays a similar role. He throws the harpoon, he dives for the prey and, risking his life, he retrieves it from the water. The old crew members, Osman and Hüdai, have different tasks: one is in charge of the boat, while the other accompanies Hasanos to the fishing spot. The situation is similar in the second boat. Friends with the main characters, the Greek crew consists of old Kakkari and young Pavlo.

One more common theme in both stories is the theme of loneliness. Much more dramatically handled by Hemingway (because Santiago is fighting a mighty fish for several days, with sharks and his own weaknesses all by himself), it also occurs in Mapolar's story. Although the crew consists of three people, when they go to sea, they moor at lonely rocks. The reader has the awareness that they are completely alone, on their own and powerless against the vagaries of the elements. Finally, we encounter literal loneliness, very tragic one: old Hüdai runs alone over the rocks, fleeing in terror from the sight of the drowned man. Loneliness also dominates the last scene of the story, in which we see an unhappy woman mourning the loss of her beloved. The theme of the night can also be considered a common theme. Mapolar's story takes place entirely at night, because only then do octopuses come out. The action of Hemingway's novella takes place over four days, and the night and darkness at sea increase the cruel solitude of Santiago.

Instead of the Ending: The Center of the World or the Periphery

Ali Nesim, in his study on Mapolar's literary heritage, introduced the writer with the following words:

> Hikmet Afif Mapolar was born in the charming town of Kyrenia, sandwiched between the Kyrenia Mountains and the Mediterranean Sea. In his novels and short stories, he describes the vibrant lives of the inhabitants of Kyrenia, the Kyrenian fishermen, and their battles with the sea element… He liked to make friends with fishermen, listen to their stories, and spent long hours in fishermen's pubs. Mapolar, who poured everything he heard onto paper, is a great writer in our eyes today, and in those days he was a devoted companion in the eyes of his friends, in the eyes of his drinking buddies—a good buddy, in short, he was "the mad son of Haji Halil." When I say "mad" I mean that he loved adventures, he paid no attention to money at all, and he valued the human being the most. (Nesim, 2011, pp. 1–2)

Later in the study, Nesim wrote about the most important features of Mapolar's oeuvre (and not only his work, but also his way of looking at the world). That is, he wrote that for Mapolar the most important things were the cult of Aphrodite and a love of the Mediterranean Sea (Nesim, 2011, p. 8).

The writer endowed the female characters of his works with the beauty of the Greek goddess, who was born in Cyprus. They are beautiful women (and even if worn down by life, common, and ugly, they are beautiful in spirit), they drive men crazy, they are independent and haughty—even if they are waitresses serving disheveled fishermen in smelly, dirty pubs. Mapolar would call these women "new Aphrodites" or "illegitimate daughters of Aphrodite" (Nesim, 2011, p. 8). He also liked to use a term that is difficult to translate: when his protagonist discovers her independence and decides to be her own person, and use her feminine charm to her own advantage, the author uses the verb "Afroditleşiverdi" (Nesim, 2011, p. 8). This original verb, coined by the writer on the basis of the name "Aphrodite" and derived from a special modal structure, could be translated as "she suddenly becomes Aphrodite."

Mapolar's love for the Mediterranean Sea is revealed in the status that the writer grants it in his works. Seaside landscapes and the sea element are a frequent theme in literature; a rewarding, romantic, inspiring theme. Nevertheless, most often the sea is only a background for the unfolding events, a kind of "filler" for the plot, like a board on which the author places

his or her heroes like action figures. In Mapolar's oeuvre, the sea is always more than a backdrop, more than a setting. This is clearly seen in *The Octopus Hunt*, where the sea is neither the background nor the scenery; rather, it is one of the heroes and a determinant of the tragic development of events. We could even say that the sea is one of the most important characters here, along with Hasan and the octopus. Moreover, we may venture to say that Hasan's actual killer is the sea, not the octopus. Would he have allowed himself be killed if he had fought a sea creature on the shore?

Is the Mediterranean Sea, a frequent "main character" of Mapolar's stories, something central or peripheral? For us, looking at the map of the world and the vast oceans covering this map, where the transport and exchange of enormous goods between the "mighty forces" of our time is constantly taking place, the Mediterranean basin seems small, insignificant, and hidden between the lands. But when a Mediterranean fisherman is in his boat at sea, he is at the center of his being, at the center of the world. There is no other world for him then. Anyway, it must be assumed that the Mediterranean Sea accompanies all the inhabitants of Cyprus in their daily lives—not only fishermen—Turks and Greeks alike. After all, it is an island, small enough that it is difficult to imagine a Cypriot who could not smell sea salt in the air on windy days. On Cyprus, it is impossible to escape the sea, even if you live in a city.

Let us conclude our discussion the role of the sea in Mapolar's writings with the words of the previously quoted Nesim, who described the writer by referring to Fernand Braudel, a world-famous historian of the Mediterranean Basin:

> Even Braudel saw the Mediterranean as a geographic meeting place of different cultures. And yet, according to Mapolar, the Mediterranean Sea is not a geographical location, but a separate being with its own identity. The Mediterranean Sea is not a determinant of someone's identity, but an identity in itself. There would be no "Mediterranean man" if it were not for this sea. (Nesim, 2011, pp. 8–9)

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Serious Games and Board Games Versus Cultural Changes

ABSTRACT

The impact of computer games on human functioning has become the subject of many studies and scientific reports. With the development of technology, games have transcended boards and become part of the video entertainment industry. However, technology did not end traditional games. It was only a matter of time before games were extended to other areas of life. Because games were so popular, educators found that students engage quickly with educational games. The article explains the aspects of serious games (SG), which are defined as digital games used for purposes other than entertainment. It describes the areas in which games can be used in the educational process, their effectiveness, and controversies regarding their use.

KEYWORDS: serious games, board games, video games, educational process, cultural changes

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STRESZCZENIE

Gry poważne i gry planszowe a przemiany kulturowe

Wpływ gier komputerowych na funkcjonowanie człowieka jest przedmiotem wielu badań i doniesień naukowych. Wraz z rozwojem technologii gry wykroczyły poza ramy konwencji planszowych i stały się częścią przemysłu medialnego i rozrywkowego. Postęp technologiczny nie oznacza jednak końca tradycyjnych gier. Jest tylko kwestią czasu, zanim strategie i zachowania typowe dla gier komputerowych rozprzestrzenią się na inne dziedziny życia społecznego. Ponieważ gry cieszą się tak dużą popularnością, współcześni pedagogowie odkrywają, że uczniowie łatwo angażują się w gry edukacyjne. Artykuł objaśnia aspekty gier poważnych (SG), które definiuje się jako gry cyfrowe wykorzystywane do celów innych niż rozrywka. Niniejszy tekst zakreśla obszary, w których gry mogą być wykorzystywane w procesie edukacyjnym, ich skuteczność oraz kontrowersje związane z ich wykorzystaniem.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: gry poważne, gry planszowe, gry wideo, proces edukacyjny, przemiany kulturowe

Introduction

For centuries, people have looked for ways to spend their free time to ensure fun and pleasure, which is why games were created. The history of games dates back to the times of ancient Egypt, Mesopotamia, India, and China (Donovan, 2017; Jorma, 2019). Each nation has created ways to ensure joy and satisfaction through cards or on a board. With the development of technology, games have transcended boards and become part of the video entertainment industry. However, technology did not put an end to traditional games; on the contrary, technology took games to another level, enabling the combination or transition of board games into a new, digitized dimension.

