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Introduction

This issue of the Ignatianum Philosophical Yearbook is divided into two parts. The first part consists of scholarly articles devoted to Polish–Hungarian relations examined in the context of the rivalry between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans, from the Middle Ages to the early modern period. The second part includes a Varia section, bringing together contributions on diverse topics, as well as a reviews section devoted to recent scholarly publications.

Among the issues addressed in this volume, particular attention is given to research developed within the framework of academic cooperation between the scholarly communities of Kraków and Szeged. This cooperation has a long-standing tradition, shaped by successive generations of researchers, and in recent years has been continued through new scholarly and publishing initiatives. The editors express their conviction that the texts presented in this volume constitute a valuable contribution to research on the history of Central Europe and on the political and cultural interconnections of the region from the Middle Ages to the early modern era.

Csaba Göncöl traces the evolution of the initial protocol employed in Mongol imperial decrees from the thirteenth-century empire through the Golden Horde to the Crimean Khanate, highlighting the persistence of Genghisid bureaucratic conventions, especially the formula *sözüm/sözümüüz* (“my/our word”). He demonstrates that these practices endured despite major religious and cultural transformations and contributed to the emergence of a distinctive Crimean Tatar corroborating sign (*tuğra*) under Ottoman political and cultural influence. The article argues that the Crimean *tuğra* represents a synthesis of Mongol, Islamic, and Ottoman traditions, preserving reverence for the Genghisid past within a new administrative framework. It further underscores the limited state of existing scholarship and identifies the need for further research on Crimean chancery culture.

Yanina Ryier examines the narrative construction of pagan actors in accounts of pagan – Christian military alliances, taking early fourteenth-century Polish–Lithuanian cooperation – initiated by the marriage of Casimir, son of Władysław Łokietek, and Anna, daughter of Gediminas – as her point of departure. Focusing on Wigand of Marburg’s description of the 1330 Polish–Lithuanian–Hungarian campaign and on German accounts of earlier joint expeditions, she identifies recurrent patterns of ambivalence and moral criticism directed at pagan allies, despite the strategic necessity of cooperation. Ryier extends the analysis beyond the Latin tradition by drawing on Orthodox sources, which likewise depict pagan military partners as potential aggressors who remain outside the Christian discursive “Self.” The article argues that, even when collaboration occurred, narrative portrayals framed such alliances as uneasy and conditional, marked by distrust and ideological boundary-making.

Stanisław Sroka analyzes contemporary narrative assessments of King Louis the Great of Hungary (1342–1382), the only Hungarian ruler to bear this epithet. Drawing on Peter Suchenwirt’s mid-fourteenth-century hymn of praise and John of Küküllő’s *Chronicon de Ludovico rege*, he highlights portrayals of Louis as a chivalric monarch engaged in numerous military campaigns, alongside remarks on his interests, linguistic abilities, and appearance. Sroka also considers Italian chronicles that offer further characterizations, including anecdotal material, and proposes a modern approach to interpreting these narrative portraits. The article reconstructs a composite contemporary image of Louis based on textual accounts and surviving portraits.

Łukasz Burkiewicz reconstructs the diplomatic and missionary activities of Archbishop John of Sulṭāniyya, a Dominican cleric active in the service of Timūr and his son Mīrānshāh during the late fourteenth and

early fifteenth centuries. Drawing on evidence of his multiple embassies to Western Europe between 1398 and at least 1412, the study demonstrates how he sought to promote anti-Ottoman cooperation, secure support for Christian missions in Persia and Central Asia, and cultivate a favorable image of the Timurids among Western rulers. It highlights John's wide-ranging ecclesiastical appointments, his contacts with European courts – including a notable visit to the Teutonic Order in Malbork in 1407 – and the economic and religious aims he associated with peace along the Silk Road. The article also underscores the fragmentary nature of the surviving evidence and the need for further research on John's itinerary and political aspirations.

Miklós Halmágyi examines the previously understudied connections between Békés County in southeastern Hungary and the Polish–Lithuanian sphere in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, highlighting patterns of royal patronage, student mobility, and military presence. The article traces instances ranging from Władysław Warneńczyk's donation to a Békés noble in 1444, through the presence of Polish forces near Gyula in 1529, to the likely visit of the diplomat Hieronym Łaski to Csaba. Drawing on correspondence from 1531, Halmágyi reconstructs diplomatic mediation involving John Szapolyai, Ferdinand of Habsburg, and Sigismund of Poland concerning the Gyula question, situating it within broader Polish–Brandenburg–Hungarian relations. The study includes editions of two contemporary documents preserved in Békéscsaba and Kassa.

Adam Zapala introduces a digitally assisted method for identifying and cataloguing late-fifteenth- and early-sixteenth-century materials preserved in the registers of the Apostolic Chancery. By systematically combining archival indexes with targeted searches in the *Registra Lateranensia*, *Registra Vaticana*, and *Registra Supplicationum*, he demonstrates that thousands of entries – over 1,100 relating to Poland alone—can be located within weeks rather than decades. The study proposes a model for publishing these data according to FAIR and Linked Open Data standards, thereby facilitating incremental release, interoperability, and collaborative research. Although tested on Polish materials, the method is presented as universally applicable and especially promising for reconstructing documentation from other Jagiellonian realms, including Hungary and Bohemia.

Dominik Kadzik reassesses the role of Hungarians in the entourage of Stephen Báthory, arguing that their activity in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth was far more substantial and continuous than scholarship focused solely on the Muscovite campaigns has suggested. He shows

that throughout Báthory's reign several thousand Hungarian soldiers, courtiers, secretaries, and servants – at times nearly 2,000 in military formations and about 500 in court service – performed tasks tied directly to the monarch's political, dynastic, and logistical needs. Their presence reflected both hierarchical dependence and constant personnel fluctuation, sustained by the steady influx of individuals from Transylvania seeking royal employment. Kadzik concludes that this ongoing service strengthened Transylvanian–Commonwealth ties and compensated for structural weaknesses in the Polish–Lithuanian military and administrative environment.

Janusz Smołucha analyzes the 1596 Kraków negotiations convened during the so-called Long Turkish War (in Hungarian historiography known as the Fifteen Years' War, 1591/1593–1606) with the aim of forming a Holy League, focusing in particular on the diplomatic correspondence of Cardinal Enrico Caetani, the papal legate. He reconstructs the Holy See's effort to secure a broad anti-Ottoman coalition and shows how the talks exposed divisions between the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Habsburgs over Moldavia and Wallachia, as well as deeper frictions involving Hungary and Transylvania. Although threatened by Tatar incursions, Poland prioritized stability and Black Sea commerce, while the assembled delegates lacked authority to commit to binding terms, contributing to the congress's failure. The study argues that the episode nonetheless illuminates both the ambitions and the limits of papal diplomacy and the strategic position assigned to the Commonwealth and a divided Hungary within the emerging rhetoric of Christendom's defensive bulwark.

Krisztina Juhász reconstructs the early phase of Stephen Bocskai's Polish network up to 1594, demonstrating that the development of these ties from 1583 onward was closely linked to his kinship with the ruling Báthory family. Drawing on extensive archival research, including unpublished materials from Esztergom, the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and the National Archives of Hungary – she examines Bocskai's missions to Poland in 1588 and 1590 and his correspondence with Chancellor Jan Zamoyski, who emerged as the central and most durable Polish contact. Juhász identifies a reciprocal, politically oriented relationship that temporarily lapsed after 1594 and left little documentary trace for the following decade. The study concludes that Bocskai's Polish connections were later revived and expanded after 1605, reflecting a transformed political environment and his changing position.

Sándor Papp examines the Ottoman dimension of Stephen Báthory's accession to the Polish throne, arguing that his initially unlikely candidacy

during the second interregnum became viable only through the diplomatic and military support of Sultan Murad III and Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha. He demonstrates how the Porte exerted pressure on the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and simultaneously encouraged the Habsburg emperor to accept the election outcome, thereby shaping one of Báthory’s earliest foreign-policy priorities: the stabilization of Ottoman–Polish relations and the conclusion of a sovereign peace treaty in 1577. The article reconstructs how Báthory moved from an Ottoman-dependent voivode to an autonomous monarch and how the 1577 agreement provided a model for subsequent Polish–Ottoman treaties and even for early Anglo–Ottoman commercial arrangements. Papp thus situates Báthory’s rise within the shifting legal and diplomatic frameworks of the late sixteenth century, highlighting the transformation from vassalage to recognized sovereignty.

Hubert Chlebik analyzes how early modern Polish diplomats perceived the natural and cultural landscapes they traversed *en route* to Constantinople, using travel diaries and diplomatic reports to show that terrain functioned as an active element of diplomatic experience rather than a passive backdrop. He identifies several roles attributed to landscape – as a stage for ceremonial hierarchy, a repository of historical memory, an admired or feared natural environment, and a source of physical danger. Particular emphasis is placed on the risks associated with travel along major seventeenth-century communication routes, including hazardous river crossings in the absence of bridges and the difficult passage through the Balkan Mountains. The article concludes that even without human threats, natural conditions – ranging from swollen rivers to unfamiliar seismic activity – posed serious challenges to diplomatic mobility.

János Szabados investigates the relationship between Prince György II Rákóczi and the leading political figures of the Kingdom of Hungary in the aftermath of the Transylvanian campaign in Poland in 1657. Drawing on a database compiled from published and archival sources, he combines quantitative analysis of correspondence patterns with qualitative assessment of changing political intentions, showing how communication among dignitaries such as the palatine, the archbishop of Esztergom, and the judge royal reflected shifting attitudes toward Rákóczi. The study traces phases of non-communication, renewed engagement driven by confessional and strategic considerations, and the emergence of intermediaries who mediated requests for military support. Szabados concludes that although Rákóczi ultimately relied on the intervention of Hungarian officials in 1658, unfavorable circumstances contributed

to internal conflict in Transylvania and paved the way for the Ottoman offensive against the Kingdom of Hungary in 1663.

Beáta Varga examines the consequences of the 1654 Pereyaslav Agreement and the ensuing Russo–Polish conflict over Ukraine, a struggle that Ukrainian historiography later termed the “Ruin.” She traces how shifting interventions by Polish, Russian, and Ottoman actors after Bohdan Khmelnytsky’s death culminated in the 1667 Truce of Andrusovo, which divided Ukrainian lands along the Dnieper and provoked accusations of betrayal from the Cossack elite. Varga argues that the agreement marked a turning point in Eastern European power relations, signaling the emergence of Muscovy as a major actor and reducing prospects for an autonomous Ukrainian polity. The study highlights both the political marginalization of the Cossack leadership – excluded from the Andrusovo negotiations – and the long-term consequences of Ukraine’s administrative and geopolitical partition.

Andrzej Wadas examines the relationship between international power politics and the missionary and diplomatic strategy of the Jesuit Order in both local and global contexts. The study focuses on the period from 1685 to 1704. It argues that during these years a distinct window of opportunity emerged in which the Jesuit Order, in close coordination with the Holy See and with the support of major European powers – namely France, the Habsburg Monarchy, the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, and Russia – sought to develop a missionary strategy centred on the establishment of a land route linking Europe with China. Central to this policy were Russia’s increasing openness to the West and the favourable disposition towards Christianity of the Kangxi Emperor.

Szonja Emese Schmidt examines early Ottoman Turkish incunabula through the editorial practices of İbrahim Müteferrika, analyzing both his own works and the corrections and additions he introduced into other publications issued from his press. Drawing on manuscripts preserved in the Süleymaniye Library and the Raşid Efendi Library, as well as the Latin account *Origo et Principium Typographiae Ottomanicae*, she traces the textual backgrounds of Müteferrika’s writings, translations, and edited prints. Schmidt argues that the substantial editorial and proofreading processes preceding publication render each work a distinct textual product rather than a simple reproduction, situating Müteferrika at the intersection of European printing traditions and Ottoman manuscript culture. The study also explores his educational formation and suggests that his expertise in cartography, the natural sciences, and military studies was likely acquired during European peregrinations rather than in his Transylvanian homeland.

Katarzyna Kuras offers a comparative analysis of two eighteenth-century Polish travel accounts describing journeys through the Habsburg-ruled Kingdom of Hungary – Ignacy Zawisza’s concise military narrative from 1715 and Józef Aleksander Jabłonowski’s extensive unpublished manuscript from 1762. Using a cultural-historical approach, she examines how social position, intellectual ambition, and narrative construction shaped perceptions of space, society, and history, tracing the representational and identity-building functions of noble travel writing. The comparison reveals divergent modes of engaging with Hungary – as a frontier of military experience for Zawisza and as a site of erudite self-fashioning and participation in European intellectual networks for Jabłonowski. Kuras situates Hungarian travel as a medium through which Polish elites negotiated status, articulated cultural belonging, and contributed to transnational early modern travel culture.

Gergely Brandl examines the feasibility of a legal-historical comparison of Polish and Hungarian witchcraft trials, reviewing the historiographical context since the anthropological turn and presenting statistical evidence from both regions. Rather than advocating broad regional comparisons, he argues for microhistorical analysis conducted “from below,” focusing on individual proceedings, court practices, and contemporaneous clusters such as witch-panics. Brandl highlights the shared reliance on uncoded criminal law and the customary adoption of German legal sources – including the *Constitutio Criminalis Carolina* and Benedict Carpzov’s *Practica Nova* – which shaped procedural and substantive norms in both jurisdictions. The study concludes that meaningful comparison depends on identifying parallel trials and tracing how legal citations functioned within specific cases, particularly in eighteenth-century contexts with higher legal literacy and developed demonological frameworks.

Mariusz Kaczka’s contribution examines Ottoman–Central European contacts, treating borders not as lines between worlds but as zones of existence where identities emerged through interaction, dependence, and conflict. Using a corpus of Polish-language correspondence preserved in Russian and Ukrainian archives, he reconstructs the networks surrounding Ilyash Kolchak Pasha and his secretary Piotr Pawłowski, showing how Hotin operated as a logistical, postal, and diplomatic hub on the Ottoman–Polish frontier in the early eighteenth century. The study foregrounds intermediaries as structural actors, highlighting how linguistic skills, brokerage, and everyday exchanges of goods, letters, and intelligence rendered the frontier a zone of mutual dependence rather than a civilizational divide. Kaczka argues that the Ottoman–Polish

border should be understood as a site of long-term structural entanglement shaped by asymmetric power relations rather than an anomalous instance of cooperation.

Stanisław Witecki reinterprets post-Tridentine clerical reform in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth by separating analytically two processes that were traditionally treated as a unified ideal: the professionalization of priestly duties and the “sacerdotalization” of private life. Drawing on egodocuments – most notably the writings of Kazimierz Dziuliński, a parish priest active between 1676 and 1701 – he sketches an anthropological portrait of clerical daily practice, emphasizing that changes in private comportment, social behavior, and devotional routines proved more pervasive than professional regulation. Witecki argues that by the late eighteenth century such transformations helped generate a shared clerical identity despite internal hierarchies and close interaction with lay society. He proposes that distinguishing between professionalization and sacerdotalization opens avenues for broader comparative research, including analysis of testamentary practices, networks, and piety beyond the post-Tridentine era.

Kamil Ruszała investigates the commemoration of Hungarian soldiers in Galicia during the First World War through the case of the Łapanów–Limanowa operation of December 1914, examining the interplay between national and imperial remembrance within the Habsburg Monarchy. He analyzes wartime Hungarian narratives that transformed the battle into a symbol of sacrifice and military virtue, and juxtaposes them with imperial practices such as the construction of the war cemetery on Jabłoniec Hill, designed to sacralize the fallen within a supranational vision of dynastic unity. The study approaches commemoration as both a spatial and narrative process, showing how former battlefields became contested memoryscapes shaped by competing frameworks of loyalty and identity. Ruszała concludes that the hybrid memory formed at Limanowa foreshadowed postwar nationalization of Habsburg sites of sacrifice and underscores the broader role of World War I in reshaping the politics of space and remembrance.

In the opening article of the *Varia* section, Anna Kostrzyńska Miłoś examines post-war furniture exhibitions in Poland between 1945 and 1970, reconstructing them on the basis of press accounts, exhibition catalogues, and display documentation. A chronological approach allows her to trace changes in modes of presentation, ranging from stylised interiors, through exhibitions supplemented with design materials, to displays arranged within actual residential spaces. In the subsequent contribution, Anna Wiśnicka demonstrates that design in films and

television series constitutes a system of visual and cultural communication, complementing narrative structures and revealing meanings rooted in collective memory. Michał Myśliński, in turn, discusses the growing interest in Polish jewellery produced after 1945, noting that despite an increasing number of publications and exhibition catalogues, research on jewellery from the period of the Polish People's Republic remains at a preliminary stage.

Stefan Bielański offers an assessment of the significance that Benedetto Croce attributed to Niccolò Machiavelli's historical and political thought, situating his analysis within the context of the history of the Italian states of the Renaissance, with particular attention to the Kingdom of Naples and its relations with the Spanish monarchy. Anna Starościc and Stanisław Janeczek present the intellectual legacy of the Jesuit Józef Rogaliński (1728–1802), a teacher of mathematics and experimental physics in Poznań, while also addressing the epistemological status of his work *Doświadczenia skutków rzeczy pod zmysły podpadających* (*Experiments on the Effects of Things Perceptible by the Senses*). Halina Šimo reconstructs F. A. Hayek's views on responsibility, portraying it as a condition of freedom and pointing to the consequences of abandoning the responsible exercise of individual autonomy. Krzysztof Koehler's article is thematically related to these reflections, as it addresses the relationship between freedom and responsibility in public life. The author examines the presence of the concept of "civic courage" in sixteenth-century Old Polish thought, highlighting its roots in classical and Christian traditions and its connection to an ethos of decision-making, including decisions taken against the will of the majority.

Anna Telatycka argues that acoustics, alongside the visual dimension, co-constitutes the experience of the sacred in religious architecture, and that the conscious design of sound influences the intelligibility of speech, the resonance of music, and the spiritual perception of sacred interiors. Magdalena Jankosz analyses how Pope Francis presents the role of women in society, within the structures of the Church, and in pastoral ministry, juxtaposing his statements and documents with the approaches of earlier popes. Sławomir Soczyński discusses the concept of freedom of speech in the philosophy of Józef Tischner, emphasising its ethical and dialogical foundations as well as the responsibility entailed in the use of language amid contemporary social tensions. Marcin Gadocha reconstructs the circumstances surrounding the creation of the banner of the Kraków Bakers' Guild, completed in 1912, by confronting press reports with guild documentation. He highlights discrepancies between

the official narrative and the actual course of the work, and discusses the iconography of the banner designed by Emilia Pydynkowska.

The volume concludes with an article by Sławomir Kęszka, based on archival sources and eyewitness accounts, devoted to the pastoral ministry of Polish priests in the Allied occupation zones following the liberation of KL Dachau in April 1945, as well as their involvement in the reconstruction of parish life in post-war Germany.

In addition, the present volume contains four reviews authored by Tomasz Pudłocki, Iwona Pietrzkiewicz, Danuta Smołucha, and Józef Bremer.

We wish you a pleasant reading,

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Wstęp

Niniejszy numer Rocznika Filozoficznego Ignatianum został podzielony na dwie części. Pierwsza obejmuje artykuły naukowe poświęcone relacjom polsko-węgierskim w kontekście rywalizacji Habsburgów i Osmanów, od średniowiecza po epokę nowożytną. Druga część zawiera dział Varia, gromadzący teksty o zróżnicowanej tematyce, oraz dział recenzji, poświęcony najnowszym publikacjom naukowym.

Wśród zagadnień podejmowanych w niniejszym tomie ważne miejsce zajmuje problematyka rozwijana w ramach współpracy badawczej środowisk akademickich Krakowa i Segedyna. Ma ona długą tradycję, przekazywaną przez kolejne pokolenia badaczy, oraz znajduje kontynuację w ostatnich latach dzięki podejmowanym inicjatywom naukowym i wydawniczym. Redakcja wyraża przekonanie, że prezentowane teksty stanowią wartościowy wkład w badania nad dziejami Europy Środkowej oraz nad powiązaniami politycznymi i kulturowymi regionu w okresie od średniowiecza po czasy nowożytne.

Csaba Göncöl śledzi ewolucję początkowej formuły protokolarnej stosowanej w cesarskich dekretych mongolskich od imperium XIII wieku, poprzez Złotą Ordeę, aż po Chanat Krymski, wskazując na trwałość

czyngisydzkich konwencji biurokratycznych, w szczególności formuły *sözüm/sözümüz* („moje/nasze słowo”). Autor pokazuje, w jaki sposób praktyki te przetrwały mimo głębokich przemian religijnych i kulturowych oraz jak wpłynęły na ukształtowanie się charakterystycznego krymskotatarskiego znaku uwierzytelniającego (*tuğra*) pod wpływem osmańskim – politycznym i kulturowym. Artykuł dowodzi, że krymska *tuğra* stanowi syntezę tradycji mongolskiej, islamskiej i osmańskiej, zachowując szacunek dla czyngisydzkiej przeszłości w ramach nowego porządku administracyjnego. Tekst wskazuje również na ograniczony stan badań nad tym zagadnieniem oraz postuluje potrzebę dalszych studiów nad kulturą kancelaryjną Chanatu Krymskiego.

Yanina Ryier analizuje narracyjne konstruowanie postaci pogańskich w relacjach dotyczących pogańsko-chrześcijańskich sojuszy militarnych, wychodząc od współpracy polsko-litewskiej z początków XIV wieku, zapoczątkowanej małżeństwem Kazimierza, syna Władysława Łokietka, z Anną, córką Giedymina. Koncentrując się na opisie kampanii polsko-litewsko-węgierskiej z 1330 roku, autorstwa Wiganda z Marburga, oraz na niemieckich relacjach wcześniejszych wspólnych wypraw, identyfikuje powtarzające się wzorce ambiwalencji i krytyki moralnej kierowanej wobec pogańskich sojuszników, mimo strategicznej konieczności współpracy. Ryier poszerza analizę poza tradycję łacińską, sięgając do źródeł prawosławnych, które również przedstawiają pogańskich partnerów wojskowych jako potencjalnych agresorów, pozostających poza chrześcijańskim dyskursywnym „Ja”. Artykuł dowodzi zatem, że nawet w sytuacjach rzeczywistej kooperacji narracyjne przedstawienia ukazywały takie sojusze jako niepewne i warunkowe, naznaczone nieufnością oraz ideologicznym wyznaczaniem granic.

Stanisław Sroka analizuje współczesne narracyjne oceny króla Węgier Ludwika Wielkiego (1342–1382), jedyne go władcy węgierskiego obdarzonego tym przydomkiem. Odwołując się do powstałej w połowie XIV wieku pieśni pochwalnej Petera Suchenwirta oraz *Chronicon de Ludovico rege* Jana z Küküllő, autor ukazuje przedstawienia Ludwika jako monarchy rycerskiego, zaangażowanego w liczne kampanie wojenne, a także zwraca uwagę na wzmianki dotyczące jego zainteresowań, zdolności językowych i wyglądu. Sroka uwzględnia również kroniki włoskie, oferujące dalsze charakterystyki – w tym materiał anegdotyczny – i proponuje nowoczesne podejście do interpretacji tych narracyjnych portretów. Artykuł rekonstruuje w ten sposób złożony, współczesny wizerunek Ludwika na podstawie przekazów tekstowych oraz zachowanych wizerunków ikonograficznych.

Łukasz Burkiewicz rekonstruuje działalność dyplomatyczną i misyjną arcybiskupa Jana z Sultāniyya, dominikanina działającego w służbie Timura oraz jego syna Miran-szaha na przełomie XIV i XV wieku. Na podstawie świadectw licznych poselstw do Europy Zachodniej w latach 1398–co najmniej 1412 autor pokazuje, w jaki sposób Jan zabiegał o anty-osmańską współpracę, pozyskanie wsparcia dla misji chrześcijańskich w Persji i Azji Środkowej oraz kształtowanie przychylnego wizerunku Timurydów wśród władców zachodnich. Studium podkreśla szeroki zakres nominacji kościelnych Jana, jego kontakty z europejskimi dworami – w tym znamienne wizytę w Malborku u Zakonu Krzyżackiego w 1407 roku – a także gospodarcze i religijne cele, jakie wiązał z pokojem na Jedwabnym Szlaku. Burkiewicz akcentuje również fragmentaryczny charakter zachowanych źródeł oraz potrzebę dalszych badań nad trasą podróży Jana i jego aspiracjami politycznymi.

Miklós Halmágyi bada słabo dotąd rozpoznane powiązania komitatu Békés w południowo-wschodnich Węgrzech z obszarem polsko-litewskim w XV i XVI wieku, wskazując na wzorce patronatu królewskiego, mobilności studentów oraz obecności wojskowej. Zwraca on uwagę na przypadki sięgające od nadania dokonanego przez Władysława Warneńczyka na rzecz szlachcica z Békés w 1444 roku, poprzez obecność wojsk polskich w pobliżu Gyuli w 1529 roku, aż po możliwą wizytę dyplomaty Hieronima Łaskiego w Csabie. Opierając się na korespondencji z 1531 roku, Halmágyi rekonstruuje mediacje dyplomatyczne z udziałem królów Jana Zapoły, Ferdynanda Habsburga oraz Zygmunta Starego w sprawie Gyuli, sytuując je w szerszym kontekście relacji polsko-brandenbursko-węgierskich. Artykuł uzupełniają edycje dwóch współczesnych dokumentów przechowywanych w Békéscsaba i Koszycach.

Adam Zapała przedstawia nową, wspomaganą cyfrowo metodę identyfikacji i katalogowania materiałów z końca XV i początku XVI wieku zachowanych w rejestrach Kancelarii Apostolskiej. Poprzez systematyczne łączenie indeksów archiwalnych z ukierunkowanymi kwerendami w *Registra Lateranensia*, *Registra Vaticana* oraz *Registra Supplicationum* autor dowodzi, że tysiące wpisów – w tym ponad 1100 dotyczących Polski – można zlokalizować w ciągu kilku tygodni, a nie dekad. Studium proponuje model publikowania tych danych zgodny ze standardami FAIR i Linked Open Data, umożliwiający stopniowe udostępnianie, interoperacyjność oraz badania zespołowe. Choć metoda została przetestowana na materiale polskim, przedstawiona jest jako uniwersalnie stosowalna i szczególnie obiecująca dla rekonstrukcji dokumentacji z innych obszarów jagiellońskich, w tym Węgier i Czech.

Dominik Kadzik ponownie ocenia rolę Węgrów w otoczeniu Stefana Batorego, dowodząc, że ich działalność w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów była znacznie bardziej rozległa i ciągła, niż sugeruje historiografia koncentrująca się wyłącznie na kampaniach moskiewskich. Autor pokazuje, że przez cały okres panowania Batorego kilka tysięcy węgierskich żołnierzy, dworzan, sekretarzy i sług – blisko dwa tysiące w formacjach wojskowych oraz około pięciuset w służbie dworskiej – wykonywało zadania bezpośrednio związane z politycznymi, dynastycznymi i logistycznymi potrzebami monarchii. Ich obecność odzwierciedlała zarówno zależność hierarchiczną, jak i stałą fluktuację personalną, podtrzymywaną przez nieustanny napływ osób z Siedmiogrodu poszukujących królewskiej służby. Kadzik konkluduje, że ta ciągła obecność wzmacniała więzi siedmiogrodzko-rzeczypospolite oraz kompensowała strukturalne słabości polsko-litewskiego zaplecza wojskowego i administracyjnego.

Janusz Smółucha analizuje krakowskie rokowania z 1596 roku, zwołane w trakcie tzw. długiej wojny tureckiej (w historiografii węgierskiej określanej jako wojna piętnastoletnia, 1591/1593–1606), których celem było utworzenie Ligi Świętej, i koncentruje się w szczególności na korespondencji dyplomatycznej kardynała Enrica Caetanego, legata papieskiego. Autor rekonstruuje wysiłki Stolicy Apostolskiej zmierzające do zbudowania szerokiej koalicji antyosmańskiej oraz ukazuje, w jaki sposób rokowania ujawniły podziały między Rzeczpospolitą Obojga Narodów a Habsburgami w kwestii Mołdawii i Wołoszczyzny, a także głębsze napięcia obejmujące Węgry i Siedmiogród. Choć zagrożona najazdami tatarskimi, Polska przedkładała stabilność oraz handel czarnomorski, natomiast obecni na kongresie delegaci nie posiadali pełnomocnictw do zawierania wiążących porozumień, co przyczyniło się do fiaska obrad. Smółucha dowodzi, że mimo niepowodzenia epizod ten pozwala lepiej zrozumieć zarówno ambicje, jak i ograniczenia dyplomacji papieskiej oraz strategiczne miejsce przypisywane Rzeczypospolitej i podzielonym Węgrom w kształtującej się retoryce „przedmurza chrześcijaństwa”.

Krisztina Juhász rekonstruuje wczesną fazę polskiej sieci kontaktów Stefana Bocskaya do 1594 roku, wykazując, że rozwój tych relacji od 1583 roku był ściśle związany z jego pokrewieństwem z panującą dynastią Batorych. Opierając się na szeroko zakrojonej kwerendzie archiwalnej – obejmującej m.in. niepublikowane materiały z Ostrzyhomia, Węgierskiej Akademii Nauk oraz Węgierskiego Archiwum Narodowego – analizuje misję Bocskaya do Polski w latach 1588 i 1590 oraz jego korespondencję z kanclerzem Janem Zamoyskim, który stał się jego najważniejszym i najtrwalszym kontaktem po stronie polskiej. Juhász identyfikuje relację wzajemną, o wyraźnym politycznym charakterze, która po 1594 roku

uległa czasowemu zerwaniu i pozostawiła niewiele śladów źródłowych przez kolejną dekadę. Studium kończy się wnioskiem, że polskie kontakty Bocskaya zostały następnie odnowione i rozszerzone po 1605 roku, co odzwierciedlało zmienione realia polityczne oraz jego nową pozycję.

Sándor Papp analizuje osmański wymiar elekcji Stefana Batorego na tron polski, dowodząc, że jego początkowo mało prawdopodobna kandydatura w czasie drugiego bezkrólewia stała się realna wyłącznie dzięki dyplomatycznemu i militarnemu wsparciu sułtana Murada III oraz wielkiego wezyra Sokollu Mehmeda Paszy. Autor pokazuje, w jaki sposób Wysoka Porta wywierała presję na Rzeczpospolitą Obojga Narodów, a jednocześnie skłaniała cesarza habsburskiego do zaakceptowania wyniku elekcji, kształtując tym samym jeden z najwcześniejszych priorytetów polityki zagranicznej Batorego: stabilizację stosunków osmańsko-polskich oraz zawarcie suwerennego traktatu pokojowego w 1577 roku. Artykuł rekonstruuje proces, w którym Batory przeszedł drogę od zależnego od Osmanów wojewody do autonomicznego monarchy, oraz pokazuje, jak porozumienie z 1577 roku stało się wzorcem dla kolejnych traktatów polsko-osmańskich, a nawet dla wczesnych angielsko-osmańskich układów handlowych. Papp umieszcza tym samym awans Batorego w zmieniających się ramach prawnych i dyplomatycznych schyłku XVI wieku, podkreślając przejście od wasalności do uznanej suwerenności.

Hubert Chlebiak analizuje sposób, w jaki nowożytni polscy dyplomaci postrzegali krajobraz naturalny i kulturowy przemierzany w drodze do Konstantynopola, wykorzystując dzienniki podróży oraz raporty dyplomatyczne, aby wykazać, że przestrzeń nie była jedynie biernym tłem, lecz aktywnym elementem doświadczenia dyplomatycznego. Autor identyfikuje kilka ról przypisywanych krajobrazowi – jako sceny hierarchii ceremonialnej, repozytorium pamięci historycznej, obiektu podziwu lub lęku oraz źródła realnych zagrożeń fizycznych. Szczególny nacisk położony został na niebezpieczeństwa związane z podróżami głównymi siedemnastowiecznymi szlakami komunikacyjnymi, w tym ryzykowne przeprawy rzeczne przy braku mostów oraz trudne przejścia przez pasma Bałkanów. Chlebiak konkluduje, że nawet w obliczu braku zagrożeń ze strony ludzi, warunki naturalne – od wezbranych rzek po nieznaną aktywność sejsmiczną – stanowiły poważne wyzwanie dla mobilności dyplomatycznej.

János Szabados bada relacje między księciem Jerzym II Rakoczym a czołowymi postaciami życia politycznego Królestwa Węgier po wyprawie siedmiogrodzkiej do Polski w 1657 roku. Opierając się na bazie danych zestawionej z opublikowanych i archiwalnych źródeł, autor łączy ilościową analizę wzorców korespondencji z jakościową oceną zmieniających

się intencji politycznych, ukazując, w jaki sposób komunikacja między dostojnikami – takimi jak palatyn, arcybiskup Ostrzyhomia czy sędzia nadworny – odzwierciedlała ewoluujące postawy wobec Rakoczego. Studium śledzi fazy braku kontaktów, ponownego zbliżenia motywowanego względami wyznaniowymi i strategicznymi oraz wyłaniania się pośredników mediujących prośby o wsparcie militarne. Szabados dochodzi do wniosku, że choć Rakoczy ostatecznie poległ na interwencji węgierskich urzędników w 1658 roku, niesprzyjające okoliczności przyczyniły się do konfliktów wewnętrznych w Siedmiogrodzie i uitorowały drogę ofensywie osmańskiej przeciw Królestwu Węgier w 1663 roku.

Beáta Varga analizuje konsekwencje ugody perejaślowskiej z 1654 roku oraz następującego po niej konfliktu rosyjsko-polskiego o Ukrainę – walki, którą historiografia ukraińska określiła później mianem „Ruiny”. Autorka śledzi, w jaki sposób zmienne interwencje aktorów polskich, rosyjskich i osmańskich po śmierci Bohdana Chmielnickiego doprowadziły do rozejmu andruszowskiego z 1667 roku, który podzielił ziemie ukraińskie wzdłuż Dniepru i wywołał oskarżenia o zdradę ze strony elity kozackiej. Varga dowodzi, że porozumienie to stanowiło punkt zwrotny w układzie sił Europy Wschodniej, sygnalizując wyłonienie się Moskwy jako znaczącego aktora oraz ograniczenie perspektyw powstania autonomicznej państwowości ukraińskiej. Analiza podkreśla zarówno polityczną marginalizację przywództwa kozackiego – wykluczonego z negocjacji andruszowskich – jak i długofalowe konsekwencje administracyjnego i geopolitycznego podziału Ukrainy.

Andrzej Wadas analizuje relację między międzynarodową polityką sił a strategią misyjną i dyplomatyczną zakonu jezuitów w wymiarze zarówno lokalnym, jak i globalnym. Studium koncentruje się na latach 1685–1704. Autor dowodzi, że w tym okresie wyłoniło się szczególne „okno możliwości”, w ramach którego zakon jezuitów – w ścisłej koordynacji ze Stolicą Apostolską oraz przy wsparciu głównych potęg europejskich, takich jak Francja, Monarchia Habsburgów, Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodów i Rosja – dążył do wypracowania strategii misyjnej opartej na ustanowieniu lądowego szlaku łączącego Europę z Chinami. Kluczowe znaczenie dla tej strategii miały rosnąca otwartość Rosji na Zachód oraz przychylne nastawienie cesarza Kangxi wobec chrześcijaństwa.

Szonja Emese Schmidt bada pierwsze inkunabuły osmańsko-tureckie przez pryzmat praktyk edytorskich İbrahima Müteferriki, analizując zarówno jego własne dzieła, jak i poprawki oraz uzupełnienia wprowadzane do innych publikacji wydanych w jego oficynie. Bazując na rękopisach przechowywanych w Bibliotece Süleymaniye oraz Bibliotece Raşid Efendi, a także łacińskim traktacie *Origo et Principium Typographiae*

Ottomanicae, autorka rekonstruuje zaplecze tekstowe pism, przekładów i edycji Müteferriki. Schmidt dowodzi, że rozbudowane procesy redakcyjne i korektorskie poprzedzające druk sprawiają, iż każde dzieło stanowi odrębny produkt, a nie prostą reprodukcję, lokując Müteferrikę na styku europejskich tradycji drukarskich i osmańskiej kultury rękopiśmiennej. Studium porusza również kwestię jego formacji intelektualnej, sugerując, że wiedza z zakresu kartografii, nauk przyrodniczych i wojskowości została przez niego nabyta raczej podczas peregrynacji po Europie niż w rodzinnym Siedmiogrodzie.

Katarzyna Kuras przedstawia porównawczą analizę dwóch osiemnastowiecznych polskich relacji z podróży przez pozostające pod panowaniem Habsburgów Królestwo Węgier – zwięzłej narracji wojskowej Ignacego Zawiszy z 1715 roku oraz obszernego, niepublikowanego rękopisu Józefa Aleksandra Jabłonowskiego z 1762 roku. Stosując podejście z zakresu historii kulturowej, bada, w jaki sposób pozycja społeczna, ambicje intelektualne i konstrukcja narracji kształtowały postrzeganie przestrzeni, społeczeństwa i historii, ukazując funkcje reprezentacyjne i tożsamościotwórcze szlacheckiego piśmiennictwa podróżniczego. Porównanie to ujawnia odmienne sposoby odnoszenia się do Węgier – jako pola doświadczenia wojskowego w przypadku Zawiszy oraz jako przestrzeni erudycyjnej autokreacji i uczestnictwa w europejskich sieciach intelektualnych u Jabłonowskiego. Kuras sytuuje tym samym podróżowanie po Węgrzech jako medium, poprzez które polskie elity negocjowały status, artykułowały przynależność kulturową oraz współtworzyły transnarodową kulturę podróży w epoce nowożytnej.

Gergely Brandl bada możliwość przeprowadzenia porównania prawno-historycznego polskich i węgierskich procesów o czary, omawiając kontekst historiograficzny po tzw. zwrocie antropologicznym oraz prezentując dane statystyczne z obu regionów. Zamiast postulować szerokie porównania regionalne, autor opowiada się za analizą mikro-historyczną prowadzoną „oddolnie”, skoncentrowaną na poszczególnych postępowaniach, praktykach sądowych oraz współczesnych kumulacjach zjawisk, takich jak paniki czarownic. Brandl podkreśla wspólne oparcie obu systemów na niekodyfikowanym prawie karnym oraz zwyczajowe korzystanie z niemieckich źródeł prawnych – w tym *Constitutio Criminalis Carolina* oraz *Practica Nova* Benedykta Carpzova – które kształtowały normy proceduralne i materialne w obu jurysdykcjach. Studium konkluduje, że sensowne porównanie wymaga identyfikacji paralelnych procesów oraz prześledzenia funkcjonowania cytowań prawnych w konkretnych sprawach, zwłaszcza w realiach XVIII wieku,

charakteryzujących się wyższym poziomem kultury prawnej i rozwiniętymi ramami demonologicznymi.

Artykuł Mariusza Kaczki wpisuje się ściśle w problematykę dotyczącą kontaktów osmańsko-środkowoeuropejskich. Wykorzystując korpus polskojęzycznej korespondencji zachowanej w archiwach rosyjskich i ukraińskich, autor rekonstruuje sieci powiązań wokół Iljasza Kołczaka Paszy i jego sekretarza Piotra Pawłowskiego, ukazując Chocim jako węzeł logistyczny, pocztowy i dyplomatyczny na pograniczu osmańsko-polskim na początku XVIII wieku. Studium eksponuje rolę pośredników jako aktorów strukturalnych, podkreślając, w jaki sposób kompetencje językowe, pośrednictwo oraz codzienna wymiana towarów, listów i informacji czyniły pogranicze strefą wzajemnej zależności, a nie cywilizacyjnego podziału. Kaczka argumentuje, że granica osmańsko-polska powinna być rozumiana jako przestrzeń długotrwałego strukturalnego uwikłania, kształtowanego przez asymetryczne relacje władzy, a nie jako anomalia współpracy.

Stanisław Witecki proponuje reinterpretację potrydenckiej reformy duchowieństwa w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów poprzez analityczne rozdzielenie dwóch procesów, które tradycyjnie ujmowano jako jeden ideał: profesjonalizacji obowiązków kapłańskich oraz „sakralizacji” życia prywatnego. Opierając się na egodokumentach – przede wszystkim pismach Kazimierza Dziulińskiego, proboszcza czynnego w latach 1676–1701 – autor szkicuje antropologiczny portret codziennej praktyki duchowieństwa, podkreślając, że zmiany w sferze prywatnych zachowań, relacji społecznych i praktyk dewocyjnych okazały się bardziej wszechobecne niż regulacje zawodowe. Witecki dowodzi, że u schyłku XVIII wieku przemiany te sprzyjały wytworzeniu wspólnej tożsamości duchowieństwa, mimo wewnętrznych hierarchii i bliskiego kontaktu ze społeczeństwem świeckim. Autor proponuje, by rozróżnienie między profesjonalizacją a sakralizacją otwierało drogę do szerszych badań porównawczych, obejmujących m.in. praktyki testamentowe, sieci społeczne i formy pobożności także poza epoką potrydencką.

Kamil Ruszała bada upamiętnianie węgierskich żołnierzy w Galicji podczas I wojny światowej na przykładzie operacji łapanowsko-limanowskiej z grudnia 1914 roku, analizując napięcie między narodowymi a imperialnymi formami pamięci w ramach monarchii habsburskiej. Autor omawia wojenne narracje węgierskie, które przekształciły bitwę w symbol ofiary i cnoty wojskowej, zestawiając je z praktykami imperialnymi, takimi jak budowa cmentarza wojennego na wzgórzu Jabłoniec, zaprojektowanego w celu sakralizacji poległych w duchu ponadnarodowej wizji jedności dynastycznej. Studium ujmuje upamiętnianie jako

proces zarówno przestrzenny, jak i narracyjny, ukazując, w jaki sposób dawne pola bitew stawały się spornymi krajobrazami pamięci, kształtowanymi przez konkurujące ze sobą ramy lojalności i tożsamości. Ruszała konkluduje, że hybrydowa pamięć uformowana wokół Limanowej zapowiadała powojenną nacjonalizację habsburskich miejsc ofiary oraz podkreśla szerszą rolę I wojny światowej w przekształcaniu polityki przestrzeni i pamięci.

W pierwszym artykule działu *Varia* Anna Kostrzyńska-Miłosz analizuje powojenne wystawy meblarskie w Polsce z lat 1945–1970, rekonstruuje je na podstawie prasy, katalogów i dokumentacji ekspozycyjnej. Ujęcie chronologiczne pozwala uchwycić przemiany sposobów prezentacji, od stylizowanych wnętrz, przez pokazy uzupełniane materiałami projektowymi, po ekspozycje aranżowane w rzeczywistych przestrzeniach mieszkalnych. W kolejnym tekście Anna Wiśnicka pokazuje, że design w filmach i serialach tworzy system komunikatów wizualno-kulturowych, dopowiadając fabułę i ujawniając treści zakorzenione w pamięci zbiorowej. Michał Myśliński omawia z kolei wzrost zainteresowania polską biżuterią wytwarzaną po 1945 roku, wskazując, że mimo rosnącej liczby publikacji i katalogów wystaw badania nad biżuterią PRL pozostają na etapie wstępnym.

Stefan Bielański przedstawia ocenę znaczenia, jakie Benedetto Croce nadawał myśli historycznej i politycznej Niccolò Machiavellego, osadzając analizę w kontekście dziejów państw włoskich renesansu, zwłaszcza Królestwa Neapolu i jego relacji z monarchią hiszpańską. Anna Starościc i Stanisław Janeczek przybliżają dorobek jezuitę Józefa Rogalińskiego (1728–1802), nauczyciela matematyki i fizyki eksperymentalnej w Poznaniu, podejmując także kwestię epistemologicznego statusu jego dzieła *Doświadczenia skutków rzeczy pod zmysły podpadających*. Halina Šimo rekonstruuje poglądy F.A. Hayeka na odpowiedzialność, ukazując ją jako warunek wolności i wskazując skutki rezygnacji z odpowiedzialnego korzystania z własnej autonomii. Artykuł Krzysztofa Koehlera pozostaje w pewnym związku z tymi rozważaniami, ponieważ podejmuje temat relacji między wolnością a odpowiedzialnością w życiu publicznym. Autor omawia obecność problematyki „męstwa obywatela” w staropolskiej refleksji XVI wieku, wskazując na jej zakorzenienie w tradycji klasycznej i chrześcijańskiej oraz na powiązanie z etosem podejmowania decyzji, także wbrew większości.

Anna Telatycka dowodzi, że akustyka, obok wymiaru wizualnego, współtworzy doświadczenie sacrum w architekturze sakralnej, a świadome projektowanie dźwięku wpływa na zrozumiałość mowy, brzmienie muzyki i duchowy odbiór wnętrza. Magdalena Jankosz analizuje, jak

papież Franciszek przedstawia rolę kobiet w społeczeństwie, w strukturach Kościoła oraz w posługiwaniu duszpasterskim, zestawiając jego wypowiedzi i dokumenty z ujęciem wcześniejszych papieży. Sławomir Soczyński omawia koncepcję wolności słowa w filozofii Józefa Tischnera, akcentując jej etyczne i dialogiczne fundamenty oraz odpowiedzialność za słowo w sytuacji współczesnych napięć społecznych.

Marcin Gadocha rekonstruuje okoliczności powstania sztandaru krakowskiego cechu piekarzy, ukończonego w 1912 roku, konfrontując prasowe relacje z dokumentacją cechową. Wskazuje różnice między przekazem oficjalnym a rzeczywistym przebiegiem prac oraz omawia ikonografię sztandaru autorstwa Emilii Pydynkowskiej. Tom zamyka artykuł Sławomira Kęszki, oparty na źródłach archiwalnych i relacjach świadków, poświęcony posłudze polskich księży w alianckich strefach okupacyjnych po wyzwoleniu KL Dachau w kwietniu 1945 roku oraz ich zaangażowaniu w odbudowę życia parafialnego w powojennych Niemczech.

Niniejszy tom zawiera ponadto cztery recenzje autorstwa Tomasza Pudłockiego, Iwony Pietrzkiewicz, Danuty Smołuchy i Józefa Bremera.

Życzymy miłej lektury,

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Continuity and Change from the Mongol Empire to the Crimean Khanate

Kontynuacja i zmiana od Imperium
Mongolskiego do Chanatu Krymskiego

Abstract

This article examines the evolution of the initial protocol used in Mongol imperial decrees, tracing its development from the thirteenth century Mongol Empire throughout the period of Golden Horde to the Crimean Khanate. It highlights the continuity of Genghisid diplomatic and bureaucratic traditions— particularly the use of the formula *sözüm/sözümüz* ‘my/our word’— that despite religious and cultural transformations throughout several centuries. Furthermore, the article demonstrates how this early Mongol tradition was adapted into a distinctive Crimean Tatar corroborating sign (*tuğra*) under the political and cultural influence of the Ottoman Empire.

Keywords: initial protocol, Mongol and Golden Horde decrees, *sözüm/sözümüz*, Crimean Tatar *tuğra*.

1 The author is a member of the HUN-REN–SZTE Research Group of the Ottoman Age.

Abstrakt

Artykuł analizuje ewolucję początkowego protokołu stosowanego w mongolskich dekretach cesarskich, śledząc jego rozwój od trzynastowiecznego Imperium Mongolskiego przez okres Złotej Ordy aż do Chanatu Krymskiego. Autor podkreśla ciągłość tradycji dyplomatycznych i biurokratycznych wywodzących się od Czyngisydów – w szczególności użycie formuły *sözüm/sözümüz* („moje/nasze słowo”) – mimo przemian religijnych i kulturowych na przestrzeni kilku stuleci. Ponadto artykuł ukazuje, w jaki sposób ta wczesna mongolska tradycja została zaadaptowana w charakterystyczny krymskotatarski znak potwierdzający (*tuğra*) pod wpływem politycznym i kulturowym Imperium Osmańskiego.

Słowa kluczowe: protokół początkowy, dekrety mongolskie i Złotej Ordy, *sözüm/sözümüz*, krymskotatarska *tuğra*.

The Crimean Khanate was a unique state formation in Eastern Europe. As a successor state of the Golden Horde, which itself had broken away from the Mongol Empire, it preserved many nomadic political, social and state institutions, customs, and practices originating from the of Mongolian homeland of the thirteenth century. The khanate was ruled by members of the Girey dynasty, who traced their origin to Genghis Khan. A strong legitimising factor within the society was the *yasa* (Mong. *yasağ*), commandments attributed to the conqueror, and the *töre* (Mong. *yosun*), an ancient Turco-Mongolian customary law. The Crimean tribal aristocracy elevated their khans on white felts during so-called *kurultays*, assemblies originally held by Mongol royalty and chieftains. These and many similar practices reflected the khanate's enduring connection to its Mongol past.

This article demonstrates how one such early Mongolian tradition – the use of initial protocols in Mongolian and Golden Horde decrees – was preserved and transformed in the Crimean Khanate. It traces the evolution of these protocols into an introductory formula and, eventually, into an Ottoman-style corroborating sign (*tuğra*) over the course of the thirteenth to seventeenth centuries.²

2 Works addressing the present topic are often highly focused on the philological and linguistic aspects of early Mongol and Golden Horde decrees. Since this paper intends to give an overview of a custom's longevity and change, such aspects are not taken into consideration. Turkic, Arabic, and Persian terms and texts have been transcribed using the transcription system of the *İslam Ansiklopedisi*. Mongolian texts were also modified to fit this system. Sources in Old Slavic languages are rendered with the characters of Modern Russian.

Initial protocols of early Mongol decrees

When the first Mongol armies left the steppes and entered regions inhabited by sedentary populations in the early thirteenth century, the need arose for a system of literacy and administration capable of managing the nascent multi-ethnic and multi-religious empire. This task fell to the Uighurs, a Turkic people inhabiting the oasis cities of the Tarim Basin, who had only recently submitted to Genghis Khan. With their long-standing written tradition and bureaucratic experience – often shaped by Chinese influence – the Uighurs adapted their script to the Mongolian language and, drawing on their own models, laid the foundations of Mongol imperial administrative apparatus that accompanied the Mongol armies in their campaigns. Although local chancelleries of conquered people often influenced Mongol chancery practices, one can nonetheless speak of a broadly unified Mongol bureaucratic tradition.

Early Mongol edicts and orders are relatively few in number. Their study is complicated by the fact that they were written in multiple languages (Mongolian, Turkic, Chinese, Persian, etc.) or scripts (Uighur-Mongolian, Chinese, 'Phags-pa, Arabic, etc.), and that many have survived only in translations (Chinese, Persian, etc.). Despite this, the documents display a high degree of structural uniformity. They typically consist of three parts: 1) an initial protocol, 2) the main body of the text, and 3) a closing section.³ The current paper focuses only on the first component, the initial protocol.

The initial protocol was generally positioned a few lines above the main text, scholarship refers to this as 'honorific lift', a layout that clearly reflects Chinese influence. Edicts issued by the Great Khans contain initial protocols of one to three lines, the latter being more common. The first invokes *möngke tengri* ('Eternal Heaven'), the supreme sky god of Eurasian nomads; the second appeals to ancestral spirits or other revered entities; the third states the issuer's title, followed by the Mongolian phrase *yarlıg manu* ('our edict').⁴ The initial protocol was explicitly designed to convey the Mongols' imperial ideology of conquest and

3 Kim Hodong, "Mongol Imperial Institutions," in *The Cambridge History of the Mongol Empire*, eds. Michal Biran, Kim Hodong (Cambridge: University Press, 2023), 399–443. 431.

4 Eric Voegelin, "The Mongol Orders of Submission to European Powers, 1245–1255," *Byzantion* 15 (1940–1941): 378–413. 92–94. Аркадий Павлович Григорьев, *Монгольская дипломатика XIII–XV. вв. (чингизидские жалованные грамоты)* (Ленинград: Издательство ленинградского университета, 1978), 17–19. Kim, "Mongol Imperial Institutions," 432.

universal sovereignty. According to Mongol belief, they had received a mandate from *Tengri* to rule the world. Furthermore, *Tengri* bestowed a royal charisma (Mong. *suu*) on Genghis khan and his lineage, rendering them fit to be elevated to supreme monarchs (Mong. *ka'an*, Turkic *kağan*).⁵ An illustrative example of this idea can be found in the initial protocol of Khubilai Khan's decrees, written in Mongolian using the ,Phags-pa script, which reads as follows:

Möngke tengri-yin küçün-dür
yeke suu cali-yin ihe'en-dür
ka'an carliq manu⁶

'By the might of Eternal Sky / by the protection of the great Fortune Flame
/ the Great
Khan, our decree'

While the structure of the initial protocol in the edicts of Great Khans shows a high degree of uniformity, their content may exhibit varying levels of divergence. In contrast to the above-cited example, the second line of the letter of submission sent by Güyüg, the Great Khan to Pope Innocent IV – a Persian translation of a now-lost original likely written in Mongolian – features the following protocol, written in Turkic using the Arabic script:

mengü tengri küçünde
kür uluğ ulusnung taluynung
hân yarlıgımız⁷

'By the might of Eternal Sky / [we] the oceanic khan of all the great people
/ [issue] our command'

5 Thomas T. Allsen "Imperial Ideology," in *The Cambridge History of the Mongol Empire*, eds. Michal Biran, Kim Hodong (Cambridge: University Press, 2023), 444–459. Michal Biran, "The Mongol Imperial Space: From Universalism to Glocalization*," in *The Limits of Universal Rule: Eurasian Empires Compared*, eds. Yuri Pines, Michael Biran and Jörg Rüpke (Cambridge: University Press, 2021), 220–256. Steven Pow, Alexander Viacheslavovich Maiorov, "To «Conquer Rome and Beyond Rome»: The Mongol Ideology of World Domination in Medieval Reality and Imagination," *Studia Slavica et Balcanica Petropolitana* 35/1 (2024): 3–38.

6 Domii Tumurtogoo, *Mongol Monuments in 'Phags-pa Script* (Taipei: Institute of Linguistics, Academia Sinica, 2010), 11, 13–14, 16, 18, etc.

7 Paul Peliot, "Les Mongols et la Papauté," *Revue de L'Orient Chrétien* 3/23 (1922–1923): 1–28. A note to the translation: I use the usual English "by the might..." phrase in the article. However, the reader is advised to keep in mind, that both Mongolian and Turkic texts consequently use a locative case, so "in the might."

A handful of letters and decrees – both originals and translations – have survived from Ilkhanid khans, that is, a branch of the Genghisids who ruled over Iran, Anatolia, and parts of the Middle-East. Compared with the decrees of the Great Khans, the initial protocols of Ilkhanid documents show considerable overlap, though with small but important distinctions. The Mongol rulers of Iran accepted – at least nominally – the supremacy of the Yuan dynasty, their kin in Mongolia and China. The decrees that survive from the Ilkhanid period follow the previously discussed pattern of initial protocol: it is elevated above the text (the so-called honorific lift), and – with a few exceptions – consists of one to three components. These invoke Eternal Heaven and allude to the Fortune of the Great Khan, but the issuer uses the phrase *üge manu* ('our word'), instead of *carlig manu* ('our decree').⁸ The letter sent by Arğun Ilkhan to the French king Philip le Bel in 1289 – the original of which was written in Mongolian using the Uighur script – reads:

möngke tengri-yin kücündür

hağan-i suu dur

Arğun üge manu⁹

'By the might of Eternal Sky / by the charisma of the great khan / Arğun,
our word'

The initial protocols of imperial decrees underwent a greater degree of change when a monarch converted to a new religion. For example, Ilkhanid rulers who embraced Islam – the religion followed by the majority of their subjects – incorporated Islamic elements, articles of faith, or both into the initial protocol of their decrees. A fragment of a Mongolian document from Iran contains a formula that alludes both to the sky god of the steppes and Genghisid ancestral spirits, as well as to the prophet of the ruler's subject population:

8 Григорьев, *Монгольская дипломатика*, 25–26; Louis Ligeti, "Gerhard Doerfer, Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neuperischen unter Berücksichtigung neuperischer Geschichtsquellen, vor allem der Mongolen und Timuridenzeit. Band II: Türkische Elemente im Neuperischen, alif bis tä. V–VIII et 671 pages. Wiesbaden 1965 – Band III, ġim bis kâf. 670 pages. Wiesbaden 1967. Akademie der Wissenschaften und der Literatur. Veröffentlichungen der Orientalischen Kommission, Band XIX, Band XX. Franz Steiner Verlag," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 21 (1968): 119–130. 125–126.

9 Erich Haenisch, "Zu den Briefen der mongolischen Il-Khane Arğun und Öljeitü an den König Philipp den Schönen von Frankreich (1289 u. 1305)," *Oriens* 2/2 (1949): 216–235. 221.

mongke tengri-yin küçündür
Muḳamad baiḡambar-un imadtur
yeke suu cali-yin ibegendür [...] ¹⁰

‘By the might of Eternal Sky / by the support of Prophet Muhammad / by
the protection of the great Fortune Flame’ [...]

As seen in this example, the initial protocol includes both traditional Mongolian (*möngke tengri*), as well as Islamic (*Prophet Muḡammad*) undertones, which is further stressed by using Persian (*baiḡambar* < Pers. *paygambār* ‘messenger, prophet, apostle’) and Arabic (*imad* < Ar. ‘*imād* ‘support, confidence, trust’) loanwords.¹¹ This particular fragment illustrates how complex and fragmentary the study of early Mongolian documents can be. It is believed to represent the upper part of a decree; the remainder of which has been lost. Since the initial protocol was written separately, above the main body of the document, it was often torn or damaged. As a result, it is frequently difficult to determine whether an initial protocol was originally included, even when the document has survived.