The impact of computer games on human functioning has become the subject of many studies and scientific reports. Interestingly, there has been no research regarding the negative effects of traditional board games. Most of the attention has been paid to the consequences from the overuse of video games. Researchers describe the consequences of video game addiction, especially among young people (Lee & Morgan, 2018). These consequences include interpersonal conflicts and difficulties controlling impulsive behavior. In fact, in 2018 video game addiction was designated as a mental disorder in the International Classification of Diseases (ICD-11) of the World Health Organization (2018).

When combined with the ease of access to the internet, individuals willingly transfer their relationships online, thereby losing one of the most important traditional advantages of games: that of improving social relationships. Regardless of the consequences of video games, they are a popular way of spending free time among children, adolescents, and adults. During the COVID-19 pandemic of 2020, the World Health Organization recommended online gaming to maintain social distancing, while at the same time noting online gaming as a potential addictive mental disorder (Canales, 2020).

Starting from solely entertainment purposes, it was only a matter of time before games were extended to other areas of life. Because games proved to be so popular, educators found that students engage quickly with educational games. Thus, serious games (SG) were born.

Serious Games, Gamification, e-learning, and Traditional Board Games: Difficulties with Definitions

According to the simplest definition, SGs are digital games used for purposes other than entertainment (Susi et al., 2007; Djaouti et al., 2011). The concept of game-based learning, which includes SGs, is related to this definition. In this sense, the two definitions could be considered one and the same. The wording opens up a range of possibilities for interpretation and practical applications. On the other hand, it narrows the issue to only games based on electronic devices (computers, tablets, and mobile phones), completely ignoring their "analogue" counterparts. Therefore, for an electronic game, the preferred term is digital game-based learning, which focuses exclusively on electronic games. It is believed that SGs cover all aspects of education—teaching, training, and information—and are appropriate for people of all ages (Michael & Chen, 2006). Thus, the definition of SGs has expanded to include additional types of games, such as traditional board games or any activities that combine entertainment and education.

The beginnings of SGs are considered to be the 1990s, but the official date is 2002, when the U.S. army published the computer game *America's Army*. It was a realistic combat simulator of infantry soldiers, which was meant to facilitate tactical training, and to encourage young people to join the army (Wilkinson, 2016). In the same year, the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars founded the "Serious Games Initiative," which resulted in the term being spread (Tan & Boo, 2019).

The other definition, often treated as a synonym for SGs, is gamification. It is defined as the use of game elements in a non-entertainment context.

The identity of this term with SG is only apparent, because gamification only uses elements of games in the educational process, while SGs are entire games focused on the educational process. Gamification is not a new idea and it is used in marketing, management, and ecology. The basic goal is to encourage the user to exercise a specific behavior (Huang, Soman 2013). This could include receiving points for purchases which can then be redeemed for rewards or ranks that the user receives for participating in a loyalty program.

Gamification is becoming increasingly popular in education. Learning objectives can be replaced by in-game tasks for which the user/student will receive points, experience levels, or virtual goods. The element of competition and unlocking further goals raises additional motivation. Another important element is the freedom to choose the way of achieving the goal and not risking failure; this can be accomplished by providing multiple approaches to the same task (Dicheva et al., 2015), which is also known as divergent discovery (Mosston & Ashworth, 1990).

Gamification is not the same term as e-learning. It should be perceived as a very general concept, related to computer-based learning or supported by computer technology. It is most often associated with distance learning (Hodson, 2001). E-learning is a process of acquiring knowledge where technology is used as a facilitator. E-learning uses many tools, such as communication and visual technologies (Aparicio et al., 2016). In this sense, gamification can be one way to transfer knowledge, and e-learning can be the base for gamification.

SGs often use traditional board games or adapted card games. The system for rewarding progress in gamification is often borrowed from existing games. Nakao (2019) defines a board game as an activity which consists of moving elements in a strictly defined way on a specially marked board. However, this definition is a generalization, aptly defining traditional board games such as chess. It does not cover other "modern board games," whose mechanics are much more complex and contain additional elements such as cards or other pieces. Sometimes, the whole traditional board game can be transferred to the virtual world. The concepts of SGs, gamification, and e-learning cover similar issues, but they are not the same. The remainder of the article will focus on the issue of SGs and traditional board games.

Areas of Use for Serious Games

When describing the effectiveness of games, SGs and traditional board games should be distinguished, due to the different ways they are used and the aspects of social communication that occur in board games but usually do not exist in video games.

Naysayers typically point out the consequences of game-playing: health (inactivity, headaches, fatigue, or poor posture), psychosocial (social isolation, poor social relationships, or a lack of inhibition), or the negative effects of violence in games (aggressive behavior, altered brain development and function, or a negative impact on personality development) (Sanger et al., 2019). However, one should not forget about the positive aspects, which include the improvement of analytical and strategic thinking skills, psychomotor features, or enhanced attention (Mitchell & Savill-Smith, 2004; Durkin & Barber, 2002; Boyle & Hainey, 2016). These effects are not conclusive because meta-analyses of video game effectiveness showed little or no effect on cognitive performance (Sala et al., 2018). Games also support the development of spatial imagination, or mental rotation (De Lisi & Wolford, 2002). Game players also have more developed analytical thinking than non-players, who use trial and error (Hong & Liu, 2003).

The positive effects of video games justify their use in various aspects of life. Researchers have found a positive impact from SGs. The benefits include

- increased physical activity, with games that require movement, dance, and sports simulation, using additional equipment or virtual reality (VR). Such games can help a player master new moves (Nyberg & Meckbach, 2017) or fulfill some of the daily physical activity recommendations (Polechonski & Mynarski, 2018).
- acquiring health knowledge about healthy eating habits in children, preventing childhood obesity (Dias et al., 2018), or supporting good habits among the sick or cancer patients (Thomas et al., 2019). SGs have also been used with people with asthma, though the increase in knowledge was not accompanied by increased motivation for treatment (Drummond & Monnier, 2017).
- distraction, which can be helpful in coping with pain or reducing the anxiety associated with painful medical procedures. VR games are particularly useful here (van der Spek & Roelofs, 2019).
- rehabilitation associated with the restoration of executive functions, particularly after a heart attack, brain injury, or stroke (Bonnechere, 2018; Maijer et al., 2018).
- training and simulation for medical students or student pilots, e.g., laparoscopic surgery or flight simulators. According to some researchers, the use of SGs in teaching is better than nothing, but not as good as traditional teaching (Gorbanev et al., 2018).
- diagnosis and treatment of mental diseases and other disorders of the nervous system, PTSD therapy in veterans, or working on concentration in children with ADHD; biofeedback can also be included in this group. The concept of using SGs is associated with virtual reality

exposure therapy, which aims to simulate real-life situations in order to treat a specific type of disorder, e.g., anxiety (Lau & Smit, 2017).

One of the four ways in which self-efficacy can be increased, according to Albert Bandura (1997), is through mastery experiences, which can be accomplished through VR games. The example Bandura used to describe these mastery experiences was through gradual exposure to a snake from a picture, to a toy, to a real one at a distance, to eventually touching one. VR can realistically enact each of the scenarios, apart from the real snake. According to Bandura, individuals create their self-efficacy beliefs by interpreting information regarding their own capabilities. This information has four sources:

- Mastery experiences provide information about one's successes and failures. Successful speaking experiences increase self-efficacy beliefs, and experiences of failure lower them.
- Vicarious experiences provide information about the modelled achievements of others, which influence one's self-efficacy beliefs by demonstrating and transferring competencies (called model learning).
- Verbal persuasion can convince people of their capabilities, especially if this persuasion comes from a credible source.
- The improvement of cognitive functions, using games for training the memory, and developing analytical and strategic skills, is especially useful for patients with dementia. First-person games have proven to be the most effective, steering through gestures, adapting to the needs of a particular patient, or combining cognitive and motor skills (Dietlein & Bock, 2019).

Bandura emphasized the importance of the cognitive processing stage. According to him, mastery experiences generally have the strongest effect on the development of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1997; Pfitzen-Eden, 2016). The examples listed above do not exhaust SG' possible applications. Games can reinforce and improve many areas of human activity. Undoubtedly, they are a valuable addition to traditional education, but the question is, could they replace it?

The Effectiveness of Board Games

Board games differ from electronic ones primarily in the element of social interaction, although some exist as solo games—like puzzles or competing against the game itself. However, some of the greatest advantages of board games are improving the communication process and learning actively based on interaction with other players (Bochennek & Wittelind, 2007).

Researchers have noted the positive effect of board games, particularly for older adults. Over a 20-year longitudinal study of French senior citizens, game players had a 15% lower risk of dementia, higher scores on the Mini-Mental State Examination, and lower depression scores (Akbaraly et al., 2009). Board games can reduce or delay changes associated with dementia because they require planning and logical thinking. The effectiveness of games in patients with Alzheimer's disease has also been documented, especially in the area of depression and anxiety symptoms co-occurring with the disorder (Lin et al., 2015). An additional protective element is the aforementioned social interaction—because players have a better chance of socializing, which creates social bonds, a factor known to promote longevity.

Board games can also be an effective method of coping with stress by helping discharge negative emotional states (Nakao, 2019). Traditional board games can be a part of psychotherapy. Studies on people with depression and anxiety have reported a decrease in both conditions after six weeks of a stress management program in which a traditional Japanese board game, Shogi, was played (Nakao et al., 2017).

However, board games are most often associated with their educational value through their effect of boosting players' interest. Most often, the purpose of educational board games is to change habits. For example, in a Swiss study, smokers used the specially designated educational board game in the process of therapy. After the therapy, the game-playing smokers had lower readdiction rates than those from the control group (Khazaal & Chatton, 2017).

Board games are also used in the process of education, especially for students of medicine and healthcare. There are many advantages in this area:

- the ability to teach complex issues without a risk to patients or the need for expensive equipment
- participants can practice without anyone suffering the consequences of novice medical decisions
- games bring an element of pleasure and can reduce anxiety and distract users from stressful clinical situations
- students are active in the learning process
- teamwork and team-building are promoted as participants share their knowledge and engage in teaching each other
- students can combine theory and practice (Gibson & Douglas, 2013).

Games used in teaching medicine have been mainly based on quizzes created especially for this purpose, aimed at facilitating mastery of the material (Abdulmajed et al., 2015). Most often, students were interested in this type of activity, which means that they were motivated to play. In

their opinion, the games facilitated clinical thinking and benefited relationships within the group (Karbownik & Wiktorowska-Owczarek, 2016). Especially in the case of games used in medicine and healthcare education, the need for categories of games beyond the traditional ones has been noted. Bochenek and Wittekindt (2007) proposed a typology for games used in medical education depending on their complexity (the level of player involvement) and type (dice and luck, outlay games, thinking games, quiz/communication games, roleplay and simulations, and manual dexterity games).

The main advantage of board games is that they are usually independent culturally and linguistically (Noda & Shirotsuki, 2019). This opens up many possibilities of therapy for people with speech problems or for small children. Board games can facilitate the acquisition of knowledge and promote behavioral changes, but they do not have a large impact on changing attitudes (Gauthier et al., 2019).

Controversy in the Use of SGs

Serious games and all gamification methods, despite their many advantages, have provoked some controversy. For one thing, the question of the extent to which the learning process should be turned into a "playground" should be asked. Critics suggest that SGs can lead to the infantilization of the learning process, which might be harmful and could cause learners to downplay learning, placing more emphasis on play than on education. There is a need to strike a balance between fun and education. Without a doubt, SGs cannot replace traditional teaching completely. The consequences of being addicted to computer games are well-known. In the era of progressing digitization and the growing role of electronics, it cannot be avoided in the education process. Young people are accustomed to video/electronic entertainment and expect the same from the educational process. The modern user expects a wide range of stimuli, fast-paced changes in the situation, while simultaneously wanting the process to be pleasurable.

In board games and computer games alike, there should be an element of fun associated with education (Michael & Chen, 2006). The order in which the two terms should appear is controversial. According to some, SGs' primary goal is to educate, while pleasure is a by-product of the whole process. Another definition emphasizes that SGs were created to entertain players in the process of education, training, or behavioral change (Stokes, 2005).

SGs sometimes exclude the basic feature of games, i.e., the voluntary involvement of the individual in the game, especially when they are used in

connection with school or education. In this case, an important element is to motivate the learner to become engaged. Then, the learning takes place as if accidentally and without the student's awareness. A proper balance between fun and learning assists in correctly structuring the teaching process.

Another issue that Gorbaney (2018) drew attention to is the effectiveness assessment of SGs. The process of learning or changing habits is so complex that the relationship between the benefits obtained is not always clearly associated with SGs. Future research in this field will require a good methodological structure based on randomized trials (Noda & Shirotsuki, 2019). Otherwise, it would be difficult to conclude unequivocally whether SG or board games are effective. Another challenge is to determine whether the game can be an independent intervention or whether it should be part of a larger strategy.

Board Games or Serious Games: Which are More Effective?

It is difficult to determine which of the selected methods are better: board games are more effective in terms of gaining knowledge, but video games yield better results when it comes to motivation, self-efficacy, or skill enhancement (Gauthier et al., 2019). It seems that each type of game is effective in a different aspect and should be used in the area where it is most effective. Board games and SGs should be considered different ways to achieve the same goals—teaching, training, and informing.

Digital learning is still in its formative stages. During the COVID-19 pandemic, most schools, universities, and businesses either closed or abruptly transitioned to being entirely online. Will the new delivery method increase the use of SGs in the educational process? We still do not know the threats of digitization and the transfer of the teaching process to a digital level. Will it increase "digital dementia" and hamper creativity? We still do not know the answer to this question.

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The Contribution of the Teisseyre Family to Polish Culture

ABSTRACT

The article discusses the role of members of the Teisseyre family in contributing to Polish culture. The Teisseyre family, originally from France, settled in Poland after the French Revolution and quickly became Polonized. Subsequent generations made a significant contribution to the cultural development of our country. They marked their presence primarily in the hard sciences (Wawrzyniec, Henryk, Juliusz, Andrzej, Mieczysław, and Roman Teisseyre), but also in the fields of technology (Jerzy and Andrzej Teisseyre) and art (Stanisław Teisseyre). Modern descendants who are active in various fields of culture try to continue the family traditions.