Evoking a superior – the Great Khan – in initial protocols was not only customary for the Ilkhans but also for their officials and subordinates. The following protocol written in Turkic, comes from – to the best of my knowledge – the earliest Ilkhanid order composed in Persian:

[İrincîn Dū]rcī yarlıḡındın
Şītūr Aḡbūḡā Toḡācār sözindin
Aḡmad şāḡīb-dīvān sözi¹²

‘According to the decree of İrincîn Dürçī / according to the word of Şitur,
Aḡbuḡa, and Toḡaçar / the word of the Minister of Finance, Ahmed’

The initial protocol of this particular order demonstrates how flexible Mongol bureaucratic practice could be, since it evokes not only the decree of the Ilkhan (first line), but also the word of his viziers (second line),

10 Francis Woodman Cleaves, “The Mongolian Documents in the Musée de Téhéran,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 16 (1953): 1–107. 26.

11 Francis Joseph Steingass, *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary Including the Arabic Words and Phrases to be Met with in Persian Literature* (London: Routledge & K. Paul, 1892), 268, 866.

12 Abdol’ala Soudavar, “İlk Farsça İlhanlı Fermanı” [The First Persian Ilkhanid Order], transl. Osman Özgüdenli *Türk Kültürü İncelemeleri Dergisi* [Journal of Turkish Cultural Studies] 6 (2002): 181–190. 182. The name İrincîn Dürçī is the Tibetan name given to Geḡyatu ilkhan (1291–1295).

and that of the issuer (third line). Furthermore, like the above cited letter of Güyüg, the Great Khan, it also highlights the multilingual character of the Mongol administrative apparatus.

Decrees and orders issued for diplomatic exchanges, demands of submission, or other solemn purposes usually contain an initial protocol consisting of three parts. Those, however, that were written for administrative purposes, internal communication, or for subjects of the Genghisids, are more likely to contain only a single line in the initial protocol, evoking simply the name, title and/or other honorifics of the issuer, along with the phrase *üge manu* ('our word'), *Abağa üge manu* ('Abağa, our word'),¹³ or *Ġasan üge manu* ('Ġasan, our word').¹⁴ There is good reason to suppose that this part of the initial protocol was much more often written in Turkic – at least in Central Asian, Iranian, and Anatolian Mongol successor states – and that a variant also evolved using the singular *sözüm* ('my word') instead of the Mongol plural *üge manu* or Turkic *sözümüz*. More on this below.

Invocation on Golden Horde decrees

When Mongol armies under Coçid leadership arrived in the steppes of Siberia and Eastern Europe – that is, in the territory of the Golden Horde – they did not settle in regions with a long-established tradition of literacy and administration, such as China, Central Asia or Iran. Thus, the chancelleries established under their supervision followed custom, languages, and practices of the Mongolian homeland.

Only a small number of decrees and documents have survived from the Golden Horde, the majority of which are translations of *yarlıqs* issued to Orthodox metropolitans and Italian trading colonies by khans, their officials, and female family members. These translations suggest substantial overlap with the diplomatic practises of the Mongolian homeland.¹⁵ The earliest of these translations, an immunity charter of Möngke Temür Khan, shows the continuation of the three-part initial protocol seen in Mongol decrees of the Great Khans:

13 Antoine Mostaert, Francis Woodman Cleaves, "Trois documents mongols des Archives secrètes vaticanes," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 15 3/4 (1952): 419–506. 433.

14 Mostaert, Cleaves, "Trois documents mongols," 470.

15 Микрасим Абдуллахатович Усманов, *Жалованные акты Джучиева улуса XIII–XVI вв.* (Казань: Издательство казанского университета, 1979), 94–106.

вышняго бога силою
вышняя троица волею
Менгутемерьево слово¹⁶

‘By the might of the Highest God / by the will of the highest Trinity / the
word of Megnü Temür’

The puzzling element in the above-cited text is the seemingly Christian worldview it conveys. Since this immunity was issued to the Orthodox Church, one cannot exclude the possibility that the decree was deliberately drafted to accommodate the faith of its intended recipients. In any case, there is sufficient evidence that the chancelleries the Golden Horde continued to use initial protocols that were customary in Mongolia, China, and Iran. This argument is supported by two additional examples. It is noteworthy that, although both Özbeg Khan and Berdi Beg Khan – whose decrees are cited below – were adherents of Islam and strongly supported the spread of Islamic teachings and institutions within the territory of the Golden Horde, they retained the chancellery practice of their ‘infidel’ forefathers. The first example is a decree issued by Berdi Beg Khan in 1357, which has survived in a Slavic translation:

Бесмертнаго бога силою
и величеством из дед и прадед
Бердибеково слово¹⁷

‘By the might of immortal God / by the greatness from fathers and forefathers / the world of Berdi Beg’

As the example shows, the document invokes the ancestral spirits, a central element of shamanism. The following, a *yarlığ* of Özbeg khan from 1333 – preserved in a Latin translation and issued to Venetian merchants in Azov – reads as follows:

In virtute eterni Dei et sua magna pietate miserante Osbach verbum
nostrum¹⁸

16 Аркадий Павлович Григорьев, *Сборник ханских ярлыков русским митрополитам. Источниковедческий анализ золотоордынских документов* (Санктпетербург: Издательство Санктпетербургского университета, 2004), 15.

17 Григорьев, *Сборник ханских ярлыков*, 89.

18 Аркадий Павлович Григорьев, Борис Павлович Григорьев, *Коллекция золотоордынских документов XIV. века из Венеции* (Санктпетербург: Издательство С.-петербургского университета, 2002), 11.

‘By the virtue of Eternal God and his great merciful piety, Özbeg, our
word’

Although this initial protocol – like that of Möngke Temür Khan – contains elements that could easily be interpreted as Christian (*sua magna pietate miserante*), the first part clearly derives from the standard Mongolian phrase *möngke tengri-yin küçündür* or its Turkic equivalent *möngke tengri küçünde*.¹⁹ Evoking ‘Eternal God’ (*eternus Deus*) in the Latin text is not evidence of Christianisation, but rather a choice by the translator. In both Mongolian and Turkic languages, *tengri* meant not only ‘sky’ or ‘heaven’ but also carried the general meaning of ‘deity’ or ‘God’.²⁰ This interpretation is corroborated by Latin translations of Mongolian and Ilkhanid letters to European powers, in which the Turkic and Mongolian *tengri* is consistently rendered as ‘God’ (*Deus*).²¹

Islamic overtones did, of course, appear in initial protocols – of which there is only one surviving example. In Cānibek Khan’s decree to the Venetian merchants of Azov from 1347 – this time an Italian translation – the initial protocol features an unusual but clearly Islamic formulation:

*In nomine Domini et Maomethi, profete Tartarorum
la parola de Zanibech*²²

‘In the name of the Lord and Muḥammad, / the prophet the Tatars / the
word of Cānibeg’

Evoking a superior in the initial protocols of decrees, as seen in Ilkhanid examples, seems to have also been practiced in the Golden Horde. This is illustrated by two documents – two safe-conducts issued by Taydula, wife of Özbeg and mother of Cānı Beg Khan, who played a prominent role in Golden Horde politics and trade under the reigns

19 Apart from the morphological similarity, one has to add that every word of the Mongol phrase represents an early Turkic loanword in Mongolian, see: Gerard Clauson, *A Etymological Dictionary of Pre-Thirteenth-Century Turkish* (Oxford: Calderon Press, 1972), 350–351, 523–524, 693.

20 Clauson, *A Etymological Dictionary*, 523–524.

21 Voegelin, “The Mongol Orders of Submission,” 392–401. There is another *yarlıg* translated into Latin issued by Cānı Beg Khan, given to the same Venetian merchants in Azov. This has the same initial protocol as that of Özbeg Khan; the only difference is the more elaborate title of the former khan, see: Григорьев, Григорьев, *Коллекция золотоордынских документов*, 45.

22 Григорьев, Григорьев, *Коллекция золотоордынских документов*, 87.

of her son and grandson, Berdi Beg.²³ The safe-conduct begins with the following words:

*По Ченибекову ярлыку Таидулино слово*²⁴
‘According to Cānibeg’s *yarlıg*, the word of Taydula’

What stands out in this example is the use of the word *ярлык* instead of a term indicating ‘word’. As seen in Ilkhanid examples the term *yarlıg* mainly appears on charters issued by great khans residing in Mongolia and China, whom the Ilkhanids recognized as their superiors. The documents of Ilkhanid monarchs and officials, by contrast, tended to use Mong. *üge*/Turk. *söz* ‘word’. This must have been the case in the Golden Horde as well, as supported by the translations – Slavic *slovo*, Latin *verbum*, Italian *parola*. Moreover, these two documents also demonstrate that the scribes of Golden Horde chancelleries favored the use of Turkic phrases, namely *söz*. Surviving Golden Horde documents also show, as in the case of Ilkhanid material, that initial protocols consisting only of the third component – that is, the name and sometimes the title of the issuer – were common. This shortened form of initial protocol is characteristic for approximately half of the remaining material. Examples include orders and charters issued by khans, queen mothers and officials: *la parola di Berdibech*; ²⁵ *Таидулино слово*; ²⁶ *la parola de Ramadan*.²⁷ In all likelihood, behind the words *слово*, *verbum* or *parola* stood the Turkic phrase *sözüm* (‘my word’) or the majestic plural *sözümüz* (‘our word’).²⁸ The preference of Turkic over Mongolian is understandable, given that speakers of various Turkic languages and dialects constituted the majority of population under Coçid rule. Additionally, the oldest surviving original documents from the late fourteenth century – a letter of Toktamış Khan to the Lithuanian Grand Duke and Polish King

23 For the role of women in the court life of the Golden Horde see Ivanics Mária, “Die Frauen der Khane in der Golden Horde und in ihren Nachfolgerstaaten,” *Chronica: Annual of the Institute of History University of Szeged* 11 (2011): 211–220. On the political and economic activities of Taydula, see and Kovács Szilvia, “Taydula: a Golden Horde Queen and Patron of Christian Merchants,” in *Along the Silk Roads in Mongol Eurasia: Generals, Merchants, Intellectuals*, eds. Michal Biran, Jonathan Brack and Francesca Fiaschetti (Oakland: University of California Press, 2020), 194–212.

24 Григорьев, *Сборник ханских ярлыков*, 58, 68.

25 Григорьев, Григорьев, *Коллекция золотоордынских документов*, 131.

26 *Ibidem*, 47.

27 *Ibidem*, 181.

28 Усманов, *Жалованные акты Джучиева улуса*, 186–191.

Jogaila (1392) and a donation letter by Temür Qutluğ Khan (1398), written in Uighur script and in Turkic – feature the initial protocols *Toktamış sözü* and *Temür Qutluğ sözü*, respectively, without mention of titles or regalia.²⁹

Here, we must address the use of the phrase *üge manu* ('our word') in broader terms. As we have seen, this phrase was a genuine hallmark of Mongol diplomatic practice across the empire. In Ilkhanid Iran, the Golden Horde, Central Asia, and their vassal states, the Turkic equivalents *sözü* (singular) and *sözümüz* (plural) appear to have been preferred. This formula became so deeply entrenched in chancellery practice of these regions that it continued to be used for many centuries by Turco-Mongolian dynasties even after the collapse of Mongol rule. Its usage persisted even in courts and bureaucratic structures where Persian was the preferred or dominant language of administration and literature.³⁰ The formula was extensively employed by monarchs in Timurid domains and succeeding Central Asian dynasties,³¹ in the courts of the Aqkoyunlu and Qaraqoyunlu,³² by Şafavid shahs,³³ to name just a few. One could even argue that this formula represents the single most influential chancellery practice to have survived long after Mongol political dominance.

29 See the documents in Akdeş Nimet Kurat, *Altın Ordu, Kırım ve Türkistan Hatlarına ait Yarlık ve Bitikler*. [Yarlıks and Documents belonging to the Golden Horde, Crimea and Türkistan] (İstanbul: Burhaneddin Matbaası, 1940), 147–148.

30 Fekete Lajos, "Arbeiten der Grusinischen Orientalistik auf dem Gebiete der Türkischen Und Persischen Paläographie und die Frage der Formel 'sözümüz,'" *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 7/1 (1957): 1–20. Heribert Busse, *Untersuchungen zum Islamischen Kanzleiwesen an Hand turkmenischer und safawidischer Urkunden* (Kairo: Kommissionsverlag Sirović Bookshop, 1959), 30–31.

31 Busse, *Untersuchungen zum Islamischen Kanzleiwesen*, 30–31. Shirvan Mahendrarah-jah, "Two Original Decrees by Sultān-Husayn Bayqarā in the National Archives in Kabul," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 71/2 (2018): 161–178. John E. Woods, "Turco-Iranica II: Notes on a Timurid Decree of 1396/798," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 43/4 (1984): 331–337.

32 Vladimir Minorsky, "A 'Soyūrgāl' of Qāsim b. Jahāngīr Aq-qoyunlu (903/1498)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies University of London* 9/4 (1939): 927–960. Gottfried Herrmann, "Ein Erlaß Tahmāsp I. von 934/1528," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 139/1 (1989): 104–119.

33 Ludwig Fekete, *Einführung in die persische Paläographie. 101 persische Dokumente*. Aus dem Nachlaß des Verfassers herausgegeben von G. Hazai (Budapest: Akadémia Kiadó, 1977).

The evolution of the initial protocol in the Crimean Khanate and the introductory *Sözüm / Sözümüz* formula

Shortly after the Crimean Khanate broke away from the core territories of the Golden Horde in the mid-fifteenth century, it came into contact with the nascent Ottoman Empire. The two states entered into a relationship that, for the Crimean side, evolved into an increasing dependency over the following centuries – a process that came to an end only in the second half of the eighteenth century. As a result of this long-lasting connection, the influence of Istanbul weighed heavily on the khanate's political, social, and cultural institutions and traditions, including numerous chancellery practices inherited from the Golden Horde.

An early *yarlığ* of Hâccî Girey Khan from 1453 – one of the earliest surviving Crimean Tatar documents – demonstrates a unique amalgamation of old Mongolian diplomatic customs and Islamic symbolism. The initial protocol, written above the main body of the text (the so-called 'honorific lift') according to old Mongol practice, reads as follows:

bi-smi l-lāhi rahmani r-raḥīm
bi-l-ḡuvveti ahadiyye ve-l-mu 'cizāti l-muḥamediiyye
mengü Tengri küçünde
Muḥammad resūlu l-lāh vilāyetinde
*Hâccî Girey sözüm*³⁴

'In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful
 By the strength of oneness [of God] and the Miracles of Muhammad
 By the support of Muhammad, Messenger of God
 Hâccî Girey, my word'

As can be seen, the initial protocol still contains elements used in Mongol decrees in the thirteenth century: it invokes *mengü Tengri* ('eternal sky') and the *söz* ('word') of the issuer. However, the inclusion of Islamic articles of faith – much more pronounced in this period – makes it clear that the scribes and readers of the decree understood *Tengri* to refer to the God of Islam. In decrees and documents issued by Hâccî Girey's successors, a gradual transformation of the initial protocol becomes evident, both in visual presentation and content. The chancelleries of succeeding Crimean khans introduced references to Islamic faith and teachings that reflected Middle Eastern, particularly Ottoman, literary and bureaucratic traditions. These references could be brief – such as the Arabic word

34 Kurat, *Altın Ordu, Kırım*, 64–65.

huwa ('He'), meaning God and commonly used in Islamic contexts; the prayer *bi-smi l-lāhi r-rahmani r-rahīm* ('In the name of God, the Most Gracious, the Most Merciful!'); or the *ṣahāda*, i.e., *lā ilāha 'illā-llāh Muḥammadun rasūlu l-lāh* ('There is no god, but God; Muhammad is the messenger of God'). At times, the protocol also included the khan's proclamation of acting or commencing in the name of God.³⁵ In short, the initial protocol of Mongolian and Golden Horde charters evolved into a religious invocation in the classical sense of diplomatic studies.

What remained from the initial protocols of Genghisid documents was the line containing the name and title of the issuer and the formula *sözüm*. This part of Crimean documents is hard to place withing traditional framework of diplomatics; hence the article, following the example of Kołodziejczyk, shall refer to it as the *introductory sözüm/sözümüz* formula.³⁶

It is important to stress that the introductory *sözüm/sözümüz* formula was placed below the newly adopted classical Islamic invocations, but above the main body of the text, on the right side of the sheet, and cannot be identified with the *intitulatio* of the documents. The introductory *sözüm/sözümüz* formula displays a wide range of variations, but two general groups can be distinguished. The first group, characterised by its simplicity, was the universal introductory formula found in Coçid documents: it contains only the name of the issuer and the word *sözüm/sözümüz*. In the second group, more elaborate and lavish monarchic titles appear, among others such as *uluğ orda ulu(ğ) ḥānı* ('great khan of the Great Horde') or *Deşt-i Kıpçak barça Moğul pâdişāhı* ('the padishah of the Kipchak steppe and all the Mongols').³⁷ Usmanov observed that the appearance of such monarchic titles – referencing the Golden Horde (*Uluğ Orda*), the Kipchak Steppe, and the Mongols – began in the early

35 Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanat and Poland-Lithuania. International Diplomacy on the European Periphery (15th–18th Century). A Study of Peace Treaties Followed by Annotated Documents* (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2011), 314–321. One such proclamation in a Ruthenian translation reads as follows: "Почал есми в боже имя, што счастье роздае и жалует тых, которые братъство верне держать, и правду и слово свое полнят безо лсти и безъ хитрости, с чистого сердца! Царя Менликирееово слово." In translation: "I have commenced in the name of God, who gives and grants felicity to those who faithfully keep brotherhood, and who fulfill their oath and word without any deceit and fraud with a pure heart! The word of Mengli Gireey khan." See: Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania*, 605, 608.

36 *Ibidem*, 342.

37 Усманов, *Жалованные акты Джучиева улуса*, 130; Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanat and Poland-Lithuania*, 342.

sixteenth century, specifically around 1502,³⁸ when Mengli Girey I Khan defeated his main rival, Şeyh Ahmed Khan, the leader of Great Horde ruling the steppes west of the Volga, and laid claim to the legacy of the Golden Horde.³⁹

In addition to these references, Islamic regalia also began to appear in the introductory *sözüm/sözümüz* formula during the sixteenth century. These included epithets such as *ebu l-feth* ('conqueror'), *es-sultān* ('the sultan'), and *el-ğāzī* ('the ghazi'). For example, Ġāzī Girey II Khan is known to have used both Golden Horde and Islamic titles in parallel: one version of his introductory *sözüm/sözümüz* formula includes a reference to the Great Horde (*Uluğ Orda*), while another reads: *ebu l-feth el-ğāzī Ġāzī Girey hān sözüm* ('The conqueror and *ğāzī*, Ġāzī Girey Khan, my word').⁴⁰

Male and female members of the Crimean khan's family regularly maintained correspondence with foreign powers and officials. The extant material highlights the role of *kalğas* and *nūreddīns* – second and third in command to the khan, usually his brothers, sons, or cousins – but also chief wives (*ulu biyim*, *hānī*), mothers (*ana biyim*), as well as sisters and daughters of the khan (mainly from the seventeenth century). They too made use of the introductory *sözüm/sözümüz* formula.⁴¹ In these letters, the formula is likewise situated below the *invocatio* and above

38 The intitulation of khans, if present, also reflect these claims. This invocation shows little variation through time and contains many archaic linguistic characteristics. A typical example of an intitulation of Cānibek Girey khan reads: *Uluğ orda ve Uluğ yurtning Deşt-i Kufçakning taht-i Kırımning ong kolning şol kolning köp tatarnıng ve köp noğayning tat bile tavğaçning ve tağ ara çerkeçning uluğ pādīşāhi bolğan Feridūn-i Kayhūsrev-kard sa'ādetli ve 'azametli Cānibek Girey hān*. In translation: "[I, the] great padishah of the Great Horde and the Great Yurt (the Turkic name of the Golden Horde – Cs.G.), the Kipchak Stepps, the throne of Crimea, of the right hand and the left hand (ie. traditional nomadic military divisions – Cs.G.), of many Tatars and many Noghays, of the tat (subject ethnic and religious minorities, such as Greeks, Armenians, Jewish communities, living on the Crimea – Cs.G.) and *tavğaç* (an archaic Turkic name indicating northern China – Cs.G.), and the Circassians living in the mountains, the Kayhusraw-like, the felicitous and magnificent Cānibek Girey Khan," Ivanics Mária, *A magyarorsági krími tatár oklevelek*. [Crimean Tatar Letters in Hungary] (Szeged: unpublished doctoral thesis, 1976), 32.

39 Усманов, *Жалованные акты Джучиева улуса*, 192–193, 202–204. For the events and their political impact see Vászary István, "The Crimean Khanate and the Great Horde (1440s–1500s). A Fight for Primacy," in *The Crimean Khanate between East and West (15th–18th Century)*, ed. Denise Klein (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2012), 13–26.

40 Усманов, *Абдуллахатович Жалованные акты Джучиева улуса*, 189, 190; Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania*, 769, 777.

41 Усманов, *Абдуллахатович Жалованные акты Джучиева улуса*, 194, 202–203. Elżbieta Świecicka, "The Diplomatic Letters by Crimean Keräy Ladies to the Swedish Royal House," *Rocznik Orientalistyczny* 55/1 (2002): 1–35. 2–6.

the main text, just as in the case of the khans. Male family members included their name and honorific title *sultān* in the introductory formula; in Islamic Genghisid successor states, this title indicated a member of the ruling dynasty. In the correspondence of female relatives, however, the personal name of the sender is omitted, and the formula consists of the title – always with a first-person plural possessive suffix (i.e., ‘our’, the khan’s) and the word *sözümüz*. For example: *ana biyimiz hażretleri sözümüz* (‘Her Majesty’s, our queen mother’s word’); *ulu biyimiz hażretleri sözümüz* (‘Her Majesty’s, our first wife’s word’).⁴² There is some evidence of cases where the introductory formula evoked multiple ancestors or family members. A notable example appears in a peace treaty and donation *yarlık* of Muḥammad Girey Khan from 1517, which was corroborated by his son, Bahadır Girey sultan. The formula reads as follows:

Деда моего, цара Менъ Кгиреево слово, у отца моего, цара Магмет киреево слово, Богатырь солтаново слово, брата моего Алп Киреи солтаново слово⁴³

‘The word of my grandfather Mengli Girey, [also] the word of my father, Meḥmet (ie. Muḥammad) Girey, the word of [mine], Bahadır sultan, [and] the word of my brother, Alp Girey sultan.’

Such examples highlight the symbolic and legitimizing importance of the introductory *sözüm* / *sözümüz* formula.

It is important to point out that the use of the introductory *sözüm* / *sözümüz* formula was common in diplomatic correspondence with Poland-Lithuania, Muscovy, Transylvania, Denmark, Sweden, and other states, as well as in documents issued for administrative purposes. There is, however, an exception, in which it was consistently avoided – namely, in correspondence with sultans and officials of the Ottoman Empire. This fact, without doubt, reflects the superiority of the Ottomans over the Crimean Khanate. The hierarchical nature of this relationship is further evidenced by the strong influence of Ottoman chancelleries on the Crimean ones, such as the early adoption of Ottoman Turkish grammatical forms, lexicon, diplomatic formulas, and many other elements. With regard to the introductory *sözüm* / *sözümüz* formula of khans, scholarship has noted a subtle visual shift beginning in the first half of the sixteenth century. The letters of the *sözüm* / *sözümüz* formula began to appear more densely packed, and letters composed of vertical lines were elongated

⁴² Świącicka, *The Diplomatic Letters*, 11–17.

⁴³ Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania*, 633, 636.

and extended above all other letters.⁴⁴ This visual change leads us to the appearance of an Ottoman corroborating sign known as the *tuğra*.

The way towards a Crimean *tuğra*

Since Ottoman *tuğras* are well researched, only a brief description is provided here to help the reader understand how the introductory *sözüm/sözümüz* formula – this old Mongolian legacy – evolved into a distinct Crimean *tuğra* under the influence of Ottoman chancellery practices.

The *tuğra* was the traditional corroborating sign of imperial documents, decrees, orders, and other official acts issued by the sultans of the Ottoman Empire from the fourteenth century until 1927. A *tuğra* was placed beneath the invocation and above the main body of the document. The earliest examples of these corroborating signs were simple, consisting of the name of monarch and his father's name. As a distinguishing visual element, three vertical lines were drawn high above the script, symbolizing a *tuğ*, or 'standard'. These lines later evolved into a characteristic stylized form, which included the name and patronym of the sultan, the title *khan*, and the Arabic expression *muzafer dā'ima* ('ever victorious'), one element placed above the other. The vertically drawn *tuğ* remained a central element of *tuğras*, but was later joined by additional ornamental components: an S-shaped flourish called *zülfe* ('beard'), two upward-curving loops on the left side known as *beyze* ('egg'), which passed through the body of the *tuğra* and ended in on the right side in pointed stroke called *hancer* ('dagger'). The term *dā'imā* was inscribed within these loops. Due to the significance as a personal sign of the sultan, *tuğras* were usually drawn by specialist calligraphers known as *tuğra-keş* in the imperial court.⁴⁵

Scholarship connects the above-mentioned visual shift of the initial *sözüm/sözümüz* formula – the tightly packed *ductus* of the text and elongated vertical letters – to the adoption of Ottoman chancellery practices by Crimean Tatar scribes. Kołodziejczyk even introduced the term "proto-*tuğra*" to categorise this evolution of the initial *sözüm/sözümüz*

44 Ivanics Mária, "Die Beglaubigungsmittel der krimtatarischen Urkunden," in *Proceedings of the 35th Permanent International Altaistic Conference September 12–17, 1992 Taipei, China*, ed. Chieh-hsien Chên (Taipei: National Taiwan University, Center for Chinese Studies Materials, 1992), 175–184. 178. Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania*, 345–346.

45 For a comprehensive work on Ottoman *tuğras* see Suha Umur, *Osmanlı padişah tuğraları* (İstanbul: Cem Yayınevi, 1980).

formula.⁴⁶ It is important to stress that the evolutionary process – from initial formula through proto-*tuğras* to fully developed Crimean *tuğras* in the Ottoman style – was gradual, lasting for several decades, from approximately the 1550s to the 1630s.⁴⁷ By the end of this process, a distinct Crimean *tuğra* had emerged, both in terms of visual appearance and structural composition.

The elements of the Crimean *tuğras* were arranged in a triangular shape, with the components placed one atop the other. Similarly, instead of multiple elongated letters, as was the case in proto-*tuğras*, Crimean scribes standardised the use of three *tuğs*, to which *zülfe*s may or may not have been added. There are, however, minor differences between the Ottoman and Crimean examples, as well as subtle variations. While some Crimean *tuğras* display all decorative elements found in Ottoman versions, others are drawn with slight modifications: many Crimean examples lack the *beyze*, and instead of curving upwards and ending on the right-hand side of the sheet in a *hancer*, the line goes vertically to the left side reaching the margin of sheet. There is no consistency in the position of the Crimean *tuğras* on the sheet. Some, like Ottoman ones, are situated at the centre of the sheet above the main body of the text; others were placed at the right-hand margin, where the initial *sözüm/sözümüz* formula and the proto-*tuğra* was traditionally located.⁴⁸

Differences aside, Crimean *tuğras* show a clear resemblance to Ottoman ones in terms of structure and appearance. In terms of content, major change to the initial *sözüm/sözümüz* formula was the inclusion of patronymic of the owner with Arabic *bin* ('son of'). Although limited in number, some Crimean scribes – for example, those employed by Cānıbek Girey Khan – experimented with the inclusion of the phrase *muzaḫfar dā'ima*, a fact that clearly shows the intent to imitate Ottoman practice. Regardless of these experiments, the established pattern of Crimean *tuğras* included the inherited phrase of Mongol and Golden Horde *yarlıqs sözümüz* ('our word') in majestic plural. The phrase was situated on the upper-left side of the *tuğra*, where Ottoman ones have the word *dā'imā* – a fact that shows a conscious decision to incorporate indigenous chancellery traditions into newly adopted Ottoman model.⁴⁹

46 Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania*, 346.

47 Сагид Фаизов, "Тугры крымско ханского двора XVII – начала XVIII ст. в протоколе и художественного стурктуре грамот ханов и принцев," in *Марра mundi. Збірник наукових праць на пошану Ярослава Дашикевича за нагоди його 70-річчя* (Львів–Київ–Нью-Йорк: Видавництво М. П. Коць, 1996), 427–434.

48 Ivanics, *Die Beglaubigungsmittel*, 180–184.

49 *Ibidem*, 180.

In the Ottoman Empire, the use of *tuğras* was the exclusive prerogative of the reigning sultans. The power structure of the Crimean Khanate, however, was much more decentralised; as a result, not only the khans but also the *kalğas* and *nüreddīns* (second and third dignity after the khan) issued their decrees and documents, each corroborated by their personal *tuğra*, bearing the title *sulṭān*, instead of *hān*, optionally including the word *ḥazretlerimiz* ‘our majesty’.⁵⁰ In the same period as the Crimean *tuğras* evolved, ladies of the Girey-dynasty, however, kept using the well-established introductory *sözüm/sözümüz* formula according to customs previously described.

Conclusion

The evolution of the initial protocol found in early imperial Mongol decrees into the Crimean *tuğra* represents a gradual yet striking example of cultural and institutional continuity intertwined with change. As demonstrated in the article, both the Golden Horde and later Crimean chancelleries retained key elements of their Mongol heritage, while simultaneously incorporating Islamic and Ottoman diplomatic conventions. Features such as the *honorific lift* and the use of the phrase *sözüm/sözümüz* highlight how shifts in religious and political affiliations reshaped long-standing administrative traditions. This blend of traditions resulted in a uniquely Crimean practice – one that preserved reverence for the Genghisid past within an Islamic and Ottoman framework. Nonetheless, Crimean *tuğras* remain a little-studied topic, that deserves further research in order to fully grasp the phenomenon Mongol cultural continuity and change.

50 Examples of *kalğa* and *nüreddīn tuğras* are (still) small in number. For examples already published, see: Josef Matuz, *Krimtatarische Urkunden im Reichsarchiv zu Kopenhagen, mit historisch-diplomatischen und sprachlichen Untersuchungen* (Freiburg im Breisgau: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 1976). Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania*, 936, 942. Further examples of such *tuğras* can be found in the Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin, I. HA Rep. II Geheimer Rat Auswärtige Beziehungen Akten Nr. 10517/4, Nr. 10517/6, Nr. 10517/8, etc. A Crimean Tatar chronicle written in the mid-18th century, ‘Abdulḡaffār Kırımī’s *’Umdetü l-aḥbār* ‘Essence of History’ claims that *beys* of the Şirīns, the leading clan of the Crimean Tatar tribe aristocracy also issued documents with ‘small *tuğras*’: Абдулгaffар Кырыми, *Умдет ал-ахбар. Книга I: Транскрипция, факсимиле*. Дерья Дерин Пашаоглу (Казань: Институт истории им. Ш. Марджани АН РТ, 2014), 223–224. To my knowledge, no such document has been found yet.

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Faith and Politics: A Look Through the Prism of the 1330 Polish–Lithuanian–Hungarian Campaign into the Dobrzyń and Chełmno Lands¹

Wiara i polityka: spojrzenie przez pryzmat polsko-litewsko-węgierskiej wyprawy z 1330 roku na ziemie dobrzyńską i chełmińską

Abstract

This study examines the complex narrative image of pagans in pagan-Christian military alliances within medieval chronicle discourse, using the Polish–Lithuanian cooperation following the marriage of Casimir, son of Władysław Łokietek, and Anna, daughter of Gediminas, as a starting point. The analysis focuses on Wigand of Marburg’s account of the 1330 Polish–Lithuanian-Hungarian campaign in the Dobrzyń and Chełmno lands, while also tracing similar patterns in narrative descriptions of other Polish–Lithuanian joint campaigns, such as the 1326 expedition to Brandenburg, as reflected in German chronicles. The findings show that although alliances between Christians and pagans were often strategically necessary and acknowledged in narrative sources, they were typically portrayed with ambivalence and criticism. Importantly, such portrayals are

1 The Chełmno Land is also known as Kulmerland in English-language historiography.

not limited to the Latin narrative tradition but also appear in Orthodox sources (as demonstrated through the example of Cuman participation in Rus' campaigns), reflecting a broader Christian conception of the religious Other. Even as military allies, pagans are not fully assimilated into the discursive category of the Self – that is, Christians. Instead, they continue to be framed – perhaps instinctively – as potential aggressors, requiring constant vigilance. Thus, even in moments of cooperation, the alliance with pagans such as the Lithuanians remains uneasy and conditional, marked by persistent distrust.

Keywords: pagans, Christians, Lithuanians, alliance, narrative, portrayal.

Abstrakt

Niniejsze opracowanie analizuje złożony obraz pogan w narracjach średniowiecznych kronik, dotyczących pogańsko-chrześcijańskich sojuszy wojskowych, na przykładzie polsko-litewskiej współpracy po zawarciu małżeństwa między Kazimierzem, synem Władysława Łokietka, a Anną, córką Giedymina. W centrum uwagi znajduje się relacja Wiganda z Marburga dotycząca kampanii polsko-litewsko-węgierskiej 1330 roku w ziemi dobrzyńskiej i chełmińskiej. Autorka porównuje narracje Wiganda z opisami innych wspólnych polsko-litewskich wypraw, takich jak wyprawa do Brandenburgii w 1326 roku, zawartych w kronikach niemieckich. Dochodzi do wniosku, że sojusze między chrześcijanami a poganami często były zawierane ze względów strategicznych, lecz w narracjach kronikarzy zazwyczaj przedstawiano je w sposób ambiwalentny i krytyczny. Istotne jest, że tego typu interpretacje występowały nie tylko w źródłach tradycji łacińskiej, ale również w źródłach powstałych w kręgu kultury chrześcijańskiej wschodniego obrządku (co poświadczają opisy udziału Połowców w wyprawach książąt ruskich, zawarte w ruskich latopisach) i odzwierciedlają szersze chrześcijańskie postrzeganie religijnego Innego. Analizowane w pracy opisy kronikarskie pokazują, że nawet poganie-sojusznicy nie byli w pełni włączeni do kategorii „swoich”, czyli chrześcijan. Przeciwnie, byli nadal – być może instynktownie – postrzegani jako potencjalni agresorzy, wymagający nieustannej czujności. Tym samym, nawet w momentach współpracy, sojusz z poganami, takimi jak Litwini, pozostawał niepewny i warunkowy, nacechowany trwałą nieufnością.

Słowa kluczowe: poganie, chrześcijanie, Litwini, sojusz, narracja, przedstawienie.

During the Middle Ages, religion was not only a system of sacred practices and beliefs but also a defining marker of communal identity,

often distinguishing the Self from the Other.² In the European context, religious affiliation was a key determinant of one's legal and social standing within Christendom, where a connection to the Church – particularly the Latin Church – granted significant privileges.³ This fostered a binary opposition between the faithful and those deemed outside the religious community, shaped historical narratives, and even provided justification for the persecution of non-Christians. This division was particularly evident in medieval chronicles, especially those written by religious orders, which framed conflicts as battles between divine order and pagan chaos.⁴

One example that challenges this binary division is the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which, until its official Christianisation in 1387 by Jogaila (Jagiełło), remained on the borderline between the two symbolic worlds of the West and the East. Although Lithuanian rulers engaged in diplomacy and maintained contact with both Catholic and Orthodox powers, they remained pagan for much of the medieval period, creating the perception of the entire state as “pagan” in medieval discourse.⁵ This unique position allowed Lithuania to act as a mediator between the Latin West and the Orthodox East, rather than belonging definitively to either sphere. This intermediary status was reflected in the often contradictory portrayals of Lithuania and its rulers in medieval chronicles.

For example, in Rus' chronicles, Lithuanians frequently appeared as hostile enemies posing threat to the principalities of Rus'.⁶ Similarly, Teu-

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- 2 Robert Bartlett, “Medieval and Modern Concepts of Race and Ethnicity,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 31/1 (2001): 42.
 - 3 Paul Rousset, “La notion de Chretiente aux Xle et Xlle siecles,” *Le Moyen Age* 18 (1963): 191–203; Christine Reinle, “Diversity, Differences, and Divergence: Religion as a Criterion of Difference in the Empire in the First Half of the Fifteenth Century,” *Hungarian Historical Review* 13/2 (2024): 261–286.
 - 4 More on the ideology of medieval military religious orders, see: Kaspars Kļaviņš, “The Ideology of Christianity and Pagan Practice among the Teutonic Knights. The Case of the Baltic Region,” *Journal of Baltic Studies* 37 (2006): 260–276; Marek Tamm, “How to Justify a Crusade? The Conquest of Livonia and New Crusade Rhetoric in the Early Thirteenth Century,” *Journal of Medieval History* 39 (2013): 431–455; Alan V. Murray, “Heathens, Devils and Saracens: Crusader Concepts of the Pagan Enemy during the Baltic Crusades (Twelfth to Fifteenth Centuries),” in *Crusading on the Edge: Ideas and Practice of Crusading in Iberia and the Baltic Region, 1100–1500*, eds. Torben Kjersgaard Nielsen, Iben Fonnesberg-Schmidt (Turnhout: Brepols, 2016), 204–220, etc.
 - 5 Stephen C. Rowell, *Lithuania Ascending: A Pagan Empire Within East-Central Europe, 1295–1345* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 32–33, 297; Darius Baronas, Stephen C. Rowell, *The Conversion of Lithuania: From Pagan Barbarians to Late Medieval Christians* (Vilnius: The Institute of Lithuanian Literature and Folklore, 2015), 5–9.
 - 6 “Pskovskaya Pervaya Letopis,” in *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei (PSRL)*, vol. 5, ed. Arseniy Nasonov (Moscow: Yazyki slavianskikh kultur, 2003), 13.

tonic sources regularly portrayed Lithuanians as *hostes fidei* – enemies of the faith. For the Teutonic Knights, whose military and ideological legitimacy rested on the justification of sacred warfare, this portrayal was crucial. Casting the Lithuanians as violent destroyers of Christianity served to elevate the knights' mission as a sacred duty, reinforcing the contrast between Christian virtue and pagan savagery.⁷

However, despite general labelling and broad generalisations, the image of the pagan Lithuanians was not exclusively negative. It was shaped by various factors and could range from negative to positive – or at least neutral – depending on the specific context. This is particularly evident in chronicle accounts of Lithuanian rulers' relationships with Christian leaders, as well as in the depiction of their political alliances. Notably, such a nuanced approach can be found in both German and Rus' narrative traditions.⁸

This was particularly evident in the early 14th century, a period marked by shifting alliances, territorial disputes, and complex political rivalries – particularly involving the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Kingdom of Poland, and the Teutonic Order, which posed a serious threat to both. By that time, Lithuania and Poland had already experienced sporadic interactions, both hostile and cooperative. These ranged from mutual raids in bordering territories to temporary alliances between Lithuanian grand dukes and certain Polish princes, particularly those from Mazovia, in their internal political struggles.⁹

In 1325, however, the situation changed.¹⁰ That year saw the marriage of Władysław Łokietek's son, Casimir, to Aldona (Anna), the daughter of Grand Duke Gediminas of Lithuania. This was not only a dynastic but also a military alliance between the two neighbouring states, aimed

7 Rasa Mažeika, "Violent Victims? Surprising Aspects of the Just War Theory in the Chronicle of Peter von Dusburg" in *The Clash of Cultures on the Medieval Baltic Frontier*, ed. Alan V. Murray (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), 136.

8 Vera Matuzova, "Mental Frontiers: Prussians as Seen by Peter von Dusburg," in *Crusade and Conversion on the Baltic Frontier: 1150–1500*, ed. Alan V. Murray (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), 254.

9 Rowell, *Lithuania Ascending*, 9; Grzegorz Błaszczyk, *Dzieje stosunków polsko-litewskich od czasów najdawniejszych do współczesności*, vol. 1: *Trudne początki* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 1998), 89; Jarosław Nikodem, "Mazowsze w polityce litewskiej pierwszej połowy XIV w. (do śmierci Giedymina)," in *Dziedzictwo książąt mazowieckich: stan badań i postulaty badawcze*, eds. Janusz Grabowski, Rafał Mroczek, Przemysław Mrozowski (Warsaw: Arx Regia Ośrodek Wydawniczy Zamku Królewskiego w Warszawie, 2017), 316.

10 I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Miklós Halmágyi for providing valuable Hungarian sources relevant to the subject of this study.

primarily at a joint struggle against their common enemy – the Teutonic Order, though not limited to it. This alliance significantly transformed Polish–Lithuanian relations.¹¹ The first joint military campaign followed as early as the next year, 1326, when Władysław Łokietek sought Gediminas's military support for his expedition to Brandenburg. Gediminas agreed and sent 1,200 troops. The 1326 campaign was recorded in numerous sources, including Teutonic chronicles, and portrayed the alliance as one between two rulers of equal authority: "In the year of our Lord 1326, Łokietek, King of Poland, asked Gediminas, King of the Lithuanians – whose daughter his son had recently taken as wife – to send him some warriors."¹² The unification of Lithuanian and Polish forces was made possible by an agreement reached on 7 February 1326 between the King of Poland, the Teutonic Order, and the Duchy of Mazovia, which allowed the Lithuanians, acting as Łokietek's allies, to pass peacefully through Mazovian territory.¹³

11 "16 padz. 1325 Kazimirus filius Vladyslay regis uxorem recepit de Litwania. Pax fuit inter Poloniam et Litwaniam." "Rocznik Miechowski," in *Monumenta Poloniae Historiae*, vol. 2, ed. August Bielowski (Lwów: s.p., 1872), 884; "ut pacifice simul regna sua gubernarent," Wigand von Marburg, *Nowa kronika pruska*, eds. Stanisław Zonenberg, and Krzysztof Kwiatkowski (Toruń: TNT, 2017), 140. See also: Stanisław Zajączkowski, "Przymierze polsko-litewskie 1325 r.," *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 40 (1926): 567–584; Henryk Łowmiański, *Polityka Jagiellonów* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskie, 2006), 25; Błaszczyk, *Dzieje stosunków polsko-litewskich*, 13; Rowell, *Lithuania Ascending*, 233; Stephen C. Rowell, "Pious Princesses or the Daughters of Belial: Pagan Lithuanian Dynastic Diplomacy 1279–1423," *Medieval Prosography* 15/1 (1994): 3–77.

12 "Anno domini MCCCXXVI Loteko rex Polonie rogavit Gedeminum regem Lethowinorum, cujus filiam filus ejus noviter duxerat in uxorem, ut ei aliquos armigeros de gente sua mitteret. Qui precibus jus acquiescens, MCC equites destinavit ei." Petri de Dusburg, "Chronicon terrae Prussiae," in *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum*, vol. 1, eds. Theodor Hirsch, Max Töppen, and Ernst Strehlke (Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1861), 185.

13 "...ipsorum omnibus terrigenis seu subiectis et expresse cum Troydeno, Semouitho et Wankone ducibus Mazouie inuiolabiliter volumus et promittimus obseruare tempore prenotato, sic quod Lithuanos nunc in seruicio nostro existentes inpedire non debent fratres prenotati, quousque ad propria reuertantur nobis seruiciis exhibitis et peractis." "Dokumenty Mazowieckie," in *Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum* (Kraków: nakł. Akademii Umiejętności, 1888), 307–308. See also: Petri de Dusburg, *Chronicon terrae Prussiae*, 193; Hermann de Wartberge, *Chronicon Livoniae*, ed. Ernst Strehlke (Leipzig: S. Hirzel, 1863), 62; *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae*, vol. 1, ed. Augustino Theiner (Romae: Typis Vaticanis, 1860), 217–218. The status of the Lithuanians in these campaigns – as either allies or mercenaries – has been a subject of scholarly debate. However, this issue lies beyond the scope of the present study. See more: Rowell, *Lithuania ascending*, 234; Błaszczyk, *Dzieje stosunków polsko-litewskich*, 139; Yanina Ryier, "Lithuanian troops in the military campaigns of Władysław Łokietek in the 20s – 30s of the 14th century," in *Mercenaries and Crusaders*, ed. Attila Bárány (Debrecen: University of Debrecen 2024), 157–172.

The campaign was relatively successful for both the Poles and the Lithuanians, demonstrating the strategic benefits of their alliance.¹⁴ The united forces crossed the Oder (Odra) River, captured lands around Frankfurt, plundered churches and monasteries along their route, and killed approximately six thousand local inhabitants.¹⁵ The Lithuanians returned from the expedition with substantial loot. Their principal loss was the death of their leader, David, castellan of Grodno, who was killed by a Polish knight on the return journey.¹⁶ As for Łokietek, the campaign enabled him to regain the castellany of Międzyrzecz.¹⁷

The 1326 campaign was the clearest manifestation of the functioning alliance between Łokietek and Gediminas. However, the acts of violence committed by Lithuanians in Mazovia during the Brandenburg raid strained Łokietek's relations with the Mazovian dukes, who had already entered into talks with the Teutonic Order by early 1326.¹⁸ Moreover, the campaign received an ambivalent response from Christian society. Many European rulers criticised the alliance between Christian Poland and pagan Lithuania, with Lithuanian paganism repeatedly invoked in their rhetoric. David's murder by a Polish warrior is presented in German chronicles as an act of vengeance for earlier crimes committed by the Lithuanians in Polish lands. According to Detmar of Lübeck, although the Pope's envoys were present with the King of Poland and protected the "heathens" from being attacked during the campaign, a Polish knight pursued the Lithuanians on their way back to their land, recognised David – "who for many years had brought great harm to the Christians" – approached him, and struck him dead. Importantly, the chronicler emphasises that although the God-fearing Christians were

14 Henryk Łowmiański, "Agresja zakonu krzyżackiego na Litwę w wiekach XII–XV," *Przegląd Historyczny* 45/2–3 (1954): 354; Rowell, *Lithuania Ascending*, 234.

15 *The Chronicle of Prussia by Nicolaus von Jeroschin: A History of the Teutonic Knights in Prussia, 1190–1331*, transl. Mary Fischer (London–New York: Routledge, 2016), 284–285; Petri de Dusburg, *Chronicon terrae Prussiae*, 193.

16 "Anno 1326 David Lituanus de castro Garten a Lokeccone rege Polonie adjutus Marchiam intrando vastavit; qui David a quodam Andrea Polono fuit interfectus." "Annalista Thorunensis," in *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum*, vol. 3, eds. Theodor Hirsch, Max Töppen and Ernst Strehlke (Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1866), 66. See also: Jan Baszkiewicz, *Polska czasów Łokietka* (Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna, 1968), 146.

17 Baszkiewicz, *Polska czasów Łokietka*, 146; Tadeusz Nowak, *Władysław Łokietek – polityk i dowódca* (Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza, 1978), 167; Błaszczuk, *Dzieje stosunków polsko-litewskich*, 139.

18 Stanisław Zakrzewski, "Wpływ sprawy ruskiej na państwo polskie w XIV w.," *Przegląd Historyczny* 23/1 (1921–1922): 95.

forced to host the enemies of God in their lands, they did so unwillingly.¹⁹ Furthermore, this act did not prevent the heathens from receiving divine punishment for their crimes – retribution still came.²⁰

Such a “narrative justification” of David’s murder introduces a broader issue: the controversial portrayal of pagan Lithuanians within the context of pagan-Christian alliances in medieval narrative discourse. In analysing the narrative strategies used by medieval chronicles to depict relationships between Christian and pagan forces, several patterns can be distinguished: the typical Christian–pagan opposition; joint Christian and pagan forces fighting against other Christians; and Christians and pagans acting as allies against other pagans – each carrying distinct interpretive implications. Given the extensive scholarly focus on the dichotomy of Christians versus pagans in medieval discourse, this study will concentrate on the latter two categories.²¹

The Polish–Lithuanian alliance of 1325 and its subsequent joint campaigns – particularly those against the Teutonic Order – offer a vivid illustration of this typology. Although the Lithuanians and their allies constituted a united army, they were not portrayed as equals in the chronicles. This highlights the complex and often ambivalent narrative image of pagans and further supports the hypothesis that the pagan–Christian contrast – and the rhetorical strategies built around it – was one of the most common devices used by medieval chroniclers to frame the events from a particular ideological perspective.

The Polish–Teutonic War of 1327–1332 – caused by unresolved territorial claims made by Władysław Łokietek, the Teutonic Order’s growing military ambitions, and the failure of both papal and imperial arbitration in the region – and Lithuania’s participation in Łokietek’s campaigns – can serve as primary evidence to support this claim.²² One of the most

19 *Der Chronik Detmar’s von Lübeck*, in *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum*, vol. 3, eds. Theodor Hirsch, Max Töppen and Ernst Strehlke (Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1866), 66.

20 For a discussion of the significance of divine retribution in medieval chronicle discourse, see: Garry W. Trompf, *Early Christian Historiography. Narratives of Retributive Justice* (London–New York: Routledge, 2000); Mažeika, “Violent Victims?,” 137.

21 See, for example: Stanisław Kowalczyk, *Podstawy światopoglądu chrześcijańskiego* (Wrocław: TUM, 1986), 16–18, 26–28; Stanisław Rosik, “*Interpretatio Christiana* of Old Slavic Religion as a Problem in Scholarly Reflection,” in *idem: The Slavic Religion in the Light of 11th- and 12th-Century German Chronicles (Thietmar of Merseburg, Adam of Bremen, Helmold of Bosau)* (Leiden: Brill, 2020), 10–38.

22 Łowmiański, “Agresja zakonu krzyżackiego na Litwę w wiekach XII–XV,” 354; Błaszczuk, *Dzieje stosunków polsko-litewskich*, 139; Zbigniew Zyglewski, “Regionalni zwycięzcy walk z zakonem krzyżackim o wolność pogranicza kujawskiego w XIV i XV w.,” in *Ludzie wolności w regionie kujawsko-pomorskim*, eds. Michał Białkowski, Zdzisław

significant flashpoints in the ongoing conflict between the Kingdom of Poland and the Teutonic Order was the Dobrzyń Land, a strategically valuable region frequently contested by both powers. In 1327, the Teutonic Knights allied with the Kingdom of Bohemia in an effort to strengthen their position in the region and diplomatically isolate Poland. The following year, they launched a campaign against pagan Lithuania which, although framed as religious warfare, also aimed to undermine Polish interests, as Gediminas, Grand Duke of Lithuania, was then an ally of Łokietek.

In early 1329, Władysław attacked Czech troops passing through the territory of the Teutonic Order. This action, seen as a violation of the borders of the Chełmno Land, was regarded by the Order as a breach of the existing temporal truce.²³ In response, Grand Master Werner von Orseln concluded a formal alliance in Toruń with John of Luxembourg, explicitly directed against Władysław Łokietek. In return, John granted the Teutonic Knights control over Gdańsk Pomerania. In March 1329, the conflict escalated as the Teutonic Order and Bohemian forces invaded Polish-controlled territories, capturing the Dobrzyń Land and temporarily occupying parts of Kujawy. These coordinated actions significantly weakened Poland's strategic position and set the stage for renewed military efforts, including the retaliatory Polish-led campaign of 1330.²⁴

In September 1330, Władysław Łokietek launched a military expedition into the contested territories of Dobrzyń and Chełmno. Its aim was to reclaim the Dobrzyń Land, lost in 1329, and to exert pressure on the Chełmno Land, a key Teutonic stronghold. The Polish king mobilised a coalition army that included not only Polish forces but also Hungarian allies under Duke Wilhelm, Lithuanian contingents led by Grand Duke Gediminas, and Ruthenian units.²⁵ This broad alliance demonstrated Łokietek's ambition to reclaim lost territories and reassert his authority in the region. The campaign began with an advance into the Dobrzyń Land, but the allied forces encountered strong Teutonic resistance. Castles and fortified towns in the region, reinforced after earlier conflicts, proved difficult to capture. Prolonged fighting and logistical difficulties

Biegański and Wojciech Polak (Toruń: Margrafen, 2014), 26; Marian Biskup, *Wojny Polski z Zakonem Krzyżackim (1308–1521)* (Grojec: Wydawnictwo Napoleon V, 2019), 29–31.

23 Rowell, *Lithuania ascending*, 234; Błaszczuk, *Dzieje stosunków polsko-litewskich*, 139.

24 Baszkiewicz, *Polska czasów Łokietka*, 149; Alvydas Nikžentaitis, *Gediminas* (Vilnius: VER, 1989), 43; Błaszczuk, *Dzieje stosunków polsko-litewskich*, 140–142.

25 Łowmiański, "Agresja zakonu krzyżackiego na Litwę w wiekach XII–XV," 354.

further hindered Polish progress. Nevertheless, the army advanced into the Chełmno Land, devastating the region.²⁶

Gediminas's personal participation in the expedition can be seen as evidence that the Lithuanian ruler treated the campaign seriously. However, internal tensions within the coalition undermined the military operation. As reported by Wigand of Marburg, the Hungarian commanders, led by Duke Wilhelm, strongly objected to fighting alongside pagan Lithuanians. They demanded either that the Lithuanians be sent away or that they themselves be permitted to return home. According to the Teutonic chronicler, Duke Wilhelm declared: "If you truly wish to attack Christians with the pagans, then allow us to return to Hungary; but if we must go with you, then send the pagans back to their own land, and we will fight with you willingly."²⁷ Insulted by this demand and by Łokietek's failure to support the Lithuanian position, Gediminas withdrew his forces. Despite their abrupt departure, the Lithuanians nevertheless demanded and received substantial compensation for their involvement, including gold, silver, cloth, and horses.²⁸

This internal discord crippled the campaign's effectiveness. The expedition failed to achieve its primary strategic aims, although it succeeded in weakening the region. The aftermath of the campaign strained Polish–Lithuanian relations, though not irreparably. The following year, Łokietek once again invited Gediminas to participate in military action, but poor weather prevented any joint effort.²⁹ The 1330 campaign ultimately revealed both the strengths and limitations of coalition warfare, as well as the deep entanglement of military objectives with political, cultural, and religious tensions. However, the present study does not focus on the actual course of events. Instead, it examines the role attributed to Gediminas's troops – perceived as pagan – in the joint campaign, and how this role is portrayed in narrative sources.

As previously mentioned, according to Wigand of Marburg, the reluctance of the Hungarian duke to fight alongside pagan forces was the key

26 Zyglewski, „Regionalni zwycięzcy walk z zakonem krzyżackim,” 26; Biskup, *Wojny Polski z Zakonem Krzyżackim*, 29–31.

27 “Dux Wilhelmus videns, quomodo rex Lokut paganos ducere voluit contra christianos, dixit: Si tu utique vis cum paganis christianos impugnare, permitte nos transire in Ungariam; sed si debeamus tecum transire, dimitte paganos ad sua et tecum pugnamus voluntarie.” Marburg, *Nowa kronika Pruska*, 158.

28 “Quare rex paganorum commovetur cum suis, quod gratis vocatus fuisset, et irati cogerunt regem Polonie, sibi solaria in auro, argento, panno et equis largiri, cuilibet secundum sua merita, et sic reversi sunt in patriam.” Marburg, *Nowa kronika pruska*, 158.

29 *Ibidem*, 150.

factor that led to the campaign's failure and compelled Gediminas to withdraw from the battlefield. Moreover, Wigand emphasises the unequal status of the Lithuanian ruler within the joint forces by stripping him of his royal title, referring to him simply as "Gedemyn Lithwanie paganus" alongside the other Christian enemies of the Teutonic Order – the King of Poland and the King of Hungary ("Tres reges erant hostes ordinis, Lokut rex Polonie, Gedemyn Lithwanie paganus et rex Ungariae")³⁰ – while other records simultaneously recognise Gediminas's royal status.³¹ This inconsistency reflects a broader pattern in medieval narrative discourse, where pagan rulers were often denied equal status, even when acting in concert with Christian monarchs.

This episode also offers a valuable insight into the complex dynamics of Christian–pagan interaction during the Middle Ages and, most importantly, their representation in narrative sources. Notably, Wigand's chronicle is the only source that provides such an explanation for the events. Although internal conflict within the Polish–Hungarian–Lithuanian coalition is evident, many other sources, including other chronicles of the Teutonic Order, avoid this topic, instead presenting the campaign as a unified military effort by the three (and sometimes two) rulers. For example, Herman of Wartberge recounts that in 1330, the King of Cracow, supported by German, Hungarian, Polish, and Lithuanian troops, crossed into the Chełmno Land around the feast of St. Michael (29 September) with a large and powerful army, laying waste to everything with plunder and fire.³²

A similar narrative appears in *Die Ältere Chronik von Oliwa*, which provides a detailed tactical description of the military strategy employed by Władysław Łokietek. While it does not explicitly mention Lithuanian participation, the chronicle describes how the King of Poland, reinforced by Hungarian forces, attempted to cross the Drwęca River to invade the Chełmno Land, and how the Teutonic Order sought to pre-emptively secure the river fords to block this advance.³³ Nicolaus von Jeroschin's chronicle also omits any reference to Lithuanian troops, instead providing a more general overview: "Afterwards, in the autumn, King Łokietek

30 *Ibidem*, 156.

31 *Ibidem*, 150. See also: Dusburg, *Chronicon terrae Prussiae*, 191.

32 "Anno 1330 rex Cracow adiutus potencia Theutonicorum, Ungarorum, Polonorum et Letwinorum cum populo et valido exercitu circa festum Michaelis hostiliter intravit terram Culmensensem omnia rapinis et flamma devastans." Wartberge, *Chronicon Livoniae*, 57.

33 "Die Ältere Chronik von Oliwa," in *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum*, vol. 5, eds. Theodor Hirsch, Max Töppen, and Ernst Strehle (Leipzig: Verlag von S. Hirzel, 1874), 610.

brought together all the horsemen he could muster from his kingdom. He also employed many mercenaries, and the King of Hungary sent him 8,000 armed men to help him. With this huge army, he entered the Kulmerland in force and besieged the fortress and city of Schönsee.”³⁴

This discrepancy suggests that not only was the actual boundary between the Christian and pagan worlds far from fixed or absolute, but its narrative representation was also highly fluid, shaped by shifting political circumstances and strategic considerations.³⁵ This observation raises a further question: was the apparent resistance of Christian rulers – such as the Hungarian military leader – to cooperating with pagan forces like those of Gediminas a sincere expression of religious conviction, or rather a rhetorical strategy employed by chroniclers to advance particular political or ideological agendas? Moreover, it is worth asking to what extent narrative depictions of such alliances between Christian and pagan rulers were common in Central and Eastern European sources, and how these pragmatic collaborations may have challenged or reshaped the dominant discursive patterns surrounding pagans in medieval historiography.