KEYWORDS: biography, history of science, history of technology, history of art

STRESZCZENIE

Wkład rodu Teisseyre'ów do polskiej kultury

Artykuł omawia udział przedstawicieli rodu Teisseyre'ów w budowaniu kultury polskiej. Wywodząca się z Francji rodzina Teisseyre'ów osiedliła się w Polsce po wielkiej rewolucji francuskiej. Szybko się spolonizowała i kolejne jej pokolenia wnosiły duży wkład w rozwój kulturalny naszego kraju. Swoją obecność zaznaczyli przede wszystkim w naukach ścisłych (Wawrzyniec, Henryk, Juliusz, Andrzej, Mieczysław i Roman Teisseyre'owie), ale także w technice (Jerzy i Andrzej Teisseyre'owie) oraz sztuce (Stanisław Teisseyre). Tradycje rodu starają się kontynuować współcześni potomkowie, aktywni na różnych polach kultury.

SŁOWA KLUCZE: biografistyka, historia nauki, historia techniki, historia sztuki

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Polish culture was often formed by foreigners who had been threatened in their own countries for religious, political, or other reasons and who found a safe haven in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. Their descendants assimilated and became Polish patriots, developing their talents and capabilities for the benefit of society. One of the many such cases is the French Teisseyre family.

The documented history of the Teisseyre family dates back to the 18th century and the time of the French Revolution of 1789. In the raging Jacobin terror, a 35-year-old French aristocrat, Louis de Teisseyre, serving as a captain in the guard of King Louis XVI, was guillotined. In order not to share the fate of her husband, the widow, Marie Bonal de Ganges, fled to Vienna with her son, Louis Stanisław, and then settled in Krakow around 1795. It was there that Louis Stanislaw de Teisseyre graduated from the Jagiellonian University and earned his living as a French teacher working in various cities around Galicia, including in Krakow, Wieliczka, Tarnów, Nowy Sącz, and Brody—where in 1837 he received a permanent job as a French teacher at a Jewish Realschule (Schematismus, n.d.). While still in Krakow, he married a Czech woman, Maria Hladik, the daughter of a Krakow choir conductor who—after her husband's death in 1841—returned to Krakow from Brody; she died there in 1853 during the cholera epidemic. Their son Henryk (1828–1900), born in Wieliczka, graduated from the Technical Academy in Lviv and specialized in the construction of railways. He participated in the design of the Galician Railway of Archduke Charles Louis, which was built in 1856–1861 and connected Lviv with Tarnów. Between 1864 and 1892 he worked in the engineering department of the railway company, being promoted from assistant engineer in Lviv and Krakow to superintendent in Ternopil (Handbuch des Statthalterei-Gebietes, n.d.; The Shematism of the Kingdoms of Galicia; n.d.). While studying and working for many years in Polish circles, he must have felt a strong bond with Polishness, and gave up the article "de" in his surname, shortening it to Teisseyre. From his marriage with Julia née Belina Węgierska, he had numerous offspring, of whom Karol Wawrzyniec (1860–1939)—known in Polish and international science as Wawrzyniec Teisseyre—became the most prominent person (Kowalczuk, 2005, pp. 64–65; Miecznik, 2015, p. 86).

Wawrzyniec Teisseyre was born on August 1, 1860 in Krakow, where he also attended school, although he passed his high school final exams in 1878 at the gymnasium in Ternopil. Between 1878 and 1882, he obtained a thorough geological education at the Jagiellonian university in Krakow (under the direction of Alojzy Alth) and at the University of Vienna, where he specialized in paleontology and tectonics (under Eduard Suess and Melchior Neumayr).

After graduating, while studying the geological structures in Podolia on behalf of the Austrian State Geological Department, he solved the faunal problem of the bryozoan colonies in the Galician Miodobory and obtained his doctorate with a thesis devoted to the issue in 1885 at the Faculty of Philosophy of the University of Vienna. Then, as a member of the Physiographic Commission of the Academy of Learning in Krakow, he took part in the creation of the *Geological Atlas of Galicia*, by making a series of maps of parts of Podolia and the neighboring areas. He earned the degree of *doctor habilitatus* in paleontology at the University of Lviv in 1891 and took a private instructorship there, which he extended to geology in 1907. In science, he is remembered as the author of an innovative interpretation of the tectonics of the Podolian plate, which in his opinion had been moving under the emerging Carpathians and which marked the tectonic boundary separating the East European platform from the West European platform between the Black Sea and the Baltic Sea. When Alexander Tornquist confirmed this hypothesis at the beginning of the 20th century, this boundary was christened the Teisseyre–Tornquist zone, and Teisseyre's theory was recognized as a precursor theory in the field of modern plate tectonics and the theory of subduction.

Teisseyre also contributed to the development of Romanian geology, especially the oil industry. Between 1896 and 1910, at the invitation of the Romanian authorities, he conducted research in the oil and salt areas in the local Carpathians. He discovered new sources of oil and, in the process, described the fauna of Miocene and Pliocene mollusks. He also worked on diapirism and the tectonics of the diapir folds, which significantly contributed to optimizing the extraction of Romanian oil. His achievements were awarded a gold medal at the congress and exhibition of the Romanian Scientific Society in 1903, and an honorary diploma with a gold medal at the Romanian Universal Exhibition in 1906; he was also awarded the Order of the Romanian Crown (1910).

During his stay in Romania, he was still strongly associated with the University of Lviv, where he signed a petition on March 2, 1907 of the general assembly of professors and associate professors against the introduction of the Ukrainian language as an equivalent lecture language. After returning to Lviv in 1910, he became a tenured associate professor of the University of Lviv and cooperated with the mining industry in Galicia as an expert in oil geology. After Poland regained independence, he assumed the position of deputy director of the Polish Geological Institute in Warsaw, set up in 1919, and was in charge of the exploration of oil fields. It was then that he formulated his hypothesis about the relationship between the accumulation of rich oil deposits and the large-radius warping lines running crosswise to the Carpathians. Many years after Teisseyre's death, this

concept was corroborated by drilling into oil deposits in layers over 6,000 meters below the surface. In 1923, in protest against the refusal to implement an oil exploration program in the Carpathian region, he quit his job at the Polish Geological Institute and returned to Lviv. At Lviv Polytechnic, he became a full professor of the Department of Geology and Paleontology; at that time he was working on the issue of homology, i.e., the structural compatibility of the Carpathians with their foothills, emphasizing the importance of this problem in research on oil deposits. After retiring in 1933, he received the title of honorary professor of Lviv Polytechnic in 1935. His scientific achievements were also recognized by many scientific societies: he was a correspondent member of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences, an active member of the Scientific Society in Lviv, and an honorary member of the Copernicus Polish Society of Naturalists. He died on April 2, 1939 in Lviv, and was buried in the Lychakiv cemetery (Pazdro, 1960, pp. 638-640; Perkowska, 2007, pp. 387–388; Orłowski, ed., 2015, p. 294; *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, 2019, p. 85; *Słownik polskich pionierów techniki*, 1986, p. 212; Śródka, 1998, pp. 361–363).

If Wawrzyniec Teisseyre is to be regarded as the first generation and founder of this family of scholars, then his sons constituted the second generation. From his marriage with Janina Ostoja-Polityńska (1877–1953), a teacher, he had five sons: Jerzy (1902–1988), Henryk (1903–1975), Kazimierz (1904–1982), Stanisław (1905–1988), and Andrzej (1911–2000). They all chose different paths in life, but each of them wrote a glorious chapter in the history of Polish culture in his own field.

The eldest son, Jerzy Henryk Teisseyre, was born on November 26, 1902 in Lviv. As a student of the 8th Real Junior High School in 1918, he fought against Ukrainians for his hometown, and then served in the Polish Army. It was only after his dismissal from the army in 1920 that he passed his matriculation examination and took up studies at Lviv Polytechnic. He specialized in aviation construction and as a student he did internship at Wielkopolska Wytwórnia Samolotów Samolot S.A., a Polish aerospace manufacturer. After earning a diploma in mechanical engineering in 1926, he additionally studied aerodynamics and aviation mechanics at the Sorbonne and worked as a laborer in an aircraft engine factory in Paris. After returning to Poland, he advanced from designer at the "E. Plage and T. Laśkiewicz" Mechanical Works in Lublin (1928–1930), through head of the Calculations Office and head of the Aerodynamic Tunnel at the Podlasie Aircraft Factory in Biała Podlaska (1930–1933) and deputy head of the Construction Group at the Polish Aviation Works at Okęcie in Warsaw (1933–1936), to director of the Design Office at the Lublin Aircraft Factory (1937–1939). In all of these institutions, he participated in the construction works of aircraft: at the end of 1929, he designed the LKL-2

sports aircraft; in 1930, he participated in the modification of the PWS-10 fighter aircraft; in 1931, he made endurance calculations of the PWS-54 passenger aircraft; in 1933, he participated in the design and calculation of the bomber PZL.30 "Żubr"; and in 1937 he headed the design of the LWS-3A, the "Mewa" intelligence aircraft which entered serial production in 1939.

After the outbreak of World War II, he reached France via Romania, where he worked on the production of D.520 fighter aircraft at the Société Nationale des Constructions Aéronautiques Midi aircraft factory in Toulouse. After the fall of France, he escaped to Great Britain and participated in the design of transport gliders as a second lieutenant of the Polish Army within the Polish Technical Group. However, by February 1941 he had joined a group of Polish engineers which undertook to organize aviation production in Turkey, at the request of the Turkish government and with the consent of the Polish and British authorities. From May 1941 to 1946, Teisseyre worked as head of the Turk Hava Kurumu Uçsak Fabricasi Design Office in Etimesgut, near Ankara. There, he took part in projects on the design of a transport glider (1941–1942), an aerobatic aircraft (1943–1944), a twin-engined aerial ambulance (1944) and a passenger version of it (1945), and—after the war—a tourist plane design (1945–1946). Throughout his stay in Turkey at the Polytechnic in Istanbul, he gave lectures in French on aircraft construction and flight mechanics. After returning to Poland in 1946, he briefly worked at National Aviation Factory No. 3 in Wrocław, on the technical documentation of the training aircraft "Junak 2" and a twin-engine forest-spraying aircraft.

Starting in 1948, he was a researcher at Wrocław University, and in 1951 moved to the University of Technology, where he lectured in aircraft construction, aerodynamics, and flight mechanics and statics of aviation structures at the Faculty of Aeronautics. After this department was closed in 1954, he moved to the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering as a lecturer in technical mechanics and endurance of materials. He served as the dean of both the Faculty of Aviation (1949–1951) and the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering (1954–1956). Although he did not hold a doctorate (he only obtained his PhD in 1962), his scientific qualifications were recognized, he received the academic title of associate professor in 1955 (at that time he became the head of the Department of Cars and Tractors, which he renamed the Department of Bodywork Construction in 1963), and in 1957 he received the title of tenured associate professor. Between 1964 and 1966, he worked in Ghana, where he conducted lectures in English on the endurance of materials and the theory of elasticity at the Technical University in Kumasi. After his return in 1968, he received a full professorship and after the reorganization of the university (faculties were closed and

institutes were established), he managed the Automotive Plant Department at the Institute of Machine Design and Operation. Although he retired in 1973, he was a paid lecturer until his death. He was the supervisor of eighteen doctoral dissertations. He published six books and textbooks, as well as more than twenty articles popularizing knowledge about aviation and astronautics in the pages of *Technika Lotnicza*, *Skrzydlata Polska*, and *American Rocket Society Journal*. He died on June 13, 1988 in Wrocław, and was buried at the Holy Family cemetery in Sępolno (Dulęba, 1981; *Księga XXV-lecia*, 1970, vol. 1, pp. 317–318, 325–327, vol. 2 pp. 279–320; *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, 2019, pp. 79-80; *Słownik biograficzny techników polskich*, 2000, pp. 160–163; Cmielewski, ed., 2007, p. 596).

The second son of Wawrzyniec, Henry Jan Teisseyre, pursued his father's geological research interests. He was born on March 21, 1903 in Lviv, where he also graduated from Realschule no. VIII . After passing the final exams in 1922, he briefly studied chemistry at the Lviv Polytechnic, and then geography and geology at the University of Lviv. He obtained his doctorate in 1928 at the Geographical Institute, under Eugeniusz Romer, after which he completed additional studies in geology at the University of Lausanne under the direction of Maurice Lugeon. After returning to Poland, he conducted research on Quaternary deposits, petroleum geology, geology, and paleontology around Lviv, and mainly the tectonics of the Carpathian and Subcarpathian regions for the Polish Geological Institute. He described the complicated structure of the Eastern Carpathian outskirts and the petroliferous conditions of these areas. He presented a modern theory of the geological inner structure of the Outer Carpathians and introduced the concept of the "Dukielskie folds" as a new tectonic unit of these areas. After receiving the title of *doctor habilitatus* in geology at the Jagiellonian University in 1936, he lectured as an assistant professor in tectonics in Krakow, and from 1938 at the Jan Kazimierz University in Lviv. At the same time, he was a geological consultant of the "Gazolina" joint-stock company in Lviv, for which he wrote a geological evaluation of the oil mines in Węglówka (Krosno poviat) and Wola Jasienicka (Brzozowski poviat).

After Lviv was seized by the Red Army in September 1939, he lectured on comparative tectonics at I. Franko State University, and after the Soviet army captured the city again in July 1944, he became a professor of geology there, but since he did not speak Ukrainian he was quickly transferred to the position of senior researcher at the University Geological Museum. During the German occupation (1941–1944), he worked as a geologist at Karpatenöl AG, based in Krosno, and conducted exploration work in the vicinity of Krosno, Biecz, and Rozembark. In the postwar period, as a result of "repatriation," he was relocated to Wrocław and,

as an associate professor, on March 1, 1946, took over the Department of General Geology at the Science Department of the University and the Polytechnic (the University of Wrocław from 1951), which he built from the ground up. In 1949, he also helped organize the Lower Silesian Institute (renamed the Field Station of the Polish Geological Institute in 1951), and in 1955 the Laboratory of Geology of Old Structures at the Department of Geological Sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences; he managed both institutions.