As mentioned, the joint 1330 campaign was not the first military expedition organised by the Poles and the Lithuanians. One may recall the first half of the 1240s, when the Lithuanians repeatedly supported Konrad of Mazovia in his struggle for the Cracow throne. According to Długosz, the Lithuanians sided with Mazovia in the years 1241, 1243, 1244, and 1246.³⁶ While historical scholarship expresses doubts as to whether they actually aided Konrad in all the campaigns mentioned by Długosz, it is undeniable that Konrad collaborated with the Lithuanians on at

34 *The Chronicle of Prussia by Nicolaus von Jeroschin*, 292.

35 It is crucial to emphasise that, despite its rather negative depiction, cooperation between Łokietek and Gediminas in 1326 was supported by ecclesiastical authorities, driven by strong political objectives. It was largely due to the active support of Pope John XXII – motivated by opposition to Louis – that Lithuanian troops were able to safely cross the Masovian territories and join the Polish army in their joint expedition to Brandenburg in 1326. *Vetera Monumentae Poloniae et Lithuaniae*, vol. 1, 217–218; Rowell, *Lithuania ascending*, 234.

36 *Jana Długosza Roczniki, czyli kroniki sławnego Królestwa Polskiego*, vol. 7–8, eds. Danuta Turkowska, Maria Kowalczyk (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 1973), 36, 49, 55, 67–68. See also: “Ipat’evskaya letopis’”, in *Polnoe sobranie russkikh letopisei* (PSRL) (S.-Peterburg: Tipografiia M. A. Aleksandrova, 1908), col. 795–796, 801, 810. On the political circumstances of these campaigns, see: Bronisław Włodarski, “Polityczne plany Konrada, księcia mazowieckiego,” *Rocznik Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu* 76 (1971): 55–60; Agnieszka Teterycz-Puzio, “Książęta Mazowieccy wobec państwa litewskiego w XIII wieku – walka czy współpraca,” *Zapiski Historyczne* 75 (2010): 8–29; Witalij Nagirnyj, *Polityka Zagraniczna księstw ziem Halickiej i Wołyńskiej w latach 1198(1199)–1264* (Kraków: PAU, 2011), 219–222; Dariusz Dąbrowski, *Daniel Romanowicz Król Rusi (ok. 1201–1264). Biografia Polityczna* (Kraków: Avalon, 2013).

least three occasions: in 1244 during the Mazovian-Rus' expedition to the lands of Sandomierz and Lublin; in August 1245 during the Battle of Yaroslav; and in 1246, during Konrad's campaign against Duke Bolesław the Chaste of Cracow.³⁷ Additionally, Vytenis, the Grand Duke of Lithuania, supported Władysław Łokietek in the early fourteenth century in his determined struggle for the Cracow throne. However, the Lithuanians did not always side with the Polish princes; in some cases, they participated in the campaigns of the princes of Rus' against the lands of Poland.

An example of such cooperation is the joint expedition of the Ruthenians and Lithuanians into the Lublin region in 1280, organised by Traidenis and led by his brother Sirputis. The Lithuanian prince's actions were aimed at supporting the ambitions of Leo I (Lev Danylovych) of Galicia, who sought to exploit the death of Bolesław the Chaste and seize part of the territories formerly under his control. While the Ruthenians conducted military operations in the Sandomierz region, the Lithuanians entered the Lublin Land. However, the expedition failed to achieve its objectives and ended in failure.³⁸

These examples confirm the existence of pagan-Christian cooperation between the Lithuanians and their Christian neighbours, yet often oral and unstable, driven by specific political and military objectives. Moreover, such collaboration was not uniquely a Polish-Lithuanian or Ruthenian-Lithuanian phenomenon, but rather a widespread strategic practice – even among the Hungarians, whose army included Cuman contingents. As Pór Antal insightfully noted, Wigand of Marburg's reference to Gediminas's participation in the 1330 campaign was likely not intended to highlight Hungarian religious fidelity, but rather to incite hostility toward the Polish king for enlisting Gediminas' support. Wilhelm Drugeth could hardly have objected to Gediminas' paganism, especially considering that pagan Cumans were also serving in his own army and took part in the same campaign.³⁹

Reflecting this alliance, the *Annalista Thorunensis* reports that Łokietek, "King of Cracow, together with the Hungarians, Cumans, and Henry Ketteler, on the day after the feast of Saint Denis," crossed the Drwęca River near the village of Lin, devastated and burned the land

37 "Kronika Wielkopolska," in *Monumenta Poloniae Historiae. Seria Nova*, vol. 8, ed. Brygida Kürbis (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1970), 91.

38 Błaszczyk, *Dzieje stosunków polsko-litewskich*, 48.

39 Pór Antal, "Magyar-lengyel érintkezés a XIV-ik században: második és befejező közlemény," *Századok* 37 (1903): 322–324.

of Chelmnno with many thousands of troops, and laid siege to the castle of Lipienek.⁴⁰

Thus, medieval warfare did not always follow a clear-cut pattern of binary religious opposition. On the contrary, cooperation between Christian and pagan forces were not only possible but, at times, strategically necessary – and acknowledged in narrative sources, though often with ambivalence or distortion. Critical attitudes toward pagans were common in medieval chronicles, even when they allied with Christian rulers. Importantly, such portrayals are not limited to the Latin narrative tradition but also appear in the Orthodox context, reflecting a broader Christian conception of the religious Other and prevailing attitudes toward them.

Several vivid examples of alliances between Christian and pagan forces against a common threat – echoing Wigand's depiction of Gediminas's participation in the 1330 campaign – can be found in the history of Rus'. One particularly illustrative case is the Battle of the Kalka River in 1223, in which a coalition of Rus' principalities and the pagan Cumans joined forces against a Mongol corps led by Jebe and Subedei. Despite their initial cooperation, the alliance suffered a devastating defeat. The Cumans and the main Rus' forces were routed early in the battle, and by 31 May, the Mongols had secured a complete victory. At least nine Rus' princes, along with many boyars and warriors, were killed.

Of particular relevance to the present study is the chroniclers' interpretation of the defeat, which was blamed on the lack of coordination among the allies and, notably, on the flight of the Cumans from the battlefield.⁴¹ A contradictory portrayal of the Cumans – similar to that of the Lithuanians in Teutonic chronicles – is also evident. While earlier accounts condemn the Cumans as “the godless sons of Ishmael” and portray their downfall as divine retribution for their past violence against

40 “Eodem anno Locukko rex Cracovie cum Ungaris et Cumanis et Hinrico Kittelitz in crastino Dionisii intrarunt per vadum Drevancie circa villam, que Lyn dicitur, devastando et cremando terram Culmensem cum multis millibus, circumvallantes castrum Lypam, provinciali tamen cum multis aliis dominis existente in castro. Et interim Poloni et Ungari etc. totam terram per quatuor dies vastarunt, descendendo ultra Ossam usque in Gordin.” *Annalista Thorunensis*, 68.

41 „Тогда же Ярунь съступися с ними, хотя битися, и побѣгоша не успѣвше ничто же Половци назадъ, и потопташа бѣжаще станы русскихъ князь, не успѣша бо исполчитися противу имъ; и смятошася вси, и бысть сѣча зла и люта.” *Novgorodskaja Pervaya letopis'* (Moskwa–Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo AN SSSR, 1950), 265.

Christians,⁴² the chroniclers also record a moment of political pragmatism and unity.⁴³ Mstislav of Halych is depicted as urging the Rus' princes to support the Cumans, warning that their submission to the Mongols would only strengthen the enemy. Consequently, the Rus' leaders agreed to form a coalition with the Cumans and mobilised warriors from across their lands in a united front against the Tatars.⁴⁴ Despite this pragmatic coalition, however, the pagan Cumans are not portrayed as equal participants in the campaign, but rather as a sinful and unreliable element within the Christian forces. Moreover, the defeat of the Rus' forces is ultimately attributed to the sins of the Christians, reflecting the didactic element typical of Christian narrative.⁴⁵

By analysing the participation of pagan forces in joint pagan-Christian coalitions, as depicted in two distinct narrative traditions – specifically German and Rus' sources examined in this study – it is possible to identify two recurring patterns that reflect a broader medieval Christian worldview. First, defeats in such campaigns are often attributed to the unreliability or treacherous behaviour of pagan allies, with repeated emphasis on their inherently sinful nature. Second, both traditions highlight the concept of divine retribution – portrayed either as punishment for the sins of Christian participants or as vengeance for the past crimes committed by pagans against Christians. It is important to note that these rhetorical mechanisms extend beyond descriptions of joint pagan-Christian military efforts. Rather, they reflect a broader ideological framework through which pagans and their nature were perceived and represented in chronicle discourse. This framework was applied to specific historical events, resulting in the construction of a contradictory image: pagans are depicted as powerful and sometimes necessary allies, who, nevertheless, cannot be trusted and who deserve punishment for their transgressions.

This ambivalence was evident not only during wartime but also in the course of negotiations. Narratives often served to delegitimize treaties with pagan leaders by portraying them as unreliable and unworthy of Christian trust. Interestingly, this depiction persisted even in the case

42 “Много зла створиша ти оканнѣи Половци Руской земли, того ради всемирности-выи богъ хотя погубити безбожныя сыны Измаиловы Куманы, яко да отмѣстятъ кровь крестиянскую, еже и бысть надъ ними безаконными.” *Ibidem*, 265.

43 “Роускимъ княземъ аще не поможета намъ . мы нынѣ исѣчени быхомъ . а вы наоутрѣе исѣчени боудете.” “*Ipat'evskaya letopis'*,” col. 741.

44 *Novgorodskaiia pervaya letopis'*, 265.

45 “Татаром же побѣдившимъ Роусьскыѣ княза . за прегрешение крѣтнское.” *Ipat'evskaya letopis'*, col. 745; “И тако за грѣхы наша вложи богъ недоумѣние в насъ, и погыбе множество бещисла люди.” *Novgorodskaiia pervaya letopis'*, 268.

of later rulers of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, such as Algirdas and Kęstutis. For example, during the conflict over Galicia-Volhynia in 1351, involving King Casimir of Poland, King Louis I of Hungary, and the Lithuanian rulers, Louis concluded a peace agreement with Kęstutis, who pledged to convert to Christianity and support Hungary militarily in exchange for a royal crown. According to the Hungarian chronicler, to demonstrate his sincerity, Kęstutis even performed a pagan ritual to seal the agreement. However, he subsequently fled the Christian camp at night, never returning to fulfil his promises.⁴⁶ Such episodes, involving pagan rituals followed by oath-breaking, reinforced the chroniclers' depiction of Lithuanians as spiritually deviant and politically dangerous, thus justifying continued Christian efforts to convert them.

This ambivalence is also evident in the *Pskovian Chronicle's* record of events in 1341. After deliberation, the Pskovians sent envoys to Vitebsk, appealing to Algirdas with respectful deference: "Our brothers, the Novgorodians, have abandoned us and do not aid us; therefore, you, Lord, Grand Duke Algirdas, help us in this time."⁴⁷ Algirdas responded favourably, first sending his voivode, Prince Georgiy Vitovtovich, and soon arriving himself with his brother Kęstutis, a contingent of Lithuanian warriors, the men of Vitebsk, and his son Andrei. What stands out, however, is the chronicler's complex portrayal of this alliance. Although the Pskovians actively sought military cooperation with Algirdas, the chronicle simultaneously expresses deep-seated mistrust toward the Lithuanians. It records that the Pskovians crossed the river with Algirdas and Kęstutis, "simultaneously seeking to protect their homes, wives, and children from Lithuania."⁴⁸

This statement encapsulates the fundamental ambiguity in the Lithuanian image: even as military allies, they are not fully assimilated into the discursive category of the Self (i.e., Christians). Instead, they continue to be framed – perhaps instinctively – as potential aggressors requiring constant vigilance and protection. This duality defies simplistic binary classification. The Lithuanians are neither fully Other, in the sense of the demonised pagan enemy, nor entirely Self, as trusted Christian allies. The chronicle narrative suggests that even in moments of cooperation, the alliance with the Lithuanians remains uneasy and conditional, marked

46 "Chronicon Dubnicense," in *Historiae Hungaricae Fontes Domestici*, vol. 3, ed. Mátyás, Flórián (Lipsiae, 1884), 161.

47 "Pskovskaya Pervaya letopis," in *PSRL*, vol. 5, ed. Boris Kloss (Moskva: Yazyki slavian-skoi kultury, 2003), 18.

48 "Тако же и псковичи перебродишася с ними [Algirdas and Kęstutis – YR], блюдущи своих домовъ, женъ и детей от Литвы." *Ibidem*, 19.

by persistent distrust. Thus, the Pskovian account, similarly to Wigand's description of the 1330 campaign, constructs an image of alliance that does not eliminate alterity, but rather suspends it temporarily in response to shifting political and military needs.

In conclusion, medieval Christian chronicles and narratives often depict pagans in a controversial and morally negative light. Pagans are typically portrayed as a clear opposition to Christians, frequently characterised as treacherous, deceitful, malicious, cowardly, cruel, and easily breaking oaths. As enemies of Christendom, they are often shown committing crimes in Christian lands and threatening the established order, thereby deserving divine punishment. This portrayal aligns with the broader medieval worldview, where Christianity is fundamentally opposed to paganism.

However, the narrative representation of pagans – whether as enemies or allies – was often much more complex, reflecting the complexity of medieval politics and the interplay between religious and political considerations. Therefore, these portrayals became ideologically charged constructs, often created in the interests of specific political or social groups. Despite the generally negative portrayals, the sources also attest to the existence of Christian–pagan alliances. Pagans may have supported Christian rulers in both internal disputes and external military campaigns. Significantly, in cases of such alliances, the role and contribution of the pagans are often downplayed in the narrative, while failures are typically attributed to their presumed treachery or withdrawal from the battlefield. Although these alliances were strategically advantageous, they were often contentious, provoking internal tensions and attracting criticism from other Christian powers, at least in narrative rhetoric.

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What Did His Contemporaries Think of King Louis the Great?

Jak postrzegano króla Ludwika Wielkiego w czasach mu współczesnych?

Abstract

King Louis the Great (1342–1382) is regarded as one of the greatest rulers in Hungarian history. He is the only Hungarian king to have been honoured with this epithet. The aim of this article is to analyze the sources that offer a characterization of the king. A prominent example is a hymn of praise to Louis, written around 1356 by Peter Suchenwirt, an Austrian poet and herald. His work provides a detailed account of Louis's military campaigns, along with a brief description of each. His biographer, John of Küküllő, made many interesting observations about Louis in his work entitled *Chronicon de Ludovico rege*. We learn about the king's passion for astrology, his linguistic abilities (he was said to have spoken German, Italian, and Latin fluently), and finally, the king's physical appearance. Surviving portraits of the ruler confirm the chronicler's opinion. Finally, some Italian chronicles and the opinions about King Louis contained therein, including those of anecdotal nature, are also discussed.

Keywords: King Louis the Great, Peter Suchenwirt, John of Küküllő, opinions about the king, Italian chronicles.

Abstrakt

Król Ludwik Wielki (1342–1382) jest zaliczany do jednego z największych władców w dziejach Węgier. To jedyny król Węgier, który został obdarzony takim przydomkiem. Celem artykułu jest analiza tych przekazów źródłowych, w których znajduje się charakterystyka króla. Na plan pierwszy wybija się pieśń pochwalna ku czci Ludwika, którą napisał około 1356 r. Peter Suchenwirt, austriacki poeta i herold. Jego utwór to dokładna wyliczanka wypraw wojennych Ludwika wraz z krótką ich charakterystyką. Wiele ciekawych spostrzeżeń na temat Ludwika poczynił jego biograf Jan z Küküllö w dziele zatytułowanym *Chronicon de Ludovico rege*. Dowiadujemy się o zamiłowaniu króla, którym była astrologia, jego umiejętnościach językowych (miał ponoć mówić biegle po niemiecku, włosku i łacinie), a wreszcie o jego wyglądzie fizycznym. Zachowane wizerunki władcy potwierdzają opinię kronikarza. Wreszcie omówione zostały też niektóre kroniki włoskie i zawarte tam opinie o królu Ludwiku, w tym także o charakterze anegdotycznym.

Słowa klucze: król Ludwik Wielki, Peter Suchenwirt, Jan z Küküllö, opinie o królu, kroniki włoskie.

King Louis the Great (1342–1382) is regarded as one of the most eminent monarchs in the history of Hungary. He remains the sole Hungarian sovereign to have been bestowed the epithet “the Great.” A review of publicly accessible sources concerning Louis reveals that the epithet was first recorded – using the Latin term *grandis* – in the Venetian chronicle authored by Lorenzo de Monacis (ca. 1350–1428),¹ specifically in his work *Carmen seu historia de Carolo II cognomento Parvo rege Hungariae*.² In this context, the term was employed to describe the king’s actions, notably his rejection of the lifestyle of the Pannonian peoples and his efforts to lead them *ad ritum humanum*, that is, toward a more civilized mode of existence. These deeds were said to have been accomplished *grandis gloria*, or with great glory.³ It is evident, therefore, that the term was used adjectivally rather than as a formal epithet. Notably, a few verses later, the same adjective appears again – this time in its plural form (*grandia*) – to denote large dwellings into which the monarch purportedly relocated

1 Luigi Andrea Berto, Lorenzo de Monacis, in *Encyclopedia of the Medieval Chronicle Online*, ed. Graeme Dunphy (Brill, 2016) https://doi.org/10.1163/2213-2139_emc_SIM_00863 (access: 19.11.2024).

2 Laurentii de Monacis Veneti Craete cancellarii, *Chronicon de rebus Venetis etc.*, ed. F. Correr (Venetiis: ex Typographia Remondiniana, 1758), 321–338.

3 *Ibidem*, 325.

impoverished peasants.⁴ This usage further substantiates the claim that the epithet “the Great” does not appear in reference to King Louis within the afore-mentioned poem by Lorenzo de Monacis.

The earliest known attribution of the epithet “the Great” to Louis appears to have been made by Georgius Pray (1723–1801), a Hungarian Jesuit, bibliophile, and historian, best known for his multi-volume *Historia regum Hungariae*. In the second volume of this work, published in Buda in the year of his death (1801), Pray asserts that Louis was accorded the epithet *Magnus* without envy and by the confession of all (*confessione omnium*).⁵ Concurrently, the renowned Hungarian poet Dániel Berzsenyi employed the epithet in his poem *Louis the Great and Matthias Hunyadi* (*Nagy Lajos és Hunyadi Mátyás*), composed circa 1800–1802. From the early nineteenth century onward, Hungarian historiography has consistently referred to King Louis using the epithet “the Great.”

Let us have a look at how he was perceived by his contemporaries. We have a number of accounts written by chroniclers and poets. The most important of these is undoubtedly a hymn in praise of Louis written by Peter Suchenwirt around 1356. Suchenwirt, born around 1325 and deceased before 1407, was an Austrian poet and herald, an outstanding exponent of what is known as arms poetry. Little is known of his origins; he himself referred to himself in one of his works as *knappe von den wappen*. From 1372, he lived at the court of the Austrian dukes and took part in their expeditions to Prussia, accompanying Duke Leopold III in 1372 and Duke Albrecht III in 1377. His poems are replete with heraldic descriptions, demonstrating his mastery of heraldic terminology. Suchenwirt travelled extensively and was a guest at the court of King Louis, hence the song in his honour and the meticulous description of the Angevin coat of arms. Towards the end of his life, Suchenwirt was a wealthy Viennese citizen in close contact with the Austrian court.⁶

Suchenwirt opens his poem by invoking the Holy Spirit as the one who holds the keys to the gates of art, since he himself had received little of its rewards. The body of the work is in praise of the king’s knightly deeds, which the author understands as military achievements. It is clear

4 *Ibidem*, 326.

5 Georgius Pray, *Historia regum Hungariae*, pars II (Budae: Typis et Sumtibus Regiae Universitatis Pestanae Typographiae, 1801), 144.

6 Claudia Brinker-von der Heyde, “Suchenwirt Peter,” in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, vol. 9 (Berlin–New York: De Gruyter, 1995), col. 481–488; Philipp Plattner, “Bewaffnete Pilgerfahrt. Die Preussenfahrt Herzog Leopolds III. von Österreich (1372),” *Biuletyn Polskiej Misji Historycznej* 10 (2015): 207.

that Suchenwirt arranged them in chronological order. Let us therefore recall this part of the song:

He went boldly against Serbia with a retinue of many heroes, well-armed and well-equipped. His heart always rejoices when he finds an opportunity to enhance his glory. Twice he moved against Rus' with a bold heart, surrounded by many brave heroes. He also marched against Lithuania, to the anger of its king, to do harm there and to force him to swear an oath before him in a pagan manner. But (his) loyalty did not last; he broke his oath. The noble lord also appeared in Prussia, where he bravely fought in the service of Our Lady in the company of kings, illustrious counts, distinguished barons and vassals, brave knights and squires. He could also be seen, with great dignity and honour, in Dalmatia. At other times, he moved willingly and with great force against Croatia. For the sake of honour, he endured many hardships and inconveniences without for a moment losing courage. He showed this at Zadar, where he appeared with a mighty army to take it in a heroic battle. But how quickly the enemy learned of his intentions – they remained in the city. His bravery made him famous among the best. Against Apulia, too, he marched with a great army, accompanied by proud knights, before he avenged his younger brother; how much suffering and pain he had caused to many.⁷

The king's itinerary, which includes a detailed enumeration and brief characterization of his numerous military campaigns, demonstrates that few years passed without his participation in some form of military expedition.⁸

Further insights into Louis's character and interests are provided by his biographer, John of Küküllő, in his work *Chronicon de Ludovico rege*. Although the original manuscript has not survived, its contents have been preserved through other medieval chronicles. From the pages of his biography, we learn of the king's interest in astronomy, which is not surprising for the time, and the royal court, where astrologers were employed and consulted on all major royal undertakings. This was also the case with Louis, as evidenced by a reference in an Italian chronicle to the king's departure on his first expedition against Naples. According to this account, Louis left the capital an hour before sunrise on 3 November 1347, indicating that this was the time to set out on an expedition based on the complicated calculations of his astrologers. Trusting in

7 Alois Primisser, *Peter Suchenwirts Werke aus dem 14. Jahrhundert* (Wien: J.B. Wallishausser, 1827), 2–3.

8 Mór Wertner, "Itinerar des Königs Ludwig I," *Vjestnik kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arhiwa* 5 (1903): 115–150; *idem*, "Nagy Lajos király hadjáratai (1342–1382)," *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 19 (1918): 59–97, 202–271.

the stars was believed to guarantee the success of the entire expedition.⁹ Louis's biographer also praises the king's linguistic skills. In addition to his native Hungarian, he was apparently fluent in German, Italian and Latin. According to John of Küküllő, Louis sometimes liked to withdraw from the hustle and bustle of the world and spend time alone in contemplation. This is unexpectedly confirmed in one of the city chronicles of Padua by Wilhelm Cortusius. He wrote that when Louis was encamped with his army at the walls of Treviso, he would go to the banks of the nearby River Sile every day before noon to read documents in solitude for at least an hour, away from the noise of the camp. Cortusius mentions this royal custom with some trepidation, in the context of an attempt on the king's life being planned by a nobleman from Treviso. Everything ended happily: the assassination did not take place, and for us it is a valuable piece of information that not only reveals some of the king's habits (a tendency towards solitude), but also confirms that he knew Latin, in which the documents he took to the riverbank were probably written.¹⁰

Louis's biographer also describes the king's physical appearance. He was "a shapely man, of tall stature, with a lofty look, curly hair and beard, a calm face, and prominent and slightly crooked lips."¹¹ As it happens, we have at least a few contemporary portraits of the Hungarian king to compare with this description. Let us start with a miniature from the *Illustrated Chronicle*. Here, we can see the king seated on a throne, fitted with all the royal insignia of crown, sceptre and orb, and flanked on the left and right by groups of men. In this particular case, we are particularly interested in the king's physical appearance. We can see the head, which is proportionally larger than the body, the long hair flowing over the shoulders; the eyes, which are large in relation to the face; and, finally, the beard and the large mouth. The depiction of King Louis in

9 Dezső Dercsényi, *Nagy Lajos kora* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1990) (second edition), 14.

10 *Kronika uhorských kráľov zvana Dubnická*, ed. Július Sopko (Budmerice: Vydavateľstvo Rak, 2004), 159; Dercsényi, *Nagy Lajos kora*, 14; Judit Csákó, "A padovai krónikák, Nagy Lajos és a guerra dei confini," *Világtörténet* 13 (45)/2 2023: 256–257.

11 Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum*, t. I: *Textus*, ed. Elemér Mályusz, Gyula Kristó (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1988), chapter: 185: "fuit homo competentis proceritatis, oculis elatis, crinibus et barba crispis, sereno vultu, labiosius, et aliquantum in humeris curvus"; Zofia Rozanow, Ewa Smulikowska, "Jasnogórski obraz *Transatio reliquiae* św. Pawła Pustelnika jako przekaz ikonograficzny do dziejów zakonu paulinów," *Nasza Przyszłość* 31 (1969): 170; Vinni Lucherini, *La Cronaca angioina dei re d'Ungheria. Une specchio eroico e fiabesco della sovranità* (Paris: Classiques Garnier, 2021), 60.

the *Chronicon Pictum* is thus very similar to that provided by his biographer.¹² An artistically similar representation of the king can be found in an initial adorning the first page of a treatise called *Secretum secretorum*, the original of which is in Oxford University. The figure of the ruler is slender and youthful, with a relatively light beard on his face. Given the circumstances of the book's creation (it was written for the king), it is not surprising that Louis is portrayed in the bloom of youth.¹³ Another portrait of Louis is preserved in the frescoes of the San Felice Chapel (called St James in the Middle Ages) in the Basilica of St Anthony of Padua. They include a series of three paintings of the legendary King Ramiro of Asturias: in a dream in which Saint James of Compostella appears and encourages him to fight against the Arabs; then during a council meeting in which he recounts his dream; and finally at the Battle of Clavijo, which is believed to have taken place in 844. The frescoes were commissioned by Bonifacio Lupi di Soragna, a close associate of Francesco I da Carrara, and the work was entrusted to the eminent Italian painter Altichiero, considered to be Giotto's successor. The entire artistic project was carried out by Altichiero between 1372 and 1379.¹⁴ There is no doubt that King Louis of Hungary was depicted under the figure of the legendary King Ramiro. This is indicated not only by Ramiro's resemblance to the portrait of Louis in the *Illuminated Chronicle*, but above all by the Angevin family insignia incorporated into the frescoes in a 'clear but unobtrusive' manner.¹⁵ We could ask ourselves why the portrait of the Hungarian king appeared in a church in Padua, under the figure of King Ramiro. The answer is simple: Hungary was a faithful ally of Francesco I da Carrara, Lord of Padua, in his battles with Venice. The rulers of Padua were well aware of the political and military significance of the aid they received from King Louis. This contribution was also appreciated by the commissioner of the frescoes, Bonifacio Lupi, who acted as envoy to the Hungarian court during the heated peace talks of 1372. Francesco I's son, Francesco il Novello, nicknamed 'the Hungarian', displayed the coat of arms of King Louis on the walls of his castle in Padua. Although the fresco painter, Altichiero, never met the Hungarian king, this close political and military relationship, as well as the presence of Hungarian

12 Lucherini, *La Cronaca angioina*, 60.

13 Dercsényi, *Nagy Lajos kora*, 18–19.

14 Dezső Dercsényi, "Ricordi di Luigi il Grande a Padova," *Corvina* 3/7 (1940): 468–469; Margaret Plant, "Portraits and Politics in Late Trecento Padua: Altichiero's Frescoes in the S. Felice Chapel, S. Antonio," *The Art Bulletin* 63/3 (1981): 406–407, 412.

15 Plant, "Portraits," 413.

students at the University of Padua, provided so many opportunities to learn about the physical appearance of Louis that there can be no doubt that his artistic vision corresponds to reality.¹⁶

Another portrait from the same period as the frescoes in Padua shows Louis dressed as St Wenceslas in the parish church of the Holy Trinity at Velemér in southern Hungary. The painting is part of a cycle by Johannes Aquila, which includes the Judgement of Jesus, the Crucifixion, Saints and Evangelists, and the Adoration of the Magi. It dates from 1378. Saint Wenceslas bears the same features as King Louis and is very similar to his portrait in Padua. He has a stocky build, a broad face, a forked beard and narrow, elongated eyes. The king is shown in full armour, receiving a crown from an angel, and the whole portrait is very austere. Experts on the subject have pointed out that Louis of Anjou supported the cults of local saints, particularly St Wenceslas, a good example being his donation of a painting of this saint to a chapel in Aachen.¹⁷ Another image of Louis of the 1470s is in the silver altarpiece of St Simeon in Zadar. However, the state of preservation does not allow a detailed description of the king's features.

Another contemporary portrait of the King of Hungary is a miniature in the *Cronica carrarese*, the chronicle of Padua during the reign of the de Carrara family, by the brothers Galeazzo and Bartolomeo Gatari. The original is now kept in the Biblioteca Marziana in Venice. King Louis is depicted as a knight wearing a crown and dressed in ermine, with an ostrich on his breastplate. He is flanked by two Lords of Padua, father and son. On his right is Francesco I, known as *il Vecchio* (the Elder), recognisable by the lion's head on his sleeve, while on his left is his son Francesco il Novello, shown with the Carrara family insignia, the four wheels of the chariot.¹⁸ This rendering of King Louis is very similar to his portrait in the frescoes discussed above and corresponds to the description in John of Küküllő's biography of the king.

Despite the lack of detail, the surviving royal seals also shed some light on the appearance of King Louis. I am referring to the majestic

16 Dercsényi, "Ricordi," 478; Plant, "Portraits," 413–414; Patrizia dal Zotto, "Luigi il Grande, re d'Ungheria, nel Castello Carrarese," *Padova e il suo territorio* 24 (138) (2009): 21–24; Valentina Baradel, "A fianco di Luigi il Grande d'Ungheria: la celebrazione del potere e delle alleanze politiche nel Castello carrarese," in *Un castello per la signoria carrarese, un castello per la città. Arte di corte in un monumento in trasformazione*, a cura di Giovanna Valenzano (Padova: University Press, 2019), 63–80.

17 Plant, "Portraits," 412–413; Daniel Spanke, "Najstarejša autoportreta v Evropi? Pomen lastnih podobv Janeza Aquile iz Radgone v Veleméru (1378) in v Martjancih (1392) za starejšo zgodovino portreta," *Zbornik za umetnostno zgodovino* 34 (1998): 119–128.

18 Plant, "Portraits," 424.

seals, which show the king enthroned with all the royal attributes. It is interesting to note that the Hungarian royal seals show the king's physical appearance from the time of his youth. The so-called second majestic seal, introduced in 1363 and used in the Hungarian chancellery until Louis's death, shows him as a young man without a beard and with rich curly hair falling from under his crown to his shoulders. This element of Louis's appearance – long curly hair – can be seen in all of his surviving portraits.¹⁹ In contrast, the majestic seals of Louis as King of Poland, made after 1370, show the king as a man with a bushy beard and a stern gaze. His face is fuller and older, and the whole figure gives the impression of fatigue, undoubtedly influenced by the almost annual wars the king had undergone and the sheer physical exhaustion of his body.²⁰

Opinions about Louis can also be found in contemporary Italian chronicles. Giovanni Conversino da Ravenna, whose father was the physician to the king of Hungary, left brief accounts in several of his works. These were probably influenced by the stories he heard from his father, as Giovanni, although born in Hungary, left the country soon after his mother's death and therefore could not have met the Hungarian king himself. His works include the *Dragmalogia de eligibili vite*, a dialogue between a Paduan and a Venetian about whether it is better to live in a republic or under a personal rule, and the *Memorandarum rerum liber*, a collection of anecdotes about contemporary figures, modelled on Petrarch.²¹ In these two works we find brief opinions on King Louis.

In the *Dragmalogia*, Giovanni Conversino includes a brief characterisation of Louis as an ideal ruler who carried out reforms in his own country.²² In the *Memorandarum*, he tells an amusing anecdote about how the bishop of Pécs once visited Petrarch and showed him a letter written in King Louis's chancellery. When Petrarch picked up the letter and saw the crude Latin, he is said to have advised the king to keep fewer dogs (used for Louis's favourite hunts) and to invest more money in the scribes working in the chancellery. Conversino may have heard about the letter and the visit of the Bishop of Pécs directly from Petrarch, when he visited him at Christmas of 1373. In any case, it is difficult to decide whether this anecdote about Petrarch's acerbic remarks about the Latin

19 Dercsényi, *Nagy Lajos kora*, 18.

20 Marian Gumowski, *Pieczęcie królów polskich* (Kraków: Tow. Numizmatyczne, 1910), pl. VIII, no. 11; Dercsényi, *Nagy Lajos kora*, 18.

21 Benjamin G. Kohl, "The works of Giovanni di Conversino da Ravenna: A Catalogue of manuscripts and editions," *Traditio* 31 (1975): 349–367.

22 Plant, *Portraits*, 424.

of the Hungarian king's correspondence refers to actual events or is just a literary invention of Giovanni.²³

In summary, Louis's contemporary chroniclers described him as a chivalrous king who undertook numerous military campaigns. His biographer also described his physical appearance, which is consistent with surviving contemporary portraits of the Hungarian king. Some chronicles also include anecdotal stories about Louis, as was, and is, often the case with prominent personalities about whom legends of various kinds constantly circulate.

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23 Tibor Kardos, "Magyar tárgyú fejezetek Giovanni da Ravenna emlékiratában," *Egyetemes Philológiai Közlöny* 60 (1936): 293; Ágnes Máté, "Petrarca és Nagy Lajos," *Acta Historiae Litterarum Hungaricarum* 29 (2006): 181.

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The visit of the Dominican John III of Sulṭāniyya, *bischofe von Persya*, an envoy of Tīmūr and Mīrān Shāh to the Teutonic court in 1407

Wizyta dominikanina Jana III z Sultanii,
bischofe von Persya, pośła Timura i Miranszaha
na dworze krzyżackim w 1407 roku

Abstract

The reign of Tīmūr (c. 1370–1405), particularly from the late 1390s, marked a period of intensified contact between Western Europe and his vast empire. Several factors drove these diplomatic exchanges between the West and Tīmūr, one of which was their shared interest in curbing the rising power of the Ottoman state. Among Tīmūr's envoys was the Dominican friar John, probably Italian or born into an Italian family settled in Kastamonu in Paphlagonia on the Black Sea. From around 1390 he served as bishop of Nakhchivān and was likely already in contact with Tīmūr at that time. In 1398–1399 he undertook his first mission to the West, recorded in the sources, receiving in Rome his appointment as Archbishop of Sulṭāniyya in July 1398. On his next mission, beginning in 1402, he remained in Europe until at least 1412, presenting himself as an envoy of Tīmūr and his son Mīrān Shāh and acting as an informant

on the precarious state of the missions in Persia and further east. At the same time, he sought to win cooperation with the Timūrids by cultivating a favourable image of them among Western rulers. John was styled by papal cardinals *Archiepiscopus Soltaniensis seu Orientis* ("Archbishop of Sultāniyya or of the East"), and from 1410 also served as administrator of the *archidioecesis Cambaliensis* (Peking). A particularly noteworthy episode of his European sojourn was his visit to the Teutonic Order's court in Malbork in 1407. Referred to by the Teutonic Knights as the *bischofe von Persya* ("bishop of Persia") and titled by Grand Master Konrad von Jungingen *Soltaniensis sive totius Orientis primas* ("Archbishop of Sultāniyya or primate of the whole East"), he likely persuaded the Grand Master to issue a new series of letters – to the King of Cyprus (styled also as ruler of Armenia), to Timur and Mīrān Shāh, to the Byzantine emperor, and to the legendary Prester John of Ethiopia or Abkhazia – in support of his mission in Europe. Archbishop John saw himself both as a missionary and as an instrument of anti-Ottoman policy, mediating in the creation of an alliance between Timūr and the rulers of Western Europe, with the aim of strengthening the position of Christianity in Persia and more broadly in Asia. His trace disappears after 1412, when he was last recorded in Lviv. There is also a hypothesis that Archbishop John was a forger and that at least some of the letters addressed to Western European rulers – purportedly written by Timūr himself – were in fact fabrications composed by the Dominican friar. Exploiting the confusion that followed the Battle of Ankara and the general ignorance of Europeans regarding the East, he allegedly sought to present himself as Timūr's trusted adviser, thereby constructing the myth of a "Christian Timūr". In doing so, he gained access to European courts and secured financial support for his activities. The trail of Archbishop John ends in 1412 in Lviv, from where he never returned to Persia, perhaps fearing exposure at the courts of Timūr's and Mīrān Shāh's successors.

Keywords: Timūr, Dominican John III of Sultāniyya (*bischofe von Persya*), Mīrān Shāh, the Teutonic Knights, administrator of the *archidioecesis Cambaliensis* (Peking).

Abstrakt

Okres panowania Timura (ok. 1370–1405), w szczególności od końca lat 90. XIV wieku, przyniósł ożywienie kontaktów Europy Zachodniej z jego rozległym imperium. Było kilka powodów determinujących kontakty dyplomatyczne pomiędzy Zachodem a Timurem, a jeden z nich to wspólny interes w postaci powstrzymania rosnącej potęgi państwa osmańskiego. Jednym z posłów, który działał w służbie Timura, był dominikanin Jan, prawdopodobnie Włoch lub urodzony we włoskiej rodzinie osiadłej w Kastamonu w Paflagonii nad Morzem Czarnym, który od około

1390 roku był biskupem w Nachiczewanie i najprawdopodobniej już wówczas kontaktował się z Timurem. W latach 1398–1399 odbył swoją pierwszą odnotowaną w źródłach misję na Zachód, odbierając w Rzymie nominację na arcybiskupa Sultanii w lipcu 1398 roku. W kolejną misję wyruszył w 1402 i do co najmniej 1412 roku przebywał w Europie, podając się za posta Timura i jego syna Miranszacha, a z drugiej strony informując o trudnej sytuacji misji w Persji i szerzej na Wschód oraz przekonując do współpracy z Timurydami poprzez ocieplanie ich wizerunku w oczach zachodnioeuropejskich władców. Jan był tytułowany przez kardynałów papieskich „*Archiepiscopus Soltaniensis seu Orientis*”, a od 1410 roku był również administratorem „*archidioecesis Cambaliensis*” (Pekin). Interesującym epizodem związanym z jego pobytem w Europie była jego wizyta na dworze krzyżackim w Malborku w 1407 roku. Zwany przez krzyżaków „*bischofe von Persya*”, tytułowany przez wielkiego mistrza Konrada von Jungingena „*Soltaniensis sive tocius Orientis primas*”, najprawdopodobniej nakłonił go do napisania kolejnych listów (do króla Cypru, tytułowanego również władcą Armenii, do Timura i Miranszacha, do cesarza Bizancjum oraz do legendarnego kapłana Jana z Etiopii lub Abchazji) wspierających jego misję po Europie. Arcybiskup Jan postrzegał siebie w roli misjonarza oraz instrumentu antyosmańskiej polityki, pośredniczącego w budowaniu sojuszu pomiędzy Timurem a władcami zachodnioeuropejskimi, co miało wzmocnić pozycję chrześcijaństwa w Persji i szerzej Azji. Istnieje również teza mówiąca o tym, że arcybiskup Jan był fałszerzem i jego listy do co najmniej części władców zachodnioeuropejskich, które rzekomo miał napisać sam Timur, w rzeczywistości były mistyfikacją sporządzoną przez dominikanina, który wykorzystał zamieszanie po bitwie pod Ankarą i niewiedzę Europejczyków o Wschodzie, aby wykreować się na doradcę Timura, tworząc w zasadzie mit „chrześcijańskiego Timura”, i tym samym uzyskać dostęp do dworów europejskich i idącego za tym wsparcia finansowego z ich strony. W 1412 roku we Lwowie urywa się ślad po arcybiskupie Janie, który nigdy nie powrócił do Persji, być może obawiając się zdemaskowania na dworze następców Timura i Miranszacha.

Słowa kluczowe: Timur (Tamerlan), dominikanin Jan (*bischofe von Persya*), Miranszah, krzyżacy, administrator *archidioecesis Cambaliensis* (Pekin).

The early Fifteenth century was a period of abrupt political upheavals across Eurasia, in which one of the central figures was Tīmūr, ruler of an empire stretching from Central Asia to western Persia. At the same time, the rapid expansion of the Ottoman Empire under Sultan Bayezid I (1389–1402) – victory over the crusaders at Nicopolis in 1396 – provoked increasing concern among European monarchs. The two empires, Tīmūrid and Ottoman, were thus on a collision course for dominance over key territories of the Islamic world. This rivalry reached its climax on 28 July 1402, when one of the most decisive battles of the age was fought at

Ankara between the armies of Tīmūr and Bayezid I. Tīmūr's victory and the capture of the Ottoman sultan dramatically altered the regional balance of power and opened new opportunities for Europe to establish contact with the East. Against this backdrop, diplomatic exchanges between Western European rulers and Tīmūr's court intensified. One of the most fascinating, though comparatively little-studied, episodes of this diplomatic traffic was the visit of John III of Sultāniyya, a Dominican archbishop, to the court of Konrad von Jungingen, Grand Master of the Order of the Hospital of Saint Mary of the Germans in Jerusalem – better known as the Teutonic Order – at Marienburg in 1407.¹ It should be emphasised that Tīmūr did not generally employ Latins in his dealings with Western Europe, the Ottomans, or the Mamluks. The only exceptions were two Dominicans from the dioceses of Sultāniyya and Nakhchivān, one of whom was the subject of this study, John III of Sultāniyya.

John's journeys in Europe were not only an expression of missionary zeal but also an attempt to foster a broad alliance against the Ottoman Empire. His dual role as both clergyman and diplomat renders him a symbolic figure in the contemporary efforts to transcend cultural and religious boundaries in pursuit of shared political interests. His meeting with the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, and his involvement in the preparation of letters to the King of Cyprus, the Byzantine emperor, and the legendary Prester John, demonstrate that John was regarded as *totius Orientis primas*²: a figure who linked the Latin and Oriental worlds, uniting spiritual mission with political agency. This article examines Archbishop John of Sultāniyya's mission to Konrad von Jungingen, its historical context, and the significance of the encounter at Marienburg for the early stages of diplomatic engagement with Timurid Persia at a time when the Ottoman threat compelled Christian rulers to seek new, and at times exotic, allies.

Any analysis of eastern missions in the late Middle Ages must situate them within their broader historical context. The Mongol conquests of the 13th century and the subsequent interactions with Mongol states – the Golden Horde, the Ilkhanate, the Chagatai Ulus, and the Yuan Empire – had already prompted vigorous diplomatic initiatives by the Roman Curia in the lands of the East. Serving as intermediaries

1 Konrad von Jungingen (1393–1407), the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, was the brother of the famous Ulrich, who served as Grand Master from 1407 to 1410 and fell at the Battle of Grunwald on 15 July 1410.

2 The correct form is *totius*: it is the genitive singular of the adjective *totus, tota, totum* ("whole, entire"). The form *tocius* is an archaic variant found occasionally in manuscripts, including the one concerning the subject of this text.

in these exchanges were the Franciscan and Dominican orders, whom Jean-Paul Roux aptly described as the “agents of the papacy”.³ In 1318, Pope John XXII, by means of the bull *Redemptor noster*, reorganised the ecclesiastical provinces: the Caucasus, Iran, Central Asia, India, and Ethiopia were placed under the jurisdiction of the newly created archbishopric of Sultāniyya, entrusted to the Dominicans, while portions of Central and East Asia were assigned to the archbishop of Khanbaliq (Peking), which was entrusted to the Franciscans.⁴

The figure of Archbishop John of Sultāniyya has been relatively well presented in the literature, although most earlier works tended to reproduce erroneous interpretations concerning his identification. He was first mentioned by nineteenth-century scholars: Silvestre de Sacy⁵ and Henri Moranvillé.⁶ Biographical information on John was collected in works by Raymond Joseph Loenertz⁷ and Anthony Luttrell.⁸ Other contributions that address John of Sultāniyya to some extent include the works of Michael Bihl,⁹ Felicitas Schmeider,¹⁰ Claudine Delacroix-Besnier,¹¹ and

3 Jean-Paul Roux, *Średniowiecze szuka drogi w świat*, transl. Tadeusz Rosłanowski (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Wiedza Powszechna, 1969), 40.

4 Folker Reichert, “Johannes von Soldania: Ein persischer Erzbischof in österreichischen Handschriften”, in *Österreich im Mittelalter. Bausteine zu einer revidierten Gesamtdarstellung*, Die Vorträge des 16. Symposions des Niederösterreichischen Instituts für Landeskunde Puchberg am Schneeberg, 1. bis 4. Juli 1996, hrsg. Willibald Rosner (St. Pölten: NÖ Institut für Landeskunde, 1999), 350; Felicitas Schmeider, *Europa und die Fremden. Die Mongolen im Urteil des Abendlandes vom 13. bis in das 15. Jahrhundert*, Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters, bd. 16 (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1994), 135–136.

5 Silvester de Sacy, “Mémoire sur une correspondance inédite de Tamerlan avec Charles VI,” *Mémoires de l’Institut Royal de France. Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres* 6 (1822): 470–522.

6 Henri Moranvillé, “Mémoire sur Tamerlan et sa cour per un dominican en 1403,” *Bibliothèque de l’École des Chartes* 55 (1894): 433–464.

7 Raymond Loenertz, “Evêques dominicains des deux Arménies,” *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 10 (1940): 258–281; *idem*, *La Société des Frères pèlerins. Étude sur l’Orient dominicain* (Rome: Dominican Historical Institute, 1937), 111–112, 170–172.

8 Anthony Luttrell, “Timur’s Dominican envoy,” in *Studies in Ottoman history in honour of Professor V.L. Menage*, eds. Colin Heywood, Colin Imber (Istanbul: Isis Press, 1994), 209–229.

9 Michael Bihl, “Excerpta de missionibus Fratrum Minorum e Libello de notitia orbis a Fr. Iohanne de Galonifontibus, O.P., archiepiscopo Soltaniensi, an. 1404 scripto,” *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* 31 (1938): 540–550.

10 Schmeider, *Europa und die Fremden*, 41, 48, 51, 56, 126, 131, 140, 150, 159, 181, 186, 203, 209, 235, 240, 284, 298, 311.

11 Claudine Delacroix-Besnier, *Les dominicains et la chrétienté grecque aux XIVe et XVe siècles*, Collection de l’École Française de Rome, vol. 237 (Rome: École française de Rome, 1997), 30, 49, 50, 131–134, 158, 161, 163, 164–173, 196, 206, 331; *eadem*, “Les

Folker Reichert.¹² John is also referenced in studies devoted to the Dominicans and to the presence of the Catholic Church in the East.¹³ It should additionally be noted that only recently Jurij Šilc published a paper based on a document authored by John of Sultāniyya,¹⁴ discovered in the archive of St. Margaret's Church in Vodice near Ljubljana. A distinct body of research on John concerns his most extensive work, the *Libellus de notitia orbis* (*Description of the World*), composed in 1404 during his stay in the German lands. The Hungarian scholar Lajos Tardy analysed the sections of this text devoted to the northern Black Sea region and the Caucasus.¹⁵ Shortly thereafter, the Azerbaijani historian Ziya Musa oğlu Bünyadov likewise focused on the passages concerning the Caucasus.¹⁶ In 2002, the journal "Dardania" published a substantial excerpt describing South-eastern and Eastern Europe, accompanied by a German translation.¹⁷ In 2007, the English historian Stephan C. Rowell, a specialist in Lithuanian history, published the portion of the *Libellus de notitia orbis* dealing with

missions dominicaines et les Arméniens du milieu du XIV^e siècle aux premières années du XV^e siècle," *Revue des Études Arméniennes* 26 (1996–1997): 173–191.

- 12 Reichert, "Johannes von Soldania", 349–365; *idem*, "Los viajes políticos. Embajadas y diplomacia," in *Viajes y viajeros en la Europa medieval*, coord. Feliciano Novoa Portela, F. Javier Villalba Ruiz de Toledo (Barcelona: Editorial CSIC-CSIC Press, 2007), 227, 232.
- 13 Marcus-Antonius van den Oudenrijn, "Bishops and archbishops of Naxivan," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 6 (1936): 167; Anna-Dorothee Von Den Brincken, *Die 'Nationes Christianorum orientalium' im Verständnis der lateinischen Historiographie von der Mitte des 12. bis in die zweite Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Cologne-Vienne: Böhlau, 1973), 75, 135, 138, 140–141, 193, 209, 261, 285–286, 326, 380, 442–443, 450; Giorgio Fedalto, *La Chiesa latina in Oriente*, vol. 2, *Hierarchia Latina Orientis* (Verona: Mazianna, 1976), 162, 211–212; Jean Richard, *La papauté et les missions d'Orient au moyen âge (XIII^e-XV^e siècles)* (Roma: École française de Rome, 1977), 155–156, 181–182, 193, 195, 221, 245, 256–259, 261; Thomas Kaeppli, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, vol. 4 (Rome: Istituto Storico Domenicano, 1993), 172; Peter Jackson, *The Mongols and the West, 1221–1405* (Harlow: Pearson. Longman, 2005), 242–244, 246–248, 260, 300, 302, 329, 345, 360.
- 14 Jurij Šilc, "Nadškof iz Perzije podeli v Celju odpustek šmarnogorskim božjepotnikom Listina nadškofa Janeza iz Sultanije, spisana v Celju leta 1411," *Zgodovina za vse* 2 (2006): 5–16. Obecnie jego oryginał znajduje się w Archiwum Archidiecezji w Lublanie.
- 15 Lajos Tardy, "The Caucasian Peoples and Their Neighbours in 1404," *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 32/1 (1978): 83–111.
- 16 Зия Мусаевич Буниятов, *Иоанн де Галонифонтибус. Сведения о народах Кавказа (1404 г.) (из сочинения «Книга познания мира»)* [= Ioan de Galonifontibus. Information on the Peoples of the Caucasus (1404) (from the work "The Book of Knowledge of the World")] (Баку: Издательство «ЭЛМ», 1980).
- 17 M. Kamptner, "Südost- und Osteuropa in der Beschreibung von Iohannes III (de Galonifontibus), Erzbischof von Sulthanyeh zwischen den Jahren 1377–1403," *Dardania. Zeitschrift für Geschichte, Kultur, Literatur und Politik* 11 (2001): 61–84.

Eastern Europe.¹⁸ S. Rowell, however, limited himself to the Latin source text without providing a translation into any modern language; only later did the Belarusian scholar Aleksei Viktorovich Martynyuk publish the sections concerning Rus' and Lithuania in a Russian translation from the Latin.¹⁹ A major study offering a different perspective on Archbishop John is that of Abolala Soudavar, who argues that the archbishop may have been both a forger and an impostor, having himself authored at least two of the supposed letters from Tīmūr to Western monarchs. Presenting himself as Tīmūr's ambassador, he sought to gain prestige, wealth, and influence at European courts by promoting a favourable image of Tīmūr as an ally of Christendom and a savior of Constantinople.²⁰ In this context, Juan Carlos Bayo Julve discusses Archbishop John's visit to Martin I, ruler of the Crown of Aragon, in 1404. In his interpretation, the Dominican emerges as a figure full of contradictions, and Bayo Julve redefines the role of Archbishop John of Sultāniyya as a false yet effective cultural mediator between East and West.²¹

Laura Carbó examines John of Sultāniyya in the context of his diplomatic mission to the king of France on behalf of Tīmūr and his role in shaping a historiographical narrative intended to provide ideological foundations for the emerging Timurid dynasty.²² Daria Barow-Vassilevitch discusses John of Sultāniyya in connection with the fate of the Teutonic Order's archival materials, especially the letters linked to his

18 Stephen C. Rowell, "Naujieji kryžiaus žygiuotojai: LDK ir Bizantijos santykiai XIV–XV a. sandūroje. Ar Vytautas Didysis buvo Lietuvos kryžiaus žygių prieš turkus bei totorius pradininkas?," in *Kryžiaus karų epocha Baltijos regiono tautų istorinėje sąmonėje. Mokslinių straipsnių rinkinys*, sud. Rita-Regina Trimonienė, Robertas Jurgaitis (Šiauliai: Saulės delta, 2007), 181–205.

19 Алексей Викторович Мартынюк, "Русь и Литва в сочинении Иоанна де Галонифонтибуса" [= Rus' and Lithuania in the opus of Johannes de Galonifontibus], *Исследования по истории Восточной Европы = Studia Historica Europae Orientalis* 4 (2011): 79–88.

20 Abolala Soudavar, "Histoire d'une imposture ou naissance d'un mythe: Tamerlan," in *Le Pouvoir en actes. Fonder, dire, montrer, contrefaire l'autorité*, ed. Elsa Marguin-Hammon (Paris: Archives nationales-Somogy Éditions d'Art, 2013), 186–191.

21 Juan Carlos Bayo Julve, "The letters of King Martín I of Aragon to Amir Temur and Mironshoh following the visit of the Archbishop of Solṭāniye (1404)," *O'zbekiston Tarixi Jurnalı* 2 (2022): 22–63.

22 Laura Carbó, "La correspondencia entre Tamorlán y el rey Carlos VI de Francia en 1403. La labor del dominico Juan, obispo de Sultania como traductor, editor, informante, misionero," in *Pastores, misioneros, inquisidores, jueces y administradores: el clero del antiguo régimen (siglos XV–XIX)*, coords. Guillermo Nieva Ocampo, Henar Pizarro Llorente, ed. María Noelia Mansilla Pérez (Salta: La Aparecida, 2021), 35–60; eadem, "Un relato para las cortes occidentales las bases del poder de Tamorlán según la reelaboración del obispo Juan de Sultania (1403)," *Incipit* 44 (2024): 79–104.

stay in Marienburg, their transfer to Russia, and the role of the Russian historian Nikolai Karamzin (1766–1826) in copying, interpreting, and incorporating them into his *Istoriya gosudarstva Rossiyskogo* (*History of the Russian State*).²³ The most recent biographical article on John, authored by Chiara Casali, was published in the prestigious dictionary from the series *Christian-Muslim Relations: A Bibliographical History Online* (CMR Online), issued by Brill.²⁴ Within Polish scholarship, the author of this text has also addressed this topic.²⁵ Jerzy Strzelczyk mentions the letter of the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Konrad von Jungingen, to Prester John, sent on January 20, 1407, which in fact was entrusted to John of Sultāniyya, who was to take it with him to the East. However, he does not mention the person of the Archbishop of Sultāniyya himself, suggesting that the idea of writing the letter may have arisen under the inspiration of one of the prominent Teutonic guests from the West who participated in campaigns against the pagan Prussians and Lithuanians.²⁶

We have no information about the youth of John of Sultāniyya. He most likely came from an Italian family that had settled in one of the merchant colonies on the Black Sea, perhaps, as Chiara Casali suggests, in Kastamonu in Paphlagonia.²⁷ Luttrell, however, argues that John was from Padua, since in some sources he introduced himself as *Johannes de Padua*.²⁸ One of his works – a brief account of Timūr, to which we will return later – was composed in French, which may point to his French

23 Daria Barow-Vassilevitch, “Nikolaj Karamzin und der *bärtige Johannes*, Erzbischof von Sulthanien. Die langen Wege der Deutschordensüberlieferung in Russland,” *Preußenland* 12 (2021): 8–25.

24 Chiara Casali, “John of Sultāniyya,” in *Christian Muslim Relations Online I*, ed. David Thomas (brill.com) (access: 17.07.2025).

25 Łukasz Burkiewicz, “Rola arcybiskupa Jana z Sultanii w stosunkach dyplomatycznych pomiędzy Mongołami a Europą Zachodnią na przełomie XIV i XV w.,” *Prace Historyczne Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego* 144/1 (2017): 25–42.

26 Jerzy Strzelczyk, “Król-Kapłan Jan. Rzeczywistość i legenda,” in *W poszukiwaniu Królestwa Kapłana Jana*, wybór, wstęp i redakcja naukowa Jerzy Strzelczyk (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Novus Orbis, 2006), LXXV.

27 Casali, “John of Sultāniyya.” This interpretation is further supported by a letter dated 12 December 1423, sent by the Dominican friars of Persia to Pope Martin V, in which they petitioned for the appointment of a new archbishop to the vacant see of Sultāniyya: “Cum vacante ecclesia Soltanien, per obitum fratris Johannes de Castamon.” See: Thomas Kaeppli, Emilio Panella, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, vol. 4 (Roma: Tipografia Poliglotta Vaticanis, Istituto Storico Domenicano, 1993), 172.

28 Luttrell, “Timur’s Dominican envoy,” 211–212, 224; Johannes Vincke, *Briefe zum Pisaner Konzil* (Bonn: Hanstein, 1940), 201.

origins. Yet since John's nomination as archbishop of Sulṭāniyya took place during the Great Western Schism, and the appointment was made by the Roman and not the Avignon pope, it is more likely that he was Italian than French.²⁹ Additional confirmation of his Italian background is found in the *Chronographia regum Francorum*, where he is described as wearing a long white beard in the Greek style, though explicitly identified as Italian by origin.

In the following year, 1403, in the month of May, there arrived in Paris a certain envoy of Timūr, from the Order of Friars Preachers, bearing open letters of credence written in golden letters and sealed with Timūr's small seal. This friar looked like a Greek, though by birth, as he testified, he was Italian. He had a great white beard and claimed to be archbishop of the city of Sulṭāniyya, which – as he himself said – was in the land of Persia.³⁰



Figure 1. No attempt has hitherto been made to render the figure of John of Sulṭāniyya visually. The above illustration is the first artistic-historical reconstruction of his likeness, depicting the archbishop with a characteristic Greek-style beard, surrounded by the Chagatai attendants of Timūr (1402). Author: Andrzej Zaręba, 2025.

29 Luttrell, "Timur's Dominican envoy," 212.

30 *Chronographia regum Francorum*, ed. Henri Moranvillé, vol. 3 (Paris: Publications de la Société de l'Histoire de France, Librairie Renouard, 1897), 205.

John certainly spoke Italian and French, probably also Arabic and Persian, and may even have had some familiarity with Tatar, as suggested by the detailed accounts of Tīmūr's personality and life offered in his writings.³¹ His Latin, according to the first editor of one of his works, Anton Kern, was at times obscure and difficult; Kern characterised it as *völlig verwildert*, i.e., "completely wild".³² We do not know when John entered the Dominican Order. By the end of the 14th century, probably around 1390, he was appointed bishop of Nakhchivān, succeeding Johannes de Galonifontibus (Jean de Gillefontaine), who had held the office since 1377. John was long confused with his predecessor due to an early misinterpretation by Anton Kern, who had discovered one of John's works, which was subsequently repeated by later authors.³³ Without entering into a detailed discussion of this matter here, I refer the reader to the findings of Raymond Loenertz, Anthony Luttrell, and, more recently, Chiara Casali. The Dominican John III, who in 1398 was transferred from the bishopric of Nakhchivān to the archbishopric of Sultāniyya (as will be mentioned below), was not the same person as Johannes de Galonifontibus, appointed bishop of Nakhchivān in 1377. First, they differed in origin: the former was most probably Italian, while the latter was a Frenchman from Normandy. Second, even if one were to assume that John III and Johannes de Galonifontibus were indeed the same individual, it would be difficult to account for the unusually long interval between 1377 and 1398, during which no formal change occurred in the episcopal succession at Nakhchivān. The confusion was easily made, for all bishops of the Nakhchivān diocese were Dominicans, and the name John was among the most frequent – if not the most frequent – used among them. Third, a papal bull of Boniface IX, dated 20 October 1400 and confirming the appointment of a new bishop of Nakhchivān, recorded that John III had been transferred to the archbishopric of Sultāniyya on 26 August 1398. This dating, however, proved erroneous, as the scribe had confused John's nomination with that of his predecessor. In fact, John was already styled archbishop of Sultāniyya in a papal letter of 23 August 1398, while he himself later gave the correct date of his promotion, i.e., 20 July 1398, in a document from 1409. The clerical error in the bull thus misled later scholars, and the incorrect date of John III's appointment

31 Carbó, "Un relato para las cortes occidentaleslas," 81.

32 Anton Kern, "Der *Libellus de notitia orbis* Iohannes III (de Galonifontibus?) O.P. Erzbischofs von Sulthanyeh", *Archivium Fratrum Praedicatorum* 8 (1938): 93; Мартынюк, "Русь и Литва в сочинении Иоанна де Галонифонтибуса," 85.

33 Kern, "Der *Libellus de notitia orbis* Iohannes III (de Galonifontibus?)," 81–123.

was long perpetuated in subsequent research.³⁴ To summarise, John of Sultāniyya was most likely the successor of Johannes de Gaillefontaine at the bishopric of Nakhchivān, and the identical names, coupled with the scribal error in the papal bull, led to a cascade of mistaken interpretations in later historiography.³⁵

After assuming the diocese of Nakhchivān, John established his first contacts with Tīmūr. He undoubtedly travelled widely across Asia, his routes often intersecting with Tīmūr's campaigns. Between 1390 and 1402 – most likely during Tīmūr's conquest of the Golden Horde in 1395–1396 – John of Sultāniyya stayed in Circassia and at Caffa in Crimea, where he recorded the presence of thirty-five languages then in use.³⁶ His association with Tīmūr during this period is further suggested by a work composed in 1410 by the papal official Dietrich of Niem, who, when reading and commenting on Tīmūr's letters, cited information provided by his *amicus meus specialis* – almost certainly John of Sultāniyya.

“For I have read in the letters which he wrote concerning his victories, written not yet six years ago, that, warring with various kings and mighty rulers in the northern and eastern regions of Asia, he had brought nearly all into subjection and seized the power and spoils of those kingdoms and provinces, amassing wealth unheard of for centuries (...). For I have seen his likeness through a certain Catholic bishop, my close friend, who resided with him for more than twelve years (...).³⁷”

The letters in question (Latin translations of Persian originals) were written in 1402 by the chanceries of Tīmūr and his son Mīrān Shāh, and were later circulated in Europe by John. From Dietrich of Niem's account, it appears that before he set off to Europe, John of Sultāniyya had spent twelve years – roughly from 1390 to 1402 – in Tīmūr's entourage, accompanying him through Turkestan, the Golden Horde, southern Rus', Georgia, Persia, and Mesopotamia.

34 Luttrell, “Timur's Dominican envoy,” 211, note 10.

35 Loenertz, “Evêques dominicains des deux Arménies,” 258–259; Casali, “John of Sultāniyya.” It is equally mistaken to identify John of Sultāniyya with the English Franciscan John Greenlaw, who on 20 September 1400 was nominated in Rome by Pope Boniface IX as bishop of Soldayensis (Sudak) in Crimea. In this case, the locality accompanying the archbishop's title, *Soltaniensis* – that is, Sultāniyya – is often confused with *Soldayensis*, that is, Sudak in Crimea, which leads to further erroneous interpretations. See Burkiewicz, “Rola arcybiskupa Jana z Sultanii,” 30–31.

36 Kern, “Der *Libellus de notitia orbis* Iohannes III (de Galonifontibus?),” 107, 111.

37 Theodoricus de Nyem, *De Scismate libri très*, recensuit et adnotavit Georgius Erler (Lipsiae: Veit & Comp., 1890), 305–306.

His first mission to the West recorded in the sources took place in 1398–1399. Already at that time John seems to have acted, at least in part, on behalf of Tīmūr, with political and commercial objectives. At the same time, his travels also aimed at improving the conditions of Dominican – and perhaps also Franciscan – missions in the East and at publicising their precarious situation at Western courts and within the papal curia. John was in Rome on 20 July 1398, when Pope Boniface IX (1389–1404) transferred him to the archbishopric of Sultāniyya, in present-day Zanjān province in Iran.³⁸ He was probably still in Rome between 23 September of the same year, when, at his request, Boniface IX issued bulls against those who had usurped many liturgical items from the church of Sultāniyya, and 11 December 1398, when the pope announced (in his letters) the dispatch of a group of Dominicans to Armenia to evangelise unbelievers and empowered Archbishop John to grant twenty Armenian Catholics the right to choose their own confessors.³⁹ On 28 April 1399, the pope instructed the archbishop of Sultāniyya and the bishops of Tana and Caffa to prevent abuses by Dominicans who were exceeding their visitatorial authority over the Dominican Uniates in Armenia and at Caffa.⁴⁰ It is also likely that during this period John used his presence in Italy to help foster contacts between Genoa and Venice and Tīmūr. This, at least, may be inferred from the 1402 letters of Tīmūr and Mirān Shāh to European rulers, which imply that some years earlier Mirān Shāh had dispatched John of Sultāniyya to Genoa and Venice, and that the Dominican had delivered to Tīmūr messages from certain *Francis*, that is, Frankish rulers, among them Henry IV of Lancaster (1399–1410), King of England, whom John himself is reported to have visited in late 1399⁴¹ – perhaps with the aforementioned Genoese and Venetians. The letters further suggest that at about the same time another Dominican, Franciscus Ssathru, delivered Tīmūr's letters to the King of France.⁴²

38 Casali, "John of Sultāniyya"; Luttrell, "Timur's Dominican envoy," 213.

39 Loenertz, "Evêques dominicains des deux Arménies," 264–266; Luttrell, "Timur's Dominican envoy," 213.

40 Luttrell, "Timur's Dominican envoy," 213.

41 "Letter XXV. King Henry the Fourth to Timur Beg. A.D. 1402 [MS. Cotton. Nero B. XI. Fol. 172]," in *Original Letters Illustrative of English History; Including Numerous Royal Letters; from Autographs in the British Museum, the State Paper Office, and One or Two Other Collections*, with notes and illustrations by Henry Ellis, 3rd ser., vol. 1 (London: Richard Bentley, 1846), 56.

42 The text of the letter, in Persian together with its Latin translation, is preserved in Sacy, "Mémoire sur une correspondance inédite de Tamerlan avec Charles VI," 473–474, 478–480.

In this way, John of Sultāniyya was at once fulfilling the diplomatic tasks entrusted to him by Tīmūr and seeking to strengthen the Latin presence in Persia, fully aware that the merchant republics were deeply interested in trade with Asia. Merchant colonies and missionary stations were usually established along the same routes, so the promotion of commerce in Asia was a natural objective for Christian missionaries. Moreover – like John of Sultāniyya – Venice and Genoa were eager to restore peace in the East, which was essential for the renewal of commercial ties with Asia.⁴³ Most likely in the latter part of 1399 he visited England, where he met Henry IV, who had ascended the throne in September of that year. Soon afterward he returned to Asia, where he seems to have faced certain difficulties, since on 31 December 1401 Boniface IX authorised him to exercise his archiepiscopal functions outside the boundaries of his own diocese.⁴⁴

After returning to Asia, John of Sultāniyya was with Tīmūr in western Karabakh in early 1402, where he witnessed the arrival of an Ottoman embassy bringing a tribute of 100,000 slaves.⁴⁵ Following the Battle of Ankara, Tīmūr extended gestures of goodwill toward Western rulers, among other things releasing Christian captives, and dispatched John of Sultāniyya on another diplomatic mission to the West. He carried with him a likeness of Tīmūr together with two letters for Western rulers – one from Tīmūr himself and the other from his son Mīrān Shāh – intended to encourage political and commercial relations.⁴⁶

John of Sultāniyya reached Venice from Constantinople at the end of December 1402 or the beginning of January 1403 and spent several months there, probably residing in a Dominican convent.⁴⁷ In March or April he left Venice, perhaps spending some time in Rome. He certainly travelled to Milan and Genoa, where he acted as Tīmūr's envoy.⁴⁸ In May 1403 he was in Paris, where he appeared before King Charles VI the Mad (1380–1422) and the accompanying princes, reading aloud the letters of

43 Casali, "John of Sultāniyya."

44 *Ibidem*.

45 Kern, "Der *Libellus de notitia orbis* Iohannes III," 104; Marie-Mathilde Alexandrescu-Dersca, *La campagne de Timur en Anatolie (1402)* (Bucharest: Monitorul Oficial si. Imprimeriile Statului, 1942), 50.

46 Luttrell, "Timur's Dominican envoy," 216–217.

47 Loenertz, "Evêques dominicains des deux Arménies," 261; Delacroix-Besnier, *Les dominicains*, 168; Luttrell, "Timur's Dominican envoy," 220.

48 Delacroix-Besnier, *Les dominicains*, 164.

Timūr and Mīrān Shāh.⁴⁹ This stay in the French capital is relatively well documented in surviving accounts, including the chronicle of the monk of Saint-Denis, and therefore need not be discussed here in detail.⁵⁰

It is, however, worth noting the nature of the letter from Timūr which Archbishop John of Sultāniyya brought with him, a document that has survived to this day together with its Latin translation and a copy of Charles VI's reply to Timūr. For centuries its authenticity went unquestioned, until the recent studies of Abolala Soudavar revealed the supposed letter from Timūr to the King of France to be a clear forgery, evident both in its physical characteristics and in the linguistic and stylistic inconsistencies of its content. Soudavar emphasises that the author of this forged document – either John of Sultāniyya himself or someone within his entourage, possibly an Armenian with only rudimentary knowledge of Persian – did not fully understand the administrative terminology of the Persian chancery. Lacking access to any genuine documents, the forger produced a clumsy compilation of miswritten and misinterpreted expressions, entirely inconsistent with the formal conventions of Timurid bureaucracy. The falsified letter served John of Sultāniyya's interests well. Travelling through Europe with what he claimed to be an authentic missive from Timūr to the Western rulers, he received gifts and financial rewards at every court he visited. Intriguingly, the forged Persian text differs from the French and Latin translations prepared by the archbishop himself. In the Persian version, John of Sultāniyya is merely styled “bishop,” whereas in the French (and Latin) versions he ostentatiously assumes the title “archbishop of the whole East” (“archevêque de tout l'Orient”), presenting himself as Timūr's trusted adviser. It is most likely that the Persian text was composed before his departure for Europe, and that after his arrival, perceiving the fascination he aroused among his Western hosts, Archbishop John revised or expanded the translations to enhance his own prestige.⁵¹

During his time in Paris, the Dominican composed one of only two works attributed to him, a text noteworthy for the substantial knowledge it demonstrates of the East and of Timūr himself, whose origins, family,

49 *Chronographia regum Francorum*, vol. 3, 205–206, 211; Sacy, “Mémoire sur une correspondance inédite de Tamerlan avec Charles VI,” 519–521; Reichert, “Johannes von Soldania,” 353–355.

50 *Chronique du religieux de Saint-Denys, contenant le règne de Charles VI, de 1380 à 1422*, publiée en latin pour la première fois et traduite par Louis Bellaguet, vol. 3 (Paris: Impr. Crapelet, 1841), 134–136.

51 Soudavar, “Histoire d'une imposture ou naissance d'un mythe: Tamerlan,” 186–191.

customs, and conquests he described with considerable precision.⁵² This short biography, written in Old French, had no formal title, but from its closing lines has been referred to as *Les ordonnances de Temir Bey; Histoire de Tamerlan* (*The Orders of Timur; The Life of Timur*).⁵³ In John of Sultāniyya's account, the work presents Tīmūr in a favourable light – as a ruler sympathetic to Christians and open to dialogue with the West – thereby supporting the pursuit of alliances and the development of trade routes.⁵⁴

The king of France sent John of Sultāniyya back with a reply to Tīmūr, dated 15 June 1403.⁵⁵ However, John did not return but continued his journey through Europe. From Paris he travelled to Valencia, where he arrived in early 1404 and appeared before Martin I (1396–1410), ruler of the Crown of Aragon and king of Majorca, Sardinia, and Corsica. John's visit to the Aragonese court resulted in Martin I sending letters to Tīmūr and Mīrān Shāh in April 1404, written in a cordial tone and offering to establish commercial relations and conclude an alliance with the Chagataid ruler.⁵⁶ We possess neither the Persian originals nor the Latin or vernacular translations of the documents that John of Sultāniyya presented to King Martin I of Aragon and other Christian rulers, with the exception of those addressed to the King of France. It is highly probable that these letters were very similar in content, perhaps even identical.⁵⁷ While the authenticity of the letters allegedly brought from Tīmūr and Mīrān Shāh – as in the case of the correspondence shown in Paris – may be doubted, no such doubts surround the genuine reply of the King of Aragon.⁵⁸

52 Luttrell, "Timur's Dominican envoy," 212.

53 MS Paris, BNF – fr. 5624, fols 63v–72r; MS Paris, BNF – fr. 12201, fols 84r–97r. For the French text of the work, see: Henri Moranvillé, "*Mémoire sur Tamerlan et sa cour par un dominicain en 1403*," pp. 441–464. For the Latin translation made by the translators of Charles VI, see: *Chronographia regum Francorum*, vol. 3, 206–225.

54 Chiara Casali, "Les ordonnances de Temir Bey; Histoire de Tamerlan," in *Christian Muslim Relations Online I*, ed. David Thomas (brill.com) (access: 17.07.2025).

55 *Chronique du religieux de Saint-Denys*, vol. 3, 136; Sacy, "Mémoire sur une correspondance inédite de Tamerlan avec Charles VI," 472, 473–474, 478–480, 486, 521–522, 476–477.

56 *Diplomatari de l'Orient català: (1301–1409)*; col·lecció de documents per a la història de l'expedició catalana a Orient i dels ducats d'Atenes i Neopàtria, publ. Antoni Rubió Lluch (Barcelona: Institut d'Estudis Catalans, 1947), 700–701.

57 Bayo Julve, "The letters of King Martín I of Aragon to Amir Temur," 30.

58 *Ibidem*, 38.

Interestingly, John of Sultāniyya did not proceed to the court of King Henry III of Castile and León (1390–1406), despite the cordial relations that existed between Henry and Martin I, which would have made such a visit seem natural. Moreover, Henry III was at that time in communication with Tīmūr, and the ambassador of the Chagataid ruler, Muḥammad al-Kašī, was present at his court.⁵⁹ It is tempting to speculate that John of Sultāniyya may have feared exposure, lest the contents of his letters be compared with the testimony of Tīmūr's trusted envoy.⁶⁰ Instead of journeying to Castile, John left the Iberian Peninsula and travelled toward Central Europe.

He travelled to Germany and Bohemia, where he remained for an extended period, devoting himself to the composition of his second work. The *Libellus de notitia orbis* (*Description of the World*), written in 1404 in Latin, was most likely composed during his stay in Germany, as indicated by the provenance of all six surviving manuscripts.⁶¹ This text is a substantial ethno-geographical description of the world, with particular emphasis on the eastern regions. It is based largely on the author's personal experience, without direct reference to other authors or known sources, which lends the work its distinctive character.⁶² Interestingly, John of Sultāniyya mentions the city of "Mosco," that is, Moscow, from which the shortest trade route to "Catay" leads, thus presenting the route known as "Iter Moscovia," which in the following centuries would gain increasing significance.

59 Łukasz Burkiewicz, "Two Christian princesses offered as Timur's present for King Henry III of Castile. The analysis of the introduction to Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo's narrative (1403–1406)," *Perspektywy Kultury* 13/2 (2015): 165.

60 Bayo Julve, "The letters of King Martín I of Aragon to Amir Temur," 28.

61 MS Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek – 1225, fols 182r–221v; MS St. Pölten, Diözesanbibliothek – 63, fols 1r–112v; MS Basel, Universitätsbibliothek – A V 25, fols 120r–157v; MS Basel, Universitätsbibliothek – E III 17, fols 92r–116v; MS Graz, Universitätsbibliothek – 1221, fols 41r–127r; MS Klosterneuburg, Stiftsbibliothek – 1099, fols 175r–242v.

62 The text of the *Libellus de notitia orbis* was discovered in 1937 by Anton Kern, librarian of the University of Graz. He prepared a partial edition of the text, which remains to this day the only available version of the work. See Kern, "Der *Libellus de notitia orbis Iohannes III*," pp. 81–123; for the critical commentary, see *ibid.*, pp. 81–94; for the text of the work, see pp. 95–123. Ten years ago, Nadia Tarfaoui produced, as a master's thesis, a complete edition of the work in Latin, together with a French translation and commentary, based on five of the six manuscripts currently known. See Nadia Tarfaoui, "Le *Libellus de notitia orbis* de Jean, Archevêque de Sultanieh," in *Positions des thèses soutenues par les élèves de la promotion de 2015 pour obtenir le diplôme d'archiviste paléographe* (Paris: École Nationale des Chartes, 2015), <http://theses.enc.sorbonne.fr/2015/tarfaoui#3>.

Further north lies Rus', or Ruthenia, a very large land. It is divided into two parts: the greater and the lesser, and they have many rulers, etc. The lesser of these is the emperor of Rus', and in their language he is called Susmanos. There is also an Inner Rus' and an Outer Rus'. In Inner Rus' there is a great city called Moscow. From there merchants may and do travel into Cathay, and the route is short.⁶³

In 1405 John of Sultāniyya was still within the Holy Roman Empire, where, on 5 July in Heidelberg, King Rupert III of Wittelsbach (1400–1410) conferred upon him the title of Count Palatine of the Lateran (*comes palatinus lateranus*). This dignity empowered him to legitimate individuals, grant coats of arms, and exercise other such prerogatives even in Byzantium and overseas territories (*in terris et partibus Grecie et ultramarinis*).⁶⁴ In February 1406 he visited Henry IV in London and perhaps also at Hertford.⁶⁵ From the collection of royal manuscripts published by Sir Henry Ellis (1777–1869), we know that John delivered to the English king letters from Timūr and Mīrān Shāh and, in return, carried back royal correspondence, including letters addressed to other Christian rulers, namely the Doge of Venice Michele Steno, the Byzantine Emperor Manuel II Palaiologos, the Emperor of Trebizond Manuel III Megas Komnenos, the King of Cyprus Janus II of Lusignan, the King of Georgia George VII Bagration and to the King of Abyssinia, the country referred to by Europeans as Ethiopia, then known by the legendary name of Prester John in Western Europe. Henry IV's letters also refer to John of Sultāniyya as a trusted intermediary, and through this exchange the monarch signalled his willingness to maintain political and commercial relations with the Orient.⁶⁶

Despite Timūr's death in 1405, John continued his mission and in all likelihood never returned to Sultāniyya. It is unclear when he left England or what he did during the year before arriving in Marienburg at the beginning of 1407. It is also uncertain how he financed his travels, though it is possible that they had a partly fund-raising character and

63 Kern, "Der *Libellus de notitia orbis* Iohannes III (de Galonifontibus?)," 104–105.

64 *Regesta chronologico-diplomatica Ruperti regis Romanorum: Auszug aus den im k. k. Archive zu Wien sich befindenden Reichsregistraturbüchern vom Jahre 1400 bis 1410; mit Benutzung der gedruckten Quellen*, hrsg. Joseph von Chmel (Frankfurt am Main: Varrentrapp, 1834), 121; *Regesten der Pfalzgrafen am Rhein: 1214–1508. 2*, hrsg. von der Badischen Historischen Kommission. Unter Leitung von Eduard Winkelmann (Innsbruck: Wagner 1912), 290.

65 Luttrell, "Timur's Dominican envoy," 221–222.

66 "Letter XXV. King Henry the Fourth to Timur Beg. A.D. 1402," 54–58.

that he simply received support in the places he visited. In this regard, valuable information is provided by the *Marienburger Tresslerbuch* (*The Treasurer's Book of Marienburg*), which contains detailed records of the expenditures of the grand masters, their court, and their administration. Entries dated 7 and 23 January 1407 record the exemption of the “bishop with the beard from Persia” (*bischofe von Persya mit dem barthe*) from payment for lodging, while on 23 February a payment of 600 Prague groschen (10 scores) was issued to him.⁶⁷



Figure 2. Archbishop John of Sultāniyya entering Malbork (Marienburg) in 1407. Author: Andrzej Zaręba, 2025.

⁶⁷ *Das Marienburger Tresslerbuch der Jahre 1399–1409*, ed. Erich Joachim (Königsberg: Verlag von Thomas & Oppermann, 1896), 416–418.

The episode of John of Sultāniyya's stay in Marienburg is among the final testimonies to the Teutonic Order's active eastern policy on the eve of the Battle of Grunwald, which effectively ended such ambitions once and for all. When the archbishop of Sultāniyya arrived in Marienburg, Grand Master Konrad von Jungingen was already gravely ill; he died shortly thereafter, on 30 April 1407. In a curious twist of events, his illness had recently directed his attention eastward in another way. On 4 July 1406, the Order's procurator in Rome, Peter von Wormditt, had sent him a medicine prepared by a physician from India. This physician, originally named Theodorus Medesen, had been baptised in Rome as Johannes Speoborus. He styled himself *rewardt* (probably *regardus*, meaning "over-seer") of all the Indies belonging to Prester John and expressed a particular desire to enter the Teutonic Order. He was most likely an impostor, as neither his advice nor his medicine helped the grand master.⁶⁸ Yet the episode undoubtedly prepared Konrad to receive another emissary from the East shortly thereafter.⁶⁹

On 20 January 1407, five letters addressed to various Eastern rulers were prepared by Grand Master of the Teutonic Order Konrad von Jungingen for John of Sultāniyya and entrusted to him for delivery.⁷⁰ The archival manuscripts containing copies of these letters were initially stored, together with many other Teutonic Order documents, in the Königsberg State Archives (*Staatsarchivs*). At the end of the Second World War, they were transferred to the *Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz* (GStA PK) in Berlin-Dahlem. The oldest and most valuable materials – the *Ordensfolianten* (OF) – which include the letters relevant here, are now accessible to scholars under the designation XX. *Hauptabteilung, Historisches Staatsarchiv Königsberg* (HA XX). *Ordensfoliant* 3 contains the copies of the letters entrusted to John of Sultāniyya. They begin with a short preface (preamble) explaining the circumstances of the event, often transmitted alongside the correspondence itself in the letter registers (*Briefregistrenten*).⁷¹ The preamble records that in 1407 an

68 Paul Nieborowski, *Peter von Wormditt. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Deutsch-Ordens. Mit Regesten und ungedruckten Archivalien* (Breslau: Breslauer Verlagshandlung, 1915), 72.

69 Kurt Forstreuter, "Der Deutsche Orden und Südosteuropa," *Kyrios* 1 (1936): 267–268.

70 The first discussion of these letters was undertaken by Johannes Voigt in his *Geschichte Preussens: von den ältesten Zeiten bis zum Untergange der Herrschaft des deutschen Ordens*, bd. 6, *Die Zeit des Hochmeisters Konrad von Jungingen, von 1393 bis 1407; Verfassung des Ordens und des Landes* (Koenigsberg: Gebrueder Borntraeger, 1832), 364–367. The letters were published in Forstreuter, "Der Deutsche Orden und Südosteuropa," 268–272.

71 Barow-Vassilevitch, "Nikolaj Karamzin und der bärtige Johannes," 9.

archbishop *Johannes Zoltaniensis seu totius orientis*, a Dominican distinguished by his beard and by celebrating the liturgy according to a rite practiced by other priests, arrived *ad Prussiam* from the East.⁷²

The next section of this collection includes Konrad von Jungingen's letter to the king of Cyprus and Armenia, Janus of Lusignan (1398–1432).⁷³ In light of its significance and historical context, this appears to have been not only the first but also the most important of the letters prepared by the grand master for John of Sultāniyya. It should be remembered that until the late 13th century the Teutonic Order had maintained strongholds in Cilician Armenia and, given the dominance of the Hospitallers and Templars in Syria and Palestine, had consolidated its position there. The collapse of the Frankish states in Palestine and Syria at the end of the 13th century ultimately brought an end to the Teutonic presence in Armenia.⁷⁴

Interestingly, the grand master did not refer to the king of Cyprus and Armenia by the additional title of king of Jerusalem, which Janus also bore and to which he held legitimate claim. The Lusignan dynasty, descending from Guy of Lusignan, king of Jerusalem, had ruled Cyprus since the late 12th century, uniting the Cypriot and Jerusalemite crowns and steadily gaining political and economic influence in the region, particularly after the fall of Acre in 1291. In the 14th century, Cyprus became a major hub of commerce and politics in the eastern Mediterranean. King Hugh IV of Lusignan (1324–1358) established a maritime league against the Beylik of Aydin under Umur Ghazi, which in 1344 captured the port of Smyrna.⁷⁵ His son, Peter I of Lusignan (1358–1369, crowned in 1359), continued an active crusading policy: he toured Europe in search of allies and, in 1365, organised the expedition against Alexandria. The sack of the city served both an economic purpose – eliminating a commercial rival to Cypriot ports – and an ideological one, linked to the project of recovering Jerusalem.⁷⁶ At the beginning of the 15th century,

72 GStA PK, HA XX, OF 3, 287.

73 *Ibidem*.

74 Maciej Janik, *Świat łaciński i Królestwo Armenii cylicyjskiej w latach 1199–1375* (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2014), 164–167; Kristian Molin, “Teutonic Castles in Cilician Armenia: A Reappraisal,” in *The Military Orders*, vol. 3: History and Heritage (London: Routledge, 2008), 131–137.

75 Alexios G.C. Savvides, “Smyrna Crusade (1344),” in *The Crusades: An Encyclopedia*, ed. Alan V. Murray, vol. 4 (Santa Barbara-Denver-Oxford: Bloomsbury Publishing), 1116–1118.

76 Angel Nicolaou-Konnari, *The Life and Reign of Peter I of Lusignan (1329–69, crowned 1359). Chronology in Crusading, Society, and Politics in the Eastern Mediterranean in the Age of King Peter I of Cyprus*, eds. Alexander D. Beihammer and Angel

despite earlier setbacks in the war with Genoa (1373–1374), Latin Cyprus remained a key gateway to Asia and an important political and economic centre, attracting Western merchants and supporting eastern missions. It is therefore unsurprising that Konrad von Jungingen, under the influence of John of Sultāniyya, recognised the need to involve Janus of Lusignan both in the matter of the union of the Armenian Church with Rome and in commercial initiatives that could strengthen the stability of the kingdom and maintain communication with the East through the port of Ayas (Laiazzo) on the Cilician coast. Ayas, a vital node on the Silk Road, illustrates the Dominican view that the presence of Western merchants along trade routes reinforced missionary activity. It is also noteworthy that the kings of Cyprus bore the title of kings of Armenia, and in the fifteenth century still controlled a small remnant of the former Cilician Armenian kingdom in the form of the fortress of Corycos (Gorigos), captured by Peter I in 1360 and held until 1448.⁷⁷ In 1367, while in Venice, Peter I received an invitation from a group of pro-Western Armenian barons to come to Cilicia and assume the throne; before he could act, however, he was assassinated in Nicosia in January 1369.⁷⁸ The fall of the Cilician capital Sis in 1375 and the captivity of the last king, Leo V of Lusignan (1374–1375), ended the kingdom's existence. As Leo left no heir, the title passed to his cousin James I of Lusignan (1382–1398), king of Cyprus, who three years later crowned himself king of Cilician Armenia.

Turning to the content of the grand master's letter, it highlights both his own role and that of the Teutonic Order in the necessary reunification of Christendom, including the need to stir the rulers of the East – *animas orientalium principum* – such as the king of Cyprus, to joint action for union in the face of the ongoing schism, which distracted attention from the loss of the Holy Land to the Muslims.⁷⁹

Konrad von Jungingen emphasised that Archbishop John of Sultāniyya had repeatedly recommended the king of Cyprus as someone who could assist in persuading the patriarchs and nobility of Armenia to embrace union with the Catholic Church – a matter to which I will return shortly. In this context, it is also worth mentioning Tīmūr's invasion of Cilician

Nicolaou-Konnari, *Mediterranean Nexus 1100–1700*, vol. 10 (Turnhout: Brepols Publishers, 2022), 13–27; Łukasz Burkiewicz, “Podróż króla Cypru Piotra I z Lusignan po Europie w latach 1362–1365 i jego plany krucjatowe,” *Studia Historyczne* 197/1 (2007): 3–29.

77 Peter W. Edbury, *The Kingdom of Cyprus and the Crusades, 1191–1374* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 90.

78 Janik, *Świat łaciński i Królestwo Armenii cylicyjskiej*, 89.

79 GStA PK, HA XX, OF 3, 287.

Armenia in 1402–1403, which prompted an Armenian migration to Cyprus, then under Janus of Lusignan, the letter's addressee. The well-known account of Johann Schiltberger, a Bavarian squire captured by the Ottomans at the Battle of Nicopolis, describes Cilician Armenia after Timūr's incursion. The region had fallen under non-Christian control, yet Armenians remained and, notably, were said to be well disposed toward Germans. This may have reflected a historical memory that, in times of attack, the local population could seek refuge in Teutonic fortresses – few in number but a source of support.⁸⁰

In his letter, the grand master requested the addressee's support for the archbishop's mission, which aimed to convince the Armenian patriarchs and magnates of the merits of ecclesiastical union. The letter also recalled that similar discussions had taken place under Pope John XXII (1316–1334) but had never been brought to completion.⁸¹ Konrad likely had in mind John XXII's appeal of December 1322, issued after the destruction of the port of Ayas by the Mamluks a few months earlier. At that time, the idea of a crusade was revived; the pope urged Christians in Armenia to resist the Mamluks and Turks, rebuking them for their passivity.⁸²

At the end of his letter, the grand master appealed for renewed negotiations with the Armenian leadership, stressing that the disunity of the Church was like a ship without a helmsman, vulnerable to destruction amid the waves. The question of union between the Church of Armenia and the Roman Church already had a long history. The Kingdom of Cilician Armenia, created during the Crusades under the increasingly Latinised dynasties of the Rubenids (1080–1226), Hethumids (1226–1341), and finally the Lusignans (1342–1375), together with Armenian communities in Syria and Palestine, sought close ties with Frankish princes and Latin bishops, and relations with the Armenian Church had generally been positive. Reinforced by the threat from Byzantium, these relations encouraged both military and religious cooperation and fostered reliance on Rome. Armenian-Byzantine relations deteriorated sharply after the campaign of Emperor John Komnenos in 1137–1138, during which the Rubenid state was destroyed, monasteries plundered, and books deemed heretical burned, which pushed Armenians closer to Rome. The idea of ecclesiastical union was first articulated in the 1140s in response to

80 *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger. A Native of Bavaria, in Europe, Asia, and Africa, 1396–1427*, transl. J. Buchan Telfer, ed. Philip Brunn (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1879. Reprint, Farnham–Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing, 2010), 86.

81 GStA PK, HA XX, OF 3, 287.

82 Janik, *Świat łaciński i Królestwo Armenii cylicyjskiej*, 112–113.

political and religious threats from Byzantium and advanced in 1184, when Pope Lucius III (1181–1185) placed the Armenian Church under the tutelage of the Roman Church (*tutela Romanae ecclesiae*). Many earlier scholars, such as Peter Halfter, believed that a formal union was concluded in 1198, but as Krzysztof Stopka has shown, the negotiations at that time concerned only the conditions for granting a royal crown.⁸³ In the following years, relations between the Church of Armenia and the Roman Church remained positive. The Armenian political and ecclesiastical elite voiced no objection to papal primacy, and the Latin rite exerted a strong influence on Armenian liturgy. The Armenian Church enjoyed the status of a partner, and Rome regarded the Armenians as papal allies in its disputes with the Greeks. A formal union of the Church of Armenia and the Roman Church was finally concluded at the Council of Florence in 1439, after the union with the Greek Church had been ratified. On 23 November 1439, Pope Eugene IV (1431–1447) announced the union with the Armenians to various European princes, urging them to organise special processions to mark the occasion and granting participants a seven-year indulgence. This, however, provoked a strong reaction from opponents of the union, leading to schism within the Armenian Church.⁸⁴

It is most likely that in calling for the renewal of union, the grand master was advocating the revival of earlier cooperation and the idea of a close alliance between the Church of Armenia and the Roman Church – founded on shared faith and political-military collaboration – which in the past had provided both sides with tangible support against threats from Byzantium, the Mamluks, and the Turks. His intent was that, through the support of the king of Cyprus and his influence in Armenia, Christian unity in the East might be restored, a common front against the Muslims strengthened, and the Armenian Church secured a lasting place within the Latin ecclesiastical community.

The next letter was addressed to Mīrān Shāh, son of Tīmūr, who ruled over the territories formerly belonging to the Mongol Ilkhanate in Persia. This part of Tīmūr's empire, conquered by 1393 and known as “the throne of Hülegü,” encompassed northern Persia and Transcaucasia, including

83 Peter Halfter, *Das Papsttum und die Armenier im frühen und hohen Mittelalter. Von den ersten Kontakten bis zur Fixierung der Kirchenunion im Jahre 1198* (Köln: Böhlau, 1996).

84 Krzysztof Stopka, *Armenia Christiana: Armenian Religious Identity and the Churches of Constantinople and Rome (4th–15th Century)*, transl. Terasa Bałuk-Ulewiczowa, Jagiellonian Studies in History, vol. 8 (Kraków: Jagiellonian University Press, 2017), 113–142, 301, 312.

the cities of Baghdād, Tabrīz, and Sultāniyya.⁸⁵ Konrad von Jungingen begins with a universalist message: the diversity of laws, customs, and languages should not impede the pursuit of the common good of rulers or the beneficial unity of their subjects. Drawing on the testimony of Archbishop John of Sultāniyya, he praises the addressee's tolerant and peaceful policy toward Christians, emphasising that under his rule both religious life and preaching flourished freely. The grand master requests that clergy and scholars be guaranteed full security within his domains, analogous to the protection afforded merchants, thereby linking missionary concerns with economic interests.

The letter also contains a clear biblical reference, comparing the addressee to King Cyrus, God's chosen instrument for carrying out His plans for nations. Konrad recalls the joint victory of Mīrān Shāh and Tīmūr over Sultan Bayezid I and the liberation of numerous Christian captives, interpreting these events as signs of divine grace. He expresses the hope that, through his wisdom and piety, the addressee will remain a steadfast defender of Christian interests in the East. In its economic dimension, the letter calls for reciprocity in the treatment of merchants – so that the Muslim ruler's subjects might enjoy in Christian lands the same freedoms granted to Christians in his own territories. The closing paragraphs commend Archbishop John as a “faithful herald” (*fidelem preconem*) and emissary of apostolic truth.

Another letter was addressed to Tīmūr himself and closely parallels the one prepared for Mīrān Shāh.⁸⁶ Here too the central theme is the victory over Sultan Bayezid I and the release of Christian captives, presented as an event of great importance for the entire Christian community. A further key element is the praise of tolerance toward Christians, expressed in the guarantee of their security, extended, like that of merchants and church representatives, throughout the ruler's realm. Both letters underscore the principle of reciprocity in interstate relations, declaring that the ruler's subjects would enjoy in the lands of the Order the same privileges granted to Christians in his. Each document concludes with an explicit commendation of the archbishop, accompanied by a request that he be supported in carrying out his mission.

Konrad von Jungingen's letter to the Byzantine emperor Manuel II Palaiologos focuses on the question of Christian unity and the overcoming of the schism.⁸⁷ The Grand master of the Teutonic Order stresses

85 GStA PK, HA XX, OF 3, 287.

86 *Ibidem*, 288.

87 *Ibidem*, 288–289.

that the love of Christ is the highest bond uniting peoples of different nations and confessions, and that ecclesiastical division must therefore be overcome.⁸⁸ He then, citing the information provided by Archbishop John of Sultāniyya, expresses admiration for the emperor's intention to pursue union with the Roman Church. At the same time, he criticises the stance of certain hierarchs, especially the patriarch of Constantinople, who, instead of supporting the work of reunification, obstruct the preaching of the Gospel. The Order points to the hospitality extended to Byzantine envoys in Rome and appeals for reciprocity in the reception of papal emissaries. The letter closes with a request for support of the archbishop's mission, which was to eradicate heresies and strengthen ecclesiastical unity, while the emperor, as guardian of the faith, should remove obstacles to full communion with Rome. It is uncertain whether John of Sultāniyya personally met Emperor Manuel II, but such an encounter was certainly possible during his journeys from the East to Western Europe – in 1398 (and on his return in 1399), in 1402, and perhaps also in 1408–1409, when he was entrusted with delivering invitations to various rulers for the council, including one to the Byzantine emperor.

Konrad von Jungingen's letter to the king of Abyssinia – identified with the legendary Prester John – has an explicitly programmatic and missionary character.⁸⁹ The grand master underscores the symbolism of the cross as the emblem of the Order, whose mission was to fight for the faith of Christ and to defend the Church. He calls upon the ruler of Abyssinia to direct his military strength against the occupiers of the Holy Land, stressing the duty of all Eastern kings to recover the heritage of Christ. Drawing on the account of Archbishop John of Sultāniyya, the letter depicts the king as a zealous Christian, committed to Catholic teaching, open to adopting its rites and discipline, and generous toward both the faithful and papal envoys. Konrad presents the archbishop as a custodian of the Gospel and a “man of apostolic spirit,” whom the ruler should regard as a messenger of God and support in his missionary endeavours. The letter concludes with an appeal for the unity of the Church and a request that the Abyssinians return to full communion with Rome, casting the Order as a promoter of church union on a global scale.

It should be noted, however, that nineteenth century historians held divergent views about the addressee of this letter. The Russian historian Nikolai Karamzin argued that the “Abassia” mentioned should not be

88 *Ibidem*, 288.

89 *Ibidem*, 290.

understood as Abyssinia but as the Caucasian Abkhazia.⁹⁰ He suggested that the name derived from the Abazins, a people whose language is related to Abkhaz and Circassian (Cherkess), who inhabited the north-western Caucasus with access to the Black Sea. In his work, Karamzin also examined the identity of the addressee of the fifth letter – whether the king of Abkhazia or Prester John – and engaged in debate with various scholars who identified the figure as a Tatar khan converted by Nestorian missionaries, a Nestorian patriarch, or the Abyssinian priest-king. This may therefore provide yet another argument in efforts to clarify the elusive legend of Prester John.⁹¹

The five letters of Grand Master Konrad von Jungingen to Eastern rulers reveal the wide scope of the Teutonic Order's political and religious aspirations at the beginning of the fifteenth century. They are united by the consistent recommendation of Archbishop John of Sultāniyya as both herald of the Gospel and emissary of the Order, tasked with promoting ecclesiastical union and forging a common front against the Muslims. Taken together, the letters form a coherent ideological programme, combining crusading traditions with diplomacy and geopolitical reflection, while also underscoring the significance of the Teutonic Order at the height of its power. This initiative, inspired by the activity of Archbishop John of Sultāniyya, soon lost momentum in the wake of the Order's defeat at Grunwald in 1410.

After his stay in Venice in 1407, John of Sultāniyya appears to have aligned himself with the conciliarist camp. He was in Pisa in 1408 and took part in the council held there in 1409, where he was granted the title "archiepiscopus Soltaniensis seu Orientis" and entrusted with the mission of inviting rulers to participate in the proceedings.⁹² Among the addressees were King Sigismund of Luxembourg, the Byzantine emperor Manuel II Palaiologos, the Wallachian voivode Mircea, the Moldavian prince Alexander, as well as representatives of the clergy from the "Orientales," "Tartaria Aquilonaris," "Gazaria," "Comania," and "Romania." Whether John of Sultāniyya reached all these recipients is unknown, but he certainly met with Emperor Manuel II.⁹³ Although he had lost effective control over

90 Nikolaj M. Karamzin, *Geschichte des Russischen Reiches*, bd. 3 (Riga: Hartmann, 1823), 191, 315–316.

91 Barow-Vassilevitch, "Nikolaj Karamzin und der bärtige Johannes," 15–17.

92 As noted by Luttrell, the title "Archiepiscopus Soltaniensis sive totius Orientis" was not conferred upon him by any papal chancery; it appears rather to have emerged gradually in documents addressed to him or influenced by him. See: Luttrell, "Timur's Dominican envoy," 220.

93 Loenertz, "Evêques dominicains des deux Arménies," 262–263.

his diocese in Persia, he retained prestige as an archbishop and played a role in the council's activities. On 26 July 1409 he was already in Braşov (German *Kronstadt*), on the frontier of the Kingdom of Hungary, Wallachia, and Moldavia, where he used his customary title as Archbishop of Sultāniyya in granting an indulgence to a local church.⁹⁴ By the end of that year he was in Italy, and on 29 December 1410 in Bologna Pope John XXIII appointed him apostolic administrator of the archbishopric of Cambaliensis (Khanbaliq), i.e., Peking, which, after the death of its last archbishop, had remained vacant owing to distance and the dangers of missionary activity.⁹⁵ On 14 May 1411, in Celje (German *Cilli*), he granted indulgences to pilgrims visiting the church on Šmarna Gora, or Mount Saint Mary (*ecclesia gloriosissime Virginis Marie in monte Kollenperg*).⁹⁶ In 1412 he was in Lviv, where on 12 February, introducing himself as “archiepiscopus Solthaniensis et administrator ecclesie Gambaliensis,” he granted indulgences to the faithful of the local Dominican church.⁹⁷ The year 1412 is the last point at which his activity can be traced; from the same year survives a copy of his *Libellus* preserved in the Dominican convent in Leipzig.⁹⁸ Nothing is known of his activities between that time and 12 December 1423, when the Dominicans petitioned Pope Martin V to appoint a new Archbishop of Sultāniyya following his death.⁹⁹ John had most likely died before this date, though it remains uncertain whether he ever returned to Persia.

Recent studies by Abolala Soudavar and Juan Carlos Bayo Julve have shed new light on the figure of John III of Sultāniyya, tarnishing his image by demonstrating that he presented forged letters of Tīmūr to the rulers of Western Europe. Archbishop John proved to be a cunning fabricator who skillfully exploited the historical context to secure a favourable reception across Europe. The international situation was increasingly desperate, and Constantinople stood on the brink of falling to the Ottomans. Then, as if by divine intervention, Tīmūr appeared – a conqueror who dreamed of restoring the empire of Chinggis Khan and who detested the presence of another Turkic warlord in his vicinity. After Bayazid's crushing defeat at

94 Franz Zimmermann, Carl Werner, Georg Müller, *Urkundenbuch zur Geschichte der Deutschen in Siebenbürgen*, Band 3: 1391 bis 1415 (Hermannstadt: In Kommission bei Franz Michaelis, 1902), 481.

95 Loenertz, “Evêques dominicains des deux Arménies,” 267–268.

96 Šilc, “Nadžkof iz Perzije podeli v Celju,” 10.

97 Loenertz, *La Société des Frères pègrinants*, 111–112; *idem*, “Evêques dominicains des deux Arménies,” 268.

98 Kern, “Der *Libellus de notitia orbis* Iohannes III,” 88.

99 Kaeppeli, Panella, *Scriptores Ordinis Praedicatorum Medii Aevi*, vol. 4, 172.

Ankara, Europe awaited news of these events with intense anticipation. Tīmūr himself was little known in the West, as the long conflict between the Ottomans and Byzantium had stifled the circulation of reports concerning his earlier conquests and his reputation for cruelty. It was in this vacuum that John III of Sultāniyya fashioned the image of Tīmūr as the friend of Christians and savior of Constantinople.¹⁰⁰ In this project of rehabilitation, he was aided by the contacts between Henry III of Castile and León and Tīmūr. The Castilian ambassadors, who were present in the Timurid camp after Ankara, witnessed the release of Christian women held captive by the Ottomans.¹⁰¹ The diplomatic exchange between Castile and Tīmūr, including the celebrated mission of Ruy González de Clavijo to Samarkand (1403–1406), further enhanced the favorable perception of the Chagataid ruler in Europe.¹⁰² With each passing year, John's self-presentation grew more exalted, from "Soltaniensis sive totius Orientis primas" to "archiepiscopus Solthaniensis et administrator ecclesie Gambaliensis." As Tīmūr's self-proclaimed ambassador, he sought to elevate his status through works such as the already mentioned *Les ordonnances de Temir Bey; Histoire de Tamerlan*, which glorified his supposed role in the Timurid Empire and portrayed Tīmūr not only as a Christian ally but as a near-romantic conqueror.

One may therefore surmise that Archbishop John's actions stemmed from genuine concern for the fate of Christendom, even if he employed manipulative means, such as the fabrication of Tīmūr's letter, to pursue his aims. It seems likely that he presented these same letters at every European court he visited, including that of the Teutonic Order in Malbork (Marienburg), though this remains unconfirmed. His objective was to halt Ottoman expansion and to cast Tīmūr as a potential ally of the West. Yet it cannot be denied that these efforts also served his own material security. With his profound understanding of the political realities of the East, particularly those of Persia and the Ottoman realm, he deliberately shaped a new, advantageous image of the ruler of Samarkand, acting in the spirit of diplomacy and in the hope of forging a union against a common foe.

Nevertheless, archbishop John III of Sultāniyya was a Dominican with wide-ranging political and religious connections, well known at

100 Soudavar, "Histoire d'une imposture ou naissance d'un mythe: Tamerlan," 190–191.

101 Burkiewicz, "Two Christian princesses," 159–178.

102 *Idem*, *Życie codzienne w podróży na przykładzie Ambasady do Tamerlana (1403–1406). Z badań nad relacjami międzykulturowymi* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Ignatianum w Krakowie, 2019).

European courts and in contact with Tīmūr and Mīrān Shāh. He envisioned peace in the East as the condition for reviving trade along the Silk Road, which would attract merchants from Venice and Genoa and strengthen the position of Christians in the cities of Persia and Central Asia. Although he never visited China, in 1410 he was appointed administrator of the archbishopric of Peking by Pope John XXIII, having earlier worked to revitalise the missions within the Timurid Empire. He most likely remained faithful to his ideals and to his mission of consolidating the Christian presence in Asia until the end of his life. Research on the itinerary of Archbishop John III of Sultāniyya cannot, however, be regarded as complete, particularly since Jurij Šilc has relatively recently discovered a related document that added yet another site to the Dominican's map of travels. There is also some sense of regret regarding the content of the *Libellus de notitia orbis*, completed in 1404 rather than, for example, in 1412, after John III's visit to Marienburg, Lviv, or possibly other cities in Poland and Lithuania such as Kraków or Vilnius. One can readily imagine the extraordinary value such a work, produced by so observant a Dominican, would have held for historians of Eastern Europe.

It is not known whether John of Sultāniyya actually delivered the Grand Master's letter to King Janus of Lusignan of Cyprus. If he did, it is important to recall that after the Teutonic Order's defeat at Grunwald in 1410, Janus may have regarded the Order's power differently – perhaps in light of Władysław II Jagiełło's (1386–1434) victory at Grunwald over Ulrich von Jungingen, Konrad's brother. It may indeed have been Poland's rising prestige and the stature of its king that prompted the Cypriot court to seek closer ties, as reflected in the embassy of some 300 members sent to Wislica in early 1432.¹⁰³ This mission sought both a marriage alliance between the son of the king of Cyprus and Hedwig Jagiellon, daughter of Władysław II, and military assistance against the Mamluks.¹⁰⁴

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103 *Idem*, "Two Cypriot royal missions to Poland in 1364 and 1432," *Επετηρίς της Κυπριακής Εταιρείας Ιστορικών Σπουδών* 9 (2010): 21–40; *idem*, "A Cypriot royal mission to the Kingdom of Poland in 1432," *Crusades* 10 (2011): 103–112.

104 *Idem*, "Jadwiga Jagiellonka (1408–1431) i jej (prawie) cypryjska korona," in *Świat kobiet w Polsce i Czechach w średniowieczu i wczesnej epoce nowożytnej*, eds. Janusz Smołucha, Wojciech Iwańczak and Agnieszka Januszek-Sieradzka (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Akademii Ignatianum w Krakowie, 2018), 15–37.

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Appendix

Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz, XX. Hauptabteilung, Historisches Staatsarchiv Königsberg, Ordensfolianten, Berlin¹⁰⁵

Anno domini MCCCCVII venit ad Prussiam quidam archiepiscopus de partibus orientalibus dominus Johannes Zoltaniensis seu totius orientis et habuit habitum et ordinem fratrum predicatorum, sed barbatus fuit, et celebravit divina more aliorum presbiterorum, plurima et diversa narravit de dictis partibus orientalibus, de variis sectis et eciam de christianis et visitavit multos reges, principes et dominos petiitque a magistro generali consimiles litteras ut infra sequitur, et date fuerunt iuxta modum infrascriptum¹⁰⁶.

In the Year of Our Lord 1407, an archbishop from the eastern regions arrived in Prussia, Master John of Sultāniyya, that is, of the whole East. He wore the habit and observed the rule of the Friars Preachers, yet he bore a beard and celebrated the liturgy in the manner of other priests. He recounted many matters concerning those eastern lands, their sects, and also their Christians, and he had visited many kings, princes, and lords. He requested from the general of the Order letters of the kind set out below, and they were issued according to the following form.

1407 Januar 20, Marienburg

1407, 20 January, Malbork. Letters of the Grand Master

¹⁰⁵ The letters were also published in Forstreuter, “Der Deutsche Orden und Sudost-europa,” 268–272.

¹⁰⁶ GStA PK, HA XX, OF 3, 287.

Serenissimo magnificoque principi ac domino, domino regi Cypri et Armenie, domino nostro nobis in Christo dilecto¹⁰⁷.

To the most illustrious and noble sovereign and lord, the King of Cyprus and Armenia, our beloved lord in Christ.

Serenissimo ac magnifico principi, regi Ciprie et Armenie, frater Conradus de Jungingen, magister generalis ordinis beate Marie hospitalis Jerosolimitani domino Th[eu]ntonia, benivola affectu et quolibet gratia vestrae regiae maiestati. Illibate fidei devocio, plurimorum dispendorum et periculorum constancia, sacre militie propinqua servitio nos instanter oportuit tales decessisse animas (?) orientalium principum ad consilandum super unione, ne chasmosis tantam terre jherosolymitane amissionem conquiescant. — Hinc est quod veniebat, pro dilectis personis consolans animo adqueuescat. — Hic est quod veniebat, pater, frater Johannes archiepiscopus Zoltaniensis sive totius orientis, periculosam et longinquam navigationem multum magnificenciam multipliciter recommendavit, exponens eadem fore vestram utilitatem auxilii quam consilii ad alios, videlicet patriarcharum ceterosque maiores Armenie inducendum. Quare, serenissime princeps et domine magnifice, permoti his que preemisimus, suppliciter petimus et instanter vestra preclaram maiestatem, quatenus eundem dictum archiepiscopum in hac parte et ceteris ad favorabiles negociationes uniam tam sanctam dirigendo et promovendo. Nec mirum, si ceterum pene orientalibus patriis aut moribus in agendis sit sollicitor, cum ipse exportunit et dexteritatem animi pro grege suo discurrit festivant, sicut amicos fidei oportunit, incedunt bene; illaqueatus est enim verbis usi suspicionis se in pondos officii inuncti rationem pro his omnibus reddituratis. Intelleximus eciam ab eodem patre necnon rabili, quod dudum temporibus Johannis XXII fuerunt quedam tractatus habiti pro unione cum patriarchis Armenorum illius gentis orientalibus, sed forte ex fortibus non erant deducti. Placet vestrae magnificentie idoneo tractare cum patriarcha Armenorum et maioribus, ut bene consultum fiat, non invertent est laborum recognicque, quam publice sit sine nave sancte matris ecclesie et remige navis perlaboret in maris fluctibus ambulare.

To the most illustrious and noble sovereign, the King of Cyprus and Armenia, Brother Konrad von Jungingen, Grand Master of the Order of the Hospital of Saint Mary of the Teutons in Jerusalem, sends greetings and goodwill in all things pleasing to Your Royal Majesty. Devotion to the undefiled faith, consideration of the many costs and dangers, and the ungodly devastation of the Holy Land urgently summon us to appeal to the most gracious souls (?) of the rulers of the East, that they may turn their minds toward union, lest the confusion of schism, after so long a time, deepen still further, and lest Rachel – that is, the most holy Roman Church – weeping for her children – remain without comfort and peace. – Therefore the venerable father Brother John, Archbishop of Sultāniyya, that is, of the whole East, who strives with great zeal for this cause, has earnestly recommended to us Your renowned Majesty, declaring in many ways that you would be helpful both through support and counsel in persuading others, namely the patriarch and the other dignitaries of Armenia. For this reason, most illustrious sovereign and noble lord, moved by the considerations set forth above, we humbly and earnestly beseech Your Excellency to show favour and kindness to the aforesaid archbishop in this matter, guiding and supporting so holy a cause of union. Nor is it surprising if he proves more zealous in action than almost all the eastern church superiors and dignitaries, since he has bound himself and offered his very soul for his flock: he runs, he hastens, he stirs up the friends of the faith in season and out of season – and rightly so, for he has been caught in the snare of his own words, having taken upon himself the burden of this duty, and he must give an account of it all. We have also learned from this venerable father that already in the time of John XXII certain discussions concerning union were undertaken with the patriarchs of Armenia and the dignitaries of that people, yet perhaps they were not fully brought to completion. May Your Highness therefore be willing to renew negotiations with the patriarch of the Armenians and their

Datum in castro sancte Marie vicesima die ianuarii sub anno domini M C C C C VII.

Serenissimo clementissimoque principi ac domino, domino Myranza Armirza, filio Themerbei, domino nostro nobis sincere dilecto¹⁰⁸.

Serenissimo ac clementissimo principi domino Miranscha Anirza filio Themerbey, frater Conradus de Jungingen, magister generalis ordinis beate Marie hospitalis Jerusalemiani etc. salutem et eterne salutis agnoscere salvatorem. Nec legum nec morum nec ydeomatum diversitas temporalium principum animos debet dividere ac distigvere quovismodo, ubi communis speratur utilitas regnorum et utilis communitas queritur subditorum. Eapropter per venerabilem patrem, fratrem Johannem ariepiscopum Soltaniensem sive totius orientis primatem nuper advertentes accepimus ad honorem vestre celsitudinis quedam preclara preconia nobis et cunctis Christi fidelibus laudibus extollenda, qualiter sub alis vestri felicitis regiminis coltores Christi in pacis pulchritudine usquequaque sedeant, verbi Dei vigor et fidei fervor apud plurimos eluceat ad liberandas terras Jidelium una cum ceteris sacre milicie principibus votiva vestra intencio fuerat. Et quatenus fides nostra lacius refulgeat, doctores, magistros aliosque literatos pro defensione eiusdem cum omni securitate dominia vestra intrare

liceat, pariter et mercatores. Quid horum non laude dignum, cum talium felicitum exordiorum sciamus aptissima fidei argumenta, potissime si promissa cum operum executione adiuvante altissimo fuerint subsecuta. Non dubium quin rex regum et dominus dominancium prevalens poterit circa magnificenciam vestram facere et perficere, que dudum circa Cyrum regem quondam Persarum fecit, ut promisit per prophetam sic inquires: Christo Cyro meo apprehendi dexteram et subiciam ante faciem eius gentes et dorsum regum vertam. Ceterum intelleximus

dignitaries, that they may humble themselves, hasten toward union, take up the effort, and again reflect on how perilous it is to walk upon the waves of the sea without the boat of holy Mother – Church – and the helmsman, the venerable shepherd.

Given at the castle of Saint Mary, on the twentieth day of January, in the Year of Our Lord 1407.

To the most illustrious and most gracious sovereign and lord, Lord Mīrān Shāh, son of Tīmūr, our most sincerely beloved lord.