His research focused on the geology of the Sudetes and their foregrounds; he conducted research in almost all geological regions there, and dealt with sedimentological, palaeogeographic, and structural issues. He was critical of the views of German geologists on the morphology and genesis of the igneous and metamorphic Sudeten rocks (and he pointed out their errors). When researching the geology of the Kaczawskie Mountains, the depression of Świebodzice, and the Śnieżnik Kłodzki region, he introduced his own methods of detailed geometric analysis of mesostructures and rock fracture systems, as well as methods for interpreting the results of such analysis for tectonic phases, crystalline deformations, and Paleozoic sedimentary complexes. Thanks to these methods, he confirmed that the final folding of the Sudetes occurred in the Hertzian era, i.e., about 250 million years ago. He also developed new research methods to describe the large transformations of older Sudeten formations and the significant erasure of the primary features and organic traces. He not only presented his research at the conferences of the Polish Geological Society, but also at international geological congresses: the 20th in Mexico City (1956), the 21st in Copenhagen (1960), and the 23rd in Prague (1968)—as well as the European colloquium in Rennes (1974) devoted to the Variscans.

He gave guest lectures on the tectonic geomorphology of the Sudetes and the Czech Massif at the universities of Paris, Caën, Grenoble, Rennes, Neuchâtel, Berlin, and Copenhagen. In 1956, he received the title of full professor. He was a leading scientific authority and became a full member of the Polish Academy of Sciences (1969) and a member of the Presidium of the Committee on Geological Sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences (1970), as well as the National Committee of the International Geological Union. Altogether, he published over 120 papers dealing primarily with regional geology, tectonics, Mesozoic geology, and the petrography of metamorphic rocks and dynamic geomorphology. He promoted 31 doctoral dissertations, and 21 of his students became independent researchers. He was considered the founder of the school of tectonics and structural geology in Wrocław: the Geological Museum of the University of Wrocław and the Lower Silesian branch of the Polish Geological Institute were named after him.

Shortly before his death (October 1, 1975), he received an honorary doctorate from the University of Wrocław. He died on October 29, 1975 in Wrocław, and was buried at St. Lawrence cemetery. His two sons, Juliusz (1933–1991) and Andrzej (1938–1991)—from a marriage with Julia Maria née Sabatowski in 1929[1]—followed in the scientific footsteps of their forefathers and became the third generation of the Teisseyre family to contribute to Polish geology (Jahn, 1977, pp. 2–14; Książkiewicz, 1976, pp. 138–142; Perkowska, 2007, p. 387; Polski Słownik Biograficzny, 2019, pp. 76–79; Orłowski, ed., 2015, pp. 292–294; Smulikowski, 1980, pp. 185–188; Teisseyre, 1998, pp. 5–17; *Słownik polskich pionierów techniki*, 1986, pp. 211–212; Śródka, 1998, pp. 359–361).

Juliusz Henryk Teisseyre was born on June 3, 1933 and began his education in Lviv, but finished it and passed his final exams after his family settled in Wrocław. He completed geological studies at the University of Wrocław and, in his master's thesis entitled *Geological Structure of the Struga Element* (Acta Geologica Polonica, 1962) he challenged the scientific views of his father, who ultimately recognized his son's arguments. After obtaining a doctoral degree in geological sciences at the Department of Geological Sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw under Kazimierz Smulikowski in 1964, thanks to a Norwegian scholarship, he conducted geological research in the area of the Byglandsfjord in southern Norway in 1967, and researched the collected materials at the Geological and Mineralogical Museum in Oslo. He returned to Norway two years later and geologically mapped the crystalline areas in the north of the country, on the Varanger peninsula (on the Barents Sea). After returning to Poland, he studied the metamorphic rocks of the Rudawy Janowickie and Lasocki Ridges in the Western Sudetes. Based on these studies, he earned the degree of *doctor habilitatus* in the field of petrography at the University of Warsaw in 1973. His publications on the Sudetes are still studied at university classes on Polish regional geology as a model for combining petrographic and geological observations. In 1974, he went to Finland, where he gave a series of lectures on the structural geology of

1 Julia Maria Teisseyre (1906–1991), daughter of Antoni Sabatowski, balneologist and professor of medicine at the Jan Kazimierz University, and after the Second World War, at the Jagiellonian University, collaborated with her husband on his research. A geographer by training, she gained interest in the issue of spa treatment at home and after the war she pioneered balneological works in Lower Silesia. She and her husband propagated the idea of environmental protection and of mineral waters as particularly valuable elements of nature. Her research on the issues of mineral waters in the Sudetes was the beginning of a new field of applied geology: the hydrogelogy of healing waters. Her work contributed to the protection of mineral waters, in Szczawno Zdrój and Świeradów Zdrój against the dangers of mining (Mierzejewski, 1993a, pp. 171–172).

metamorphic rocks at the University of Turku. After the lectures ended, he worked there on the registration of resource deposits and as a librarian at the Institute of Mathematics. For some time in Copenhagen, he organized the geological archives on Greenland. He was also a talented photographer and painter; in the sixties, he presented his photos at exhibitions in Wrocław, and in Finland he had an exhibition of paintings. He never returned to Poland: he died on February 24, 1991 in Turku and was buried in the Catholic cemetery there (Mierzejewski, 1993a, pp. 165–167; Mierzejewski, 1993b, pp. 9–12; *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, 2019, pp. 81–82).

Juliusz's brother, Andrzej Karol Teisseyre, was also born in Lviv (November 18, 1938), but he obtained his education in Wrocław. Like his older brother, he graduated in geology at the University of Wrocław and became an assistant to Kazimierz Smulikowski at the Department of Geological Sciences of the Polish Academy of Sciences, researching old Sudeten formations. He earned his doctorate in 1967 and then his *doctor habilitatus* at the Jagiellonian University in 1976.

Having received the post of assistant professor in 1979 at the Geological Institute of the University of Wrocław, he undertook research on river-channel, off-channel, and meander sedimentation processes of modern rivers. Relying on the achievements of American sedimentologists and geomorphologists, he was a pioneer of this research in Poland; for example, he coined Polish terminology for the elements and structures of the youngest sediments and fluvial forms. In his field work, he also worked with the pool of the Turawskie dam lake and the slopes of the Podsudecki hills near Henryków. This research, highly rated by hydrologists, shed new light on the degradation processes of the manmade slope. His achievements were recognized with the title of tenured associate professor in 1985 and rector's awards in 1985 and 1992 (posthumously). Both brothers died at the peak of their creative and scientific prowess: Andrzej at the age of 53 (November 30, 1991) and Juliusz at the age of 58 (Grodzicki, ed., 2003 pp. 57, 68, 168, 170, 175, 184, 194–195; Instytut Nauk Geologicznych, 1995, pp. 22, 32, 35, 44; Jahn, 1993, pp. 13–19; *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, 2019 pp. 75–76).

The third son of Wawrzyniec, Kazimierz Teisseyre, born on March 23, 1904 in Lviv, did not choose a scientific path, instead becoming a lawyer and working in industry. Starting in 1935, he was the director of the Social Insurance Institution in Warsaw. However, he wrote a patriotic page in the history books during the Second World War—as did his two sons. He was active in the underground in the Warsaw District of the Home Army (the First District of "Radwan" Śródmieście), and during the Warsaw Uprising—as a lieutenant under the pseudonym Wilkoński—he fought in the ranks of the Military Service for the Protection of the Uprising (The "Narew" Group). On August 13 he was wounded, and after the fall of the uprising

he was captured by the Germans (prisoner number 47169) and held in the prisoner-of-war camp Stalag XI-A Altengrabow (in Saxony-Anhalt). Both of his sons, from his marriage with Wacława née Paszyński, Mieczysław Teisseyre (1925–2008) and Roman Teisseyre (born in 1929), continued the Teisseyre tradition (Warsaw Uprising Museum; *Wielka ilustrowana encyklopedia powstania warszawskiego*, 1997, pp. 417, 626).