To the most illustrious and most gracious sovereign, Lord Mīrān Shāh, son of Tīmūr, Brother Konrad von Jungingen, Grand Master of the Order of the Hospital of Saint Mary in Jerusalem, etc., sends greetings and the wish that he may come to acknowledge the Saviour of eternal salvation. Neither difference of laws, nor of customs, nor of languages ought in any way to divide or estrange the souls of the rulers of this world, when the common benefit of kingdoms and the profitable concord of their subjects is at stake. Through the venerable father Brother John, Archbishop of Sultāniyya, that is, primate of the entire Eastern Church, we have recently learned, to the glory of Your Highness, certain excellent tidings which deserve the praise of ourselves and of all the faithful of Christ: namely, that under the wings of your fortunate rule the worshippers of Christ dwell everywhere in the peace of concord, that the power of the word of God and the fervour of faith shine forth among many for the liberation of the lands of the faithful – this having been your pledged intention together with the other rulers of the holy knighthood. And in order that our faith may shine forth more widely, may it be permitted, for its defence, that teachers, masters, and other learned men enter your dominions in full security, as likewise merchants. What in this does not merit praise, since in such auspicious beginnings we perceive the truest proofs of faith – especially if, with the aid of the Most High, promises are thereafter confirmed by deeds? There is no doubt that the mighty King of kings and Lord of lords can accomplish for Your Highness what long ago He did for Cyrus, the ancient king of the Persians, as He

108 *Ibidem*, 288.

celsitudinis vestre facta multis graciaram accionibus digna, qualiter altissimo adiuvante de Bayzatho Turcorum duce una cum patre vestro illustrissimo gloriosam victoriam obtinueritis plurimosque christianos captivos ab illius durissimo iugo cripueritis, quo erant mancipati et afflicti. Cum igitur ad orientalium regna oriens ex alto verus sol iusticie vestram celsitudinem habenda et possidenda transmiserit talemque ingenii et devocionis spiritum inspiraverit, non dubium quin habere vos velit fidelem ac strenuum nostrorum defensorem. De mercatoribus vero addicimus dignum esse quali libertate christiani in terris vestre dominacionis prerogati fuerint, eadem in terris christianorum vestrates equitatis lege quomodolibet perfruantur. Ceterum supradictum venerabilem patrem archiepiscopum fidelem preconem vestre serenitatis et egregium ewangelizatorem apostolice veritatis cum omnibus Christi fidelibus subiectis vestre eximie elemencie suppliciter recommendamus. Cum gracia Dei omnes sumus in uno corpore Christi mistico tanquam membra, ideo cum ipsis nobis in ipsum communicamus eorundem prospera et adversa. Parcite audacie, quod tam fiducialiter vestre serenitati scribimus exceptis relatibus referendariorum nobis penitus ignore, cum scribendo nihil adquerimus quam orthodoxe fidei salubrem profectum pariter et augmentum. Datum in castro sancte Marie, ut supra etc.

foretold through the prophet: "This is what the Lord says to his anointed, to Cyrus, whose right hand I take hold of to subdue nations before him and to strip kings of their armour"¹⁰⁸. We have further heard of deeds of Your Highness worthy of lasting gratitude: how, with the help of the Most High, together with your most illustrious father you won a glorious victory over Bayezid, commander of the Turks, and delivered many Christians from the harshest yoke of captivity, under which they were enslaved and afflicted. Since, therefore, the true Sun of Justice rising from the sea has sent Your Highness to the kingdoms of the East to claim and possess them, and has breathed into you such a spirit of wisdom and piety, there can be no doubt that He wills to have in you a faithful and valiant defender of our cause. As for merchants, we declare it just that your subjects dwelling in Christian lands should by right of equality enjoy the same freedom that Christians enjoy by privilege in the lands of your dominion. Moreover, the aforesaid venerable father, the archbishop, a faithful admirer of Your Highness and a noble herald of apostolic truth, together with all the faithful subjects of Christ, we humbly commend to your extraordinary graciousness. By the grace of God we are all one mystical body of Christ, as members thereof, and thus we share with them both prosperity and adversity. Pardon our boldness in writing with such confidence to Your Highness, known to us only through the reports of envoys; yet in so writing we seek nothing else than salutary progress and the growth of the true faith. Given at the castle of Saint Mary, as above, etc.

Serenissimo ac victoriosissimo principi, domino Themerbey, domino nostro sincere dilecto etc. Littera Themerbeio antiquo¹¹⁰.

To the most illustrious and invincible ruler, Lord Tīmūr, our most sincerely beloved lord, etc. A letter to the elder Tīmūr.

Illustriissimo ac victoriosissimo principi domino Themerbeio frater Conradus de Jungingen, magister generalis ordinis beate Marie hospitalis Jerusalemiani de domo Theutonica salutem et benevolentiam ad omne bonum. Reipublice et civilibus utilitatibus expedi reges et principes temporales, quamquam natione, fidei, religione ac sermone dispares sint et diversi, conciliates unum esse, dummodo intencione communis boni agatur, que ad politicam utilitatem cedant et ad commodum subditorum. Hinc est, serenissime ac victoriosissime princeps, quod nuper per venerabilem in Christo patrem ac dominum Dei gracia archiepiscopum Soltaniensem sive tocius orientis primatem, quedam preclara vestre celsitudinis facta intelleximus multis grciarum accionibus digna, qualiter altissimo adiuvante de Bayzatho Turcorum duce gloriosam victoriam obtinueritis plurimosque christianos captivos ab illius durissimo iugo eriperitis, quo erant mancipati et afflicti. Adiecit autem vestra celsitudo, quod mercatores christiani, quocumque ad vestra dominia mercandi gracia transeunt, undique habeant securitatem et pacem, potissime doctores et nostre fidei defensores proculmota omni violencia eisdem pariter perfruantur pro comodo et qualitate sui status. Pro hiis omnibus grates agimus vestre magnificencie perimmensas, volentes vicaria recompensa vestros homines et mercatores in nostris terris consimilibus beneficiis contractuum confovere. Ceterum dictum venerabilem patrem archiepiscopum, insignem veritatis ewangelice et doctrine apostolice annunciatorem, vestre sincere recommendamus pietati, supplicantes quatenus eidem velut benemerito sitis indefessus patronus et protector omniumque christifidelium inibi degencium clementissimus gubernator apud altissimum pro hiis premia accepturus. Idem quoque apud nos vidit et audivit ordinem et nostri ordinis condicionem et statum, clarius vestre serenitati exponet oraculo vive vocis, cui fidem adhibeatis creditivam nostri ob respectum. etc. Datum ut supra.

To the most illustrious and invincible sovereign, Lord Tīmūr, Brother Konrad von Jungingen, Grand Master of the Order of the Hospital of Saint Mary of the Teutons in Jerusalem, sends greetings and goodwill for every good endeavour. It is most beneficial for states and for the commonwealth that kings and temporal rulers, though differing in nation, faith, religion, and language, should nonetheless agree in unity whenever the common good is at stake, for such concord leads to political advantage and the happiness of their subjects. Therefore, most illustrious and invincible lord, we have recently heard, through the venerable father in Christ, Archbishop of Sulṭāniyya and primate of the entire Eastern Church, of certain splendid deeds of Your Highness, worthy of lasting gratitude: how, with the aid of the Most High, you gained a glorious victory over Bayezid, commander of the Turks, and delivered many Christians from the harshest yoke of his captivity, under which they had long been enslaved and afflicted. Your Highness further declared that Christian merchants, wherever they travel within your dominions for trade, enjoy security and peace everywhere; and that scholars and defenders of our faith, free from all violence, may likewise enjoy such liberty in accordance with the dignity and needs of their calling. For all this we render to Your Excellency boundless thanks, desiring in return to grant to your people and merchants within our lands the same benefits and privileges. Furthermore, the aforesaid venerable father, the archbishop, a distinguished herald of the Gospel and of apostolic teaching, we most earnestly commend to your piety, humbly requesting that, as one so worthy, he may find in you a steadfast protector and patron, and that all the faithful Christians dwelling there may recognise in you their most gracious ruler, destined to receive reward from the Most High. He himself has seen and heard among us the order, condition, and state of our Order, which he will explain to Your Highness more clearly by the living word. For our sake, deign to place your trust in him. Etc. Given as above.

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Serenissimo ac victoriosissimo principi, domino Manueli in Christo Deo fideli im peratori semper augusto, domino nostro in Christo nobis dilecto¹¹¹.

To the most illustrious and invincible sovereign, Lord Manuel, faithful to God in Christ, ever venerable Emperor of the Greeks, our dearly beloved lord in Christ.

Serenissimo ac victoriosissimo principi domino Manueli, in Christo Deo fideli im peratori Gregorum semper augusto, frater Conradus de Jungingen, magister generalis ordinis beate Marie hospitalis Jerusalemiani do domo Theutonica affectum benevolencie ad quelibet vestre beneplacita maiestati. Cum in universe nihil sit, quod nationis differenciam ita compaginat in homine quantum Christi amor, quia est debitor sapientibus et insipientibus et omnibus, que sub celo sunt, nacionibus, et quantum in ipso est communicat bona sua sive sui detrimento rapit aliena sive suo dampno omnium intendit utilitati et saluti, ad legem illius, qui omnes homines vult fieri salvos. Hinc est, serenissime princeps et domine victoriosissime, licet scisma in parte nos disiungat, lex tarnen Immaculata Dei caritas nos coniungit, ita ut iugiter vestre regali celsitudini et vestris bonum unionis catholice petimus et oramus. Dudum siquidem requievit archa Noe figura ecclesie in montibus Armenie, verum in electis Dei, quare adhuc durat diluvii cathaclismus, domus Raab cum omnibus inclusis salva est, quare ab extra trucidat gladius Josue et apostolus Corinthis exprobrat scisma, ne unus sit Cephe et alius Pauli, alius Christi. Nunquam, inquam, Christus divisus est, vere iocundum esset nos habitare in unum, ut essemus in domo domini unius moris et unius legis. De vestro proposito laudabili quoad unionem antedictam procurandam nobis diligenter exposito per venerabilem patrem ac dominum fratrem Johannem archiepiscopum Soltoniensem sive tocius orientis primatem salutem omnium verbo et opere, ut intelleximus desideno desiderantem, multum letificati sumus, et utinam nos quandoque in unanimitate spiritus et in uno gremio sacrosancte matris ecclesie videamus, hautdubium quin essemus cunctis inimicis forciores, nec Turcus nec Scita vel qui vis barbarus molestaret. Sane audivimus qualiter quidem maiores de vestris, precipue patriarcha Constantinopolitanus, Dei agricultores et cooperatores apostolice sedis Romane in pluribus partibus ultramarinis

To the most illustrious and invincible sovereign, Lord Manuel, faithful to God in Christ, ever venerable Emperor of the Greeks, Brother Konrad von Jungingen, Grand Master of the Order of the Hospital of Saint Mary of the Teutons in Jerusalem, sends goodwill and regard for all the resolutions of Your Highness. For in the whole world nothing so unites the differences of nations as the love of Christ, as it is debtor to the wise and to the unwise, and to all the nations under heaven; and whatever it possesses in itself, it shares with others, or, to its own loss, it gathers what belongs to others, or, to its own detriment, it strives after the benefit and salvation of all, according to the law of Him who wills that all men be saved. Therefore, most illustrious and invincible lord, although schism has in part divided us, yet law and pure love of God unite us, so that we continually pray and intercede for the good of Catholic union on behalf of Your Royal Highness and your subjects. Long ago the ark of Noah – the symbol of the Church – rested on the mountains of Armenia, yet for many of God's chosen the flood of destruction endures still. The house of Rahab, with all who were within, was saved, but outside the sword of Joshua slew, and the Apostle reproved the Corinthians for schism, lest one should say, "I am of Cephas," another, "I am of Paul," and another, "I am of Christ." Never, I say, was Christ divided. Truly, it would be sweet for us to dwell together, that in the house of the Lord we might be of one custom and one law. We greatly rejoiced at your glorious intention to labour for this union, as it was clearly reported to us by the venerable father, Brother John, Archbishop of Sulṭāniyya and primate of the entire Eastern Church, who – as we understand – ardently desires by word and deed the salvation of all. May we one day behold one another united in the concord of the Spirit and in the bosom of the most holy Mother – the Church. Then indeed we should be stronger than all our enemies, and neither Turk, nor Scythian, nor any barbarian would trouble

111 *Ibidem*, 288–289.

molestarent et male tractarent, ymmo verbum Dei adulterant et quasi despectu habent, regnum celorum claudent nec intrant nec alios intrare permittunt, et quibus dominus mandavit laxare recia verbi Dei in capturam, ipsa plicate faciunt in orthodoxe fidei extremum et iacturam in chamo et freno prohibitionum constringunt maxillas eorum. Et quos elegit dominus celos ad enarrandum gloriam suam et velud terram irriguam ad fecundandum et procurandum fidei semina, illi e contra eis imprecantur. Forte dicunt facto, si non verbo: sit celum, quod supra te est, eneum et terra, quam calcas furca, videlicet per sterilitatem. Et ita non sinunt in fructum crescere verbum Dei. Conswevit enim ecclesia Romana ceterique principes illius multo studio pietatis excipere vestros nuncios tam spiritualis quam temporales in legacionibus suis humane eos tractando, precipue qui veniunt, ut plantent et edificent ad bonum commune. Ita vice reciproca petimus et nostros admitti pacifice et quiete, potissime quando funguntur predicationis officio, plantantes et irrigantes, propter ilium qui superius addicit incrementum. Dictus venerabilis pater de persona et statu ordinis nostri lacius vestram celsitudinem informabit, ad quem affecti sumus sicut ut ad electum, ut speramus a Deo, ad omnes partes orientales, ut multum fructum afferat zyzama heresum destruens et evellens et triticum domini in horrea fideliter recolligans. Propter que humiliter supplicamus vestre serenissime maiestati nobis predilecte, quatenus illi sitis amore Dei et nostri ob respectum favorabiles et exorabiles, misericorditer tollentes impedimenta antedicta, ne obstruatur in deserto presentis vite vox clamantis ac viam domino Deo sabaoth preparantis. Datum ut supra.

us. Indeed, we have heard how your dignitaries, especially the Patriarch of Constantinople, labourers in God's field and fellow workers of the Apostolic See in Rome, harass and mistreat in many overseas lands, and even falsify the Word of God and treat it with contempt, closing the Kingdom of Heaven: they do not enter themselves, nor do they permit others to enter. To those whom the Lord commanded to cast forth the nets of the Word for a catch, they order the nets to be drawn in, to the ruin of the true faith; with bridle and bit of prohibitions they silence their mouths. And those whom the Lord has chosen for heaven so that they proclaim His glory and, like watered ground, be filled with and tend the seeds of faith, these men instead revile. In deed if not in word, they seem to say: "Let the heaven above you be of bronze, and the earth beneath your feet a trident," that is, barren. And thus they do not allow the Word of God to grow to fruition. For the Roman Church and her rulers have long been accustomed with great devotion to receive your envoys – both clerical and lay – in their embassies, treating them with due humanity, especially those who come to plant and to build for the common good. Therefore, in reciprocity, we ask that our own likewise be received in tranquillity and peace, especially when they exercise the preaching office, planting and watering, for the sake of Him who grants the growth from above. The aforesaid venerable father will inform Your Highness more fully about the character and condition of our Order, to which we are bound as to one chosen by God – as we firmly trust – for all the lands of the East, that it may bring forth abundant fruit, destroying and uprooting the weeds of heresy, and faithfully gathering the Lord's wheat into His granaries. For this reason we humbly entreat Your Most Illustrious Highness, our beloved, that for the love of God and in regard for us you may show him favour and kindness, mercifully removing the aforesaid obstacles, so that in the desert of this present life the voice of one crying and preparing the way of the Lord God of Hosts may not be silenced. Given as above.

Serenissimo ac magnifico principi et domino, domino A., regi Abassie, sive presbitero Johanni, domino nostro nobis in Christo dilecto¹¹².

To the most illustrious and noble ruler and lord, Lord A., King of Abyssinia, also known as Prester John, our beloved lord in Christ.

Serenissimo ac magnifico regi Abassie sive Johanni presbitero frater Conradus de Jungingen, — et ubi supra —, salutem et pietatis affectum ad quelibet condecencia vestre regie maiestati. Cum ordinis nostri signifera religio ab initio dedicate sit crucis caractere et figura ad designandum nos, desudari debemus in militia Christi pro fide eiusdem et contra timores nocturnos adversaries cum fortissimis ex Israel excubando ambire lectulum Salomonis, sacrosancte matris ecclesie, que militia a dudum usi sumus et hodie utimur ad gloriam summe imperatorie maiestatis. Quanto magis, o rex illustrissime, expedit fulgurancia et elimata armorum vestrorum insignia erigi contra occupatores terre sancte et lectuli dominici sepulchri, quia vestri et omnium regum orientalium interest hereditatem Christi, quam dudum errore vastaverant, fervore fidei reparare. Hinc est quod exhilarati animo quedam nobis iocundissima preconia de vestre maiestatis statu et persona gratissime accepimus a venerabili patre, fratre Johanne, archiepiscopo Soltaniensi sive tocius orientis, qui zelum vestrum et fervorem oraculo vive vocis nobis per ordinem preclare multipliciter peroravit, qualiter vestra magnificencia ad sacrosanctam ecclesiam catholicam et ad doctrinam apostolicam miro modo sit affecta, ymmo cathezisari sive instrui cum effectu eiusdem cupiat ritibus et disciplinis et quod summum amplissimum liberalitatis et elemencie ad Christi fideles et ad nuncios sedis apostolice habeat ipsis munifice providendo et consultissime dirigendo, que omnia cedunt ad tytulum glorie vestre serenissime maiestatis, pro quibus referimus nos grates perimmensas. Ceterum dictum venerabilem patrem fidecommissarium ewangelii ac operosum satorem seminum fidei orthodoxe vestre celsitudini devocione, qua possumus recommendamus, cum illi a dicta sede apostolica credita sint talenta doctrine et preceptorum pro usura spirituali ceteris impercienda, ymmo nunccius domini missus ad dominicam cenam nationes externas evocandas invitandas, quem qui recipit, recipit cum qui misit illum. Ideoque ipsum u t virum

To the most illustrious and noble King of Abyssinia, also known as Prester John, Brother Konrad von Jungingen — as above — sends greetings and expressions of affection in all things fitting to Your Royal Majesty. For the religion of our Order, bearing its sacred sign, has from the beginning been consecrated by the image of the Cross, that we might be marked as those bound to labour in the service of Christ, to guard His faith, and — despite the nocturnal terrors of the enemy — to keep watch with the most valiant of Israel about the couch of Solomon, that is, the most holy Mother — the Church. From this service we have long benefited, and we continue in it to the glory of the supreme imperial majesty. All the more necessary is it, O most illustrious king, that the gleaming and polished standards of your arms be raised against the invaders of the Holy Land and of the Lord's Holy Sepulchre, for it is of great importance to you and to all the kings of the East to recover, in the zeal of faith, the inheritance of Christ which in former times was laid waste through error. Therefore, with joy of spirit and with deepest gratitude, we received the most welcome tidings concerning the person and estate of Your Highness, brought to us by the venerable father Brother John, Archbishop of Sulṭāniyya, that is, of the whole East, who has often and clearly set before us, in living words and in due order, your zeal and fervour: how greatly Your Excellency is inclined toward the most holy Catholic Church and apostolic teaching, and even desires to be thoroughly instructed and catechised in its rites and rules of conduct, and how you show the greatest generosity and kindness toward the faithful of Christ and the envoys of the Apostolic See, providing for them abundantly and guiding them with exceptional prudence. All this contributes to the glory of Your Most Illustrious Highness, for which we render boundless thanks. Moreover, the aforesaid venerable father, trustee of the Gospel and diligent sower of the seed of true faith, we commend to Your Highness with all the devotion in our power, as it is for to him

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apostolicum a Deo vestris regnis destinatum dignetur vestra magnificencia tractare et habere. Ipse siquidem, qui in curia nostra et mensa fuit, statum ordinis nostri clarius enodabit, cui eciam commisimus, quatenus de suis successibus et inibi rerum eventibus dignetur, quam primum poterit, nos informare. Nec imputet nobis vestra magnificencia inclita, quod talia eidem scribere audeamus. Uiget nos pietatis et unionis affectus, quo ab alienatis retrorsum compatimur, cupientes eosdem redire ad ecclesie unitatem. Datum ut supra. Etc.

that the Apostolic See has entrusted the talents of teaching and commands for the distribution of spiritual benefit to others, moreover, he is a messenger of the Lord, sent to summon and invite foreign nations to the Lord's Supper. And he who receives him, receives Him who sent him. Therefore may Your Highness deign to regard and treat him as an apostolic man, appointed by God for your kingdoms. For he, who has been present in our assembly and sat at our table, will explain more clearly to Your Highness the condition of our Order. To him also we have entrusted the charge of informing us, as soon as he is able, concerning your successes and the outcome of affairs in your lands. And may Your Excellency not take it amiss that we dare to write such things. We are compelled by a sense of piety and unity, whereby we grieve for those who are separated, desiring that they may return to the unity of the Church. Given as above, etc.

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Hungarian National Archives, Békés County Archives

Hieronym Łaski and a Name Day Festivities in the Castle of Csaba? Polish–Hungarian Relations in Békés County in the Fifteenth–Sixteenth Centuries

**Hieronim Łaski i imieninowe przyjęcie na
zamku w Csabie? Stosunki polsko-węgierskie
w komitacie Békés w XV–XVI wieku**

Abstract

Békés County lies far from Poland, yet several connections existed between these regions in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In January 1444 King Władysław Warneńczyk of the Jagiełło dynasty granted an estate to a nobleman from Békés County. Hungarians from the southern part of the Great Plain studied in Poland, and Polish warriors appeared in the region of the castle of Gyula in 1529. It is also possible that Hieronim Łaski, the well-known Polish politician in the service of King John Szapolyai, was invited to the little castle of Csaba – present-day Békéscsaba. A letter issued by King Ferdinand in 1531 provides additional insight into the negotiation between King John and King Ferdinand, conducted with the mediation of King Sigismund of Poland in that year. The original of this letter is preserved in Kassa, while a contemporary copy survives

in Békéscsaba. King Sigismund's intercession in the matter of Gyula is a further chapter in the Polish–Brandenburg–Hungarian relations.

Keywords: Polish–Hungarian relations, medieval and early modern history, Békés County; Władysław Warneńczyk, George Hohenzollern, Hieronym Łaski, John I King of Hungary, Sigismund I King of Poland, castle of Gyula, castellum Chaba.

Abstrakt

Komitat Békés położony jest w znacznej odległości od Polski, jednak w XV i XVI wieku istniały między tymi regionami liczne powiązania. W styczniu 1444 r. król Władysław Warneńczyk z dynastii Jagiellonów nadał dobra jednemu ze szlachciców z komitatu Békés. Węgrzy z południowej części Wielkiej Niziny studiowali w Polsce, a w 1529 r. w okolicach zamku w Gyuli pojawili się polscy wojownicy. Niewykluczone również, że Hieronim Łaski, znany polski polityk w służbie króla Jana Zapolyi, został zaproszony do niewielkiego zamku w Csabie, czyli dzisiejszej Békéscsaby. List wydany przez króla Ferdynanda w 1531 r. dostarcza dodatkowych informacji o negocjacjach prowadzonych wówczas między królem Janem a królem Ferdynandem, przy mediacji króla Zygmunta I Starego. Oryginał tego dokumentu przechowywany jest w Koszycach, natomiast jego współczesna kopia zachowała się w Békéscsaby. Wstawienictwo króla Zygmunta w sprawie Gyuli stanowi kolejny rozdział w dziejach polsko-brandenbursko-węgierskich relacji.

Słowa kluczowe: stosunki polsko-węgierskie, historia średniowieczna i nowożytna, komitat Békés, Władysław Warneńczyk, Jerzy Hohenzollern, Hieronim Łaski, Jan I król Węgier; Zygmunt I król Polski, zamek w Gyuli, castellum Chaba.

Looking at the map¹ we can observe that Békés County – a district of the Hungarian Kingdom – lies far from Poland. However, we find some evidence of Polish – Hungarian connections related to Békés County. Why did Hungarians come to Poland from the Hungarian Great Plain, and why did Polish warriors arrive at the region of Békés County? Was Hieronym Łaski – a Polish politician – present at a name day-celebration in the area of the present-day Békéscsaba? I give an outline about these Polish – Hungarian relations based on sources from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

1 <https://tti.abtk.hu/terkepek/15-sz-varak-es-varkastelyok> (access: 05.12.2025)

Ábránfy and the campaign of King Władysław in 1444

In 1443–1444 King Władysław Jagiełło² and John Hunyadi (in Hungarian Hunyadi János) led a military campaign against the Ottoman Empire. Their aim was to reach Adrianople, present-day Edirne. During the winter season the Christian forces were unable to advance as far as the city, but they captured Nis and Sophia, penetrating deeply into the territory of the Ottoman Empire.³ On their way back to Hungary, in Serbia, in Krusevac, in January 1444 King Władysław issued a charter. He donated an estate called *Kygyos* – located in Temes County – to three lords: Thomas Ábránfy of Gerla, George – son of Sebastian – and Ladislaus of Thold, who were companions of John Hunyadi (*Thomas filius Abrahe de Gerla, Georgius filius Sebastiani, Ladislaus de Thold*).⁴ Where was Gerla, mentioned in the name of Thomas Ábránfy? Two settlements bearing the name Gerla existed in the centre of the medieval Hungary, one in Zaránd and another in Békés County. Gerla served as a kind of seat of the Ábránfy family; they founded a monastery there and probably maintained a castle as well. The settlement still exists today as a district of the city Békéscsaba.⁵

2 Władysław III (Władysław Warneńczyk) as king of Poland and Władysław I (Ulászló) as king of Hungary. He was a member of the Jagiełło family.

3 Ottokár Székely, “Hunyadi János első török hadjáratai (1441–1444),” *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 20–22 (1919–1921): 61–62; Lajos Elekes, *Hunyadi* (Budapest: Múvelt Nép Könyvkiadó, 1952), 210; Ferenc Sebők, “John Hunyadi as a Military Leader,” in *Extincta est lucerna orbis. John Hunyadi and his Time*, eds. Ana Dumitran, Lóránd Mádly and Alexandru Simon (Cluj–Napoca: IDC Press, 2009), 401–405, 402–403; Liviu Cîmpeanu, “John Hunyadi (ca. 1395–1456). An Outline of His Political and Military Career According to the Latest Research,” *Journal of Balkan and Black Sea Studies* 7 (2024): 19–56. He quoted: Tamás Pálosfalvi, *From Nicopolis to Mohács. A History of Ottoman-Hungarian Warfare, 1389–1526* (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2018), 105–120.

4 The copy is preserved in: Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltára, Diplomatikai Fotógyűjteménye (HU MNL OL DF) 248684.; Original: Esztergom Primate Archives, *Acta radicalia* T 52; Edited by Tibor Almási, as an appendix of the article by Miklós Halmágyi, “A gyulai vár kapujánál. Szerémi György anekdotájának valóságelemei,” *Aetas* 37 (2022): 117–118; János Karácsonyi, *Békésvármegye története*, vol. I (Gyula: Békésvármegye Községe, 1896), 51.

5 Karácsonyi, *Békésvármegye története*, vol. I–III (Gyula: Békésvármegye Községe, 1896); Dénes Jankovich-B., “A magyar honfoglalástól a török kiűzéséig,” in *Békéscsaba története*, I., eds. Dénes Jankovich-B., Gyula Erdmann (Békéscsaba: Békéscsaba Megyei Jogú Város, 1991), 147–206; Dénes Jankovich-B., “Gerla,” in *Magyarország régészeti topográfiája*, vol. IV/3. *Békés és Békéscsaba környéke* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1998), 244–245; Miklós Halmágyi, “Gerla: apátság a Fehér-Körös vidékén: Egy rejtélyes évszám és két azonos nevű helynév nyomában,” *Deliberationes* 2 (2023): 17–33.

Hungarian students in Kraków

Another member of the Ábránfy family, John Ábránfy, also maintained connections with Poland. For a period of his life, he lived in Kraków, in the Bursa Hungarorum, and thus belonged to the group of Hungarians who studied in Kraków.⁶ In 1520 he was mentioned as the parish priest of Gyula.⁷ Ambrosius de Thurkewy studied in Kraków as well. He lived in the Bursa Hungarorum also and achieved the baccalaureate grade. Later, he served as priest of Ványa (Dévaványa) and joined the crusaders' rebellion in the spring of 1514.⁸

The 'great count' of King John

Polish warriors arrived at the region of Gyula in Békés County at the beginning of 1529 or as early as 1528. At this time, two kings ruled in Hungary: King John of Szapolya (in Hungarian Szapolyai János) and Ferdinand of Habsburg.⁹ The town and the castle of Gyula belonged to

6 Károly Schrauf, *Regestrum Bursae Hungarorum Cracoviensis* (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Irodalomtörténeti Bizottsága, 1893), 17; Karácsonyi, *Békésvármegye* III, 15.

7 HU-MNL-OL-DL 38062; Endre Veress, *Gyula Város oklevéltára* (Budapest: Gyula M. Város, 1938), 80–81; Karácsonyi, *Békésvármegye* III, 15.

8 Lajos Györfly, "Ki volt Ványai Ambrus?," *Jászkunság* 21 (1975): 71–73; the name "Ambrosius de Thurkewy" was mentioned by György Székely, quoted by Lajos Györfly, with the following dates: "Krakkó; Jaggel: Könyvtár, 2751. sz. kézirat f. 4."; Ambrosius Mathei de Thartewy started his study in 1501, became a baccalaureate. Péter Haraszti Szabó, Borbála Kelényi and László Szögi, *Magyarországi diákok a prágai és krakkói egyetemeken 1348–1525. Students from Hungary at the Universities of Prague and Krakow 1348–1525*, vol. II (Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Levéltára és az MTA – ELTE Egyetemtörténeti Kutatócsoport, 2017), 333. (Nr. 3315.) Year: 1501. According to a theory Ambrosius Mathei de Thartewy is identical with Ambrosius Johannis de Agria, who promoted in 1502. *Magyarországi diákok* p. 305. (Nr. 3023.) Year: 1495. According to George of Smyrna "Ambrosius de Wanya.... Et erat bacularius Ikrakouiensis" György Szerémi, *II. Lajos és János királyok házi káplánja Emlékirata Magyarország romlásáról, 1484–1543.* = Georgii Sirmiensis, *Eipstola de perdicione regni Hungarorum*, ed. Gusztáv Wenzel (Pest: 1857), 59; Hungarian translation: György Szerémi, *Magyarország romlásáról*, translated by László Erdélyi, improved by László Juhász, introduction and notes by György Székely (Budapest: Magyar Helikon, 1961), 63, 297. About the rebel of 1514: *Keresztesekből lázadók*, eds. Norbert C. Tóth, Tibor Neumann (Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2015).

9 About problems of this age: "Nekünk mégis Mohács kell..." *II. Lajos rejtélyes halála és különböző temetése*, eds. Farkas Gábor Farkas, Zsolt Szebelédi and Bernadett Varga (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 2016); Ferdinand was probably crowned on 3rd of

George Hohenzollern, the Margrave of Brandenbur, who supported Kind Ferdinand. István Ábránfy, the lord of the small castle of Csaba supported King John. In the autumn of 1528 King John arrived back from Poland, marched into the southern part of Hungary and attempted to seize the city of Temesvár (present-day Timișoara), but without success. After this failure he moved to the castle of Lippa.¹⁰

Marckhart, the 'buxen meyster' of Gyula, wrote a letter in German to George Hohenzollern, the lord of the castle of Gyula and the supporter of King Ferdinand. According to Marckhart, King John spent some time in the region of Temesvár; however, the citizens of Temesvár took up their firearms and killed several of his soldier. The 'poor King John' had to withdraw from the region. The letter mentioned the 'grauß graf' ('great count') of King John, who moved onto the estate of George Hohenzollern, the addressee of the letter. According to Marckhart, *Heberemfi Ystwan* (Stephan Ábránfy) invited the great count (*grauß graff*) of King John together with the Turks to his small castle (*schloslin*) for the cup of Saint Stephan (*Sant Istwan becher*).¹¹ The small castle was located one mile from the castle of Gyula, where the letter was written. The *schloslin* may be identical with the *castellum* of Csaba, as several sources indicate that the castle of Csaba lay approximately one mile from Gyula.¹² The

November 1527, about this topic see: Tivadar Ortway, *Mária, II. Lajos magyar király neje* (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat, 1914), chapter XX.

- 10 George Hohenzollern married Beatrice of Frangepan in 1509. Beatrice was the widow of John Corvin, who was the illegit son of King Mathias Corvin. Beatrice of Frangepan died soon, and King Wladislaw II donated the castle of Gyula and its estates to her widower, George Hohenzollern. In this donation-letter issued 22 March 1510, the king mentioned Beatrice as 'qoundam', that means deceased. Hungarian sources use to mention George Hohenzollern as Margrave of Brandenburg, 'Marchio Brandenburgensis'. Veress, *Gyula Város oklevéltára*, 50–51, 56–58; Csaba Németh, *Adományok, viszályok, egyezkedések. A gyulai és a csabai uradalom története a 15–16. században* (Lecture given in Békéscsaba, 11 June 2025). About problems of this age: Géza Pálffy: *A tizenhatodik század története* (Budapest: Pannonica Kiadó, 2000), 83–87; With criticism: Richard Botlik, "Az 1531. évi krakkói alku", *Századok* 137 (2003): 580, 587–590; George Szerémi wrote about these events, but some of his dates are incorrect. Sirmiensis, *Eipstola*, 173–246; Szerémi, *Magyarország romlásáról*, 137–183. About the places of residence of King John: András Péter Szabó, "Szapolyai János magyar király (1526–1540) és Várad," "Országunknak fő végháza, Várad..." *Várad és Partium a 16–18. században*, eds. Teréz Oborni, Balázs Viktor Rác (Nagyvárad: Editura Collegium Varadinum, Varadinum Kulturális Alapítvány, 2025), 255–285.
- 11 The original manuscript is preserved in Nürnberg, in the *Brandenburger Litteralien* collection. A microfilm copy is available in Budapest: HU-MNL-OL-MF-10673-B-0510-1. A part of this letter was edited by Veress, *Gyula Város oklevéltára*, 146 (Nr. 165). The same issue occurs on page 11, footnote 38.
- 12 Veress, *Gyula Város oklevéltára*, 146; Georgius Pray, *Epistolae procerum regni Hungariae*. III. 1554–1711 (Pozsony: 1806), 90–93; Lajos Haan, *Békésvármegye hajdana*.

phrase ‘Cup of Saint Stephan’ refers to the feast of Saint Stephan, the first Christian martyr, which is celebrated on 26 December. The lord of the castle, Stephan Ábránfy, surely wished to celebrate his name day and invited guests to drink together with him on 26 December 1528.

Hieronym Łaski and Polish warriors in Békés County

Who was this *grauf graff* (great count) of King John I? In sources from the fifteenth century and early sixteenth century the expression ‘*grauf graf*’ was used to denote the count palatine of Hungary (nádorispán, briefly: nádor).¹³ From 1526 until 1530 Stephan Báthori was held the office palatine, however, he supported King Ferdinand I.¹⁴ In 1525–1526 Stephen Verböczy also held the office of the palatine, but he was removed in 1526, although King John intended to reinstate him.¹⁵ He was a supporter of King John, it is possible that he was the person referred to as the ‘great count’ in the German letter. However, a more probable interpretation also exists.

King John issued a letter in Lipa on 29 December 1528. According to this document, the king sent Turkish and Serbian warriors, as well as hussars into the region of Gyula, and he dispatched these troops “from”

(Oklevéltári rész.) *Diplomatarium Békessense* (Pest: 1870), 162–163; Gyula Kristó, *Békésmegye története a honfoglalástól a török világ végéig* (Békéscsaba: 1981), 119; Karácsonyi, *Békésvármegye* III, 127; Miklós Halmágyi, “A csabai kastély írott forrásai,” in *Elődök és erődök közös hullámhosszon*, ed. Emilia Martyn (Békéscsaba: Munkácsy Mihály Múzeum, 2024), 16–21; Further letter of Mackhart Koncz, Veress, Gyula Várook, 142 (Nr. 160).

- 13 Referred to palatine Laurencius of Hédervár: “gross grav her Larenz von Haydenreichs Tuern,” *Aus den Denkwürdigkeiten der Helene Kottanerin* (Peilzig: 1846), 40; Referred to palatine László of Gara: “Gross Graf her Lasla von Gara,” 1459. febr. 22. Kassa. Béla Iványi, *Bártfa szabad királyi város levéltára. 1319–1526* (Budapest: 1910), 169–170 (1079. sz.). About the election of Emeric of Perény in 1504: “das Pereni Emrich des landes gross groff mit eyntrechtiger stymme worden ist,...” DF 216675. See: Norbert C. Tóth, *A Magyar Királyság nádora. A nádori és helytartói intézmény története (1342–1562)* (Budapest: Magyar Történelmi Társulat Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont Történettudományi Intézet, 2020), 84, 87, 102; Bertrandon de la Broquière used the term ‘grant conte’: *Le Voyage d’Outremer de Bertrandon de la Broquière*, publié et annoté par CH. Schefer (Paris: 1892), 237–239.
- 14 „Dominus Palatinus post coronationem vocatus est ad regem, et litteris admonitus, ut decima quinta die litterarum apud ipsum sit, si venerit ad regem, relinquatur in officio Palatinus, si manebit penes reginam, et fractionem Ferdinandi, erit inimicus regi, et omnes alii etiam factiosi.” Norbert C. Tóth, “Egy legenda nyomában. Szapolyai János és ecsedi Bátori István viszonya 1526 előtt,” *Századok* 146 (2012): 462; Pray, *Epistolae procerum regni Hungariae*, vol I, 290.
- 15 Tóth, *A Magyar Királyság nádora* 116–117. Quoted the following document: DL 47701.

Lazky.¹⁶ This Lazky must be identical with Hieronym Łaski, the well-known Polish diplomat and politician in the service of King John. On 15 January 1529 Hieronym Łaski wrote a letter to the citizens of Gyula from Faydass. He requested 500 golden forints from them. At the end of his letter, he used the title *Palatinus Syradiensis*, that is the Palatine of Sieradz.¹⁷

In the German letter by Marckhart we find the phrase *grauß graff*, which could be used to denote the palatine of Hungary. Although Łaski was a palatine in Poland, this alone does not explain the reference. Marckhart wrote that the Turks were invited into the castle of Ábrányf, and according to the letter of King John, Łaski himself commanded the Turkish contingents. On this basis, it is plausible that Hieronym Łaski was the “great count” (*grauß graff*) who was invited for the name day celebration into the castle of Chaba.

Polish warriors were also present in the region of Gyula. Peter Sado-brich, the castellan of the castle of Gyula, wrote a Latin letter to its owner, George Hohenzollern, on 20 May 1529. In this letter he reported that Turkish, Polish, Serbian and Hungarian troops operated daily in the vicinity of the castle, all of them supporting King John. He also listed the fortresses in the Gyula region that were held by King John’s adherents, among these he mentioned *Chyaba*, located one mile (*unum milliare*) from Gyula. Sadobrich therefore advised George Hohenzollern to consider selling or exchanging the castle of Gyula.¹⁸

16 „Ceterum de Lazky cum certa parte Turcorum Hwzaronumque et armatorum ac rascianorum nostrorum similiter expedivimus ad partes Gýwle.” Archív mesta Košice, Magistrát mesta Košice, 1239–1923, Supplementum Schramianum, Box nr. 110, Nro. 19213. Year: 1528. (I express my thank to Gábor Szeghy for providing me with the photo of this dokument); The remaind dument is a contemporary copy. Béla Pettkó, “Adalékok János király uralkodásának történetéhez: Kassa város levéltárából,” *Történelmi Tár* 6 (1883): 303; Veress, *Gyula Város oklevéltára*, 139; Norbert C. Tóth, *Két király szolgálatában. Kiskállói Vitéz János (†1458) pályaképe* (Budapest: HUN-REN–MNL–SZTE Magyar Medievisztikai Kutatócsoport, 2024), 155–156.

17 Veress, *Gyula Város oklevéltára*, 144–145.

18 “Thwrci, Poloni, Rascisni et Hungari omnia die et sine intermissione sunt in pertinentia huius castris et in vicinata” *Brandenburger Literalien* 1040/10; MNL-OL-X 1460. I express my thanks to Krisztina Arany, the colleagues of the National Archives of Hungary for providing me the digitalized version; Karácsonyi gives an outline of this letter without mentioning the Polish warriors. Karácsonyi, *Békésvármegye* I. 107; Endre Veress gives a short excerpt of the letter, without mentioning the Polish relations and the castle of Chaba: Veress, *Gyula Város oklevéltára*, 151 (Nr. 177). About Polish warriors in Hungary: László Szokola, *Magyar katonák lengyel földön és lengyel katonák magyar földön a 16. század első felében* (online lecture given on 16 March 2021).

King Sigismund I of Poland and a letter in Békéscsaba

Another important contribution to the Polish–Hungarian relations is a letter that refers to King Sigismund I of Poland as an arbiter in the disputes between king Ferdinand I and John Szapolya. The original of this letter was preserved in Kassa (present-day Košice in Slovakia),¹⁹ while a contemporary copy was kept in the Lutheran Archive of Békéscsaba.²⁰

The document was issued by King Ferdinand I from his castle in Prague on 24 May 1531. According to the inscription on the back, the letter was addressed to the citizens of Kassa. It refers to a year-long armistice (*inducie annue*), which began on 1 May 1531 and had been concluded between King Ferdinand I and John of Szapolya (*Johannis Scepusiensis*) with the assent of the Ottoman Sultan (*imperator Turcarum*). King Ferdinand I instructed the citizens that, if they had suffered any injuries between 22 April and 1 May, they were to report them to the king himself and his ambassador delegated to Sigismund, King of Poland. Sigismund was to adjudicate these matters, as a month-long negotiations began on 17 May 1531 in the presence of the Polish king.

What can we know about this year-long armistice? We know from other sources that the negotiators of King Ferdinand I and King John I attempted to reach peace gradually. Hieronym Łaski – King John’s envoy – and Willhelm Roggendorf – King Ferdinand’s negotiator – met in Visegrád (Hungary) on 16 January 1531, and agreed on an eight-day armistice.²¹ A few days later, on 19 January 1531, a three-month armistice was concluded near Visegrád.²² Shortly afterwards, a one-year armistice was agreed upon, which began on 1 May 1531, and lasted until the end of April 1532.²³

19 Archív mesta Kosice, Magistrát mesta Kosice, Schwartzbachiana No. 1507. (box 6.) I express my thanks to András Péter Szabó, who drew my attention to this manuscript.

20 Békéscsabai Evangélikus Egyházközség Levéltára, 8.a. 1. I express my thanks to dr. György Sicz, who drew my attention to this document and provided me with a copy, and to Mr. Kornél Füzesi, archivist of the Lutheran Archive, for making this research possible. I also wish to thank András Péter Szabó for his consultation on this subject.

21 Péter Kasza, “...hogy az lengyel király általa lenne köztek valami békisség”, *Az 1530. évi poznańi tárgyalások anatómiája. Történelmi Szemle* 55 (2013): 271–289. Here: 287–288. What he quotes: ÖStA HHStA UA Fasc. 17. Konv. A fol. 41.

22 Kasza, “...hogy az lengyel király általa,” 287–288. What he quotes: ÖStA HHStA UA Fasc. 17. Konv. A fol. 46–49. The three-month long and the year-long armistices were mentioned by László Bárdossy, however, he did not provide their exact dates. László Bárdossy, *Magyar politika a mohácsi vész után* (Budapest: Királyi Magyar Egyetemi Nyomda, 1943), 96.

23 Botlik, “Az 1531. évi krakkói alku,” 595; Kasza, “...hogy az lengyel király általa,” 271–289.

King Ferdinand issued a letter to King Sigismund on 27 April 1531. In it, Ferdinand informed Sigismund that John Szapolya's Polish diplomat, Hieronym Łaski, had returned from the Ottoman Sultan. Łaski brought the message that the Sultan had approved the year-long armistice between Ferdinand and John Szapolya. Ferdinand then sent his negotiators – Willhelm Roggendorf, Leonard von Fels, Sigmund von Dietrichstein and Sigmund von Herbertstein – to Łaski in order to prepare the Latin text of the agreement.²⁴

King Sigismund of Poland replied to King Ferdinand on 18 May 1531, expressing his satisfaction with the conclusion of the year-long armistice.²⁵ These sources are consistent with the contents of Ferdinand's letter preserved in Kassa and with its contemporary copy kept in Békéscsaba. After the negotiations and the armistice of 1531, a formal peace between King Ferdinand and John was not concluded until 1538, but this peace proved to be short-lived in Hungary.²⁶

The letter of King Ferdinand preserved in Kassa – along with the contemporary copy in Békéscsaba – does not mention the details of the armistice; however, these details appear in a text available in the thirteenth volume of the *Acta Tomiciana*. This text refers to the three-month armistice that was in force from 22 January until 22 April. The year-long armistice lasted from 1 May until the end of the following April.²⁷ According to the agreement, two delegates of King Ferdinand and two delegates of King John were required to meet in Esztergom on the Feast of Saint John the Baptist, that is 24 June. Their task was to adjudicate

24 *Acta Tomiciana*, Tomus XIII, ed. Stanisław Górski (Poznań: 1915), 116 (Nr. 120.) <https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/publication/32737/edition/49965/content> (access: 08.12.2025)

25 *Acta Tomiciana*, Tomus XIII, 157–158 (Nr. 163.)

26 Páffy, *A tizenhatodik század története*, 91–92; Teréz Oborni, *A váradi béke, 1538* <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-jiVT6XWzI0> (access: 08.12.2025). Ignác Acsády, *Magyarország három részre osztásának története (1526–1608)* (Budapest, Atheneum: 1897), VII. fejezet <https://www.arcanum.com/hu/online-kiadvanyok/MagyarNemzetTortenete-a-magyar-nemzet-tortenete-9A23/szilagyi-sandor-a-magyar-nemzet-tortenete-21F2/magyarorszag-harom-reszre-oszlasanak-tortenete-15261608-4795/elso-konyv-a-ke-t-kiraly-kora-15261540-47A7/vii-fejezet-fegyveres-beketargyalasok-a-varadi-beke-4877/> (access: 08.12.2025); *Monumenta Hungariae Historica, Diplomataria II. (Magyar történelmi okmánytár a brüsszeli levéltárból és a burgundi könyvtárból II)*, ed. Mihály Hatvani (Pest: 1858), 3–17.

27 „Anno domini millesimo quingentesimo tricesimo primo. Articuli induciam per unius anni intergri revolutione, a prima videlicet die mensis Maji jam praeterita usque ad ultimam Aprilis proxime venturam utraque die inclusa observandum, editi et firmati.” Articuli *Acta Tomiciana*, Tomus XIII, 155–156. Here: 155 (Nr. 161.) <https://www.wbc.poznan.pl/dlibra/publication/32737/edition/49965/content> (access: 08.12.2025). Botlik, „Az 1531. évi krakkói alku”, 595.

cases in the matters of robberies that happened during the ‘former’ and ‘present’ armistice.²⁸

The letter preserved in Kassa – together with its contemporary copy in Békéscsaba – adds new information to the history of negotiations between Ferdinand and King John: it mentioned the opportunity of the citizens of Kassa to report their insults in the frame of a one-month negotiation started on 17 May 1531 in the court of the Polish king.

The original of King Ferdinand’s letter is in Kassa, however, the copy in Békéscsaba was written in the same age. This document bears a watermark resembling an arrow, which probably refers to the constellation of Sagittarius. A study by Gerhard Piccard on watermarks provides parallels to this motif. These examples are known from the Polish – Lithuanian region and date from between 1525 and 1533.²⁹

The contemporary copy in Békéscsaba offers noteworthy information regarding King Ferdinand’s letter. Two distinct notes are visible on the reverse of the document. One of them, written in the centre of the back in the same hand as the letter itself, states that the letter was addressed to the citizens of Kassa. Another note at the top of the sheet, written in a different hand, states that King Ferdinand wanted to conclude an agreement with John of Szapolya through the mediation of the Polish King, and that the citizens of Bártfa (Bartfeld, Bardejov) were to report their grievances. It also contains the number ‘Nr. 49’ and a date – ‘4 May 1774, Barthfeld’. According to this note on the letterhead, the copy must once have belonged to the archives of Bártfa (Bartfeld), a town in the northern part of the old Hungarian Kingdom, in present-day Slovakia (Slovak: Bardejov). Kassa (Košice) and Bártfa (Bardejov) were members of a five-town alliance. King Ferdinand’s letter was originally sent to Kassa, where it was copied; this copy was then presumably forwarded to

28 „Ordinentur quattuor commissarii, viri boni et probi, ita quod quivis principum duos ordinet, qui convenient in Strigonio ad festum divi Joannis Baptistae cum pleno utriusque principis mandato et omnibus quaerentibus justitiam ratione deprædationum tempore indutiarum sive prætaritarum sive præsentium decernant citationem et vocent ad præsentiam eorum illum, contra quem queritur et simpliciter audiant et procedant ad diffinitivam sententiam juxta prudentiam et conscientiam illorum, non obstante ordine juris regni.” *Acta Tomiciana*, Tomus XIII, 155–156. Here: 155 (Nr. 161.)

29 Kraków, 1525; Kraków, Petrikau, 1527; Piotrków Trybunalski, 1527; Korczyn, 1529; Wilno, 1533. Gerhard Piccard, *Die Wasserzeichenkartei im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart*, Band 9/1–2: Wasserzeichen Werkzeug und Waffen (Stuttgart: 1980), s. 45. s. 111 (Abteilung 9), pictures 985–989. I express my thanks to Krisztina Rábai who drew my attention to the book of Piccard and to these parallels. The question arises where these documents were written and where the paper for these documents was produced.

Bártfa (Bartfeld).³⁰ How did the document reach Békéscsaba? It was discovered among the papers of Adolf Stark (1834–1910), a grape grower in Békéscsaba. Stark had been born in Bartfeld and later settled in Békéscsaba.³¹ The document probably came into the possession of the family Stark, and Adolf Stark took it with him when he moved to Békéscsaba.

Sigismund I, a protector of Gyula?

Emeric Czibak (Hungarian: Czibak Imre), a supporter of King John, began the siege of Gyula on 17 July 1529. Czibak soon occupied the town and then commenced the siege of the castle. In January 1530 the defenders of the castle agreed to a seventy-five-day armistice.³² George Hohenzollern informed the defenders of Gyula that he had placed the castle under the protection of King Sigismund of Poland. He wrote about this in his letter to the defenders of Gyula on 4 December 1529.³³ During the armistice George Hohenzollern proposed to King John that Gyula should be placed under the authority of King Sigismund until it could be determined who was the lawful king of Hungary. Once the question of the lawful king had been settled, he – Hohenzollern – would support the legitimate ruler.³⁴ However, the defenders of Gyula received no assistance and capitulated in March 1530, whereupon Emeric Czibak, a supporter of King John occupied the castle.³⁵

30 István H. Németh, *Várospolitika és gazdaságpolitika a 16–17. századi Magyarországon*. vol. 1 (Budapest: Magyar Országos Levéltár–Gondolat, 2004), 77, 83–103. I express my thanks to András Péter Szabó for providing me with this information.

31 Stark was the producer of a grape variety known as the 'Pearl of Csaba'. About his life: Gyula Dedinszky, *Stark Adolf szőlőnemesítő élete és munkássága (1834–1910): a kiváló szőlőnemesítő 150. születésnapjára megjelent tanulmány*, ed. Pál Kozma, jegyzetekkel ellátta és az utószót a második kiadáshoz írta Ágnes Szalay (Békéscsaba: Csabagyöngye Kulturális Központ, 2021), 17, 13, 68; György Sicz, *Stark Adolf (1834–1910) élete és munkássága a sajtó tükrében: in memoriam Dedinszky Gyula* (Békéscsaba: Sicz György, 2021).

32 Rudolf Sörös, "Szemtanú elbeszélése Gyula várának 1529. évi ostromáról," in *A Békésvármegyei Régészeti és Mivelődéstörténelmi Társulat Évkönyve 17* (Gyula: Békésvármegyei Régészeti és Mivelődéstörténelmi Társulat, 1892–1893), 19–32; Karácsonyi, *Békésvármegye I.*, 109–112.

33 Bayern, Archivverwaltung, Staatsarchiv Nürnberg, Brandenburg Lit. 117/3. HU–MNL–OL–MF 9426 B 0560. Veress, *Gyula Város oklevéltára*, 154–155.

34 Bayern, Archivverwaltung, Staatsarchiv Nürnberg, Brandenburg Lit. 1036/22. Summarized by Veress, *Gyula Város oklevéltára*, 157.

35 Sörös, "Szemtanú elbeszélése," 19–32; Karácsonyi, *Békésvármegye I.*, 109–112.

George Hohenzollern wished to regain his castle. Sigismund, King of Poland, was Hohenzollern's uncle and – since 1539 – father-in-law of King John, making him a suitable figure to mediate in this matter. A lengthy process followed, and several sources survive on this subject.³⁶ King John wrote a courteous letter to his father-in-law on 16 April 1540, mentioning the castles of Hunyad and Gyula, yet he did not returned them to George Hohenzollern.³⁷

Conclusion

Although Békés County in Hungary lies far from Poland, numerous connections existed between these regions in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. King Władysław Jagiełło granted an estate to a nobleman from Békés County. Hungarians from the southern part of the Great Hungarian Plain studied in Poland, and Polish warriors stayed for a time in the vicinity of the castle of Gyula in 1529. It is also possible that Hieronym Łaski, the renowned Polish politician in the service of King John Szapolyai, received the small castle of Chaba. A letter preserved in Békéscsaba provides additional information on the negotiations between King John and King Ferdinand, conducted with the assistance of King Sigismund of Poland in 1531. King Sigismund's intervention in the matter of Gyula forms yet another chapter in the history of Polish–Brandenburg–Hungarian relations.

36 King John to Albert Hohenzollern, Buda, 3 May 1530, Bayern, Archivverwaltung, Staatsarchiv Nürnberg, Brandenburg Lit. 1097/1; King John to King Sigismund 16 May 1530, Br. Lit. 1097/2–6; King John to George Hohenzollern, Diószeg, 12 April, 1540, Br. Lit. 1082/8. HU–MNL–OL–MF 9426 B 0388–0391; Veress, *Gyula Város oklevéltára*, 160–162, 166; Karácsonyi, *Békésvármegye* I, 112–113; King John wrote to King Sigismund on 16 April 1540 in Diószeg, and mentioned that he received a letter of Sigismund. Bayern, Archivverwaltung, Staatsarchiv Nürnberg, Brandenburg Lit. Nr. 1117/10. HU MNL OL MF 9426 B 0573; King Sigismund mentioned the issue of the castles in Hungary in his letter to his nephew, 2 July 1540. The letter did not mention the names of these castles. Sigismund mentioned the agreement that was recently closed between King John and Ferdinand, but Sigismund did not know the content of this agreement. Bayern, Archivverwaltung, Staatsarchiv Nürnberg, Brandenburg Lit. Nr. 1117/10. HU MNL OL MF 9426 B 0572; John Szapolyai married the daughter of Sigismund I in 1539. Pálffy, *A tizenhatodik*, 92.

37 Bayern, Archivverwaltung, Staatsarchiv Nürnberg, Brandenburg Lit. Nr. 1117/10. HU MNL OL MF 9426 B 0573; Karácsonyi *Békésvármegye* I, 113–114, 117, 125. I express my thanks to Sávolyiné Nagy Erzsébet, the colleagues of the National Archives of Hungary for providing me the digitalized version of Brandenburg-letters.

Appendix

1. Marckhart's letter to George Hohenzollern, 20 January 1529³⁸

Durchläuchtiger hochgeborner fürst gnediger her euern fuestlichen [!] gnaden seynt alle zeyt meyn arm willig dienst zuvor an bereyt e[uer] f[ürstlichen] gnaden gesunt und glücklich lang's regiment ist mir eyne freude zu hören gnediger f[ürst] und her. Die stat hat dem Hans kunig mer dan drithalb dawsset guldig geben dar er vor Demaswar ist gelegen, haben sie gedan wie frwm leut die von Demaswar und seynt herawß under sich gefallen, haben etlich buxen genwmen vnd etlich erschlagen; da hat das arm kunigli ab mossen zien. Dar nach hat er seyn grauß graffen mit seym folck vff euer f[ürstlichen] gnaden grund gelassen, die alle eyngenumen vnd die in sunder heyt an geschnitten; auch ist der Heberemf Ystwan stecz bey in gewesen vnd hat die durcken vnd den grauss graffen vff Sant Istwan becher geladen zu seynen schoslin eyne meyl von vns; und ist jr geschucz zu Gettsches beliben vnd seynt nit mer dan eyne wen bolenlecken darbey gewesen; mit LX man heten wir das mögen nemen; dan mir wisden das bey zeyt und namen nit; ich halt sie forch, sie mostens wider geben; g[nediger] f[ürst] und her. Der Schomede Ferencz hat eyne banier vor seynen hawß gehabt, und lasen awß rufen, man sol zu dem Hans kunig zien; awch hat er etlich ballen dach wß schifch lassen laden hat die bey der nacht weden dar von furen. Hat uns der richder an gesagt haben mir im daß dach genwmen er wolt daß wider awß haben genwmen; vff burg sie wolten im haben geben; do verbot ich eß vf euer f[ürstlichen] g[naden], und wolt sie nit geben lassen; an euer furlich gnaden wissen da begert er eyne recht; da meyten die oberten man kunt jm daß recht nit ab schlaen; da sag ich es wer nit der sit da eyner mit seynen erbheren rechen solt; meyn g[nadiger] her ist eyne gerechter furst, hast du recht getan er nimmt dier nichtß; hab auch daß dem berneckert gen hunig geschreib; hat er mir wider schreiben ich sol sie nit awß geben; in keynley weyn, weder vff burg noch ander weg an euer f[ürstlichen] g[naden] wissen oder seyn; het ich nit so hart gehalten man het sie im langast wider geben; er wolt mir eyne gutte; Ich

³⁸ The original manuscript is preserved in Nürnberg, in the *Brandenburger Litteralien* collection. A microfilm copy is available in Budapest: HU-MNL-OL-MF-10673-B-0510-1. I would like to express my gratitude to the colleagues of the Mihály Kurecskó and the National Archives of Hungary for providing the digitalized version, and to János Szabados and Zsuzsanna Cziráki for their assistance in the transcription and interpretation of the letter. A partial edition of the document was previously published by Endre Veress: *Gyula Város oklevéltára* (Budapest, 1938), 146 (Nr. 165).

haben getan, ich solt awch verwilligen; den waß die husseren nemen daß geben die obersten wider; nit weyß ich wor winb gnediger f[ürst] und her; ich kan jeß nit Wolf fawen; eß weren besser durchen fawen dan wolf; nit mer dan Gottes will unß mit gnaden gescheg. Datwm Julia an sant Fabian Sebastian tag 29.

Cwnrat Marckhart

2. King Ferdinand's letter to the citizens of Kassa, 24 May 1531³⁹

Ferdinandus divina fauente clementia Romanorum rex semper augustus

(2) ac Germanie, Hungarie, Bohemie etc rex, infans Hispaniarum, archidux Austrie etc.

(3) Prudentes et circumspecti fideles dilecti! Ex prioribus litteris nostris vos nunc tandem abunde cognovisse credimus quibus⁴⁰ modis (4) et conditionis inducie annue a prima presentis mensis Maii die inchoande cum speciali et expresso imperatoris Tur-(5) carum⁴¹ assensu iam utrinque inire acceptate et publicate fuerint. Cum autem nostro et Johannis Scepusiensis nomine utriusque (6) nostrum oratores et commissarii super omnibus iis, que intermediis diebus a XXII mensis Aprilis proxime elapsi (7) die usque⁴² ad primam huius alteri parti per alteram in hoc regno nostro violenter adempta, occupata vel armis (8) ablata fuere,⁴³ et que dicti oratores et commissarii nostri omnino restituenda et rectificanda censuere in Serenissimum principem (9) dominum Sigismundum regem Polonie magnum ducem Litvanie ac Russie Prussieque fratrem et sororium nostrum charissi-(10) mum, compromiserint.⁴⁴ Nempe quod in tempore unius mensis a XVII presentis mensis computando partes coram Serenitate (11) sua compareant, et post comparitionem in uno mense, omnia, que quevis partium illius causa producere habet (12) producat,

39 Original: Archív mesta Kosice, Magistrát mesta Kosice, Schwartzbachiana No. 1507. (box 6.). Contemporary copy: Békéscsaba Evangélikus Egyházközség Levéltára, 8.a. 1. I express my thanks to András Péter Szabó, who drew my attention to the Kassa manuscript and assisted me with the transcription.

40 The copy preserved in Békéscsaba mentions 'quibus' at the beginning of line 4.

41 The copy preserved in Békéscsaba mentions 'imperatoris' at the end of line 4, and 'Turcarum' at the beginning of line 5.

42 In the 'Békéscsaba-copy': 'die' at the end of the 6th line, 'usque' at the beginning of line 7.

43 In the 'Békéscsaba-copy': 'ablata' at the end of the 7th line, 'fuere' at the beginning of line 8.

44 In the 'Békéscsaba-copy': 'charissimum' at the end of the 9th line, 'compromiserint' at the beginning of line 10.

suaque Serenitas⁴⁵ in eodem mensis spatio arbitrari et diiudicare possit. Si autem aliqua partium sua producere (13) neglexerit, nichilominus Serenitas sua arbitretur et dijudicet. Cumque terminus ille omnem celeritatem in hac tractatione requirat,⁴⁶ (14) vosque etiam hec restitutio et rectificatio nonnichil concernat, neque quicquam per vos hac causa omitti debeat, iccirco⁴⁷ vos omni (15) studio requirimus, ut mox receptis presentibus homines vestros cum indice omnium eorum, que nobis et vobis ac unicuique (16) vestrum per partem⁴⁸ adversam prescriptis intermediis diebus vel etiam ante, aut post, et in hanc usque horam (17) in eodem regno adempta,⁴⁹ occupata et ablata fuere, tam ad nos et curiam nostram quam ad nuncium nostrum ad pre-(18) fatum Serenissimum Polonie⁵⁰ regem premissorum occasione specialiter destinatum, quam celerrime mittatis et dirigatis, qui (19) a nobis in comissis accepit⁵¹, ut nostro nomine vestra et aliorum fidelium nostrorum negotia, atque omnia, que tam publico (20) quam privato nomine vestro super bonis ablatis⁵², damnisque et iniuriis vobis illatis ad Serenitatem suam deferetis, intelligat (21) vosque nostri causa in iis, ut par est,⁵³ omni auxilio, consilio, opera et directione iuvet, et ea vobiscum super iis et (22) pro vobis agat atque⁵⁴ impetrare et obtinere studeat, que et⁵⁵ nobis et regno isti nostro saluti et utilitati communique quieti (23) et securitati ac induciarum harummodi stabilimento et confirmationi maiori conducere videbuntur. Nosque etiam per homines (24) vestros ad nos, ut premissum est, destinandos, iis intellectis, que prefinito tempore nobis et vobis in dicto regno nostro ablata (25) et occupata fuere, tanto fructuosius et commodius et nostram et vestram causam agere et perficere poterimus. Et si que (26) alia accendant, que ulteriorem instantiam et assistentiam vestri causa ibidem faciendam

45 In the 'Békéscsaba-copy': 'producat' at the end of the 11th line, 'suaque Serenitas' at the beginning of line 12.

46 In the 'Békéscsaba-copy': 'tractatione' at the end of the 13th line, 'requirat' at the beginning of line 14.

47 In the classic Latin *idcirco*.

48 In the 'Békéscsaba-copy': 'vestrum' at the end of the 15th line, 'per partem' at the beginning of line 16.

49 In the 'Békéscsaba-copy': 'in eodem' at the end of the 16th line, 'regno' at the beginning of line 17.

50 In the 'Békéscsaba-copy': 'Polonie' at the beginning of line 18.

51 In the 'Békéscsaba-copy': 'accepit' at the beginning of line 19.

52 In the 'Békéscsaba-copy': 'super bonis ablatis' at the beginning of line 20.

53 In the 'Békéscsaba-copy': 'in iis, ut par est' at the beginning of line 21.

54 In the 'Békéscsaba-copy': 'atque' at the beginning of line 22.

55 In the 'Békéscsaba-copy': after *et* and before *nobis* stands *regno*, crossed out.

exegerint, eandem per nosmet et⁵⁶ (27) per dictum nuntium⁵⁷ nostrum apud Serenitatem suam et alios ubilibet omnique tempore clementi et prompto animo pro (28) vobis uti bonis fidelibusque subditis nostris faciemus et interponemus. Nichilque pretermitemus, quod ad consolandum (29) et assecurandum istius regni nostri statum facere cognoverimus. Id quod vobis notum et persuasum esse volumus. (30) Date in arce nostra Prage die XXIII mensis Maii anno Domini M D. XXXI, regnorum nostrorum romani primo (31) aliorum vero omnium quinto. Ferdinandus⁵⁸

Ad mandatum sacre
regie maiestatis proprium
Lo. Maius...⁵⁹

Backside of the original Kassa version:

Ferdinandi regis mandatum (2) notificans causas secundum (3) armistitiale conditionem respec- (4) tu ablatorum bonorum et damno- (5) rum acceptorum durante bello per (6) Serenissimum Poloniarum regem (7) revidendas et decidendas esse (8) conclusum cum Joanne Scepusien- (9) si. Datum 24 Maii 1531.

Nr. 1507.

Prudentibus et circumspectis Judici, juratis (2) caeterisque civibus civitatis nostre Cassoviensis (3) fidelibus nobis dilectis.

Backside of the Békéscsaba copy:

No. 49 (crossed out)
1774 4 Maii Bartphae

Ferdinandus ut ad unionem inter eum (2) et Joannem Scepusiensem coram rege (3) Poloniarum fiendam Bartphenses cum (4) explicatione suarum et regni jactu-(5) rarum etiam eo exmittendos jubet.

Prudentibus et Circumspectis judici (2) juratis, ceterisque civibus civitatis nostre

56 In the 'Békéscsaba-copy': After 'nosmet et' at the beginnig of the next line the 'et' conjunction is repeated.

57 In the 'Békéscsaba-copy' there is a crack on the paper by this word, but it is possible to read is in the Kassa version.

58 At the end of the 'Békéscsaba-copy': 'Ferdinandus manu propria'.

59 This words are not mentioned in the 'Békéscsaba copy'.

(3) Cassoviensis, fidelibus nobis dilectis.

Fasc. 1. No. 4.

VIII. (crossed out)

8. a. 1.

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Jagiellonian Monarchies in the Apostolic Chancellery. On the Procedure of Searching and Disseminating Data on Central Europe from the Vatican Archives

**Monarchie jagiellońskie w Kancelarii
Apostolskiej. Procedury wyszukiwania
i udostępniania informacji o Europie Środkowej
w archiwach watykańskich**

Abstract

The article presents a new method for searching and publishing materials preserved in the registers of the Apostolic Chancery at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth century. The approach is based on the systematic use of archival indexes and digital tools. Traditional methods of working with papal sources are extremely time-consuming and inefficient. Although research in the Vatican Archives has been carried out for almost 150 years, there is still a lack of modern archival aids and digital editions that would enable effective use of these resources for studies on the late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries. Using the example of Polish affairs from the pontificates of Sixtus IV, Innocent VIII, and Alexander VI,

the author demonstrates how historical indexes to the *Registra Lateranensia* and *Registra Vaticana*, complemented by targeted searches in the *Registra Supplicationum*, can be effectively employed to identify and catalogue the preserved source material. The proposed procedure made it possible to locate more than one thousand entries relating to Poland within a single month—a result that, under traditional research conditions, would require decades of work. A comparative analysis with the *Repertorium Germanicum* confirmed the high effectiveness of the method, which allowed for the identification of over 85 percent of the bulls preserved in the registers. The article also proposes a model for digital publication of the collected data in accordance with the FAIR and Linked Open Data (LOD) standards. This model enables the gradual release of material—from basic metadata to in-depth analyses of individual documents—and the integration of multiple research projects. In doing so, it enhances scholarly communication and increases research efficiency. Although the method has been tested on Polish material, it has a universal character and can be applied to other regions of Europe.

Keywords: Vatican Archives, papal registers; Jagiellonian monarchies, source editing, fifteenth century.

Abstrakt

Artykuł przedstawia nową metodę przeszukiwania i publikowania materiałów zawartych w księgach Kancelarii Apostolskiej z przełomu XV i XVI wieku, opartą na systematycznym wykorzystaniu indeksów archiwalnych oraz narzędzi cyfrowych. Tradycyjna metoda pracy ze źródłami papieskimi jest niezwykle czasochłonna i mało efektywna. Choć badania w Archiwum Watykańskim prowadzone są od niemal 150 lat, nadal brakuje nowoczesnych pomocy archiwalnych i edycji cyfrowych, które umożliwiłyby wykorzystanie tego zasobu w badaniach nad końcem XV i początkiem XVI wieku. Na przykładzie polskich spraw z pontyfikatów Sykstusa IV, Innocentego VIII i Aleksandra VI autor pokazuje, jak historyczne indeksy do serii *Registra Lateranensia* i *Registra Vaticana*, uzupełnione o ukierunkowane poszukiwania w *Registra Supplicationum*, mogą być skutecznie wykorzystane do identyfikacji i katalogowania zachowanego materiału źródłowego. Zastosowana procedura pozwoliła na odnalezienie ponad tysiąca wpisów dotyczących Polski w ciągu jednego miesiąca – wynik, który w tradycyjnych warunkach wymagałby dekad pracy. Analiza porównawcza z *Repertorium Germanicum* potwierdziła wysoką skuteczność metody, umożliwiającą odnalezienie ponad 85% bulli zachowanych w registerach. W artykule zaproponowano również model cyfrowej publikacji zebranych danych zgodny ze standardami FAIR i Linked Open Data (LOD). Model ten umożliwia stopniowe publikowanie materiału – od podstawowych metadanych po pogłębione analizy poszczególnych

dokumentów – oraz integrację różnych projektów badawczych. Tym samym rozwiązanie to usprawnia komunikację naukową i zwiększa efektywność prac. Choć metoda została przetestowana na materiale polskim, ma charakter uniwersalny i może być zastosowana do innych obszarów Europy.

Słowa kluczowe: Archiwum Watykańskie, registry papieskie, monarchie jagiellońskie, edytorstwo źródeł historycznych, XV wiek.

Introduction

The Vatican Archives have been open to researchers for nearly 150 years, and considerable effort has been devoted to their exploration. Despite the existence of numerous national editorial projects focused on papal sources,¹ these editions rarely extend beyond the mid-15th century. For all nations—with the partial exception of Britain² – not only the publication of full source texts, but even the compilation of regesta and indexes of papal favors from the Renaissance period has proven impossible. As a result, much of the documentation produced by the Roman Curia—one of the most influential centers of diplomacy, culture, and ecclesiastical authority in Europe—remains effectively inaccessible to scholars conducting research at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries. This problem is especially evident for historians of Central Europe, where archival losses over the centuries have been particularly severe. The period in question was a crucial moment in shaping the region's geopolitical position, which would for centuries serve as a zone of expansion for both the Habsburg and Ottoman empires. Relations with the Holy See played an important role in this context, yet a full understanding of them is impossible without access to the documents preserved in the Vatican Archives. Developing tools that would allow researchers working on the history of the Polish, Czech, and Hungarian kingdoms to efficiently search and use the Vatican collections therefore appears all the more urgent.

The aim of this article is to propose an effective method for identifying, retrieving, and publishing materials from the Vatican Archives

1 On the outcomes of such initiatives in the broader European context, see: Anna Zajchowska, "Monumenta Vaticana – koncepcje edycji późnośredniowiecznych źródeł papieskich. Przyczyny sukcesów i porażek," in *Editiones sine fine*, vol. 1, eds. Janusz Tandecki, Krzysztof Kopiński, Wojciech Mrozowicz (Toruń: Towarzystwo Naukowe w Toruniu, 2017), 143–162.

2 The most recent volume of the *Calendar of Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland* (vol. 21) reaches as far as the pontificate of Leo X (1513–1521).

relating to the transitional period between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Using the example of Polish affairs during the final three pontificates of the fifteenth century, the article presents a research approach and demonstrates its practical effectiveness. The method in question can be applied to most European countries, especially those whose documentation constitutes only a small portion of the Vatican collections—such as Hungary, the Czech lands, Portugal, or the Scandinavian kingdoms. It is also intended as a starting point for broader collaborative efforts to uncover and publish materials from the Vatican Archives related to the history of the Jagiellonian monarchies.

To fully understand why the lack of published Vatican source editions poses such a significant problem, it is necessary to briefly explain the nature of late medieval papal bureaucracy and the structure of its archives. In the second half of the fifteenth century, the Roman Curia was a religious, diplomatic, and cultural centre of Europe, receiving thousands of petitioners each month. Papal scribes recorded the content of their petitions and the documents issued in response in official registers. Over time, this process produced a vast archival resource – comprising several thousand manuscript volumes – that sheds light on a remarkably wide range of aspects of life in late medieval Latin Europe. Within this massive corpus, however, only a very small fraction relates to Central European affairs. Finding those entries is akin to searching for a needle in a haystack. In practice, locating any relevant information in the papal registers without knowing its exact placement is nearly impossible, as it requires careful page-by-page reading of the registers across dozens, if not hundreds, of handwritten codices.

For this reason, since the late nineteenth century, most European states have sent scholars to Rome to locate papal materials relevant to their national histories.³ This research has relied on careful page-by-page reading of the registers. Despite ongoing efforts,⁴ the slow pace of this work offers little hope that materials from the closing decades of the fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries will become publicly accessible within this century. However, this does not mean that bridging the gap in our knowledge of the papal registers – or making a large portion of

3 Zajchowska, „Monumenta Vaticana,” 143–162.

4 The most important ongoing editorial series include *Repertorium Germanicum*, which also covers material concerning Bohemia, Prussia, and western parts of Poland; and the *Collectanea Vaticana Hungariae*, dedicated to documents relating to the Crown of Saint Stephen. In Poland, work is being carried out within the framework of the project *Monumenta Vaticana res gestas Polonicas illustrantia*, which currently focuses on the pontificates from the early 15th century.

the Central European materials known to scholars – is impossible today. Archival indexes, which have thus far remained largely unused in the exploration of the Vatican Archives, together with digital technologies, now offer promising tools for dramatically accelerating this process.

The Vatican Archives lack modern archival aids that would allow researchers to easily locate information in the registers. However, they do contain historical indexes created for the internal needs of the papal bureaucracy between the 15th and 18th centuries. While these indexes still serve their original function today, they should be regarded primarily as sources in their own right. Their effective use requires extended and consistent study, making them unsuitable for scholars seeking to locate a single, specific piece of information within the archives. However, when used skilfully, they make it possible to identify a significant number of documents concerning particular regions (*down to the level of the diocese*) in the papal registers within a relatively short amount of time.

The form of these indexes varies depending on the period of their creation and the series to which they belong (as will be discussed in more detail below), but several features are common to most of them. Regardless of the volume, entries in the indexes typically include the name of the diocese to which the granted favour was related, a brief description of the case (the petitioner’s name and a very concise summary of the request), as well as the folio reference in the original register where the document was recorded. A typical index entry might read: *Cracoviensis, Michael de Prasmaw: parrochialis per obitum, f. 133*. This format does not allow for the identification of all individuals or entities mentioned in the documents, but rather points to the region for which the papal favour was intended. However, since individuals from Central Europe rarely appear in entries intended for other regions, a search conducted within the indexes offers the possibility of identifying documents for further analysis without the need to manually review hundreds of volumes – thus dramatically accelerating archival research.

Pontificate	Registra Vati- cana (vols.)	Registra Lateranensia (vols.)	Registra Suppli- cationum (vols.)	Number of volumes	Number of indexes
Sixtus IV (1471–1484)	546–681	713–837	670–839	431	6
Innocent VIII (1484–1492)	682–771	838–924	840–960	298	5

Pontificate	Registra Vati- cana (vols.)	Registra Lateranensia (vols.)	Registra Suppli- cationum (vols.)	Number of volumes	Number of indexes
Alexander VI (1492–1503)	772–884	925–1126, 1128	961–1169	525	7
Number of volumes	339	415	500	1254	18

Table 1. Preserved volumes of papal registers and indexes from the pontificates of the late 15th century⁵

Effective use of the indexes requires not only familiarity with the archival holdings themselves, but also a solid understanding of the bureaucratic practices of the Roman Curia. It is therefore appropriate to provide a detailed description of the research procedure, so that it may serve as a model for analogous studies carried out for other periods or regions. The effectiveness of the method employed can be assessed through the presentation of the results obtained – using the pontificates of Sixtus IV, Innocent VIII, and Alexander VI as examples – as well as by comparing them with the actual content of the sources. It is also necessary to outline the next stages of research, which include the processing, analysis, and publication of the material retrieved in this way. Due to significant differences in the structure and character of individual archival series, the query was divided into three separate segments corresponding to the division into *Registra Vaticana*, *Registra Lateranensia*, and *Registra Supplicationum*. The same structure has been adopted in the description of the research procedure.

Description of the search procedure

Registra Lateranensia

The indexes to the *Registra Lateranensia* are the most consistent in structure. They systematically cover all pontificates of the Renaissance

5 The table lists volumes that pertain entirely to a given pontificate; however, individual bulls may also appear in other volumes. A detailed register of the volumes corresponding to each series and pontificate can be found in: *Sussidi per la consultazione dell'Archivio Vaticano*, ed. Germano Gualdo (Città del Vaticano: Archivio Vaticano, 1989), 185–195, 278–285; Bruno Katterbach, *Inventario dei Registri delle Suppliche* (Città del Vaticano: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, 1932), 44–68.

popes, starting with the registers of Callixtus III (1455).⁶ They were created in the eighteenth century. The portion covering the pontificates relevant to this study was compiled specifically in the 1750s and 1760s.⁷ The handwriting reflects the typical script of that period – usually legible. The volumes follow an alphabetical arrangement: documents were grouped by the initial letter of the name of the diocese for which the favor was intended, and within each of these sections they were further organized according to the registers. This structure makes it possible to limit a search to only a few letters of the alphabet (in the case of Poland: C, G, L, N, P, V/W), but at the same time makes it difficult to determine the complete contents of each volume, since the information is dispersed across all the alphabetical sections.

In most cases, a single index volume includes entries for all letters and for all registers covering several years of a given pontificate. For example, volume 338 indexes all the registers from the seventh and eighth years of the pontificate of Pope Innocent VIII.⁸ Because in the eighteenth century register volumes were identified by the number of the book within a given year of a pontificate – rather than by the continuous numbering system used today – determining a modern archival shelfmark requires comparing the book numbers from the indexes with those in concordance tables.⁹ In some cases, the modern numbering has also been added in pencil by archivists in the margins next to the original number.

Importantly, the indexes to the *Registra Lateranensia* were compiled before the Napoleonic Wars and therefore include information about documents from volumes that were lost during the transfer of the Vatican Archives to Paris.¹⁰ Although the brief format of the entries does not allow for the reconstruction of the full text of the original bulls, it does confirm their existence. When combined with the *Registra Supplicationum*,

6 The indexes covering the pontificates of the Renaissance popes are contained in: Archivum Apostolicum Vaticanum (AAV), Indici, vol. 325–365.

7 This is evidenced by the printed headings found in some volumes. For example, in AAV, Indici, vol. 332: „Index bullarum Sixti IV complectens annos I, II, et III eius pontificatus. Tomus primus. Ab Antonio Malocardi Regesti Earundem Bullarum Custode Transcriptum de anno domini MDCCLXI.”

8 AAV, Indici, vol. 338.

9 *Sussidi per la consultazione*, 278–285.

10 The indexes of the lost volumes contain information on 273 bulls concerning Poland: 92 from the pontificate of Sixtus IV, 45 from that of Innocent VIII, and 136 from that of Alexander VI. For more on the fate of the Vatican Archives during the Napoleonic Wars, see: *Vatican Archives. An Inventory and Guide to Historical Documents of the Holy See*, ed. Francis X. Blouin Jr. (New York–Oxford: Oxford University Press 1998), XX–XXI.

which recorded the content of petitions at an earlier stage of the curial process,¹¹ it becomes possible to reconstruct most of the information necessary for historical analysis. Some of the indexes themselves were also lost during the Napoleonic period. From the final three decades of the fifteenth century, precisely two are missing: those covering the 7th to 9th years of the pontificate of Sixtus IV, and the 3rd to 4th years of the pontificate of Innocent VIII. For these periods, traditional research must be conducted directly in the original registers.¹²

Twelve volumes of indexes to the *Registra Lateranensia* were examined for the pontificates of Sixtus IV, Innocent VIII, and Alexander VI.¹³ They contain information on 726 bulls related to Poland.¹⁴ Of these, 218 date from the pontificate of Sixtus IV (126 preserved), 142 from that of Innocent VIII (97 preserved), and 366 from the pontificate of Alexander VI (230 preserved). In total, 453 bulls are found in surviving registers, while 273 come from volumes that have been lost.¹⁵

Registra Vaticana

In contrast to the *Registra Lateranensia*, which were indexed only in the eighteenth century—more than two hundred years after the registers themselves had been created – and according to a consistent and systematic method, the *Registra Vaticana* were indexed much earlier,¹⁶

11 On the curial procedure, see: Thomas Frenz, *I documenti pontifici nel medioevo e nell'età moderna* (Città del Vaticano: Scuola Vaticana di Paleografia, Diplomatica e Archivistica, 2008), 71–91.

12 A total of 50 volumes of registers from the period in question have been preserved: 30 from the pontificate of Sixtus IV (AAV, Reg. Lat., vol. 769, 771–772, 774–775, 777–782, 784–785, 787–789, 792–804, 819), and 20 from the pontificate of Innocent VIII (AAV, Reg. Lat., vol. 846A, 846B, 853–855, 859–862, 864–867, 869–871, 876–879).

13 Sixtus IV: AAV, Indici, vol. 332–335; Innocent VIII: AAV, Indici, vol. 336–338; Alexander VI: AAV, Indici, vol. 339–343.

14 When referring to Poland, I mean the Polish Church — that is, the territory of the Gniezno and Lwów metropolitan provinces, excluding the dioceses of Wrocław and Lubusz. I have also classified the dioceses of Chełmno and Warmia as belonging to Poland for the purposes of this study.

15 The list of documents identified in the indexes will be published on the Atlas Fontium platform: <https://data.atlasfontium.pl> (access: 11.10.2025).

16 The volumes AAV, Indici, vol. 274–276, were compiled in the early 16th century. This is indicated by the handwriting, which still bears medieval characteristics, as well as by a marginal note in volume 274: „Anno domini 1521 Iohannes Varodus hoc fecit” (f. 204r). AAV, Indici, vol. 287 was compiled in 1630, as indicated by the heading. The early modern script and the alphabetical arrangement of the entries — similar to that found in the indexes to the *Registra Lateranensia* — also confirm its 17th-century dating.

but in a far less uniform way. For the three pontificates under discussion, four indexes survive.¹⁷ These cover only part of the material and not the entire series.¹⁸ Some of the remaining volumes include internal tables of contents, known as *rubricale*, written directly in the registers themselves.¹⁹ Only six registers lack any tool that would allow for a quick overview of their contents.²⁰

It should be noted that the *rubricale* were maintained less systematically than the indexes. In some cases, the diocese is not mentioned, which makes it much more difficult to identify entries related to Poland. For example, a note such as “*Expectativa – Ioanni Ianussi – f. 83*”²¹ provides no clear indication of origin. In such cases, the researcher must either examine the entire volume or rely on the appearance of Polish place names or personal names within the *rubricale* themselves.²²

The research included all existing indexes, as well as the volume AAV, Arm. XXXV, vol. 34. In addition, *rubricale* were consulted in volumes lacking indexes,²³ and some registers were examined in full when they contained no table of contents, had incomplete *rubricale*, or omitted the names of dioceses.²⁴ As a result, 343 bulls concerning Poland were identified: 109 from the pontificate of Sixtus IV, 97 from that of Innocent VIII, and 137 from that of Alexander VI.

Registra Supplicationum

In contrast to the *Registra Lateranensia* and *Registra Vaticana*, no early modern indexes were created for the *Registra Supplicationum*. This appears to be due to two characteristics of this series. First, it contains

17 The relevant indexes are as follows: for the pontificate of Sixtus IV, AAV, Indici, vol. 274 and part of vol. 287; for Innocent VIII, AAV, Indici, vol. 275; and for Alexander VI, AAV, Indici, vol. 276.

18 Index 274 contains information on the volumes AAV, Reg. Vat., vol. 551–652 and 654; Index 275: AAV, Reg. Vat., vol. 698–717, 720–739, 741–768, 932, and 934; Index 276: AAV, Reg. Vat., vol. 772–866; Index 287: AAV, Reg. Vat., vol. 660–677, 682–690, and 879–883. In addition, indexes for the volumes AAV, Reg. Vat., vol. 691–693 and 868 are also found in AAV, Arm. XXXV, vol. 34.

19 AAV, Reg. Vat., vol. 546–550, 653, 655–659, 678–681, 694–696, 770, 867, 869–872, 874–878, 884.

20 These are the volumes: AAV, Reg. Vat., vol. 697, 718, 719, 769, 771, 873.

21 AAV, Reg. Vat., vol. 662, f. 2r.

22 For example, a bull described as “altare portatile – Stanislaw de Mlyn, f. 88” (AAV, Reg. Vat., vol. 662, f. 2r) was identified on the basis of the Polish name of the petitioner.

23 AAV, Reg. Vat., vol. 867, 869–872, 876.

24 AAV, Reg. Vat., vol. 684–697, 718–719, 769–771, 875, 884.

documents of lesser formal weight than the registers of bulls. It was less carefully maintained, and many supplications recorded in it never resulted in papal bulls.²⁵ From the perspective of the early modern papal bureaucracy, indexing this material may have seemed unnecessary. Second, unlike the bull registers, the *Registra Supplicationum* were organized chronologically. They were divided into *quinterni*, each containing documents approved by the pope (or by a delegated official) in a given month. For this reason, once the approximate date of a document is known, locating the relevant supplication is relatively straightforward.

From the historian's point of view, however, the *Registra Supplicationum* are of considerable value. They contain documents copied at the earliest stage of curial procedure and therefore also include cases in which no bull was ultimately issued. Because of this, they preserve significantly more material related to Central Europe than the bull registers. While they do not provide direct evidence that papal favors were actually granted or used – a fact too often overlooked – they reveal a great deal about the nature and extent of contact between the people of Central Europe and the Holy See. Moreover, since each supplication had to contain all the necessary information required to draft a papal bull, these entries often allow researchers to reconstruct the full content of documents from lost registers of *Registra Lateranensia*.

The *Registra Supplicationum* are the most numerous and the most challenging to search: their large physical size, less careful handwriting, and high number of entries make them demanding to navigate. Unlike bulls, supplications follow a much shorter and more compact formula, making the individual entries shorter but more densely packed with information. Nonetheless, their chronological arrangement allows researchers to significantly optimize the search process.

Each bull recorded in the *Registra Lateranensia* should correspond to a supplication preserved in the *Registra Supplicationum*. Since a papal favor was assigned a date at the very beginning of the curial procedure, the dates of the bull and the supplication were identical.²⁶ This means that, knowing the date of a document, one can easily narrow down the chronological range of the registers in which the related supplication is likely to appear. Studies on Polish contacts with the Holy See show that some interactions – particularly the arrival of Polish diplomatic

25 On this topic: Adam Zapała, *Kontakty Polaków i Litwinów ze Stolicą Apostolską za pontyfikatu papieża Mikołaja V (1447–1455)* (Warszawa: Instytut Historii PAN, 2021), 83–89, 269–271.

26 Frenz, *I documenti*, 74–75.

missions – often led to short-term but significant increases in the number of submitted supplications.²⁷ Consequently, if the dates of Polish embassies to the papal court or the issuance of numerous bulls for Polish petitioners are known, it becomes possible to identify periods in which a higher concentration of Polish-related entries can be expected in the *Registra Supplicationum*. In such cases, one should identify the volumes covering the specific timeframe²⁸ and limit the search to them. This approach makes it possible to locate supplications corresponding to preserved bulls, as well as those that never resulted in a formal document or whose copies have since been lost. In this way, a relatively modest effort can yield a substantial number of Polish petitions. In order to verify the effectiveness of this method, a case study was conducted, which confirmed the efficiency of the approach.

Based on information concerning the presence of Polish embassies in Rome during the pontificate of Pope Innocent VIII, two test samples were selected: the obedience embassy of Jan of Targowisko and Rafał of Leszno, present in Rome in 1486, and that of Andrzej Róża Boryszewski and Ambroży Pampowski in 1492. Knowing that the first embassy was received by the pope on 26 May 1486,²⁹ two volumes of supplications covering the period from May to July 1486 were examined.³⁰ These volumes contained 31 Polish petitions.³¹ A similar test for the second embassy, based on the search of a single volume covering March–April 1492,³² yielded an additional 13 entries related to Poland.³³

Both test samples demonstrated that proper preparation of the search and identification of a hypothetical period of Polish activity at the Holy See can significantly increase the efficiency of research in the *Registra Supplicationum*. In total, 44 entries related to Poland were identified by

27 On that topic: Zapala, *Kontakty*, 263–269.

28 Assistance in this regard is provided by: Katterbach, *Inventario dei Registri delle Suppliche*.

29 Jerzy Zatyka, „Zapomniane polonicum drukowane w Rzymie w r. 1496 (Jana Targowiskiego Łacińska mowa do papieża Innocentego VIII),” in *Mediaevalia – w 50 rocznicę pracy naukowej Jana Dąbrowskiego*, ed. Józef Garbacik (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1960), 309.

30 AAV, Reg. Suppl., vols. 858–859, identified on the basis of: Katterbach, *Inventario*, 54.

31 AAV, Reg. Suppl., vol. 858, ff. 20r, 20v, 31v–32r, 84r, 97v, 98r, 133r–134r, 138v–139r, 166r–166v, 171r–171v, 176v, 203r, 205v, 206v, 211r, 236r, 257v–258r, 286r–286v, 290v; AAV, Reg. Suppl., vol. 859, ff. 6v–7r, 51v, 55r, 69r, 98r–98v, 117r–117v, 148r–148v, 161v, 164v, 179r–179v, 210v, 217v.

32 AAV, Reg. Suppl., vol. 954, identified on the basis of: Katterbach, *Inventario*, 58.

33 AAV, Reg. Suppl., vol. 954, ff. 28r, 35r, 45v, 52v, 58v, 62r, 75r–75v, 104v, 153v–154v, 155r, 165r, 166r, 238v.

consulting only three volumes. The test periods were selected based on the literature on the subject indicating the presence of Polish embassies, but they could just as well be established by noting increases in the number of Polish-related entries in the registers of bulls. There is no doubt that similar results can be expected throughout the period under discussion.

Search effectiveness

When using a method that significantly increases the speed of searching the material—especially a collection as vast as the papal chancery registers – it becomes necessary to ask how such acceleration affects the accuracy of the search. In other words: how large a portion of the relevant documents in the Vatican Archives can actually be identified using this approach? The effectiveness of the method can be estimated by comparing its results with those of existing source editions. Unfortunately, such a comparison cannot be made with Polish material, since the indexes for the last pontificate published in the *Bullarium Poloniae* – that of Paul II – are not sufficiently complete.³⁴ In this situation, the most appropriate test is a comparison between the results of the search for the pontificate of Sixtus IV and volume 10 of the *Repertorium Germanicum*.³⁵ It must be noted, however, that the German edition included only the western dioceses of the Gniezno metropolis, omitting entries from the dioceses of Płock, Lithuania, and Ruthenia. On the other hand, one volume of the Lateran register indexes from the pontificate of Sixtus IV (covering the 7th to 9th years) has been lost. Given these limitations, the comparison must be restricted to those registers for which indexes have survived.

Of the 326 entries concerning Polish-related matters identified in the indexes from the pontificate of Sixtus IV, 224 could be matched with records found in the *Repertorium Germanicum*. Among the 102 unmatched entries, 58 refer to dioceses not covered by the *Repertorium* – including

34 From the pontificate of Paul II, three indexes have survived: one very brief and incomplete index for the *Registra Vaticana* (AAV, Indici, vol. 273), and two for the *Registra Lateranensia* (AAV, Indici, vols. 330–331). Unlike most Lateran indexes, these were not divided by years of pontificate; instead, each volume contained selected letters covering the entire pontificate. Unfortunately, one of these indexes – the one covering the letters O to Z – has been lost. As a result, it is difficult to determine exactly which bulls were included in that volume, and therefore impossible to use it for a reliable comparison of the effectiveness of index-based searches.

35 *Repertorium Germanicum*, vol. 10: Sixtus IV (1471–1484), part 1: Text, eds. by Ulrich Schwarz, Juliane Trede, Stefan Brüdermann, Thomas Bardelle, Kerstin Rahn, Hubert Höing, Michael Reimann and Sven Mahmens (Berlin-Boston: De Gruyter, 2018).

39 from the Diocese of Płock. In the case of the remaining 44 records, the information should theoretically be present in the *Repertorium*, but no corresponding entries could be found. The most problematic were references from lost registers (16 entries), as their accuracy cannot be verified, especially regarding folio numbers. An additional challenge in comparing the two resources lies in the absence of a digital version of RG volume 10, as well as in the inconsistent and often erroneous spelling of Polish names in both the indexes and the *Repertorium Germanicum*. It is possible that a full-text analysis of the registers will allow further correspondences to be identified.

More important from the perspective of the present analysis is the verification of the completeness of the index-based search – in other words, determining what portion of the documents recorded in the *Repertorium* could be identified through the indexes. In this case, out of 260 entries in the *Repertorium*, 224 documents were found in the indexes. An additional five documents were recorded in the indexes, but in forms that did not allow for their unambiguous identification as Polish-related (e.g. a provision for Giuliano della Rovere was listed without a diocese, but under the category “cardinalis”,³⁶ and privileges for Andrzej Róža Boryszewski were entered under “indulgentia”).³⁷ In some such cases, Polish documents were successfully identified despite these issues – for instance, entries categorized as “collectoria in Polonia”³⁸ or with altered spellings of diocesan names (e.g. “Crachoviensis”³⁹ instead of “Cracoviensis”). There is also a group of 30 Polish-related documents that could not be located, despite efforts to find them. The alphabetical arrangement of indexes makes it difficult to assess the completeness of information concerning individual registers. More detailed examination showed that some volumes were not fully indexed. The best example of this is *Registra Vaticana*, vol. 664 from index 287, in which almost no bulls are listed between folios 150 and 190. Similar gaps – although less significant – also appear elsewhere (e.g. in index 274, for Reg. Vat., vol. 600, there is a break between folios 65 and 78).

Despite all the shortcomings described above, the indexes made it possible to locate over 85% of the Polish-related entries from the bull registers that are recorded in the *Repertorium Germanicum*. If the unmatched entries (44) are also taken into account, this figure

36 AAV, Indici, vol. 274, f. 16v.

37 *Ibidem*, f. 13r.

38 *Ibidem*, f. 116v.

39 *Ibidem*, f. 260r.

undoubtedly exceeds 90%. Such a level of effectiveness – combined with a dramatically increased speed of archival research – demonstrates that the method outlined above is satisfactory and offers a real possibility of rapidly making available the majority of materials concerning Poland from the papal chancery registers. An additional benefit, which should not be overlooked, is the identification of several dozen entries related to petitioners from the eastern territories of the Jagiellonian monarchy.

From Archival Search to Digital Publication

The archival search is only the first stage of the project, serving as a foundation for further efforts to make the identified material accessible. Once the indexes have been examined and a supplementary search carried out in the volumes lacking indexes, it is necessary to verify the exact location of all the Polish-related entries in original registers and then acquire their digital reproductions. The research conducted so far has made it possible to verify the location of 661 documents,⁴⁰ and digital scans have already been obtained for a portion of them.⁴¹

Once the scans of the source material are available, the next step is their analysis and publication. The most comprehensive form of publication is a full critical edition. However, the preparation of transcriptions and the philological analysis of documents is extremely time-consuming. For this reason, as early as the beginning of the twentieth century, the standard format for publishing papal source material became the *regest* edition.⁴² This format made it possible to present the essential content of documents without requiring full philological analysis. In the twenty-first century, this function has largely been taken over by databases. A database not only accelerates the processing of material even further,

40 One of the main obstacles in this regard is the access policy of the Vatican Archives. Currently, researchers are allowed to consult only three volumes of the registers per day, which makes the process of verifying the material proceed very slowly.

41 As part of the NCN *Miniatura* project “Polish Diplomats at the Apostolic See in the Second Half of the 15th Century – Library and Archival Research” (no. 2021/05/X/HS3/01142), a total of 1,104 digital scans of documents from the Vatican Archives were acquired, covering the pontificates of Innocent VIII and Alexander VI. The scans include 65 volumes of the Vatican Registers (AAV, Reg. Vat., vol. 682–692, 695–697, 711, 715, 717–722, 724, 726, 729, 730, 732–735, 741, 742, 746, 749, 752, 755–757, 759, 761, 763, 766, 769, 770, 783, 785–787, 789, 790, 792, 802, 843, 848, 849, 861, 868–872, 875, 879, 880, 883), 8 volumes of the Lateran Registers (AAV, Reg. Lat., vol. 120, 850, 891, 918, 933, 948, 960, 987), and 3 volumes of the Supplication Registers (AAV, Reg. Suppl., vol. 858, 859, 954).

42 Zajchowska, „*Monumenta Vaticana*,” 152, 157–159.

but also offers the benefits of information technology. Structured data is more precise and significantly easier to search than text written in natural language. The application of LOD (Linked Open Data)⁴³ and FAIR (Findable, Accessible, Interoperable, Reusable)⁴⁴ standards also enables broader reuse of the database, including the integration of multiple editions. All these arguments support the decision to publish the material in the form of a structured database.

The best way to publish a database based on handwritten source material is to combine the presentation of manuscript scans with structured data linked directly to specific parts of the images.⁴⁵ The INDXR software platform enables the creation of this type of edition.⁴⁶ It uses GIS (Geographic Information System) technology to associate locations on the scanned pages with entries in the database. This solution has already been successfully implemented in several projects, particularly those dealing with large-scale documentary material.⁴⁷

Unfortunately, due to financial constraints, it is not currently possible to obtain the rights to publish images of all the Polish-related documents from the Vatican Archives.⁴⁸ As a result, in this case, the material will be made available as data only, without scans. Although this is not a perfect solution, it does not diminish the research potential of such a database.

43 <https://www.w3.org/wiki/LinkedData> (access: 3.04.2024).

44 <https://www.go-fair.org/fair-principles/> (access: 3.04.2024).

45 On such an approach, see: Słoń Marek, "Pryncypia edytorstwa źródeł historycznych w dobie rewolucji cyfrowej," *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 53 (2015): 155–161; Słoń Marek, Słomski Michał, "Edycje cyfrowe źródeł historycznych," in *Jak wydawać teksty dawne*, ed. Karolina Borowiec, Dorota Maslej, Tomasz Mika and Dorota Rajszczyk-Robińska (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Rys, 2017), 65–84.

46 The software is available at: <https://indxr.ihpan.edu.pl/>. Its functionality is described in: Arkadiusz Borek, Tomasz Związek, Michał Słomski, Michał Gochna and Grzegorz Myrda, "Technical and methodological foundations of digital indexing of medieval and early modern court books," *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities* 35 (2020): 233–253.

47 Marek Słoń, Urszula Zachara-Związek, "The Court Records of Wschowa (1495–1526). Digital Edition," *Studia Geohistorica* 6 (2019): 206–220 https://atlas.ihpan.edu.pl/gis/agad_wschowa_i2_pub/index.php (access: 3.04.2024); Michał Gochna, *Księgi sądowe powiatu kaliskiego 1587–1594* https://atlas.ihpan.edu.pl/indxr/app/kspk_pub/index.php (access: 3.04.2024); Wojciech Lis, *Najstarsze księgi miejskie Kalisza z lat 1537–1556*, <https://atlasfontium.pl/ksiegi-miejskie-kalisza/> (access: 3.04.2024); Arkadiusz Borek, *Księgi konsystorza kaliskiego z lat 1504–1534* https://atlas.ihpan.edu.pl/indxr/app/kkk_pub/index.php (access: 3.04.2024).

48 The cost of obtaining a license to publish a single page from the registers online is €150. <https://servizi.archivioapostolicovaticano.va/fotoriproduzioni/#/pro?lang=en> (accessed: 3 April 2024). Consequently, acquiring the rights to make several thousand scans publicly available far exceeds the financial capacity of grant-based funding.

INDXR allows the data model to be tailored to the editor's needs, enabling the inclusion of all relevant information. The dataset described above will be modeled on two levels. The first is the document level, which includes core metadata such as archival reference, place and date of issuance, issuer, document type, and type of grace granted. The second level concerns the entities mentioned in the text – individuals, places, and institutional entities (including ecclesiastical benefices).

The use of a database and online publication, unlike traditional printed editions, does not require the entire body of material to be made available at once. Instead, it allows for the initial release of a list described with basic metadata, followed by a more detailed analysis and annotation of individual documents. The material collected so far will allow for the gradual publication of the Vatican and Lateran Registers from the pontificate of Innocent VIII. Work will then continue with the registers of Alexander VI and subsequent popes. At the same time, further queries will be carried out in the Vatican Archives, especially in registers that lack indexes. Finally, the records concerning Poland from the *Registers of Supplications* will be identified and published according to the methodology described above. After the publication of each major batch of documents, it should be accompanied by a separate article discussing its specific features.

It should be emphasized that this approach does not rule out the possibility of carrying out a detailed search of the registers volume by volume at a later stage, along with the full publication of the identified documents concerning Poland. Such work is already being done in Poland, for example within the project *Monumenta Vaticana res gestas Polonicas illustrantia*. The release of the database described above will give Polish researchers a practical tool for navigating the Vatican Archives. Still, only the complete publication of the sources can ensure full access to the material. It is worth noting that both projects are being developed in digital form and follow LOD and FAIR standards, which will allow their results to be integrated in the future.

Conclusions

The research method described above made it possible to examine 848 codices within a single month and identify 1,112 Polish-related entries (839 of which are found in preserved registers). It also opened up the possibility of narrowing the scope of further research in volumes lacking indexes, especially in the *Registra Supplicationum*. Searching this

material using traditional methods would be a task requiring many years of work by a large research team. Acquiring and processing this material using digital methods will, in the near future, provide Polish scholars with the tools to make effective use of the sources held in the Vatican Archives from the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. More importantly, the procedure is universal and can be adopted by researchers from other countries. From a Polish perspective, the most important next step would be to carry out a similar project for the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia. This would make it possible to recover data on petitions submitted to the Holy See from all Jagiellonian monarchies and gain a deeper understanding of how these kingdoms positioned themselves between the Habsburg Empire and the Ottoman sphere at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries. The use of digital methods for publishing the results – based on LOD and FAIR standards – not only allows for the gradual addition of new documents to the collection, but also creates the potential for integrating and jointly searching across multiple databases of this kind in the future.

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The Activities of Hungarians in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Service of Stephen Báthory (1576–1586)

Działalność Węgrów w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów w służbie Stefana Batorego (1576–1586)

Abstract

In most existing studies on the reign of Stephen Báthory in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the role of Hungarians has usually been marginalized. When their activities were considered at all, they were typically limited to the military campaigns against Moscow between 1579 and 1582. This issue seems significant from the perspective of the functioning of the immediate entourage of those elected monarchs in the Commonwealth, who were foreigners. To what extent could such rulers, unfamiliar with Polish political culture, make use of their compatriots in their new homeland despite clear formal-legal constraints? The main aim of this article is to present the activities of Báthory's compatriots in the Polish-Lithuanian state throughout his entire reign, demonstrating that Hungarians were not merely occasional members of the monarch's closest circle but rather maintained a constant presence. Only those compatriots

of King Stephen who performed various tasks directly assigned by the monarch or carried out in his interest were taken into account, with a primary focus on military, political-dynastic, and court-related aspects. Each of these aspects was served by Hungarians throughout King Stephen's entire reign, although the group of individuals executing the monarch's particular orders was subject to constant fluctuations. This testified to the steady influx of the monarch's compatriots into the Commonwealth and, consequently, served as evidence of strengthened relations with Transylvania. In total, several thousand of Báthory's compatriots served in his immediate entourage over the course of his reign. Among the court personnel alone, nearly five hundred people were employed over the period of just under eleven years. Meanwhile, in military formations centered around the royal court, such as Hungarian infantry and cavalry, up to two thousand people served simultaneously. Over the years, their numbers underwent constant changes, so the total number of Hungarians in military service was even greater. The size of this group best illustrates the scale of Báthory's compatriots' involvement in Polish affairs.

Keywords: Stephen Báthory, Hungarians, XVI century, Royal Household, foreigners.

Abstrakt

W większości dotychczasowych opracowań poświęconych panowaniu Stefana Batorego w Rzeczypospolitej rola Węgrów była zazwyczaj marginalizowana, a jeżeli już interesowano się ich działalnością, to ograniczano ją do wypraw wojennych przeciwko Moskwie w latach 1579–1582. Zagadnienie wydaje się istotne z punktu widzenia funkcjonowania najbliższego otoczenia monarchów elekcyjnych w Rzeczypospolitej, którzy byli obcokrajowcami. Na ile tacy władcy, jako osoby niezaznajomione z polską kulturą polityczną, mogli wykorzystywać swych rodaków w nowej ojczyźnie, pomimo wyraźnych ograniczeń natury formalnoprawnej? Głównym celem artykułu jest zaprezentowanie aktywności rodaków Batorego w państwie polsko-litewskim w ciągu całego panowania, tak by wykazać, że nie mieliśmy do czynienia z epizodyczną obecnością Węgrów w najbliższym otoczeniu monarchy, ale wręcz przeciwnie – ze stałą. Pod uwagę wzięto tylko tych rodaków króla Stefana, którzy wykonywali różnorodne zadania bezpośrednio zlecone przez monarchę bądź realizowane w jego interesie, głównie koncentrując się na aspekcie wojskowym, polityczno-dynastycznym oraz nadwornym. Każdy z tych aspektów był obsługiwany przez Węgrów w ciągu całego panowania króla Stefana, jakkolwiek grupa osób wykonujących poszczególne polecenia monarchy ulegała ciągłym fluktuacjom. Świadczyło to o stałym napływie rodaków monarchy do Rzeczypospolitej, a co za tym idzie, było dowodem na wzmocnienie relacji z Siedmiogrodem. Łącznie w ciągu

całego panowania Batorego w jego najbliższym otoczeniu przewinęło się kilka tysięcy rodaków. Wśród samego personelu nadwornego zatrudniono blisko pięćset osób w ciągu niespełna jedenastu lat. Z kolei w formacjach wojskowych skupionych wokół dworu królewskiego, jak węgierska piechota czy jazda, służyło jednocześnie nawet blisko dwa tysiące osób. Przez lata ich liczebność ulegała ciągłym zmianom, więc łączna liczba Węgrów na służbie wojskowej była jeszcze większa. Wielkość tej grupy najlepiej obrazuje skalę zaangażowania rodaków Batorego w polskie sprawy.

Słowa kluczowe: Stefan Batory, Węgrzy, XVI wiek, dwór królewski, obcokrajowcy.

Ludwik Bazyłow in the monograph *Siedmiogród a Polska. 1576–1613*, published almost sixty years ago described in a rather characteristic manner the impact exerted by King Stephen Báthory upon Transylvania:

As long as Stephen Báthory lived the system of administering Transylvania remained highly specific and consisted of constantly balancing the most efficient line of conduct between the interests of the country and the wishes and requirements of the Polish King,¹ and elsewhere: [...] the estates patiently approved taxes and military recruitments, and expressed joy in connection with assorted news from Poland, while the voivode patiently regulated assorted inner frictions and carried out recommendations from Poland [...].²

Bazyłow drew attention to unequal relations between two brothers: Stephen and Christopher Báthory (in Hungarian: Báthory István and Báthory Kristóf), with the former making use of the latter for his own purposes. The contribution made by Transylvania, even if only during the expedition against Muscovy, was considerable and should be always appreciated, although this was not the sole way, in which King Stephen drew on the resources of his homeland. Apart from involving the state of Transylvania in the policy pursued by the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania, an equally essential subject were the Hungarians, particularly those who accompanied the Polish ruler. Up to now insufficient attention has been paid, and if so then only marginally, to the King's countrymen active in the Polish–Lithuanian state in 1576–1586. This approach was probably incorrect since their involvement in certain events and the part they played within the monarch's closest entourage were essential. At the

1 Ludwik Bazyłow, *Siedmiogród a Polska, 1576–1613* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1967), 38.

2 *Ibidem*, 33.

very onset one should ask whom specifically are we dealing with and just how large was the group of the monarch's compatriots who remained within his closest entourage on a permanent basis? Was their activity in the Commonwealth temporary or continuous? Next, what exactly did they deal with, for what purposes did King Stephen employ them, and why did he seek their support and not that of his new subjects – Poles, Lithuanians, and Ruthenians? Those questions and the very activity of Hungarians within Báthory's entourage are significant within the context of the attitude assumed at the time by the Polish gentry *vis-à-vis* foreigners gathered around monarchs chosen during free elections. The first – Henry of Valois – was from the very onset criticised for surrounding himself with Frenchmen perceived as the reason for the immoral conduct of the young monarch. Even more so, the circumstances of his return to France in 1574 additionally confirmed the aversion of the gentry of the Commonwealth towards foreigners arriving together with newly elected monarchs. It should, therefore, not come as a surprise that the successor of Henry of Valois, i.e. Stephen Báthory, was elected under the condition that he could benefit from the assistance of his countrymen with the consent of the Sejm.³ To this we should add a ban on distributing offices and titles to foreigners. Despite such regulations King Stephen involved Hungarians in Polish issues; they played an essential role within his entourage – an additional argument in favour of taking a closer look at their doings in 1576–1586.

The most conspicuous activity pursued by Hungarians during the discussed period was their participation in the military undertakings of King Stephen. Naturally, pride of place goes to three expeditions against Muscovy, although one might have the impression that the pursuits of Báthory's countrymen had been reduced exclusively to the 1579–1582 period. On the one hand, popular biographies of this monarch as well as monographs dealing with two out of three expeditions involving Polotsk and Pskov are an excellent description of the involvement of the Hungarians although, on the other hand, such publications evade activity prior to and after the campaigns, as if the Hungarians' presence was merely an episode.⁴ The problem comes down to the fact that in the course of the above-mentioned campaign we dealt both with Hungarians who arrived

3 Świątosław Orzelski, *Bezkrólewia ksiąg ośmioro, czyli dzieje Polski od zgonu Zygmunta Augusta r. 1572 aż do r. 1576 skreślone przez Świątosława z Borzejowic Orzelskiego, starostę radziejowskiego*, vol. 3, transl. Włodzimierz Spasowicz (Petersburg i Mohylew: Nakładem Bolesława Maurycego Wolffa, 1856), 3.

4 See: Jerzy Besala, *Stefan Batory* (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1992); Karol Olejnik, *Stefan Batory* (Warszawa: Oficyna Wydawnicza RYTM, 2013); Dariusz

in the Commonwealth so they could take part in battles against Muscovy as well as with a quite considerable group of those of Báthory's compatriots who appeared in the Polish–Lithuanian state during the first years of his reign.⁵ In other words, this was a set of Hungarians active in the military domain not sporadically but for a much longer period of time, i.e. a major part of the reign; it is their pursuits that I intend to present.

At the very onset it is worth drawing attention to the fact that the discussed group was composed of, among others, a unit described by Henryk Kotarski as the Hungarian court infantry,⁶ which indubitably comprised a fundamental assembly of Báthory's countrymen taking part in military undertakings during the course of his reign. Much appears to indicate that apart from the infantry there were also other Hungarians, probably equestrians, active either at the very beginning of Báthory's reign or during its last years, although a precise determination of their number remains difficult owing to fragmentary sources. The composition of the retinue, which accompanied King Stephen during his journey and entry into the Commonwealth makes us aware of the very essence of the problem. This is important insofar as the Hungarians taking part in assorted military undertakings in the Polish–Lithuanian state originated predominantly from this particular group. Karol Olejnik estimated the size of the retinue as 2 000 infantrymen and twice as many cavalry, while Jerzy Besala, basing himself on the chronicle by Świętosław Orzelski, mentioned 400 infantrymen and 700 equestrians.⁷ In turn, Reinhold Heidenstein, the King's secretary, whose function resembled that of a court historian, wrote about 2 000 infantrymen and 1 000 horse

Kupisz, *Połock 1579* (Warszawa: Bellona, 2003); *idem*, *Psków 1581–1582* (Warszawa: Bellona, 2006).

- 5 This was well presented by Henryk Kotarski in a series of articles on the expeditions of King Stephen against Ivan IV, particularly legible in tables and appendices differentiating types of detachments of Hungarian armies. Henryk Kotarski, "Wojsko polsko-litewskie podczas wojny inflanckiej 1576–1582: Sprawy organizacyjne: Część II," *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości* (SMHW) 17/1 (1971): 52–124; Kotarski, "Wojsko polsko-litewskie podczas wojny inflanckiej 1576–1582: Sprawy organizacyjne: Część III," *SMHW* 17/2 (1971): 81–151; Kotarski, "Wojsko polsko-litewskie podczas wojny inflanckiej 1576–1582: Sprawy organizacyjne: Część IV," *SMHW* 18/1 (1972): 3–92.
- 6 Kotarski, "Wojsko polsko-litewskie... Część III," 143. They were part of the court army, predominantly the Polish cavalry of King Stephen, formed at the beginning of his reign. See: Dominik Kadzik, "Wojsko nadworne na początku wojny Stefana Batorego z Gdańskiem w świetle akt skarbowych," *Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy* XIX (LXIX)/1 (259) (2017): 9–44.
- 7 Olejnik, *Stefan Batory*, 90; Besala, *Stefan Batory*, 135; Orzelski, *Bezkrolewia Ksiąg Ośmioro*, vol. 3, 193.

soldiers.⁸ The above-mentioned Henryk Konarski, author of an excellent study dedicated to aspects of the organisation of Báthory's expeditions, claimed that 550 infantrymen and 1000 equestrians were involved.⁹ Settling solely for those examples, both chroniclers from the time of Báthory and contemporary historians are far from agreeing about the number of the armed infantry and cavalry arriving from Transylvania in April 1576. The differences are considerable, although in the majority of cases the mounted formation was almost twice as large as the infantry. Nonetheless, none of the mentioned authors discovered the register written down precisely during King Stephen's arrival in Kraków.¹⁰ The list in question contains the Christian names and surnames of all Hungarian dignitaries and nobility together with the numbers of horses and equestrians, a total of 1,232 persons, as well as a general statement that the infantry was composed of 1,000 armed men. Therefore, contrary to all previous assumptions, both types of formations were of a similar size.

From the viewpoint of the topic we are dealing with it might seem that "Panowanie Henryka Walezego i Stefana Batorego..." by Jan Ch. Albertrandi includes important information, namely, that after his arrival in Warsaw in June 1576, the monarch dismissed the majority of the Hungarian cavalry and left behind only the infantry.¹¹ However, not all Hungarian post riders were discharged, since during the following months they were remunerated, although several score remained.¹² It is worth emphasising that regardless of how many Hungarians from the retinue accompanying Báthory on his journey in April 1576, remained in the Commonwealth, this was not their ultimate number. In the following

8 Reinhold Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski od śmierci Zygmunta Augusta do roku 1594: ksiąg XII*, vol. 1, transl. Michał Gliszczynski, ed. Włodzimierz Spasowicz (Petersburg: Nakładem i drukiem Bolesława Maurycego Wolffa, 1857), 231.