Under the German occupation, Mieczysław Wacław Teisseyre was active in the "Antoni" battalion of the underground Home Army under the pseudonym "Teść" ["Father-in-law"]. He fought in the Warsaw Uprising as a corporal cadet in the "Róg" Group of the "North" Group in the Old Town, Śródmieście and Powiśle. After the fall of the uprising, like his father, he was captured by the Germans (prisoner number 47184) and was held in the prisoner-of-war camp Stalag XI-A Altengrabow. After the war, he graduated from the Faculty of Mechanical and Power Engineering at the Wrocław University of Technology and became an assistant there (1948), then an adjunct professor (1956). He specialized in mechanics, and particularly in the construction of devices for air purification and measurement of air contamination. In the years 1957–1960, he participated in the first Polish expedition of the Polish Academy of Sciences to Vietnam (organized and managed by his brother, Roman), where he took part in the design and construction of geophysical stations and hydroelectric plants. After returning to Poland, he continued his scientific career at Wrocław University of Technology; he received the degree of *doctor habilitatus* in 1968 and later the titles of associate professor (1987) and full professor (1994). As the head of the Dust Technology Department at the Institute of Thermal Technology and Fluid Mechanics (1970–2000), he served as deputy director of the Institute twice (1968–1975 and 1981–1987). His research involved the measurement of industrial two-phase gases, the construction of next-generation measuring apparatuses, gas de-dusting and pneumatic transport of coal dust, and devices for the catalytic afterburning of gases. These studies were of great importance to the modernization of industry, especially for ecological efforts to measure and protect the atmosphere. Mieczysław held 31 patents and wrote over 250 industrial reports and expertise opinions, as well as supervising 10 doctoral dissertations. He was interested in sailing and, as a regatta judge, he worked as a sailing instructor at national races (Warsaw Uprising Museum; *Wielka ilustrowana encyklopedia powstania warszawskiego*, 1997, p. 628; *Współcześni uczeni polscy*, 2002, pp. 471).

Roman Marian Teisseyre, despite his young age, fought in the Warsaw Uprising in Żolibórz under the pseudonym "Grom" (II Division "Żywiciel" of the Warsaw District of the Home Army) in the group "Żmija." After the uprising, he evaded German captivity, leaving Warsaw

with the civilians. After the war, he studied at the Faculty of Mathematics, Physics, and Chemistry of the University of Wrocław, but graduated from the University of Warsaw (1952). There, he specialized in physics, especially the physics of the Earth's interior at the Faculty of Physics under Edward Stenz and the Institute of Theoretical Physics under Leopold Infeld. He received his doctorate in 1959 and the degree of *doctor habilitatus* in 1962. However, his academic career was associated with the Institute of Geophysics of the Polish Academy of Sciences, established in 1953. He organized and managed the Department of Seismology and Physics of the Earth's Interior (1953–1979) , then the Department of Earth's Interior Dynamics at the Academy. He also served as director of the Institute twice (1961–1970 and 1972–1980) and as deputy director for scientific affairs (1970–1972). From 1957 to 1960, he was the organizer and director of the first scientific expedition of the Polish Academy of Sciences to Vietnam, where two multiparameter Geophysical Observatories, Phu-Lien and Cha-Pa, were established.

Most of Roman Teisseyre's published work concerns seismology, geodynamics, and the thermodynamics of rock deformation and destruction. He not only summarized the existing research, but also initiated new directions of investigation. He dealt with the extension and generalization of the dislocation theory of earthquakes by analyzing a correlation between the thermal fields in the Earth and earthquake processes. He laid the foundations for the theory and interpretation of phenomena occurring before earthquakes and mining tremors (theories of stress build-up processes, induced changes in resistance, and the generation of electric fields in seismic areas), as well as the theory and numerical simulation of electrical signals from earthquake epicenters. In subsequent geophysical expeditions to Spitsbergen (1964, 1970, and 2000), he ushered in a study of the shocks associated with the movement of glaciers. His work is primarily theoretical, but he also participated directly in the organization of seismic research in Poland—particularly in mining basins—and abroad, in the field of electromagnetic research of earthquake and rotational wave precursors, including in Italy, Greece, and China.

This travel led to extensive international cooperation: as a visiting professor, he lectured at universities in Tokyo (1964–1965), Trieste (1979–1980), and Strasbourg (1984), and as an expert, he was an active member of the UN Disarmament Committee for the detection and identification of seismic phenomena in Geneva (1962–1978), the European Advisory Committee for Earthquake Prediction Assessments in Strasbourg (starting in 1999), and he served as deputy president (1970–1976), then president (1976–1978), of the European Seismological Commission. He was also a member of the Executive Committee of the International Association of

Seismology and Physics of the Earth's Interior (1970–1975). In Poland, his achievements were crowned by a tenured professorship (1964) and full professorship (1974), as well as his appointment as a correspondent member (1969) and a full member (1980) of the Polish Academy of Sciences. He held the highest positions there, including chairman of the Geophysics Committee (1972–1980), secretary of the Faculty of Earth Sciences and Mining Sciences (1981–1983), and member of the Presidium of the Polish Academy of Sciences (1981–1993). In total, he published approximately 300 publications (mostly in English) and was a supervisor of 20 doctoral dissertations. In 2004, he received an honorary doctorate from the AGH University of Science and Technology in Krakow for his outstanding achievements in global and mining seismology (Kowalczuk, 2004, pp. 62–73; *Kto jest kim w Polsce*, 2001, p. 966; The Warsaw Uprising Museum; *Współcześni uczeni polscy*, 2002, pp. 471–472).

The fourth son of Wawrzyniec, Stanisław Teisseyre, displaying a talent for painting, did not pursue a scientific path like his brothers, but devoted himself to art. Born on June 7, 1905 in Lviv, he briefly studied agriculture at Lviv Polytechnic, but soon moved to the history of art at the University of Lviv. Additionally, he studied painting under the direction of Paweł Gajewski, Kazimierz Bartel, and Jan Henryk Rosen. That stage in his artistic career brought him close to expressionism and cubism, but eventually he turned to surrealism. He presented his paintings at group exhibitions, but he also had two individual exhibitions in Lviv, in 1935 and 1937. Thanks to the scholarship of the National Culture Fund, he stayed in France and Italy in 1937–1938; his work approached the colorist trend then, and the paintings evoked the influence of Pierre Bonnard. During World War II, he lived in Lviv and was involved in the renovation and painting of frescoes in the churches of former Lviv and Ternopil provinces, including in Wyżniany, Czortków, and Borek Stary. Starting in the spring of 1943, he was active in the Lviv branch of the Żegota Council to Aid Jews; for instance, he was involved in helping Jewish artists imprisoned in the ghetto. After the war, he settled in Lublin and worked on stage design for the Polish Army Theater, the "Dom Żołnierza" Chamber Theater in Łódź, and the City Drama Theaters in Krakow.

In the fall of 1945, at the First General Congress of the Delegates of the Association of Polish Artists, he was elected president of the main board. However, he resigned from this function when he became the head of the State Higher School of Fine Arts in Poznań in 1947. He introduced functional art and architectural painting to the school's curriculum, and initiated intercollegiate open-air sessions and exhibitions of the Poznań arts community at the Wielkopolska Museum. During this period, he was a co-creator of the polychrome sculpture in the interior of the baroque

chapel and the designer of the stained glass window of the presbytery in the church of St. Jan Jerozolimski in Poznań; in 1951 he received second prize for his paintings exhibited at the National Art Exhibition in Warsaw. After the painting department at the University of Poznań was closed, he moved to Sopot in 1951 and took the position of rector of the State Higher School of Fine Arts; after the end of his term of office, he served as dean of the Painting Department from 1963 to 1965. He brought together a group of artists from the colorist movement around the university who were taking up the canons of socialist realism: the critics called them "the Sopot group." In addition, Teisseyre managed the team who created decorations for the façades of tenement houses at Długi Targ in Gdańsk and co-created the polychrome sculpture in the building of the Gdynia railway station. Between 1953 and 1954, he served again as the president of the Main Board of the Association of Polish Artists and represented Poland at the Congress of the Association Internationale des Arts Plastique in Venice in 1954. In 1965, he returned to Poznań as the rector of the State Higher School of Fine Arts; he reformed the curriculum and the structure of the university; for example, he established interior design studios and fabric and print art studios and introduced design for industry into the school's program. He employed Magdalena Abakanowicz, Tadeusz Brzozowski, Andrzej Pitsch, and Wojciech Zamecznik, among others.

Both in the Sopot and the Poznań periods, he had a number of individual exhibitions: in Sopot (1957 and 1963), Poznań (1958 and 1975), Berlin, Budapest, Prague (all in 1958), and in Warsaw (1964 and 1978). His works were also displayed abroad in 1975 at the exhibition called "The Impact of Surrealism in Polish Contemporary Painting" and shown in London, Vienna, and Baltimore. He became a tenured associate professor (1955) and a full professor (1969), and in 1978 he was awarded the 1st degree State Prize for his lifetime creative achievement in the field of painting. He died on January 1, 1988 in Poznań, and was buried in the Miłostowo cemetery. He donated his house and studio—known as "Tesserówka," at the Osiedle Twórców on Na Szańcach Street in Poznań—together with his art collection and archives to the University of Poznań. Teisseyre's oeuvre reflects his artistic travels and fascination with the Mediterranean landscape; he created oil paintings, acrylic paintings, gouaches, and drawings. His pieces are kept in national museums in Gdańsk, Kielce, Poznań, Szczecin, Warsaw, and Wrocław, as well as in the Museum of Contemporary Art in Skopje and in private collections in Austria, France, Germany, Sweden, Great Britain, and the United States (Chrzanowska-Pieńkoś & Pieńkoś, 1996; Encyklopedia Gdańska, 2012; Golec, 2008; Polski Słownik Biograficzny, 2019, pp. 83–85; Wojciechowski, ed., 1974; *Polskie życie artystyczne w latach 1944-1960*, 2012; *Słownik biograficzny teatru polskiego*, 2016).

The youngest son of Wawrzyniec, Andrzej Teisseyre, like his eldest brother Jerzy, became interested in technology and gained wide recognition as a mechanical designer, especially of internal combustion engines. He was born on October 31, 1911 in Lviv, where, after passing his final exams, he studied at the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering at the local Polytechnic. After receiving a diploma in mechanical engineering in 1936, he left for Sweden, where he completed an internship at Bolinder, a manufacturer of internal combustion engines. After returning to Poland, in 1938 he became a designer of aircraft engines at the Polish Aviation Works at Okęcie in Warsaw.

Skiing was his passion from an early age; in 1927 he became a member of the Carpathian Association of Skiers in Lviv, an association he repeatedly represented in cross-country skiing and Nordic combined events in national competitions (including the Polish championships) and international competitions. In 1939, he participated in the Fédération Internationale de Ski World Championships in Zakopane. He also proved his engineering skills in this sport, as the designer of the ski jump built in 1934 in Brzuchowice near Lviv, then one of the largest in Poland (designed for jumps at a distance of 55 meters).

He took part in the September 1939 campaign as a reserve lieutenant, after which he returned to Lviv, where, during the Soviet occupation, he worked in secondary vocational education, and during the German occupation he was deported to a forced labor camp. After the war, he settled in Wrocław, where he took over the management of the Technical Office at the "Fasil" Engine Factory, renamed the Transportation Equipment Factory in 1950. In 1947 and 1948, he participated in the development and commissioning of the first post-war Polish motorcycle engine, which went into serial production for the "SHL 125" motorcycle, which was popular for many years. Simultaneously, in 1948 he began his scholarly career as an adjunct professor at the Department of Piston Engines under Kazimierz Szawłowski at the Faculty of Mechanical Engineering at Wrocław University and Polytechnics (from 1951, called the Wrocław Polytechnics, or University of Technology). After Szawłowski's departure to Krakow, he took over his faculty in 1952 as deputy professor. He obtained his doctorate at the Krakow University of Technology in 1959 and his *doctor habilitatus* in 1962. After the reorganization of the Wrocław University of Technology, he became the head of the Combustion Engine Department at the Institute of Machine Design and Operation. In 1970, he received the title of tenured associate professor.

Teisseyre's main scientific achievements concerned the dynamics of crank piston systems and analysis of combustion processes in diesel engines. An important area of his work was in the construction of

industrial plants, including the Central Combustion Engine Office in Warsaw (marine and rail engines), the Puck Mechanical Works (trawler and boat engines), "H. Cegielski" Metal Industry Plant in Poznań (railway engines), and the Institute of Aviation in Warsaw (analysis of combustion processes in diesel engines). Although he retired in 1981, he participated in the development of many engine components for the "Lublin 3" vans, which were manufactured at that time. He practiced skiing until the end of his life; just like in Lviv, he designed a training ski jump in Wrocław, which was built in the 1950s by the Academic Sports Association on the Kilimanjaro Hill in Zalesie (next to the Morskie Oko swimming pool). Teisseyre died on January 10, 2000 in Wrocław and was buried at the Holy Family cemetery in Sępolno (Księga XXV-lecia Politechniki Wrocławskiej, 1970; Kuśmidrowicz, 2000, p. 11; Polski Słownik Biograficzny, 2016, pp. 74–75; Who is Who in Science in Europe, 1972; Chmielewski, ed., 2007, p. 78).

The three generations of the Teisseyre family presented above have already marked their place in the history of Polish culture, and the modern, fourth generation is now writing their chapter. According to Magdalena Bajer, the Teisseyre family in Poland consists of about 60 people, most of whom have a university degree (Bajer, 2000). Some of them have chosen a scientific path and followed the family tradition. These include Henryk Grzegorz Teisseyre (son of Juliusz), who specializes in solid-state physics and structural research of materials at the Institute of Physics of the Polish Academy of Sciences, Andrzej Robert Teisseyre (son of Andrzej Karol), a biophysicist and researcher at the Medical Faculty of the Medical University of Wrocław, and Roman Teisseyre's sons: Krzysztof, continuing his father's scientific traditions at the Institute of Geophysics of the Polish Academy of Sciences, and Mikołaj, a pediatrician and clinical transplantologist at the Children's Memorial Health Institute in Warsaw. Carrying on the family scientific traditions, they add their bricks to the culture-building current of the entire Teisseyre lineage, and at the same time multiply their contribution to Polish culture.

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