9 Kotarski, "Wojsko polsko-litewskie podczas wojny inflanckiej 1576–1582: Sprawy organizacyjne: Część I," *SMHW* 16/2 (1970): 108. It is worth noting that the author, in turn, referred to Tadeusz Korzon who assessed the capability of this troop, which arrived together with Báthory from Transylvania, as 600 infantrymen and 1 100 equestrians, and to Adolf Pawiński, who mentioned 2 000 infantrymen and 1 000 equestrians. Tadeusz Korzon, *Dzieje wojen i wojskowości w Polsce. Epoka przedrozbiorowa*, vol. 2 (Lwów–Warszawa–Kraków: Wydawnictwo Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich, 1923), 10; Adolf Pawiński, *Skarbowość w Polsce i jej dzieje za Stefana Batorego* (Warszawa: Skład Główny w Księgarni Gebethnera i Wolffa, 1881), 317 (Źródła Dziejowe, vol. VIII).

10 Praga, Statni ustredni archiv v Praze, fond SM - Cizina, MS. XIII/80, ff. 71–73.

11 Jan Chrzyciel Albertrandi, *Panowanie Henryka Walezjusza i Stefana Batorego, królów polskich* (Kraków: nakładem Józefa Czecha, 1860), 96.

12 Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie, Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego, Rachunki Królewskie [AGAD, ASK, RK], MS. 246, ff. 213–214.

years there was considerable fluctuation involving predominately the recruitment of new armed men – we may assume that after a certain time some of them resigned from service or perished. This holds true both for the equestrian and infantry formation. Already at the turn of October 1576 Istvan Caroli (in Hungarian: Károlyi István) set off for the Hungarian border in order to enlist the infantry.¹³ This fact is best illustrated by different numbers of the court infantry in the following years. According to a list from October 1576, the camp set up at Grabiny at the time of the war waged against Gdańsk was composed of 530 armed men.¹⁴ During the next year the battle of Lubieszów supposedly involved 600 Hungarians; this is the most widespread view in historiography.¹⁵ Could this difference – ca. 70 men – have been the outcome of the Caroli recruitment? Already at this stage our attention is drawn to the fact that in the course of the first two years assorted sources mentioned 500–600 Hungarian court infantrymen, while the total of those who arrived in the Commonwealth was 1,000. Naturally, there comes to mind the question – what about the remaining men? It is difficult to unambiguously state whether those 400 returned to their motherland. At the end of 1577 all Hungarian formations serving the monarch supposedly totalled 290 equestrians and 671 foot soldiers,¹⁶ while in August 1578 – 300 and 1,500, respectively.¹⁷ In the last case I would be inclined to remain cautious since that figure comes from “Kronika z czasów Stefana Batorego” by Leonard Górecki. Henryk Kotarski drew attention to the fact that numbers of this sort were not reflected in known registers and treasury sources.¹⁸ Even more so considering that 1 023 armed men took part in the Polotsk campaign (1579),¹⁹ while a year later an expedition against Velikiye Luki involved already 1 975 persons.²⁰

13 AGAD, ASK, RK, MS. 250, part II, f. 107–107; MS. 251, f. 228v. See: Sunkó Attila, “Az erdélyi fejedelmi testőrség archontológiája a XVI. Században,” *Fons (Forráskutatás és Történeti Segédtudományok)* 1/2 (1994): 186–214.

14 AGAD, ASK, RK, MS. 252, ff. 76–81v.

15 See: Korzon, *Dzieje wojen i wojskowości*, 13; Olejnik, *Stefan Batory*, 119. The majority of authors base themselves on an army register from 17 April 1577 published in: *Stefan Batory pod Gdańskiem 1576–1577. Listy, uniwersały, instrukcje*, ed. Adolf Pawiński (Warszawa: Skład Główny w Księgarni Gebethnera i Wolffa, 1877), 20–21 (Źródła Dziejowe, vol. III).

16 Kotarski, “Wojsko polsko-litewskie... Część II,” 73.

17 Kórnik, PAN Biblioteka Kórnicka, MS. 278, ff. 26v–27.

18 Kotarski, “Wojsko polsko-litewskie... Część II,” 66.

19 *Ibidem*, 92.

20 Kotarski, “Wojsko polsko-litewskie.... Część III,” 143–44.

It becomes much more difficult to define the size of the Hungarian detachments of King Stephen after the expeditions against Muscovy. At the turn of 1582 the detachments in question participated in a campaign conducted in Ukrainian territories in order to protect the latter against a potential Tatar foray. We know from scarce sources that the campaign involved 20 units of the court army, both Polish and Hungarian.²¹ Unfortunately, their number was not mentioned anywhere, and we may only assume that there were about 500 Hungarians. This estimation is based on the fact that some of the preserved remuneration accounts from the end of 1583, mention sums veering between 2,100 and almost 2,330 Polish zlotys.²² We also know that at the time the average remuneration of a Hungarian infantryman was 4 Polish zlotys and 13 groschen, while an infantry officer or a lieutenant received 5 Polish zlotys and 15 groschen and 8 Polish zlotys and 23 groschen, respectively.²³ This would suggest a return to the very beginning of the reign when the Hungarian court infantry was composed of ca. 600 persons, except that remunerations paid during the last years of Bathory's life varied; by way of example, in June 1585, they amounted already to 3,996 zlotys, in July – to a mere 2,000 zlotys, in August – to 3,000 zlotys, and in September – to 4,000 zlotys.²⁴ It is difficult to say whether those differences were a derivative of the changing number of soldiers or an outcome of the financial capacities of the royal treasury, which in a certain month had at its disposal a suitable amount of money and during another month did not. Regardless which of those causes was at stake, the size of a Hungarian court infantry patrol oscillated between 500 and 1,000 persons, although the first figure is more probable. All these facts depict predominantly a single fundamental problem, that of an exchange of men, which undoubtedly must have occurred in the course of this entire period. We did not deal with a single group of the same people who arrived in the Commonwealth in 1576 and spent successive 11 years there – although such individual examples probably did take place – but we can formulate the thesis that this large group

21 “Instructio nuntiis ad particulares conventus missis data, Grodno 16 July 1582,” in *Akta Metryki Koronnej co ważniejsze z czasów Stefana Batorego 1576–1586*, ed. Adolf Pawiński (Warszawa: Skład Główny w Księgarni Gebethnera i Wolffa, 1882), 230 (Źródła Dziejowe, vol. XI); *Letter from King Stephen Báthory to Marcin Kromer, 13 January 1583*, AGAD, Archiwum Zamoyskich, MS. 3002, ff. 78, 81; *Letter from King Stephen Báthory to Marcin Kromer*, Biblioteka Czartoryskich, Teki Naruszewicza, MS. 90 (1583), doc. 10.

22 AGAD, ASK, RK, MS. 362–363, f. 201v.

23 Kotarski, “Wojsko polsko-litewskie podczas wojny inflanckiej 1576–1582: Sprawy organizacyjne: Część V,” *SMHW* 18/2 (1972): 75.

24 ASK, RK, MS. 362–363, ff. 203v–204.

served Báthory for only a certain time. Presumably, a similar process took place among the considerably less numerous Hungarian cavalry.

The moment Hungarians appeared on Polish–Lithuanian soil they became instantly involved in assorted undertakings, with the military aspect in particular in the forefront. The Hungarian infantry under the command of Jerzy Bamfi supported the detachments of Stanisław Górka, which regained the castle in Lanckorona, captured in 1576 by Łaski, an adherent of Emperor Maximilian II.²⁵ Following the events associated with the coronation and assumption of power by King Stephen Hungarian forces were redirected to a theatre of war aimed against Gdańsk. Here they were present both at the battle of Lubieszów and the siege of the town itself. Particular attention is due to the fact that Kaspar Bekes (in Hungarian Bekes Gáspár), together with Hungarian detachments, was entrusted with protecting Elbląg.²⁶ Owing to the fact that these units belonged to Báthory's court army they accompanied the monarch during his journeys across the country. This also explains why they were used as *sui generis* immediate response forces. Naturally, King Stephen had at his disposal other formations, to mention the much larger Polish court cavalry or the detachment of equestrian couriers. Theoretically, this was a considerable host, but the King was not always capable of benefitting from its potential, as best illustrated by the events of 1578. At that time Stephen Báthory resided in Lvov, the site of diplomatic negotiations with the Crimean Khanate about jointly attacking Muscovy. In the course of the talks Zaporozhe Cossacks invaded the Moldavian Principality and toppled the local ruler, a fact that directly affected Báthory and undermined his reliability in the eyes of the Tatars. In order not to squander the joint treaty against Ivan IV the Terrible, and to satisfy Turkey – the sovereign of Tatars and Moldavia – it was decided to dispatch the Polish army against the Cossacks. The expedition included the above-mentioned 300-strong cavalry and 1,500-strong Hungarian infantry under Kaspar Bekes.²⁷ Interestingly, equestrian courtiers refused to participate in the expedition although such was the command issued by Deputy Chancellor Jan Zamoyski.²⁸ It seemed that members of Báthory's closest

25 Heidenstein, *Kronika*, vol. 1, 239; Orzelski, *Bezkrólewia*, vol. 3, 259.

26 Heidenstein, *Kronika*, vol. 1, 277; Aleksander Bołdyrew, "Węgrzy w armii Stefana Bato-rego 1576–1586", in *Barbarzyńcy u bram. Mare integrans. Studia nad dziejami wybrzeża Morza Bałtyckiego*, eds. Maciej Franz, Zbigniew Pilarczyk (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Adam Marszałek, 2012), 403–404; Besala, *Stefan Batory*, 198.

27 Kórnik, PAN Biblioteka Kórnicka, MS. 278, ff. 26v–27.

28 The courtiers shielded themselves behind formal issues, for instance, that one of the marshals and not the sub-chancellor enjoyed such rights. Wrocław, Zakład im.

entourage – the King's courtiers – should have carried out such a task without any objections. In fact, this was by no means the first or last example of their stand. Those whom the monarch could trust unquestionably were precisely his countrymen. During the same year, a detachment composed of 600 persons from the Hungarian court infantry safeguarded the south-eastern terrains of the Commonwealth against a potential Tatar invasion²⁹ – negotiations involving both sides went on for several months and for a long time it was not known how they would end. Subsequent activity focused predominantly on three best documented expeditions against Muscovy. The last known military campaign involved the protection of Ukrainian lands against another Tatar threat at the turn of 1582 and 1583, as mentioned above. Hungarians from Báthory's court army took part in all the military undertakings of that monarch. Only the Polish cavalry from the court army was comparable. Naturally, one of the reasons was the fact that the Hungarian infantry was still being financed, and thus it was quite natural that it was dispatched wherever a threat loomed. On the other hand, constant challenges made it impossible for King Stephen to demobilise this unit. After all, from 1576 to 1583 new perils emerged constantly. A certain part was played by the question of trust and the monarch's personal opinion on the military potential of the Hungarians. In his *Kronika* Paweł Piasecki expressed the view that Báthory's praises concerning the valour of his countrymen deepened divisions between him and his subjects from the Commonwealth.³⁰

Hungarian soldiers, whether from the infantry, the cavalry, or the Transylvanian detachments, which took part in campaigns against Muscovy in 1579–1582 were more experienced and better equipped than their Polish counterparts.³¹ This is how they are perceived by present-day historians, but the inhabitants of Poland of that period had a different opinion. It is worth mentioning that only Reinhold Heidenstein expressed extremely positive views about the Hungarians.³² It is often stressed that

Ossolińskich, MS. 3169/III (teki Platera, 1578), ff. 166v–167v; Kórnik, PAN Biblioteka Kórnicka, MS. 279, ff 38v–41.

29 Kotarski, "Wojsko polsko-litewskie... Część II," 60.

30 *Kronika Pawła Piaseckiego biskupa przemyskiego. Polski przekład wedle dawnego rękopisu, poprzedzony studjum krytycznem nad życiem i pismami autora*, ed. Julian Bartoszewicz (Kraków: W drukarni Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1870), 18–19.

31 Kotarski, "Wojsko polsko-litewskie.... Część IV," 69.

32 Bołdyrew, "Węgrzy w armii Stefana," 406; Tomasz Zackiewicz, "Skutki zróżnicowania etnicznego armii Rzeczypospolitej w czasach Stefana Batorego," in *Nad społeczeństwem staropolskim. Kultura – instytucje – gospodarka w XVI-XVIII stuleciu*, vol. 1, eds. Karol Łopatecki, Wojciech Walczak (Białystok: Ośrodek Badań Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 2007), 225.

the division of the army by King Stephen according to nationality criteria was to serve, among others, a restriction of conflicts chiefly along the Poles – Hungarians line.³³ Reasons for such an opinion can be discovered precisely in the way, in which Báthory's countrymen acted. First: blatant insubordination and, at times, outright disregard of plans or acting on one's own. Take the example of the Polotsk expedition, when in the course of the siege of Zapolocie the Hungarians decided to attack from a different side, or in 1579, wantonly stormed Polotsk. A year later, after the conquest of Velikiye Luki, they violated binding commands and began to plunder the town. Finally, in the course of the third expedition involving Pskov they frequently acted on their own during the siege, e.g. when they began crushing town walls by using assorted tools. The independence of the Hungarians was the outcome of the high position of their commanders in the war council, which in turn, the Poles did not find to their liking. Dignitaries from the Commonwealth were of the opinion that the Hungarians, as foreigners, should submit. The best-known personalisation of this problem was the conflict of 1579, involving Kasper Bekes and Mikołaj Mielecki. The latter was the Crown Hetman, i.e. the highest military commander after the monarch, but nonetheless was ignored by Bekes, who was accused of usurping certain competences.³⁴ In turn, the position held by Balthasar Báthory (in Hungarian Báthory Boldizsár), the King's nephew, who after his uncle's departure took over command of the Hungarians at Pskov, could be, due to kinship, also translated into the independent attitude of remaining compatriots.³⁵

The second cause of the conflict involved material issues. King Stephen always ensured regular remuneration for the Hungarians, without any delays, and this was the reason why despite assorted inconveniences his countrymen did not resign from serving in the army, although desertions did occur.³⁶ In the case of Polish–Lithuanian armies this approach did not function to the same extent. It was not payment as such, which caused problems but, to a much greater degree, the spoils of war. While Poles and Lithuanians behaved in a disciplined manner, the Hungarians turned to pillage immediately after capturing fortresses, as in the case of Polotsk and Velikiye Luki or smaller castles. A certain role was played

33 Karol Kościelniak, *Kadra oficerska w wojsku koronnym w latach 1576–1648. Studia nad zawodem wojskowym* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo DUET, 2011), 74.

34 Albertrandy, *Panowanie Henryka Walezego*, 144; Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski*, 324.

35 *Letter from Jan Zamoyski, Crown Chancellor, to Dominik Alemanni, 4 January 1582*, in: Zakład im. Ossolińskich, MS. 3173/III (teki Platera, 1582.), f. 4v.

36 Bołdyrew, "Węgrzy w armii Stefana," 414.

also by charges made by the opposition, whose members claimed that the King granted landed estates to his compatriots, as exemplified by conferring the Lanckorona starosty to Kasper Bekes.³⁷ Inconveniences and problems caused by the lack of supplies were also significant.³⁸

Yet another aspect of the activity of Hungarian soldiers stirred negative emotions among the population of the Commonwealth. The extremely brutal and fierce Hungarians indulged in cruelty both during battle and after, i.e. in their treatment of the vanquished. Already in the course of a conflict involving Gdańsk (1577) they mercilessly dealt with prisoners of war who, after all, were Báthory's subjects.³⁹ The best-known event of this sort was the slaughter of the population of Velikiye Luki. The Hungarians - ready to plunder - discovered that their countrymen captured by the Muscovites had been tortured, a finding that roused the need for revenge.⁴⁰ Aleksander Bołdyrew correctly noticed that this type of behaviour on the part of the Hungarians was in fact perceived by the Poles as barbarian.⁴¹ Indubitably, it was the outcome of different mentalities, since the gentry from the Commonwealth was firmly pacifistic while their southern neighbours had been harassed by several wars during a major part of the sixteenth century.

The second type of Hungarian activity during the reign of King Stephen was associated with widely comprehended politics and pertained to members of the monarch's close entourage. True, according to an exact comprehension of the (Polish) royal court only some of its members belonged to this institution and were financed by the royal treasury – a total of 464 throughout the entire reign.⁴² Others remained informally associated with the Báthory court. Owing to highly fragmentary sources it is difficult to resolve this question, but in reference to Kasper Bekes it was said that he was the “*creator of the Hungarian court*.”⁴³ Moreover, in

37 Heidenstein, *Dzieje Polski*, 333.

38 Bołdyrew, “Węgrzy w armii Stefana,” 410, 412.

39 Orzelski, *Bezkrólewia*, vol. 3, 264.

40 “Diariusz Łukasza Działyńskiego, podczaszego koronnego, ze zdobywania Wielizy, Wielkich Łuków i Zawołucia od 1 sierpnia do 25 listopada 1580 r.,” in *Sprawy wojenne króla Stefana Batorego. Diariusze, relacje, listy i akta z lat 1576–1586*, ed. Ignacy Polkowski (Kraków: Nakładem Akademii Umiejętności, 1887), 233–234; *Diariusz Jan Zborowskiiego ze zdobywania zamków w 1580 r. do Piotra Zborowskiego*, in: *ibidem*, 202–203.

41 Bołdyrew, “Węgrzy w armii Stefana,” 401–402.

42 See: Dominik Kadzik, “Foreigners at the Royal Court of Stephen Báthory on the Example of Inhabitants from the Lands of the Kingdom of Hungary,” *Przegląd Historyczny* CXII/2 (2021): 369–386.

43 *Akta historyczne do panowania Stefana Batorego króla polskiego od 3 marca 1578 do 18 kwietnia 1579 r.*, ed. Ignacy Janicki (Warszawa: Drukarnia Józefa Bergera, 1881), 133.

the case of five Hungarians who fulfilled the functions of couriers at the Polish court it was recorded that they had been transferred from that post to become Hungarian courtiers (*ad equiti hungari*).⁴⁴ Furthermore, a list of the latter has been preserved although without a date.⁴⁵ Most probably it was written between 1579 and 1581, since there is no mention of Kasper Bekes, who died after the Polotsk campaign, in contrast to his brother, Gabriel (in Hungarian Bekes Gábor), who perished at the battle of Pskov in 1581. The document lists 26 Hungarian courtiers and a total retinue of 185 men. It is difficult, however, to conclude unambiguously upon the base of those premises whether some sort of an institution more or less formalised and resembling the Hungarian court actually functioned. Additionally, the closest Báthory entourage included members of the Transylvanian chancellery, established at the very beginning of the reign and composed of: István Kovacsóczy, Márton Berzeviczy, Ferenc Wesselényi, Pal Gyulay, and Peter Kendy.⁴⁶ Moreover, we should also remember those Hungarians who acted as royal secretaries in the king's chancery: Miklós Zygmunt Pozgay, Pal Gyulay, Márton Berzeviczy, and Tidemann Giese. All were included among the monarch's most important advisers.⁴⁷ Both groups of chancery clerks were responsible for the administrative handling of issues connected with Transylvania. It is worth drawing attention to the fact that Pal Gyulay and Márton Berzeviczy worked in both chanceries. Finally, mention is due to the nephews of King Stephen, i.e. Andrew and Balthasar (in Hungarian András and Boldizsár), sons of Andrew. Perhaps we should also include Griselda Báthory, the king's niece and daughter of Christopher, although in her case direct involvement in politics was out of the question. If we add to all the above-mentioned groups also Hungarian units of court guards (foot and horse) then we shall be dealing with a significant community of several hundred people, if not oscillating within a thousand. This may explain negative comments and opinions claiming that King Stephen was surrounded solely by his compatriots.⁴⁸

44 *Hozwai, Nadsiladi* Michał, *Nagy-Mihály Baltazar, Seremi Jerzy, Warady*, AGAD, ASK, RK, MS. 252, ff. 24v, 25, 26v; MS. 253, ff. 138, 138v, 142v.

45 AGAD, ASK, RK, MS. 348/I, ff. 234–234v.

46 Ildikó Horn, *Andrzej Batory* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton, 2010), 31.

47 Leszek Kieniewicz, "Sekretariat Stefana Batorego. Zbiorowość i kariery sekretarzy królewskich," in *Spółeczeństwo staropolskie. Studia i szkice*, vol. 4, eds. Anna Izydorczyk, Andrzej Wyczański (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1986), 55.

48 "The king insulted the people due to the Hungarians who swarmed the court and the chamber." Joachim Bielski, *Konika polska Marcina Bielskiego*, vol. 3, ed. Kazimierz Turowski (Sanok: nakład i druk Karola Pollaka, 1856), 1535.

At the very onset Báthory's most important political goal was an understanding with the supporters of the Emperor who would then recognise him as king. Certain activity in this domain was demonstrated by Hungarians dispatched from Warsaw to Łowicz in order to escort Primate Uchański to a meeting with the monarch.⁴⁹ At that time, they were the most trusted persons that would not allow themselves to be deceived or even bribed by the Primate, who in June 1576, continued supporting Emperor Maximilian II. Possibly the monarch's countrymen were supposed to influence Uchański by means of their appearance and the accompanying circumstances of the escort, so that the Primate would begin to support King Stephen. Next, at the turn of the 1570s, the prime political goal was to win the war with Muscovy, in which the military activity of the Hungarians played its part. The last years of Báthory's reign were guided by two undertakings, in which some sort of a role was to be played by the King's compatriots. The first involved international plans of creating a great anti-Turkish coalition resulting in the liberation of Hungary.⁵⁰ Already prior to his coronation Báthory's contacts with Turkey benefitted from the services of his heretofore subjects; the latter included Máté Nagy, who in Istanbul sought support for the monarch in the course of rivalry with Emperor Maximilian II over the Polish throne.⁵¹ The King's nephews also played a certain role in diplomacy. Balthasar passed on information about the Persian–Turkish war and thus the safer position of the Commonwealth.⁵² Nonetheless, it was Andrew who was entrusted with a much more important task in his uncle's international plans by acting as an envoy to Rome, where he forwarded to the Pope royal letters concerning preparations for a war against Muscovy and, subsequently, a crusade against the Ottomans.⁵³ This fact was to

49 Jana Dymitra Solikowskiego arcybiskupa lwowskiego *Krótki Pamiętnik Rzeczy Polskich od zgonu Zygmunta Augusta zmarłego w Knyszynie 1572 r. w miesiącu lipcu, do r. 1590*, ed. Władysław Syrokomla (Petersburg i Mohylew: Nakładem Bolesława Maurycego Wolffa, 1855), 39.

50 See: Karol Olejnik, "Moskwa w antytureckich planach Stefana Batorego," in *W kręgu idei, polityki i wojska. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Januszowi Farysiowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, eds. Tomasz Sikorski, Henryk Walczak and Adam Wątor (Szczecin: Wydawnictwo naukowe Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego, 2009), 489–500; Adrienne Körmendy, "Wschodnia polityka Stefana Batorego a Węgry," in *Dawna Rosja i Rosjanie we współczesnych badaniach polskich*, eds. Jan Tyszkiewicz, Krzysztof Łukawski (Pułtusk: Akademia Humanistyczna imienia Aleksandra Gieysztora, 2012), 9–30.

51 Kazimierz Dopierała, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne Polski z Turcją za Stefana Batorego* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1986), 38–39.

52 *Ibidem*, 107.

53 Dopierała, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne Polski*, 144; Olejnik, *Stefan Batory*, 319–320.

testify to acquainting the future cardinal and bishop of Warmia with the plans of King Stephen, but did Balthasar know about them?⁵⁴ The sovereign of the Commonwealth wished to gain an ally, i.e. Sweden, on the international arena and intended to marry Balthasar off to Anna Vasa.⁵⁵

A successive level of the political activity pursued by Hungarians serving King Stephen was linking the Commonwealth and the Báthory family with Transylvania so as to ensure relatives a convenient position in future elections.⁵⁶ In the course of the Pskov expedition Father Jan Piotrowski, the royal secretary, noticed that despite the fact that Balthasar enjoyed greater popularity and was treated according to special principles by courtiers and Hungarians alike, King Stephen put greater trust in Andrew.⁵⁷ Prior to the Sejm of 1582, there appeared rumours that Báthory even intended to nominate one of the brothers as his successor.⁵⁸ Possibly one of the reasons for such commentaries was the fact that Báthory handed over command of the Hungarian detachments at Pskov to Balthasar, and, on the other hand, granted successive Church functions to the latter's brother. Furthermore, there emerged concept of one of the nephews – Stephen in 1579, Balthasar in 1582, and Andrew in 1584 – marrying the earlier mentioned Anna Vasa.⁵⁹ Such a marriage would be a repetition of that of their uncle to a representative of the House of Jagiellon; hence the intention to make use of the legitimization of the previous dynasty in order to increase chances for winning a subsequent election. Nonetheless, this did not meet with the approval of Anna Jagiellon who preferred to see her nephew, Sigismund Vasa, mounting the Polish throne rather than one of Báthory's nephews, even married to her niece Anna.

54 Besala, *Stefan Batory*, 468.

55 Horn, *Andrzej Batory*, 50–51.

56 *Ibidem*, 61–62.

57 “List od przyjaciela (x. Jana Piotrowskiego) do marszałka Opalińskiego z 3 lipca 1581 r.,” in Jan Piotrowski, *Dziennik wyprawy Stefana Batorego pod Psków*, ed. Edward Czuczajński (Kraków: Nakładem Księgarni Spółki Wydawniczej Polskiej, 1894), 8–12.

58 See: Kazimierz Morawski, *Andrzej Patrycy Nidecki, jego życie i dzieła* (Kraków: Nakładem Akademii Umiejętności, 1892), 306; Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz, *O nowy kształt Rzeczypospolitej. Kryzys polityczny w państwie w latach 1576–1586* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2013), 108, 112; Olejnik, *Stefan Batory*, 265. The participation of Balthasar in the 1581–1582 campaign possessed also a political dimension since it was noticed that this was the way, in which King Stephen attempted to nominate him the prince of Livonia. Besala, *Stefan Batory*, 401–402.

59 *Listy Anny Wazy (1568–1625)*, eds. Karol Łopatecki, Janusz Dąbrowski, Wojciech Krawczuk and Wojciech Walczak (Warszawa: Polskie Towarzystwo Historyczne, 2022), 15.

The above-mentioned undertakings on an international and quasi-dynastic field were linked predominantly with the activity of the King's nephews whereas the remaining Hungarians dealt on a daily basis with issues less spectacular but just as necessary, such as administration and bureaucracy within the closest royal milieu. One of the most frequent activities throughout the entire reign involved the duties of the courier, a messenger of King Stephen to Transylvania. This involved predominantly all Hungarians who served as court couriers, although Báthory's remaining compatriots also participated; it is difficult to define what those missions involved since there often appears the enigmatic term: "in the interest of the King," not to mention that the most frequent task was importing Hungarian wine.⁶⁰ Interesting facts include the mission conducted by Hozwai, who in October 1583 was responsible for transporting a statue of King Stephen to Transylvania.⁶¹ Furthermore, couriers travelled within the Commonwealth to deal with more mundane issues, such as transporting goods required by the King and his court or handing over information.⁶² Márton Berzeviczy and Ferenc Wesselényi acted as *sui generis* superiors of the Hungarians; the former dealt with the Transylvanian chancellery, as evidenced by the fact that remunerations were paid through his mediation.⁶³ The latter, from the time he became nominated *salariat sive camerarii*, was responsible for all countrymen formally employed at the royal court.⁶⁴ Hungarians engaged as courtiers and court servants fulfilled their duties stemming from held posts. It is worth drawing attention to the fact that in comparison with courts of the Jagiellonian era or European ones at the end of the sixteenth century, which entailed the presence of a large group of foreigners, the profile of the closest entourage of King Stephen was distinctly Polish–Hungarian,

60 AGAD, ASK, RK, MS. 246, f. 108v; MS. 250, part II, f. 103; MS. 251, f. 224; MS. 254, ff. 252–252v; MS. 261, ff. 194v, 196, 213; MS. 267, ff. 122, 128v; MS. 268, ff. 189, 200; MS. 269, ff. 207v, 218; MS. 276, ff. 131–131v; MS. 278, part 2, ff. 66, 77; MS. 367–368, ff. 118v–119; "List Jana Zamoyskiego do KJM, Psków 30 I 1582 r.," in: *Archiwum Jana Zamoyskiego*, vol. 3, ed. Józef Siemieński (Warszawa: Druk F. Wyszynskiego i s-ki, 1913), 12–13; "List Hieronima Rozrażewskiego do Berzeviczego, 15 sierpnia 1582 r.," in *Korespondencja Hieronima Rozrażewskiego*, vol. 2, ed. Paweł Czaplewski (Toruń: Nakładem Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu, 1939–1947), 20.

61 AGAD, ASK, RK, MS. 268, ff. 202v–203; MS. 269, f. 221.

62 AGAD, ASK, RK, MS. 261, f. 197; MS. 276, f. 134; MS. 278, part 2, f. 79.

63 AGAD, ASK, RK, MS. 261, fols 108v. At the very onset of his reign he was responsible even for Hungarian courtiers. AGAD, ASK, RK, MS. 251, f. 201v.

64 Dominik Kadzik, "The Political Career of Gáspár Bekes and Ferenc Wesselényi in Poland-Lithuania during the Reign of Stefan Batory," *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne* 148/4 (2021): 673–686.

with few examples of persons from other states. This fact must have impacted the functioning of the institution, observed particularly in reference to two groups created for the Hungarians – cooks and coachmen together with grooms. Apparently Báthory was accustomed to Hungarian cuisine to such a degree that even after becoming King of Poland he did not want to resign from native dishes. A similar situation must have taken place with regard to the stable staff who, we may assume, were better skilled in taking care of horses than the inhabitants of the Commonwealth.⁶⁵ Quite possibly this was the impact of the fact that for a larger part of the reign herds of horses, accompanied by staff, were brought over from Hungary, as was the case in 1582 or 1583. Upon arrival on Polish–Lithuanian territory such persons were temporarily employed at the royal court.⁶⁶ Yet another task involved safeguarding the route of the royal retinue, entrusted to the Hungarian court infantry, albeit always accompanied by one of the Polish courtiers.⁶⁷ Occasionally, owing to their equipment and wartime experiences, such infantrymen were employed as a preventive measure in situations when the King's closest surrounding witnessed clashes and the threat of bloodshed, as in 1578, when the latter involved two cavalry captains from the court army.⁶⁸ To this category of safety, we must also include ushers responsible for persons entering interiors directly occupied by the monarch. It is worth drawing attention to the fact that Hungarians did not appear in this category of court staff until 1582, when the political conflict with the Zborowski faction assumed an increasingly confrontational character.⁶⁹

Owing to the number of Hungarians in Báthory's direct entourage they too were compelled to fulfil a representative function similar to that of the courtiers. Already in the course of Bathory's ceremonial entry into Kraków his compatriots stood out due to their armour.⁷⁰ Subsequently, they accompanied the monarch during the procession to Skalka or the coronation, at which a particular role was assigned to court guards.⁷¹ During a tournament held upon the occasion of coronation ceremonies

65 Kadzik, "Foreigners at the Royal Court," 369–386.

66 AGAD, ASK, RK, MS. 263, f. 150; MS. 268, ff. 164v–165, 166v–167, 169v–170, 171–171v; MS. 269, ff. 182–182v, 184v–185, 187v–188, 189; MS. 369, ff. 177–177v, 179v–180, 182v–183.

67 AGAD, ASK, RK, MS. 256, ff. 141, 143v; MS. 257, ff. 235v, 240v.

68 "List od przyjaciela (x. Jana Piotrowskiego) do marszałka Opalińskiego z 10 czerwca 1578 r.," in: *Sprawy wojenne króla*, 112; Biblioteka Kórnicka, MS. 279, ff. 26–26v.

69 Kadzik, "Foreigners at the Royal Court," 379–380.

70 Orzelski, *Bezkrólewia*, vol. 3, 193.

71 *Ibidem*, 221, 224–225.

the Hungarians, under the command of Bamfi, faced the Poles in lance jousts and entertained the gathered crowds.⁷² It is worth drawing attention to the fact that the Hungarian court infantry or courtiers comprised groups fulfilling military and militia functions, and thus had to be well equipped. Thus, even their marches must have produced admiration among the inhabitants of the Commonwealth provinces. Occasionally, this impression was so strong that, as in Niepołomice in 1585, it seemed that King Stephen was accompanied solely by his compatriots.⁷³ Upon certain occasions Hungarian dignitaries outright replaced the King at assorted ceremonies as in the case of Ferenc Wesselényi at the funeral of Mikołaj Mielecki, the voivode of Podolia, in 1585.⁷⁴ On the other hand, the absence of any sort of activity on the part of Hungarians from Báthory's closest entourage during the wedding of Jan Zamoyski and Griselda Báthory appears to be particularly intriguing. From the propaganda point of view, it was the most significant event during this monarch's reign, apart from the coronation.⁷⁵ Not only did the wedding take place on Wawel Hill and resembled royal ceremonies owing to its public character, but a tournament and a parade with staged personifications of Roman deities were organised. To complete those events an official triumph following the victorious war against Muscovy was added. Inasmuch Polish courtiers distinctly marked their presence, sources remain totally silent about the compatriots of King Stephen – only the monarch's nephews were mentioned on a list of persons taking part in the feast held on Wawel Hill.⁷⁶

The activity of Hungarians from the Báthory entourage in the course of his reign in the Commonwealth was closely connected with the monarch's goals and requirements. Any sort of individual, autonomous undertakings were out of the question. Mutual relations were based on a strict, hierarchic dependence on the ruler. Without doubt the activity of the Hungarians can be divided according to two milieus – that of the army and that concentrated on the court. The first group participated in

72 *Ibidem*, 234–235.

73 See: Aleksander Kraushar, *Czary na dworze Batorego. Kartka z dziejów mistycyzmu w XVI wieku, jako przyczynek do charakterystyki króla Stefana* (Kraków: Gebethner i spółka, 1888), 74.

74 *Kronika mieszczanina krakowskiego z lat 1575–1595*, ed. Henryk Barycz (Kraków: Druk W. L. Anczyca i spółka, 1930), 29.

75 Dubas-Urwanowicz, *O nowy kształt*, 177.

76 "Wesele Jana Zamoyskiego z Gryzeldą Batorówną," AGAD, Archiwum Publiczne Potockich, MS. 53, ff. 242–248; "O przyjeździe synowicy królewski, która szła za Pana Canclerza Zamoyskiego," Kórnik, PAN Biblioteka Kórnicka, MS. 280, ff. 134v–141.

the war against Gdańsk followed by expeditions against Muscovy and secured south-eastern terrains against Tatar forays. The second group was responsible for the daily functioning of the court and met such fundamental needs of the monarch as food and transport. Additionally, it dealt with correspondence, mainly with Transylvanians, or fulfilled representative functions. A *sui generis* link between those two groups was the Hungarian court infantry active both during wartime and on a daily basis within the court milieu, even if only securing the route of the royal procession. That which linked Hungarians attending Báthory was the shared continuity of service. Almost all described aspects of functioning within the monarch's entourage were realised in the course of his entire reign, and in no case were episodic. This is not to say that the composition of either the court infantry or cavalry, the Transylvanian chancellery, secretaries or courtiers and Hungarian court servants was constant. The cadres changed almost each year for different reasons – some resigned from service, while others perished during its course. Thus, we arrive at a successive shared feature, i.e. uninterrupted fluctuation regardless of social status or profession. Even if such a phenomenon existed it was proof that contacts with Transylvania remained very close, since each year a smaller or larger group of Hungarians travelled to the Commonwealth for one reason – to seek employment at the court of King Stephen. The last shared aspect of service performed by the monarch's compatriots was a high assessment of their skills in required domains. In the army it involved chiefly the role of the infantry and siege warfare, i.e. the weakest aspects of the Polish–Lithuanian army. Best proof of such an assessment was establishing chosen infantry (*piechoty wybranieckiej*) according to Hungarian standards. It was natural that the Hungarians and not the Poles or the Lithuanians handled demanding contacts with Transylvania. In the case of culinary matters we dealt rather with the ruler's personal preferences. As regards the court milieu we must take into consideration also the aspect of trust and freedom of contacts – after all, Báthory never learned to speak Polish. Against this background the role played by the King's nephews, Andrew and Balthasar, appears to be dissimilar, but this was the outcome of the obvious fact that they were related to the monarch. The nephews held a position different from that of the remaining Hungarians, and thus their uncle assigned them tasks associated with the interest of the dynasty rather than with his own.

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Polish–Hungarian Tensions During the Kraków Negotiations on the Holy League (1596). A Perspective from Papal Sources

Napięcia polsko-węgierskie podczas krakowskich negocjacji w sprawie Ligi Świętej (1596). Perspektywa źródeł papieskich

Abstract

This article examines the convocation and course of the Kraków negotiations on the formation of the Holy League in 1596, with particular attention to papal sources, above all the diplomatic correspondence of Cardinal Enrico Caetani, the papal legate. Convened during the Third Austro–Turkish War (in Hungarian historiography called the Fifteen Years War, 1591/1593–1606), the congress was part of the Holy See’s broader effort to construct a wide-ranging anti-Ottoman coalition embracing the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, the Habsburg Empire, Spain, Venice, and Transylvania. Caetani’s central mission was to reconcile Poland and the Empire, divided primarily by disputes over the status of Moldavia and Wallachia. Yet the proceedings also exposed deeper Polish–Hungarian and Polish–Transylvanian frictions, rooted in earlier border conflicts and sharpened by the dynastic interests of the Habsburgs. Although Poland faced

the threat of Tatar incursions, it resisted immediate war with the Ottomans, instead prioritizing the maintenance of peace and control of Black Sea trade routes. Caetani's correspondence illuminates both the inner workings of the talks and his unsuccessful attempts to secure the meaningful participation of Sigismund Báthory. The negotiations ultimately collapsed: the parties disagreed over prior treaties, the conduct and aims of the war, and the projected duration of the league, while the deputies present lacked authority to commit to binding terms. Even so, Caetani persisted in his mission, convinced that the Commonwealth could yet serve as a cornerstone of Europe's defense against Ottoman expansion.

Keywords: Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, Holy Roman Empire, Habsburgs, Ottoman Empire, Transylvania, Holy League.

Abstrakt

Artykuł omawia okoliczności zwołania i przebiegu krakowskich rokowań w sprawie utworzenia Ligi Świętej w 1596 r., ukazując je z perspektywy źródeł papieskich, przede wszystkim korespondencji dyplomatycznej legata kardynała Enrica Caetaniego. Kongres odbywał się w czasie III wojny austriacko-tureckiej (w historiografii węgierskiej zwanej wojną piętnastoletnią, 1591/1593–1606), gdy Stolica Apostolska dążyła do zawiązania szerokiej koalicji antytureckiej z udziałem Rzeczypospolitej, cesarstwa, Hiszpanii, Wenecji i Siedmiogrodu. Zadaniem Caetaniego było doprowadzenie do porozumienia Polski i cesarstwa, zwaśnionych ze sobą m.in. o status Mołdawii i Wołoszczyzny. W toku pertraktacji wyraźnie ujawniły się również napięcia polsko-węgierskie i polsko-siedmiogrodzkie, spotęgowane pamięcią o dawnych sporach granicznych, a także sprzecznymi interesami dynastycznymi Habsburgów. Polska, choć zagrożona najazdami tatarskimi, nie była gotowa do natychmiastowej wojny z Osmanami, dążąc do zachowania pokoju i kontroli szlaków czarnomorskich. Korespondencja Caetaniego odśłania zarówno kulisy rozmów, jak i jego zabiegi o zaangażowanie Zygmunta Batorego, którego udział w kongresie okazał się marginalny. Negocjacje zakończyły się fiaskiem – strony różniły się w ocenie dotychczasowych układów i porozumień, sposobu prowadzenia wojny i czasu trwania ligi, a zgromadzeni deputowani nie posiadali pełnomocnictw do zawarcia wiążącego układu. Mimo rozczarowania kardynał Caetani zdecydował się kontynuować swoją misję, wierząc, że Rzeczpospolita może odegrać kluczową rolę w systemie obrony Europy przed turecką ekspansją.

Słowa kluczowe: Rzeczpospolita, cesarstwo, Habsburgowie, Turcja, Siedmiogród, Liga Święta.

The Third Austro-Turkish War (1591/1593–1606), known in historiography as the Long Turkish War, began as a conflict between Emperor Rudolf II and the Ottoman Empire over dominance in the fragmented Kingdom of Hungary. Its western part remained under Habsburg rule, the central territories were directly controlled by the Ottomans, and the eastern region, as the Principality of Transylvania, retained relative autonomy under Ottoman suzerainty.¹ The conflict soon developed into a stage for shifting alliances and interventions by numerous European powers, each seeking to exploit the war for political or territorial advantage. In the second half of the 16th century, the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth had become an important actor. Confronted with mounting Ottoman pressure, it experimented with various strategies of resistance. The Holy See took note of this shift away from Poland's earlier caution and, through nuncios and legates, sought to influence Polish policy in Central and Eastern Europe.² Papal diplomacy promoted the idea of a broad Christian coalition, modeled on earlier Holy Leagues.³ Alongside the Empire and the Commonwealth, the papal vision also included Spain, Venice, and Transylvania.⁴ Yet the formation of such an alliance required overcoming long-standing disputes and rivalries among the prospective

- 1 On the Long War, see Sándor László Tóth, *A mezőkeresztesi csata és a tizenöt éves háború* (Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 2000); Jan Paul Niederkorn, *Die europäischen Mächte und der "Lange Türkenkrieg" Kaiser Rudolfs II. (1593–1606)* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1993); Caroline Finkel, *The Administration of Warfare. The Ottoman Military Campaigns in Hungary, 1593–1606* (Wien: Verband der wissenschaftlichen Gesellschaften Österreichs, 1988); Josef Macůrek, *Zápas Polska a Habsburků o přístup k Černému moři na sklonku 16. století* (Praha: Nákl. Filosofické fakulty University Karlovy, 1931).
- 2 For further discussion, see Dorota Gregorowicz, *Tiara w grze o koronę. Stolica Apostolska wobec wolnych elekcji w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów w drugiej połowie XVI wieku* (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2019).
- 3 Aleksandra Barwicka, "Rzeczpospolita w planach dyplomacji papieskiej i habsburskiej w okresie wojny austriacko-tureckiej 1593–1606," in *Polska wobec wielkich konfliktów w Europie nowożytnej. Z dziejów dyplomacji i stosunków międzynarodowych w XV–XVIII wieku*, ed. Ryszard Skowron (Kraków: Societas Vistulana, 2009), 297–307; on the Holy Leagues of the 16th century and attempts to involve the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, see: Marko Jačov, *Europa i Osmanie w okresie Lig Świętych. Polska między Wschodem a Zachodem w okresie Lig Świętych* (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2003).
- 4 After the outbreak of the Long War, papal diplomacy, in considering the organization of a new anti-Ottoman League, envisaged including not only Catholic but also Orthodox states: Muscovy, Moldavia, and Wallachia. The latter two were in fact Ottoman vassals, which illustrates the scope of Rome's attempts to coordinate anti-Ottoman cooperation. *Ibidem*, 47–51; Jan Paul Niederkorn, "Die Verhandlungen über den Beitritt Polens zu einer antiosmanischen Liga in den Jahren 1595 bis 1597," *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne* 121 (1996): 81.

partners. From a Polish perspective, since the war was fought mainly in the Pannonian Plain, Upper Hungary, and adjacent parts of Transylvania, it was essential to resolve historical antagonisms and normalize relations with Hungary.

Polish–Hungarian relations at the end of the sixteenth century unfolded in a particularly complex political environment. The election of the Transylvanian prince Stephen Báthory to the Polish throne in 1576 fundamentally altered the balance of power in Central and Eastern Europe. For the Habsburgs, this was a serious blow: instead of an ally in the struggle against the Ottomans, they faced a Poland under Báthory that pursued an independent policy, focused on the war with Muscovy while maintaining correct relations with the Ottoman Empire. His reign effectively linked Poland, Transylvania, and indirectly the Ottomans into a single bloc, illustrating how closely Hungary's fate depended on political decisions made in Kraków and Gyulafehérvár (present day Alba Julia in Romania). The Holy See supported most of Báthory's initiatives, hoping they would ultimately lead to a decisive confrontation with the Turks.⁵ His death in 1586, however, ended this period of cooperation and mutual understanding.⁶ Papal diplomacy anticipated a revival after the initial Habsburg defeats in Hungary in 1593–1594 and in the face of intensifying Tatar raids and unrest in Moldavia and Wallachia. Both Hungarians and Poles, after all, faced the same threat of Ottoman expansion. Yet the political realities of the Commonwealth and of Hungary – divided

5 King Stephen Báthory, in agreement with the Holy See, sought to realize an ambitious plan aimed at concentrating power – through the union of the Polish, Muscovite, and Hungarian thrones – in order to enable war against the Ottoman Empire (cf. Ludwik Boratyński, *Stefan Batory i plan ligi przeciw Turkom (1576–1584)*, Kraków: Nakładem Akademii Umiejętności, 1903). Some scholars, while not questioning the existence of such plans, argue that Báthory treated them primarily as an instrument to strengthen his position vis-à-vis Muscovy and the Habsburgs, rather than as a realistic project for war with the Ottomans. See: Kazimierz Dopierała, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne Polski z Turcją za Stefana Batorego* (Warszawa: 1986); *idem*, “Liga antyturecka w planach Stefana Batorego,” in *Polska, Niemcy, Europa. Studia z dziejów myśli politycznej i stosunków międzynarodowych*, ed. Antoni Czubiński (Poznań: UAM, 1977), 101–110.

6 Ludwik Bazylow, *Siedmiogród a Polska 1576–1613* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1967), 39–49; Báthory's death was a serious blow to papal policy in Central and Eastern Europe, as it dashed hopes for the organization of a broad anti-Ottoman league. This is evident from the intensive diplomatic activity undertaken by the Vatican during the interregnum and the election of 1587, aimed at maintaining influence in the Commonwealth and securing its commitment to war against the Ottoman Empire. Czesław Nanke, *Z dziejów polityki kuryi rzymskiej wobec Polski (1587–1589)* (Lwów: Nakładem Towarzystwa Naukowego, 1921), 6–32; Jan Władysław Woś, *Santa Sede e Corona polacca nella corrispondenza di Annibale di Capua (1586–1591)* (Trento: Dipartimento di Scienze Filologiche e Storiche, 2004), 37–60.

between Habsburg domains and Transylvania – made such hopes difficult to realize. Hungarian nobles tied to the Habsburg monarchy regarded Polish political and diplomatic initiatives with marked reserve, a caution further encouraged by the imperial court. The living memory of past border disputes in Upper Hungary and Spiš, as well as in Subcarpathia and Pokuttya, made the Hungarian estates unwilling to ratify the Bytom-Będzin treaties of 1589.⁷ In fact, the roots of tension stretched back to the Hungarian civil war following the death of Matthias Corvinus in 1490. The victorious faction then introduced legal and political measures that curtailed Polish influence in Hungary, particularly in the northern regions. These measures provoked recurring disputes that persisted even after the collapse and partition of the Hungarian kingdom following the defeat at Mohács in 1526. From the mid-16th century onward, the Hungarian estates increasingly demanded the restoration of the Spiš towns to the Crown of St. Stephen. The controversy over the Spiš pledge fueled numerous local conflicts and shaped relations between the Polish Crown and the Habsburg rulers of Hungary. By the second half of the sixteenth century, tensions had grown so acute that both sides attempted to address them through mixed border commissions.⁸ After the outbreak of the Long Turkish War, the Hungarian estates could count on the support of Archduke Maximilian Habsburg, who – despite Polish objections – was appointed commander-in-chief of imperial forces in Upper Hungary with a clear mandate to resist Ottoman incursions. Yet because he never renounced his claim to the Polish throne, there were persistent fears in the Commonwealth that, with Hungarian backing, he might once again press his claim to the crown on the Vistula.⁹

Similar tensions and disputes also characterized Poland's relations with Transylvania. Under the rule of Sigismund Báthory, an openly anti-Polish propaganda campaign was conducted there, fueled in large part by confessional divisions and hostility toward the Jesuit Order, which

7 Evidence of continuing border disputes on the Polish–Hungarian frontier can be found in the resolutions of the sejmik of the Ruthenian voivodeship, held in Wisznia in 1597. This is particularly reflected in the constitution entitled “Konstytucya około rozgraniczenia Podgórze i Pokucia z jednej strony, a węgierskich krajów z drugiej strony, tudzież około uczynienia sprawiedliwości z tegoż sąsiedztwa ukrzywdzonym, żeby ad effectum przywiedziona była.” *Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum*, vol. 20, ed. Eugeniusz Barwiński (Kraków: Nakładem Akademii Umiejętności, 1907), 386.

8 Szymon Brzeziński, *Tanulmányok a 16.–17. századi lengyel–erdélyi–magyar kapcsolattörténetéről* (Budapest: Komáromi Nyomda és Kiadó Kft, 2014), 15–16.

9 This occurred in violation of the Bytom-Będzin treaty, which prohibited Archduke Maximilian from approaching the Polish border. Josef Macûrek, *Zápas Polska a Habsburskú k prístup k Černému mori na sklonku 16. století*, 88.

was strongly supported by Poland. Although personally sympathetic to the Jesuits, Sigismund did not hesitate to accuse the Commonwealth of obstructing the creation of a Christian alliance and even of favoring Ottoman interests. Beyond border issues, disputes also centered on competing claims to suzerainty over Moldavia and Wallachia. Particularly sharp attacks on Poland came after Hetman Jan Zamoyski's intervention in Moldavia in the summer of 1595.¹⁰ Another sensitive matter was the execution in 1594 of Baltazar Báthory – brother of Cardinal Andrew Báthory – condemned by Prince Sigismund for treason and for allegedly plotting to seize power in Transylvania with Ottoman support. As patron of the closest relatives of the late King Stephen Báthory, Zamoyski could not remain neutral and sided with Cardinal Andrew.

Since the reign of Władysław Jagiełło, Poland had sought to maintain influence over the Danubian principalities, initially for economic and political reasons linked to control of the trade routes to the Black Sea. Only in the second half of the fifteenth century did these territories begin to acquire strategic importance as a buffer against the growing Ottoman threat. In the late 16th century, economic motives remained central to Poland's interest in the Danube Valley – above all the desire to control trade routes through Moldavia and Wallachia leading to the Black Sea ports and ultimately to Constantinople. In cooperation with Venice, plans were even made to use these routes to export Polish grain and other goods, such as honey, wax, meat, and hides, to Western markets. At the same time, Black Sea trade conducted under agreement with the Ottomans already brought the Commonwealth substantial financial returns.¹¹

In the 1590s, Chancellor Jan Zamoyski steered Polish policy toward balancing the need to defend the southeastern frontier from Tatar raids with the possibility of joining the Habsburgs in war against the Ottomans. He rejected the idea of immediate conflict, emphasizing instead

10 Dariusz Milewski, "A Campaign of the Great Hetman Jan Zamoyski in Moldavia (1595). Part I. Politico-diplomatic and military preliminaries," *Codrul Cosminului* 18/2 (2012): 261–286; *Idem*, "Une campagne du grand hetman Jan Zamoyski dans la Moldavie (1595). La II-ème partie. La bataille de Țuțora et ses conséquences," *Codrul Cosminului* 19/1 (2013): 57–76; Przemysław Gawron, "Jan Zamoyski, kanclerz i hetman wielki koronny, wobec zmagania turecko-habsburskich w latach 1593–1605/6," in *Polska wobec wielkich konfliktów w Europie nowożytnej. Z dziejów dyplomacji i stosunków międzynarodowych w XV–XVIII wieku*, ed. Ryszard Skowron (Kraków: Societas Vistulana, 2009), 33–36.

11 In 1591 the Venetian *bailo* in Constantinople, Lorenzo Bernardo, reported this project to his superiors after it had been presented to him by Krzysztof Dzierżek, the Polish ambassador to the Porte. Ovidiu Cristea, "Michael the Brave, the Long War and the Moldavian Road," *Revue des. Etudes Sud-Est Européennes* 51 (2013): 240–241.

the necessity of preserving peace and focusing on the Commonwealth's internal stability. As a result, despite facing a common threat, Poles and Hungarians failed to establish a lasting political understanding that might have formed the basis for an effective anti-Ottoman league. Additional obstacles came from Habsburg ambitions: after securing control of western Hungary, the dynasty also claimed rights to Transylvania and asserted overlordship over the Romanian principalities, generating tensions that hindered the creation of a united front against the Ottomans. This issue was among the most serious challenges faced by papal diplomacy during the pontificate of Clement VIII (1592–1605).¹²

To undertake this conciliatory mission, Clement appointed Cardinal Enrico Caetani – one of the most distinguished curial diplomats, renowned for his political skill and long experience. In a bull of 3 April 1596, the pope instructed him to persuade Poland's political leaders to support Hungary and Transylvania in their war against the Turks. He stressed the dangers pressing most heavily on Hungary and therefore resolved to initiate defensive measures, including the mobilization of troops and financial resources, extending also to Transylvania, which was under direct threat. Clement feared that if Poland failed to act, it might later find itself isolated against the Ottomans, since the Habsburgs and the Transylvanian prince, under pressure, could come to terms with the Ottomans.¹³

Caetani accepted the commission in the conviction that only the united action of all Central and Eastern European states could resist the rising Ottoman power. Central to this effort was achieving an understanding between the Habsburg Empire and the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. The task was difficult: as noted above, the two powers were divided by conflicting political and economic interests in the Lower Danube region. The Habsburgs also claimed Jagiellonian inheritance rights not only in Bohemia and Hungary but in Poland as well.¹⁴ The

12 The pope entrusted his nephew, Gianfrancesco Aldobrandini, with command of the papal troops and sent him to Hungary to lead the fight against the Turks. Florio Banfi, "Gianfrancesco Aldobrandini magyarországi hadivállalatai. Harmadik és befejező közlemény," *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 40 (1939): 1–33; Tamás Kruppa, "Gianfrancesco Aldobrandini pápai generális meghiúsult erdélyi hadivállalata 1595–1596 ban," *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 131 (2018): 662–677; *Pápai csapatok Magyarországon (1595–1597, 1601). The Correspondence of Gianfrancesco Aldobrandini*, ed. Tamás Kruppa (Budapest – Rome: GONDOLAT Kiadó, 2020).

13 Biblioteca Casanatense Roma, Mss. 1565, ff. 1r–8v.

14 At the time, a contentious issue in Polish-Habsburg relations was Archduke Maximilian's continued claim to the Polish crown, despite the Bytom-Będzin treaties of 1589, which he refused to honor. Aleksandra Barwicka-Makula, *Od wrogości*

main objectives of Caetani's legation were set out in a general instruction of 13 April 1596. Foremost was the creation, under papal patronage, of an anti-Ottoman Holy League. The legate was instructed to join the negotiations already underway – conducted by papal nuncios in Poland – between the royal court, the emperor, and the prince of Transylvania.¹⁵ Again, Clement VIII emphasized the urgency of Polish support for Hungary and Transylvania, referring to the dangers threatening Hungarian lands. He therefore resolved to organize defensive measures, including the raising of troops and financial aid for Transylvania. The pope warned that if Poland did not engage, it might ultimately face the Ottoman threat alone, as the Habsburgs and the Transylvanian prince could be forced to accept harsh conditions dictated by the Ottomans.¹⁶

The instructions given to Cardinal Enrico Caetani also reflected Poland's ambitions in Black Sea policy. He was informed that a major source of tension among the prospective allies was Hetman Jan Zamoyski's recent military intervention in Moldavia in the summer of 1595. By placing Ieremia Movilă on the hospodar's throne, Zamoyski provoked strong opposition both at the imperial court and in Transylvania. For the Habsburgs, this move infringed upon their claims of suzerainty over the Danubian principalities, while for Prince Sigismund Báthory it posed a serious threat to his own influence in Moldavia.¹⁷ Caetani was instructed to persuade the Poles to moderate their territorial ambitions, since a victorious war could open for the Kingdom of Poland the prospect of direct access to the Black Sea and control over its ports and

do przyjaźni: *Habsburgowie austriaccy wobec Polski w latach 1587–1592* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2019), 274–275; Dorota Gregorowicz, *Tiara w grze o koronę*, 209.

- 15 Beginning in the summer of 1592, the apostolic nuncio in the Commonwealth was Germanico Malaspina, bishop of San Severo, who was joined by Benedetto Mandina, bishop of Caserta in early 1596. Klaus Jaitner, *Die Hauptinstruktionen Clemens' VIII. für die Nuntien und Legaten an den europäischen Fürstenhöfen (1592–1605)*, vol. 1 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1984), 80; Klaus Jaitner, *Die Hauptinstruktionen Clemens' VIII für die Nuntien und Legaten an den europäischen Fürstenhöfen (1592–1605)*, vol. 2 (Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1984), 397–423; *Acta Nuntiaturae Poloniae*, vol. 15, ed. Leszek Jarmiński (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2000).
- 16 Klaus Jaitner, *Die Hauptinstruktionen Clemens' VIII.*, vol. 2, no. 52, 434–450; Jan Władysław Woś, "Istruzione al cardinale Enrico Caetani per la sua missione in Polonia negli anni 1596–1597," *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa. Classe di Lettere e Filosofia*, Serie III 6/3 (1976): 929–953.
- 17 Dariusz Milewski, "Między patronatem a współpracą – relacje Jana Zamoyskiego i hospodara moldawskiego Jeremiego Mohyły (1595–1605)," *Wiek Stary i Nowy* 9 (2012): 11–31; Jan Sas, "Wyprawa Zamojskiego na Mołdawię," *Przegląd Powszechny* 14/56 (1897): 74–89; Zygmunt Spieralski, *Awantury mołdawskie* (Warszawa: Wiedza Powszechna, 1967), 144–147; Ludwik Bazylow, *Siedmiogród a Polska 1576–1613*, 82–85.

trading centers. Clearly, the pope anticipated that Poland would strive to strengthen its position in the Danubian region and in the Black Sea emporia, and sought to preemptively manage this through diplomacy.¹⁸

Cardinal Caetani departed for Poland in April 1596 and, from the outset, sent almost daily reports on the progress of his mission to the Roman Secretariat of State. His surviving correspondence amounts to more than one thousand documents. In addition to letters to Rome, the cardinal maintained regular contact with the Polish and Habsburg courts as well as with numerous ecclesiastical and secular dignitaries in the Commonwealth, in the emperor's lands, and even in Spain. An important portion of this exchange consisted of letters with other nuncios active in Central Europe, which allowed Caetani to coordinate papal diplomacy across the region. Of particular significance were his contacts with Alfonso Visconti, bishop of Cervia and nuncio in Transylvania since early 1595, who provided valuable information about the political and confessional situation in this strategically important principality.¹⁹

Caetani also corresponded directly with Prince Sigismund Báthory. On 13 May 1596, from Trent, he sent the prince a letter outlining the aims of his legation to Poland. He informed him of the pope's decision to send a consecrated sword as a token of recognition for his efforts thus far. The legate asked for guidance on possible cooperation and for information that might aid the success of his mission.²⁰ On the same day, he also wrote to the nuncio in Transylvania, explaining the purpose of his legation and his readiness to collaborate in organizing a league against the Turks. He asked the nuncio to convey this to Sigismund Báthory and to assure him of his full support and loyalty. He also requested regular updates on developments in Transylvania and disclosure of any important political intelligence that might facilitate his work.²¹

In a subsequent letter to nuncio Visconti, dated 30 May from Vienna, Caetani expressed hope for his continued service to the Holy See in this difficult post. He assured him of his support, even in the face of danger,

18 Klaus Jaitner, *Die Hauptinstruktionen Clemens' VIII*, vol. 2, 441–442; Jan Władysław Woś, "Istruzione al cardinale Enrico Caetani..." 945; Ovidiu Cristea, "Michael the Brave, the Long War and the Moldavian Road," 241.

19 The general instruction for Bishop Alfonso Visconti was issued in December 1594. Klaus Jaitner, *Die Hauptinstruktionen Clemens' VIII*, vol. 1, no. 41, 320–345.

20 Biblioteca Casanatense Roma, Mss. 1562, ff. 7v–9v.

21 *Ibidem*, ff. 70v–72r; *Relationes nuntiorum apostolicorum in Transsilvaniam missorum a Clemente VIII: 1592–1600*, ed. Endre Verres, *Monumenta Vaticana historiam regni Hungariae illustrantia*, ser. II, vol. 3 (Budapest: Typographia Regiae Universitatis Hungaricae, 1909), no. 134, 210–211.

while acknowledging his own limitations – illustrating the point with the Latin phrase *quid valeant humeri, quid ferre recusant* (what the shoulders can bear, and what they refuse to carry). He thanked Visconti for his prudent and skillful advice, which had been of great value to his mission. Caetani also referred to troubling reports that Prince Sigismund Báthory was seeking an accommodation with the Turks. He asked the bishop to verify these rumors, hoping they were unfounded and that Sigismund would “not allow such actions to tarnish the luster and glory he had won in his struggle with one of the greatest powers in the world.”²²

Despite the many obligations that fell upon him after arriving in Poland in mid-June, Caetani did not neglect his correspondence with the nuncio in Transylvania. In a letter of 18 June, he informed Visconti of the details of his arrival in Kraków. The cardinal expressed his desire to meet King Sigismund III Vasa as soon as possible. The king, however, was in Warsaw and urged the legate to remain in Kraków, as the conditions there were inadequate for receiving such a distinguished guest. In the remainder of the letter, Caetani outlined his plans for the forthcoming negotiations on the Holy League, lamenting the absence of a representative of Sigismund Báthory. In his view, this was a serious mistake, as the prince could have derived considerable benefit from such participation. He emphasized the necessity of Báthory’s active involvement and asked the nuncio to take steps in this regard. He concluded by pledging his full support for the prince of Transylvania and requested that Visconti keep him regularly informed of his plans and expectations.²³

Only at the end of June did the deputies appointed by the Sejm and Senate of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth begin to arrive in Kraków. Shortly afterward came the envoys of Emperor Rudolf II Habsburg. At their head stood Andreas Jerin, bishop of Wrocław and general starost of Silesia. The delegation also included Hungarian representatives such as János Kutassy, bishop of Győr and chancellor of the Kingdom of Hungary; Miklós Istvánffy de Baranyavár et Kisasszonyfalva, vice-palatine of Hungary; and the jurist Baron János Joó de Kazahaza.²⁴

22 Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, Fondo Pio 115, ff. 38r–39r; Biblioteca Casanatense Roma 1562, ff. 103v–106v; *Relationes nuntiorum apostolicorum in Transsilvaniam missorum a Clemente VIII: 1592–1600*, no. 139, 216–217.

23 Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, Fondo Pio 115, ff. 39r–39v; Biblioteca Casanatense Roma, Mss. 1562, ff. 107r–108v; *Relationes nuntiorum apostolicorum in Transsilvaniam missorum a Clemente VIII: 1592–1600*, no. 148, 224.

24 The diplomatic activity and degree of involvement of the Hungarian dignitaries in the afore-mentioned deputation are difficult to assess, since most of the surviving source material is signed primarily by the head of the imperial delegation, Bishop Andreas Jerin of Wrocław. See: The instruction for the imperial envoys and the principal documents

On 5 July 1596 Cardinal Caetani sent another letter to the nuncio in Transylvania. He reported receiving two letters – dated 8 and 17 June – and expressed joy at the good news of Sigismund Báthory's successes. In the ornate style typical of curial Latin and late 16th-century Italian epistolography, he stressed that in such troubled times Christendom had need of a wise and devout defender of the true faith. He assured the nuncio of his readiness to support Prince Sigismund in all just undertakings. Turning to affairs in Kraków, Caetani explained that the king remained in Warsaw, occupied with diplomatic and military measures intended to prevent the Tatars from crossing Commonwealth territory into Hungary. The legate expressed hope that this goal could soon be achieved through his efforts. He planned to meet both the king and Grand Chancellor Jan Zamoyski on the matter. He also reported that negotiations on the League were scheduled to open on 25 July but lamented the continued absence of a Transylvanian representative. He emphasized that it would be both useful and honorable for Sigismund Báthory to have a delegate present.²⁵

Because of delays caused by the absence of key participants, the Kraków congress did not begin until 8 August.²⁶ From Caetani's preserved correspondence we learn that the long-awaited Transylvanian envoy had arrived only the previous day, which is an important detail that illustrates the course and atmosphere of the negotiations. Confidential discussions with this envoy are mentioned in a letter of 8 August to nuncio Visconti, though Caetani confined himself to brief remarks, convinced that the prince's representative should report the details directly.²⁷

from their correspondence. *Scriptores Rerum Polonicarum*, vol. 20, 240–322; Jan Paul Niederkorn, "Die Verhandlungen über den Beitritt Polens zu einer antiosmanischen Liga in den Jahren 1595 bis 1597," 90–92; *Erdély és a Szentszék a Báthory korszakban — Kiadatlan iratok (1574–1599)*, ed. Tamás Kruppa (Szeged: University of Szeged, 2004), 151.

25 Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, Fondo Pio 115, ff. 39v–40v; Biblioteca Casanatense Roma, Mss. 1562, ff. 109r–111r; *Relationes nuntiorum apostolicorum in Transsilvaniam missorum a Clemente VIII: 1592–1600*, no. 145, 221–222.

26 Janusz Smolucha, "Okoliczności rozpoczęcia w Krakowie w sierpniu 1596 r. pertraktacji w sprawie zawiązania przez papieża Klemensa VIII antytyureckiej Ligi Świętej," *Studia Środkowoeuropejskie i Bałkanistyczne* 29 (2020): 35–38.

27 Biblioteca Casanatense Roma, Mss. 1562, ff. 250r–251v; Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, Fondo Pio 115, ff. 90v–91r; the Hungarian editor of this letter, Endre Verres, identified the envoy of Prince Sigismund Báthory as his secretary Lestár Gyulaffi, who had come to Poland on embassy for the eleventh time. *Relationes nuntiorum apostolicorum in Transsilvaniam missorum a Clemente VIII: 1592–1600*, no. 160, 237; the Transylvanian envoy, in addition to matters connected with the anti-Ottoman League, also dealt with the issue of the dowry of Jan Zamoyski's late wife, Gryzelda Báthory, Sigismund's sister, which neither the king nor the chancellor was willing to release. Gyulaffi's second task was to obtain 30,000 thalers as compensation for a unicorn's horn (in fact, a narwhal

Much more is revealed in Caetani's letter of the following day to the secretary of state, Cardinal Cinzio Aldobrandini. There he gave a detailed account of the opening of the Holy League negotiations. The cardinal had already spoken at length with the emperor's representatives, including the Hungarian delegates. Their main difficulty lay in the Poles' principled stance: they demanded full guarantees from the emperor, above all regarding the level of financial support and the duration of mutual obligations in the event of war with the Ottomans. The Polish side further insisted that the League encompass not only the emperor's hereditary lands but also the wider territories of the Holy Roman Empire. Caetani doubted the emperor could agree without convening a Reichstag, which would mean lengthy negotiations of uncertain outcome. For this reason, he sought to persuade the Polish deputies to abandon such conditions, which in his view were less essential than they believed. He weighed the advantages and disadvantages of their demands, urging them to be satisfied with what the emperor could realistically promise. He also pressed them to state clearly and precisely the terms on which the Commonwealth would join the Holy League. Writing to Aldobrandini, he expressed hope that the Poles would heed his advice and return to the more moderate conditions proposed at the Kraków Sejm two years earlier. He added that he would wait to see the Poles' public position before deciding how best to direct his efforts. Caetani observed that each party naturally wished to appear better than it was and to cast its opponents in a poor light, since it reflected badly to refuse participation in so pious an enterprise as the Holy League. He noted too that those least committed often showed the greatest zeal, hiding their true intentions under a show of fervor, and he remarked that he hoped such actors would soon fall victim to their own intrigues. Turning to Hungarian affairs, Caetani reported that, at his personal request, Prince Sigismund Báthory had sent his secretary to Kraków in connection with the negotiations. He emphasized that the envoy had not come to take part directly in the talks – Sigismund, bound by his alliance with the emperor, left that entirely to him – but rather to discuss his own interests with the papal legate. Caetani stressed that the prince entrusted him with three matters of particular concern. First, he feared a Tatar passage through Polish and Moldavian territory into Hungary. Caetani assured the envoy that, thanks to his efforts with the king and chancellor, such a movement could likely be prevented. Second, Sigismund sought help in recovering sums owed him in Poland by

tusk) that had previously belonged to King Stephen Báthory. *Erdély és a Szentszék a Báthory korszakban — Kiadatlan iratok (1574–1599)*, 151.

the king and chancellor; Caetani promised to do all he could. Third, he pressed claims to Moldavian rule. On this point Caetani advised postponement, arguing that raising the matter with the Poles could jeopardize the central aim of the congress – the creation of the League. Even a minor quarrel between Transylvania and Poland, he warned, could ignite a major conflict. Alluding, it seems, to the execution of Baltazar Báthory and the political tensions it had aroused, he reminded the envoy that from the Holy See's perspective "the bonds of blood should go hand in hand with unity of hearts." In Caetani's opinion, Polish-Transylvanian relations might also be strained by the prince's recent adoption of the title of ruler of Wallachia, which the Poles resented. He advised that it would be prudent for His Highness to omit this title in letters to King Sigismund, since it conferred no real advantage, diminished neither his rank nor his dignity, and its omission would remove a cause of royal irritation. The cardinal pledged full support for Sigismund's interests, provided he followed this advice, which the secretary was to convey on returning to Transylvania. Caetani reported that the prince's secretary had furnished him with detailed information on his master's situation. In view of the Ottomans' intensive preparations, Sigismund Báthory had garrisoned and adequately supplied all his strongest fortresses and planned to take the field with a carefully chosen, light, and mobile army, able to operate wherever and whenever required. The letter also indicates that the prince's envoy left Kraków on 20 July. The legate further noted that, up to that time, no Ottoman forces had entered Transylvania, apart from a few scouting detachments near Timișoara. With regard to the anticipated Tatar raid, Caetani emphasized that since it had not yet occurred, there was reason to hope it would not take place that year. He observed that this would be advantageous, as Christendom would be spared further suffering and the prince would have an opportunity to strike the Turks offensively rather than being confined to defensive action. In closing his report, Caetani noted that Cardinal Andrew Báthory had announced his arrival in Kraków for 17 August. The legate intended to deliver to him a message from Pope Clement VIII, together with an exhortation to travel personally to Rome. Caetani attached great importance to this meeting and reminded the secretary of state of the promised sum of 10,000 scudi, which he planned to employ should Cardinal Báthory decide to undertake the journey to the Eternal City.²⁸

Despite the legate's many efforts, the negotiations, which lasted until the final days of August, failed to reach a final agreement, and

28 Biblioteca Casanatense Roma, Mss. 1563, ff. 122v–133r.

the projected Holy League was never realized. Cardinal Caetani's disappointment was so profound that he initially considered returning at once to Rome. Ultimately, however, at the pope's command, he remained in Poland to continue his diplomatic efforts toward the planned alliance despite every obstacle. In a letter from Kraków dated 28 August, he informed nuncio Visconti of the situation, adding a bitter remark about the unfavorable course of the negotiations. He reported that, under the prevailing circumstances, it would be impossible to provide assistance to Transylvania in the event of a Turkish attack, even if the League were concluded, because there was no time for preparations, let alone for the dispatch of troops, especially given the uncertainty of the talks' eventual outcome. He emphasized that the deputies assembled in Kraków lacked the authority to make binding decisions; they could only present proposals, listen to offers, and report them back to their monarchs. For this reason, he wrote, one should harbor no illusions. The contested status of Moldavia and Wallachia remained the principal obstacle to a Polish-Habsburg agreement, with both sides claiming suzerainty over the principalities. Although the Polish king presented his own conditions, the emperor refrained, insisting that he first wished to coordinate his position with Prince Sigismund Báthory. The matter remained unresolved, though Caetani stressed that it seemed essential to accept the Polish king's position: that no fundamental changes in Moldavia or Wallachia should be made without his consent.²⁹

In his final letter under analysis here to the nuncio in Transylvania, dated 30 August 1596, Caetani reported that the Kraków negotiations on the anti-Ottoman League had ended without binding results. In his view, the most serious difficulties concerned three issues: observance of the Bytom-Będzin agreement; the manner of conducting the war (with separate or joint forces); and the duration of the League, which Poland wished to tie to the length of the conflict, while the imperial side sought to limit it to three years. Caetani judged that under such conditions agreement was impossible, though he had not entirely lost hope and announced further talks in Warsaw. He also noted that throughout the Kraków negotiations Transylvanian affairs were treated together with imperial ones, owing to the agreement binding Sigismund Báthory to

29 Archivio Apostolico Vaticano, Fondo Pio 115, ff. 105r–106v; Biblioteca Casanatense Roma, Mss. 1562, ff. 288r–292r; *Relationes nuntiorum apostolicorum in Transsilvaniam missorum a Clemente VIII: 1592–1600*, no. 168, 243–244.

Rudolf II. Nevertheless, mindful of his promise, he assured that he had always kept Transylvania's interests in view.³⁰

The Kraków negotiations and Cardinal Enrico Caetani's active involvement in them offer a striking example of papal diplomacy in this period. They also demonstrate the complexity of attempts to forge international alliances in the face of a shared threat – Ottoman expansionism. This episode sheds light on the dynamics of international relations in Europe at the turn of the seventeenth century and constitutes an important chapter in the history of both papal and Central European diplomacy. Although the Kraków congress did not culminate in the formal establishment of the Holy League, its historical significance remains considerable. The event underscored not only the complexity of international relations in that period and diplomacy's role in the formation of alliances, but also the strategic position of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and a divided Hungary within Europe's defensive system. The idea of the 'Bulwark of Christendom' emerged here not only as a geopolitical necessity but also as a political construct deliberately cultivated by the Holy See, which, faced with the mounting Ottoman threat, sought to give it universal resonance. The Kraków congress, despite its lack of tangible outcomes, thus stands as a symbol of both the potential and the limitations of papal diplomacy at the close of the sixteenth century.

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Stephen Bocskai's Early Relations with Poland (1583–1594)¹

Wczesne relacje Stefana Bocskaia z Polską
(1583–1594)

Abstract

Stephen Bocskai (1557–1606), Prince of Transylvania, had a social network of Polish relations spanning decades, which was particularly extensive during the period of the revolt (1604–1606). In this study, I focus on the early phase of this extensive social network, up to 1594. These relations can be demonstrated from 1583, and their development is closely linked to his kinship with the Báthory family, the ruling family of Transylvania. After the marriage of Bocskai's niece, Christina Báthory, to the Polish chancellor and great hetman Jan Zamoyski, Bocskai himself became related to and began corresponding with a leading figure in Polish

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political life. Stephen Bocskai's diplomatic missions to Poland in 1588 and 1590, which also involved the Báthory family and its affairs, helped him to personally strengthen and expand his Polish relations with Zamoyski and others. In my study, I use two instructions and other relevant sources to reconstruct the purposes and circumstances of these journeys, as well as Bocskai's role and activities. For my research, in addition to using the relevant literature and source publications, I collected unpublished sources from the Cathedral Library of Esztergom, the Manuscript Archives of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, and the National Archives of Hungary.

Keywords: Stephen Bocskai, Polish–Transylvanian relations, Jan Zamoyski, Báthory family, diplomatic missions (1588–1590).

Abstrakt

Stefan Bocskai (1557–1606), książę Siedmiogrodu, posiadał rozległą sieć kontaktów polskich, rozwijającą się przez dziesięciolecia, a szczególnie intensywną w okresie powstania (1604–1606). W niniejszym artykule koncentruję się na wczesnym etapie tej sieci, do roku 1594. Relacje te można poświadczyć od 1583 roku, a ich rozwój pozostaje ściśle związany z pokrewieństwem Bocskaia z rodem Batorych, panującym w Siedmiogrodzie. Po ślubie siostrzenicy Bocskaia, Krystyny Batory, z kanclerzem wielkim koronnym i hetmanem wielkim koronnym Janem Zamoyskim, również sam Bocskai stał się spowinowacony z czołową postacią polskiego życia politycznego i rozpoczął z nim korespondencję. Dyplomatyczne misje Stefana Bocskaia do Polski w latach 1588 i 1590, które również dotyczyły spraw rodu Batorych, pozwoliły mu osobiście wzmocnić i poszerzyć sieć polskich kontaktów, obejmującą Zamoyskiego i inne osoby. W swoim studium wykorzystuję dwie instrukcje oraz inne istotne źródła, aby odtworzyć cele i okoliczności tych podróży, a także rolę i działania Bocskaia. Do badań, oprócz wykorzystania odpowiedniej literatury i publikowanych źródeł, zebrałem także materiały nieopublikowane z Biblioteki Katedralnej w Ostrzyhomiu, Archiwum Rękopisów Węgierskiej Akademii Nauk oraz Archiwów Narodowych Węgier.

Słowa kluczowe: Stefan Bocskai, stosunki polsko-siedmiogrodzkie, Jan Zamoyski,ród Batorych, misje dyplomatyczne (1588–1590).

In one of his letters written in 1605, Stephen Bocskai (Hungarian: István Bocskai) referred to “a magyar nemzetnek a lengyel respublika iránti jószomszédi barátság” (“the good-neighbourly friendship of the Hungarian nation towards the Polish Republic”), invoking the long-standing historical bonds and friendship between the two peoples. The roots of Hungarian–Polish relations go back to the Middle Ages, and

the history of the two countries and their peoples has been marked by countless economic, political, military, diplomatic, dynastic, cultural and other interactions and cooperation over the past centuries. In my paper, I highlight a period from this long-term, diverse relationship, focusing on the early modern period, and more specifically, the last decades of the sixteenth century. My study focuses on one of the most influential figures in early modern Hungarian history, Stephen Bocskai (1557–1606), Prince of Transylvania, and concentrates on the early phase of his decades-long Polish relations. One of its focal points is the presentation of the relationship between Bocskai and his contemporary, the Polish-born Chancellor Jan Zamoyski (1542–1605) between 1583 and 1594. My attention was drawn to this topic by the exploration and analysis of Bocskai's correspondence and the social network that emerged from it.²

Stephen Bocskai and Jan Zamoyski – the beginning of a kinship

First of all, it is worth briefly outlining the early adulthood and family relationships of the leader of the diverse and multipurpose revolt associated with Stephen Bocskai,³ which broke out in the last years of the so-called Fifteen Years' War or Long Turkish War (1591/1593–1606), as this will make it clear what the circumstances were that contributed to the development of his Polish relations. Stephen Bocskai was born on 1 January 1557, in Kolozsvár, in the territory of the Principality of Transylvania, to George Bocskai (in Hungarian: György Bocskai) and Christina Sulyok (in Hungarian: Krisztina Sulyok).⁴ Through his parents, he was

2 This is the subject of my doctoral thesis, which is currently in preparation, on the examination of the correspondence and social network of Stephen Bocskai (1557–1606).

3 For a summary of the complexity of the Bocskai revolt and the definitions of the various names, with further references to specialist literature, see: Géza Pálffy, *A Magyar Királyság és a Habsburg Monarchia a 16. században* (Budapest: História – MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2011), 364–386, especially: 364–380. The history of the revolt more recently: Sándor Papp, *Török szövetség – Habsburg kiegyezés. A Bocskai-felkelés történetéhez* (Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2014).

4 Monographs on the life of Stephen Bocskai: Kálmán Benda, *Bocskai István (1557–1606)* (n. p.: Franklin Társulat, n. d.); Kálmán Benda, *Bocskai István* (Budapest: Századvég, 1993); András Szabó, "Teged Isten dicsérünk." *Bocskai István, Erdély és Magyarország fejedelme* (Budapest: A Magyar Református Egyház Kálvin János Kiadója, 2006); László Nagy, *Egy szablyság magyar úr Genfben. A sokarcú Bocskai István* (Hajdúböszörmény: Hajdúsági Múzeum – Polgármesteri Hivatal, 2000); Nóra G. Etényi, Ildikó Horn and Péter Szabó, *Koronás fejedelem. Bocskai István és kora* (Budapest: General Press Kiadó, 2006).

the scion of a military and politically experienced family, whose members included, among others, the prominent figure of Hungarian literature, the poet Valentine Balassi (in Hungarian: Bálint Balassi, 1554–1594) and the heroic defender of Eger Castle in 1552, Stephen Dobó (in Hungarian: István Dobó) (c. 1505–1572).⁵ Between 1567 and 1576, he was raised at the courts of Vienna and Prague under Maximilian II (1527–1576), Holy Roman Emperor (1564–1576), King of Bohemia (1562–1576) and King of Hungary (1564–1576), and served, initially as a page, then as a nobleman serving with one and later two horses, and finally as a royal attendant. It was then that the young Bocskai mastered the noble codes of conduct, learned foreign languages, and acquired political and military knowledge.⁶

Bocskai returned to Transylvania in the very year (1576) when Stephen Báthory of Somlyó (in Hungarian: István Báthory) (1533–1586) left for Poland. After his coronation as King of Poland, Grand Duke of Lithuania and Prince of Transylvania (1576–1586), the Principality was governed in his absence by his elder brother, Christopher Báthory (in Hungarian: Kristóf Báthory) (1530–1581), as voivode of Transylvania and count of the Székelys (in Hungarian a *székelyek ispánja*, in Latin *comes Siculorum*).⁷ After his return home, Bocskai was aided in his advancement by the Báthory family and by his kinship with them. The two families became related through Bocskai's sister sometime around 1567–1568, when Elizabeth Bocskai (in Hungarian: Erzsébet Bocskai) (1550–1581) married Christopher Báthory, who was then still border-fortress captain-general of Várad.⁸ Bocskai was soon granted his majority, given the title of *magnificus*, and later promoted to the rank of princely retainer with specifically military duties in Várad.⁹ The beginning of Stephen Bocskai's

5 Etényi et al., *Koronás fejedelem*, 22–23.

6 István Fazekas, “Négy levél Bocskai István bécsi és prágai tartózkodásához (1572, 1576),” *Lymbus. Magyarágtudományi forrásközlemények* 1 (2003): 19–20; István Fazekas, “Adalékok az ifjú Bocskai István bécsi udvarban eltöltött éveire,” *Studia Carolinensia* 6/1 (2006): 73–85.

7 Teréz Oborni, *Erdélyi országgyűlések a 16–17. században* (Budapest: Országgház Könyvkiadó, 2018), 290.

8 András Szabó, “Az ismeretlen kismarjai Bocskai család,” *Publicationes Universitatis Miskolciensis. Sectio Philosophica. Tanulmányok Bocskai Istvánról. A 2006. április 22-én megrendezett konferencia előadásai* 13/2 (2008): 173; Géza Pálffy, “Kerületi és végvidéki főkapitányok és főkapitány-helyettesek Magyarországon a 16–17. században. (Minta egy készülő főkapitányi archontológiai és „életrajzi lexikonból”),” *Történelmi Szemle* 39/2 (1997): 286.

9 G. Etényi et al., *Koronás fejedelem*, 61–62; Ildikó Horn, “Bocskai István a Báthoryak udvarában,” *Publicationes Universitatis Miskolciensis. Sectio Philosophica. Tanulmányok Bocskai Istvánról. A 2006. április 22-én megrendezett konferencia előadásai* 13/2 (2008):

Polish relations can be dated to the early 1580s, and according to surviving sources, to 1583 at the latest, and their development also shows a connection with the kinship nexus with the Báthory family. The year 1583 was when Bocskai's niece, the daughter of the aforementioned Elizabeth Bocskai (in Hungarian: Erzsébet Bocskai) and Christopher Báthory, married Jan Zamoyski, who eventually became one of the key figures in Bocskai's Polish relations.

Jan Zamoyski is well known in Hungarian historical research; he is most frequently discussed in relation to the ruling family of the Principality of Transylvania, the Báthory family of Somlyó. He was born in Skokówka on 19 March 1542 to Stanisław Zamoyski and Anna Herburt.¹⁰ His parents paid careful attention to the education of their son, who was of lower-noble descent, thanks to which the young Zamoyski studied at several high-quality educational institutions in Europe, including Paris, Strasbourg, and the universities of Krakow and Padua. At the latter institution, he not only obtained his doctorate, but also served as rector in 1563.¹¹ After returning to Poland, he entered the court of Sigismund II Augustus (1520–1572), King of Poland and Grand Duke of Lithuania (1548–1572), where he began his career as royal secretary and later served as keeper of the royal archives.¹² After the death of Sigismund II Augustus in 1572, Jan Zamoyski supported the French pretender to the throne, Henry of Valois (1551–1589).¹³

After Henry's brief reign and departure (June 1574), there were numerous candidates for the Polish throne, ranging from the House of Habsburg and the Duke of Ferrara, to the Russian and Swedish rulers, the Elector of Brandenburg, the Piasts, and the ruler of Transylvania.¹⁴ The process

48–49; *Erdélyi Országgyűlési Emlékek*, III, ed. Sándor Szilágyi (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Történelmi Bizottsága, 1877), 188–189.

10 In his study, Péter Balla points out that the contemporary chancellor's secretary, Reinhold Heidensten (1553–1620), gives 1541 as the year of Jan Zamoyski's birth. Péter Balla, "Báthory István király és Jan Zamoyski kapcsolata: egy sikeres együttműködés története," *Historia nostra: történelmi folyóirat* 1/1 (2013): 8–9.

11 Norman Davies, *Lengyelország története* (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2006), 132; Sándor Gebei, *Az erdélyi fejedelmek és a lengyel királyválasztások* (Szeged: Belvedere Meridionale, 2007), 383; Balla, "Báthory István király," 8; Jan Zamoyski himself devoted considerable attention to the development of Polish education in the last third of the 16th century. For more information on his endeavours, see: Endre Kovács, *A krakkói egyetem és a magyar művelődés. Adalékok a magyar-lengyel kapcsolatok XV–XVI. századi történetéhez* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1964), 174–177.

12 Davies, *Lengyelország története*, 133; Gebei, *Az erdélyi fejedelmek*, 383.

13 Balla, "Báthory István király," 9.

14 Gebei, *Az erdélyi fejedelmek*, 38–39.

of electing the Polish king – and the operation of the election Sejm that accompanied it – was complex and full of twists and turns. Zamoyski was one of those who proposed the election of Princess Anna Jagiellon¹⁵ (1523–1596) as queen and her marriage to a suitable candidate. She was the fourth child of Sigismund I (1467–1548), King of Poland (1506–1548) and his wife Bona Sforza (1494–1557).¹⁶ At the end of a lengthy procedure, on 14 December 1575, among the candidates for the throne, the then voivode of Transylvania, Stephen Báthory, who had become known in Polish political life through the Zborowski brothers, won the throne and with it the princess's hand.¹⁷ Jan Zamoyski's relationship with Stephen Báthory can actually be traced back to this point, and was characterized by cooperation and mutual support until Báthory's death.

During the reign of Stephen Báthory, Zamoyski gradually became one of the leading politicians of his time. The Polish–Lithuanian ruler rewarded the merits, loyalty, and support of his supreme republican patron, not only with the donation of estates, but also with the conferral of offices. Thus, in 1576, he nominated him as Vice-Chancellor, in 1578, as Chancellor – replacing Piotr Dunin-Wolski, who was first appointed chancellor and later bishop of Polock – and then, in 1581, he appointed Zamoyski as Great Hetman of the Crown, who thus held two of the most important state offices of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth simultaneously for the rest of his life.¹⁸ Shortly thereafter, Jan Zamoyski and Báthory's relationship became even closer and took on a different character, as they were now linked together not only by political interests but also by dynastic ties. After the death of his second wife, Krystyna Radziwiłł,¹⁹ who came from an influential magnate family, in 1582, the chancellor married the then fifteen-year-old Christina

15 For more information on the life of Anna Jagiellon, see: Ildikó Horn, *A könnyező krokodil. Jagelló Anna és Báthory István házassága* (Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2007), passim.

16 Gebei, *Az erdélyi fejedelmek*, 49–50.

17 For details on the circumstances surrounding Stephen Báthory's accession to the Polish throne, see: Lajos Szádeczky, *Báthory István. Báthory István lengyel királlyá választása 1574–1576* (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1887); Gebei, *Az erdélyi fejedelmek*, 37–59; Horn, *A könnyező krokodil*, 127–151.

18 Davies, *Lengyelország története*, 339, 341–342; Open letter of Stephen Báthory. Krakow, 16 May 1576. Endre Veress, *Zamoyski János kancellár levelezése magyarokkal és magyarokról (1576–1605)*, Manuscript. Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtár és Információs Központ Kézirattár és Régi Könyvek Gyűjteménye (in the following: MTA KIK KRKGY) Ms. 433. 200–201; Open letter of Stephen Báthory. Warsaw, 1 March 1578. *Ibidem*, 204.

19 The marriage between Jan Zamoyski and Krystyna Radziwiłł was encouraged and supported by Stephen Báthory himself, primarily so that he could count the Radziwiłł family among his supporters. Ildikó Horn, “Báthory István uralkodói portréja,” in

Báthory (in Hungarian: Krisztina Báthory) (1569–1590), the daughter of Christopher Báthory (1530–1581), who was also the niece of Stephen Báthory. After Christina Báthory was orphaned, her maternal grandmother, Christina Sulyok, took on the responsibility of raising her for several years. The young girl was as stubborn as she was intelligent and educated: Christina, who had been raised by her mother in the Protestant faith, could not be converted to Catholicism even after lengthy attempts.²⁰ Thus, the Zamoyski–Báthory marriage took place in 1583 as between members of different denominations, after which, presumably due to the similarity of name with Zamoyski's second wife, the new bride took the name Grizeldis (in Hungarian: Grizeldisz).²¹ The marriage not only strengthened the position of the Báthory family in Poland, but Zamoyski became an important supporter of Stephen Báthory within the family as well. Following the wedding, Stephen Bocskai, as Christina Báthory's maternal uncle, also became related to Jan Zamoyski.

Despite the fact that we do not find Stephen Bocskai in the five-hundred-strong wedding procession that left Gyulafehérvár on 3 May 1583, accompanying Christina Báthory to Krakow,²² nor in the list of participants in the ceremony held in Krakow on 12 June, or in the ten-day series of grand celebrations,²³ it is nevertheless proven that Bocskai and Zamoyski knew each other and were in contact with each other that year. As we shall see, their communication took place not only through personal meetings and correspondence, but also occasionally through trusted people and envoys. The first known and surviving piece of their correspondence is dated 17 September 1583.²⁴ The letter is in fact a courtesy letter confirming the relationship between the two, a reply from

Portré és imázs. Politikai propaganda és reprezentáció a kora újkorban, eds. Nóra G. Etényi, Ildikó Horn (Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2008), 372.

20 For Christina Báthory's character, see: Ildikó Horn, *Báthory András* (Budapest: Új Mandátum Könyvkiadó, 2002), 52–53; For Christina Báthory's biography, see: Veress, *Zamoyski János kancellár*, 16–51. MTA KIK KRKGy Ms. 433.

21 Horn, *Báthory András*, 53–55; Etényi et al., *Koronás fejedelem*, 69.

22 Stephen Bocskai's mother, Christina Sulyok, was a member of the accompaniment and one of the leaders of the female companions. Endre Veress, *Báthory István király (Terror Hostium) halálának 350-ik esztendejében* (Budapest: Magyar Mickiewicz Társaság, 1937), 212. The accompaniment was accompanied by 600 soldiers, who ensured the protection of the valuable dowry. Horn, *Báthory András*, 55.

23 A contemporary account of the events in Krakow by Heidenstein Reinhold has survived; see the Latin document: Veress, *Zamoyski János kancellár*, 261–277. MTA KIK KRKGy Ms. 433; The series of celebrations was reconstructed: Veress, *Báthory István király*, 212–222; Horn, *Báthory András*, 55–58.

24 Jan Zamoyski to Stephen Bocskai. Krakow, 17 September 1583. Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár Országos Levéltár (in the following: MNL OL) Esterházy család hercegi ágának

Zamoyski to a letter previously sent to him by Bocskai – which has not survived or has not yet been found – sent to Bocskai via John Cseffey (in Hungarian: János Cseffey),²⁵ who was leaving for the Principality of Transylvania. The Polish Chancellor not only assured Bocskai of his goodwill and friendship, but also referred to the newly established kinship between them (“novam hanc affinitatem”) in the document.²⁶ Decades later, in January 1605, Bocskai himself considered it important to mention this relationship in a letter written to justify the legitimacy of the revolt he led, and to remind Zamoyski of it.²⁷

Stephen Bocskai's mission to Poland in 1588

Stephen Bocskai's Polish relations were established and strengthened not only with Zamoyski, but also with others during personal meetings, which were made possible by his diplomatic missions to Poland. It seems that he visited Poland several times as an envoy,²⁸ however, based on the available sources, we only have information about two journeys, those of 1588 and 1590.

The instructions regarding diplomatic missions are preserved in the Báthory Protocollum, kept in the Esztergom Cathedral Library (in Hungarian: Esztergomi Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár), which contains documents related to the princes of Transylvania for the period between 1583 and 1594. With the help of these instructions, it is possible to reconstruct the purposes of his travels, Bocskai's activities, and also with whom he

levéltára (in the following: P 108) Repositorium (in the following: Rep.) 46. Fasciculus (in the following: Fasc.) G. No. 229.

25 John Cseffey: chancellor clerk, provisor of Véc, captain of Várhegy, royal judge of Sepsi, Kézdi and Orbai seats. He left for Poland in the spring of 1583 as a member of the wedding procession accompanying Christina Báthory, in the summer, he visited Stephen Báthory, from whom he received 25 forints at the end of July to cover his return travel expenses. Endre Veress, *Báthory István király levélváltása az erdélyi kormánnyal, 1581–1585* (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Könyvtáradóhivatala, 1948), 96–97; Veress, *Zamoyski János kancellár*, 23. MTA KIK KRKGY Ms. 433.; Ildikó Horn, *A hatalom pillérei. A politikai elit az Erdélyi Fejedelemség megszilárdulásának korszakában (1556–1588)* (Budapest: 2013), Academic doctoral dissertation, 179. https://real-d.mtak.hu/581/7/dc_105_10_doktori_mu.pdf (access: 22.07.2025).

26 Jan Zamoyski to Stephen Bocskai. Krakow, 17 September 1583. MNL OL P 108 Rep. 46. Fasc. G. No. 229.

27 “Végül engem személy szerint a rokonság magánkapcsolata is segít...” / „Finally, personally, my private relationship with my relatives also helps me...” Stephen Bocskai to Jan Zamoyski. Kassa, 19 January 1605. Benda, *Bocskai István: Levelek*, 100. no. 42.

28 G. Etényi et al., *Koronás fejedelem*, 75.

had to cooperate during his stay abroad. An important addition to this topic is provided by the manuscripts in the estate of Endre Veress, which can be found in the Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Kézirattár Manuscript Archives of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences (in Hungarian: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Kézirattár), which contain the correspondence and other documents of Jan Zamoyski and Sigismund Báthory (1572–1613). In addition to all this, the relevant published and unpublished letters of the Bocskai correspondence should also be mentioned.

The first instruction was issued on 23 April 1588, by Sigismund Báthory, Prince of Transylvania (1586–1598, 1598–1599, 1601–1602).²⁹ On the one hand, this was addressed to his uncle, Stephen Bocskai, who was also one of his confidants, and on the other hand, to Stephen Perneszy (in Hungarian: István Perneszy), captain of Udvarhely, who was a descendant of the Transylvanian branch of a family originally from Somogy County.³⁰ The two envoys were then instructed to travel to Krakow and attend the final funeral ceremony of Stephen Báthory, who had died in 1586, to be held in May 1588 at Wawel. Sigismund III (1566–1632), King of Poland (1587–1632), informed Sigismund Báthory, through his envoy and in a letter sent in February 1588, that 23 May of that year had been designated as the date for the funeral of Stephen Báthory.³¹ However, since Sigismund Báthory was unable to travel to Poland and attend the event, the two aforementioned envoys were entrusted with this task, and on 2 May 1588 he informed Jan Zamoyski of their departure for Krakow.³² Simultaneously, the Transylvanian prince informed his cousin, Andrew Báthory (in Hungarian: András Báthory, 1563–1599), who was staying in Poland, that Bocskai and Perneszy would send him a message regarding his own affairs, and at the same time asked him to assist his two envoys during their stay abroad if necessary.³³ Stephen Bocskai and Stephen

29 Sigismund Báthory to Stephen Bocskai and Stephen Perneszy. [Gyulafehérvár], 23 April 1588. Esztergomi Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár Batthyány gyűjtemény, Cat. IV. Tit. I. q. Ms. I. 310. Báthory-protocollum (in the following: EFK Ms. I. 310.), 265–270. Cf. Veress, *Báthory Zsigmond lengyel érdekű levelezése (1586–1594)*, 28–33. Manuscript. MTA KIK KRKGy Ms. 424.

30 Bálint Kis, “Erdély régi családai,” *Turul* 10 (1892): 132.

31 Sigismund III to Sigismund Báthory. Krakow, 27 February 1588. EFK Ms. I. 310, 264. Cf. Endre Veress, *Báthory Zsigmond lengyel érdekű levelezése (1586–1594)*, 24. Manuscript. MTA KIK KRKGy Ms 424.

32 Sigismund Báthory to Jan Zamoyski. Gyulafehérvár, 2 May 1588. Veress, *Zamoyski János kancellár*, 330. MTA KIK KRKGy Ms. 433.

33 Sigismund Báthory to Andrew Báthory. [Gyulafehérvár], 23 April 1588. EFF Ms. I. 310, 271. Cf. Veress: *Báthory Zsigmond lengyel érdekű levelezése*, 34. MTA KIK KRKGy Ms 424.

Perneszy had to follow very detailed instructions, according to which they had to arrive in Krakow a few days before the funeral. Even before the funeral, after presenting their letters of credence at a royal audience, they were to greet the new Polish king, Sigismund III, and present him with horses as gifts. This was followed by a meeting and discussion with the widowed queen, Anna Jagiellon. Sigismund Báthory instructed her envoys that if the deceased's body had not yet arrived from Grodno, they should go to meet it at a distance of 3–4 days' journey ahead and accompany it further in accordance with the rules and customs prescribed by the Poles.³⁴ However, the two Transylvanian envoys are not mentioned in the Polish source describing the section of the funeral procession from Grodno to Krakow.³⁵ According to Klára Jakó they directly accompanied Sigismund III from Łobzów near Krakow – after the lying in state – to Wawel in a funeral procession that began on 23 May, behind them walked Anna Jagiellon. Besides them, the procession also included the deceased ruler's nephew, Andrew Báthory, who also was mentioned by name.³⁶

After the funeral, the envoys had the important task of settling Stephen Báthory's estate in accordance with the deceased's will and the instructions of Sigismund Báthory. This role was not entirely unfamiliar to Stephen Bocskai, as in the spring of 1581, following the death of Christopher Báthory, he not only became a councillor, but also participated in the administration of the estate as an executor, thus already having some experience in this field.³⁷ Bocskai and Perneszy had to take into their hands and bring back to Transylvania all movable property (such as cash, gold and silver items) that, according to the testament, belonged to the Báthory family and the Principality of Transylvania, and most of which Stephen Báthory had taken from Transylvania to Poland. In the case of movable property that was missing from the estate for any reason (e.g., taken by court servants or used for the benefit of the country), compensation had to be sought. If the missing goods were used for the benefit of the country and the Poles postponed determining the method of

34 Sigismund Báthory to Stephen Bocskai and Stephen Perneszy. [Gyulafehérvár, 23 April 1588.] EFK Ms. I. 310, 265–268. Cf. Veress, *Báthory Zsigmond lengyel érdekű levelezése*, 28–31. MTA KIK KRGY Ms 424.

35 Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, *Zbiór pamiątek historycznych o dawnej Polsce II* (Warszawa: Drukiem N. Glücksberga, 1822), 451–461.

36 For information about Stephen Báthory's funeral, see: Klára Jakó, "Adalék fejedelmink temetkezésének kérdéséhez," in *Emlékkönyv Jakó Zsigmond születésének nyolcvanadik évfordulójára* (Kolozsvár: Erdélyi Múzeum-Egyesület, 1996), 199–205.

37 G. Etényi et al., *Koronás fejedelem*, 62; Horn, "Bocskai István a Báthoryak udvarában," 49; Szilágyi, *Erdélyi Országgyűlési Emlékek III*, 42.

compensation, the Prince of Transylvania appointed George Chyakor (in Hungarian: György Chyakor) as secretary to further handle the matter.³⁸

The settlement of the probate proceeding required the cooperation of Bocskai and Perneszy with the Polish testamentary lords, such as Chancellor Jan Zamoyski, Marshal Andrzej Opaliński, Cardinal Jerzy Radziwiłł and Mikołaj Radziwiłł, the voivode of Vilna.³⁹ In addition to them, the two Transylvanian envoys contacted Francis Wesselényi (in Hungarian: Ferenc Wesselényi), also of Transylvanian origin, who had arrived in Poland with Stephen Báthory in 1576 and remained one of the ruler's confidants until his death in 1586. He held the position of court chamberlain in the court of Grodno,⁴⁰ and he kept the records in which Báthory's gold and silver items were listed. In addition, Bocskai and Perneszy were tasked with collecting various documents kept at the court in Grodno and transporting them back to Transylvania; these included Stephen Báthory's testament, his correspondence with others, documents concerning the Principality of Transylvania, as well as those of Johannes Michael Brutus (1517–1592), Stephen Báthory's Italian-born court historian, whose manuscript entitled Hungarian History (in Hungarian: Magyar História) also covers the history of Hungary.⁴¹ The settlement of affairs progressed slowly, and weeks later, in June 1588, Bocskai was still in Krakow. From there, he sent a letter to John Ghiczy (in Hungarian: János Ghiczy, ?–1589), governor of Transylvania, in which he noted that the new Polish king, Sigismund III, had brought about many changes, and that fewer and fewer people could be trusted.⁴²

38 Sigismund Báthory to Stephen Bocskai and Stephen Perneszy. [Gyulafehérvár], 23 April 1588. EFK Ms. I. 310, 268–270. Cf. Veress, *Báthory Zsigmond lengyel érdekű levelezése*, 31–33. MTA KIK KRKGy Ms 424.

39 *Ibidem*.

40 For the years of Francis Wesselényi spent in Poland with Stephen Báthory, see: Dominik Kadzik, "The Political Career of Gáspár Bekes and Ferenc Wesselényi in Poland-Lithuania during the Reign of Stefan Batory," *Prace Historyczne* 148/4 (2021): 680–685.

41 Sigismund Báthory to Stephen Bocskai and Stephen Perneszy. [Gyulafehérvár], 23 April 1588. EFK Ms. I. 310, 268–270. Cf. Endre Veress, *Báthory Zsigmond lengyel érdekű levelezése*, 31–33. MTA KIK KRKGy Ms 424.

42 G. Etényi et al., *Koronás fejedelem*, 75. In the absence of references and other clues, I have not yet been able to find the letter mentioned in the literature.

Stephen Bocskai's Polish relations in the first half of the 1590s

The next information about Stephen Bocskai's Polish relations can only be found two years later, in 1590. It was then that he received his next diplomatic mission to Poland, following the death of his niece, Christina-Grizeldis Báthory. Her death was caused by an infectious disease, a type of smallpox. Jan Zamoyski informed his wife's brother, Sigismund Báthory, about the sudden health problem in early March 1590,⁴³ who, out of concern, was even ready to send his home pastor to Poland.⁴⁴ But it was too late: the woman passed away on 14 March, three days after the birth of her second child, who also died a few days after its mother's death.⁴⁵ Shortly thereafter, Zamoyski sent Piotr Ciekliński as an envoy to Sigismund Báthory. Ciekliński cautiously informed him of the death of Christina-Grizeldis Báthory, the date set for her funeral, and also contacted him regarding her estate.⁴⁶ Finally, since Sigismund Báthory was unable to attend the funeral in person,⁴⁷ on 24 April 1590 he entrusted Stephen Bocskai and the princely councillor Gregory Csáky of Körösszeg (in Hungarian: Gergely Csáky) with the task of attending and representing him at the funeral.⁴⁸ Regarding the details of the journey, we know that Bocskai took his wife, Margaret Hagymássy (in Hungarian: Margit Hagymássy, ?–1604), with him to Poland. On 15 May, the delegation was already near the Hungarian–Polish border, in Munkács, and requested the help of Paul Telegdy (in Hungarian: Pál Telegdy, 1564–1596), a prominent nobleman of Szabolcs County, in providing

43 Jan Zamoyski to Sigismund Báthory. Zamość, 4 March 1590. Veress, *Zamoyski János kancellár*, 383–384. MTA KIK KRKGy Ms. 433.

44 Sigismund Báthory to Jan Zamoyski. Gyulafehérvár, 18 March 1590. Veress, *Zamoyski János kancellár*, 385–389. MTA KIK KRKGy Ms. 433.

45 Veress, *Báthory István király*, 239.

46 Jan Zamoyski to Piotr Ciekliński. Warsaw, 20 March 1590. Veress, *Zamoyski János kancellár*, 390–398. MTA KIK KRKGy Ms. 433; Speech of Piotr Ciekliński. Gyulafehérvár, Mid-April 1590. *Ibidem* 401–403.

47 Sigismund Báthory to Jan Zamoyski. Gyulafehérvár, 20 April 1590. Veress, *Zamoyski János kancellár*, 404–407. MTA KIK KRKGy Ms. 433.

48 Sigismund Báthory to Stephen Bocskai and Gregory Csáky. Gyulafehérvár, 24 April 1590. EFK Ms. I. 310, 399–402. Cf. Veress, *Zamoyski János kancellár levelezése*, 414–419. MTA KIK KRKGy Ms. 433; Stephen Bocskai and Gregory Csáky later served as envoys on several occasions (1594–1595, 1599) in delegations led by the Habsburgs (to Prague and Graz). G. Etényi et al., *Koronás fejedelem*, 115; Iván Nagy, *Magyarország családai czimerekkel és nemzékrendi táblákkal* III (Pest: Beimel J and Kozma Vazul, 1858), 74–75.

them with a guide to reach the border.⁴⁹ It should be noted that during this period it was completely natural for guides to accompany and lead longer journeys; in addition to providing guidance, their task was to contribute to safe, conflict-free travel. Their work was justified not only by poor road conditions, but also by other dangers lurking for travellers (e.g., marauders, bandits, etc.).⁵⁰

According to the instructions issued by Sigismund Báthory, the two envoys were first to greet the widower, Jan Zamoyski, express their condolences, and then attend the funeral held on 4 June 1590, in the town of Zamość, founded by the Polish chancellor.⁵¹ The Transylvanian prince expected Stephen Bocskai and Gregory Csáky (in Hungarian: Gergely Csáky) to maintain regular contact and consultation with Cardinal Andrew Báthory, and they also had to follow his advice during their discussions with Zamoyski. Báthory had excellent Polish relations, and his ecclesiastical career was also built in Poland with the influential assistance of his uncle, Stephen Báthory. Thus, in 1582 he became canon of the Warmia bishopric, in 1583 provost of the Miechów monastery, in 1584 coadjutor and cardinal, and then in 1589 bishop of Warmia. Moreover, he was personally acquainted with Zamoyski.⁵²

The Transylvanian envoys were tasked with negotiating with the Polish chancellor regarding the movable property of Christina-Grizeldis Báthory and the issue of dowry-counter-dowry. The dowry (*dos*) itself was given by the husband to his wife after the marriage ceremony, “out of the husband’s goods and property rights, as the status of the husband demands”,⁵³ so that during the marriage it was the husband’s property, and he also had control over it. While in the case of counter-dowry (*contrados*), the wealthier wife provided dowry for her husband. In the event of the wife’s death, the closest blood relative was entitled to claim the dowry.⁵⁴ However, Zamoyski also wanted to keep the dowry, the counter-dowry, and his ex-wife’s movable property, arguing that he had

49 Stephen Bocskai to Paul Telegdy. Munkács, 13 May 1590. Benda, *Bocskai István: Levelek*, 18, no. 2.

50 Sándor Takáts, “A kalauzok és kémek a török világban,” *Századok* 47 (1913): I: 265–268.

51 Sigismund Báthory to Stephen Bocskai and Gregory Csáky. Gyulafehérvár, 24 April 1590. EFK Ms. I. 310, 399–402. Cf. Veress, *Zamoyski János kancellár*, 414–419. MTA KIK KRKGy Ms. 433.

52 Horn, *Báthory András*, 46, 58, 76–77, 139–140.

53 János Bak, *Online Decreta Regni Mediaevalis Hungariae. The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary* (2019), 1145, https://digitalcommons.usu.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1003&context=lib_mono (access: 25.07.2025).

54 *Ibidem*; *Magyar jogtörténet*, ed. Barna Mezey (Budapest: Osiris Kiadó, 2007), 140.

incurred very high expenses on behalf of the Báthory family after Stephen Báthory's death, and particularly in supporting Andrew Báthory's advancement. Although Sigismund Báthory was aware of these arguments, he showed goodwill towards the family and wished to maintain the cooperation and good relations in the future, but after his sister's death, he reclaimed all his property. The instruction emphasizes several times that the latter should be achieved without offending Zamoyski, using kind words and reasoned arguments, for example, drawing the Polish chancellor's attention to the fact that Sigismund Báthory had seen almost nothing of the movable property of his deceased parents, because his sister had received it and brought it into her marriage. At the same time, the envoys had to try again to get back Johannes Michael Brutus's manuscript, *Hungarian History*, since it hadn't been returned to Transylvania after 1588. Following the consultation, Gregory Csáky remained in Poland to clarify unresolved matters, while Bocskai returned to Transylvania.⁵⁵ Although this brief stay in Poland provided another opportunity for Bocskai and the Polish Chancellor to meet in person, they subsequently continued their contact through correspondence.

Two letters from Zamoyski to Bocskai from 1590 have survived in connection with this matter, which primarily concern the dispatch of envoys, their movements, and the forwarding of letters and copies of letters.⁵⁶ The letters show that Bocskai and Zamoyski communicated regularly, and their relationship was clearly close, as the chancellor was aware of Bocskai's deteriorating health,⁵⁷ closely following his condition and even seeking information about it from envoys arriving from Transylvania.⁵⁸ The conclusion of the affair over the dowry and counter-dowry ultimately became a process that dragged on for several years, the details of which are not the subject of this study,⁵⁹ because no data can be found on Bocskai's further involvement.

55 Sigismund Báthory to Stephen Bocskai and Gregory Csáky. Gyulafehérvár, 24 April 1590. EFK Ms. I. 310, 399–402. Cf. Veress, *Zamoyski János kancellár*, 414–419. MTA KIK KRGY Ms. 433.

56 Jan Zamoyski to Stephen Bocskai. Leopold, 20 July 1590. MNL OL P 108 Rep. 98, Fasc. H., Nr. 178/b; Jan Zamoyski to Stephen Bocskai. Zamość, 11 September 1590. MNL OL P 108 Rep. 98, Fasc. H., Nr. 178/a.

57 I have not yet found any specific information about what illness Stephen Bocskai had at that time.

58 Jan Zamoyski to Stephen Bocskai. Leopold, 20 July 1590. MNL OL P 108 Rep. 98, Fasc. H., Nr. 178/b.

59 Endre Veress's work entitled "Zamoyski János kancellár levelezése" contains numerous documents relating to further developments in the case.

Stephen Bocskai's Polish relations can therefore be traced back to 1583, with Jan Zamoyski being the first person involved. It can be observed that their relationship with the Báthory family played a role in their initial contact and communication. At the same time, even after the end of the dynastic connection, i.e. the death of Stephen Báthory and then his own wife, Christina-Grizeldis Báthory, Jan Zamoyski continued to pay attention and show interest in the new ruler of Transylvania, Sigismund Báthory, and through him to the whole of Transylvania,⁶⁰ while of course maintaining his relationship with Stephen Bocskai.

The next reference to their relationship appears in the sources in a letter dated 18 September 1594.⁶¹ A few weeks after the events that took place in the political life of the Principality of Transylvania, which ultimately led the Transylvanian leadership to decide to enter the conflict between the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire, the Fifteen Years' War, on the side of the Habsburgs. As a result of these upheavals, within a few weeks, Sigismund Báthory first resigned, then returned, which was followed by reprisals: execution of magnates, imprisonment, confiscation of their property.⁶² In addition to Stephen Bocskai, another confidant of Sigismund Báthory, Francis Geszti (in Hungarian: Ferenc Geszti, 1545–1595), who was also related to Bocskai, wrote the aforementioned document.⁶³ The letter makes only cautious and brief references to the events in Transylvania, it turns out that the details can be learned from Stephen Kolozsvári (in Hungarian: István Kolozsvári), the secretary who witnessed everything with his own eyes and ears, through personal communication with Zamoyski.⁶⁴ The document is interesting because the Transylvanian prince himself sent Lestár Gyulaffy (1557–1605) as an envoy to Zamoyski just over two weeks later, on 6 October, to defend himself against the events that had taken place in Transylvania, especially the cruel reprisals, which the chancellor deeply condemned.⁶⁵

60 Cf. Gábor Petneházi, "Exemplum et prudentia. Jan Zamoyski [cenzúrázott] Kasszandra-levele Báthory Zsigmondnak 1593-ból," *Magyar Könyvszemle* 133/4 (2017): 384.

61 Francis Geszti and Stephen Bocskai to Jan Zamoyski. Gyulafehérvár, 18 September 1594. Veress, *Zamoyski János kancellár*, 544. MTA KIK KRKGy Ms. 433.

62 Sándor László Tóth, *A mezőkeresztesi csata és a tizenöt éves háború* (Szeged: Belvedere Meridionale, 2000), 145–147.

63 Francis Geszti and Stephen Bocskai to Jan Zamoyski. Gyulafehérvár, 18 September 1594. Veress, *Zamoyski János kancellár*, 544. MTA KIK KRKGy Ms. 433; Horn, "Bocskai István a Báthoryak udvarában," 50.

64 "Hae, quae hoc tempore in Transilvania gesta sunt..." Francis Geszti and Stephen Bocskai to Jan Zamoyski. Gyulafehérvár, 18 September 1594. Veress, *Zamoyski János kancellár*, 544. MTA KIK KRKGy Ms. 433.

65 Cf. *ibidem*, 545.

Conclusion

The first phase of Stephen Bocskai's Polish relations from 1583 can be reconstructed on the basis of the sources until 1594. It is clear that the trusting and familial relationship with the Báthory family played a role in establishing and maintaining these relations. Chancellor Jan Zamoyski became the first and most stable figure in Bocskai's Polish relations. Despite their family ties, their correspondence mainly concerned diplomatic and political matters, with only occasional references to private matters. It can be concluded that there was a bilateral, i.e. symmetrical relationship and mutual communication between Bocskai and Zamoyski. However, after the letter of 1594 – for about ten years – I have not found any information in the sources about their contact, nor about Bocskai's other Polish relations. In Bocskai's correspondence during these ten years, Zamoyski appears only sporadically; for example, he refers to him as an “old and dying” man in 1601.⁶⁶ The surviving letters do not reveal the reason for their mutual neglect, but the chancellor himself notes in a later letter from 1605 that he had received hardly any letters from Bocskai for years.⁶⁷ However, Bocskai's Polish relations were only temporarily severed, from 1605 onwards, a much more diverse network of relationships can be seen, which, however, is a reflection of a radically changed political and life situation.

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66 Stephen Bocskai to Sigismund Báthory. Prague, 5 October 1601. Benda, *Bocskai István: Levelek*, 74–83, no. 33. Jan Zamoyski was already in his sixties at that time, but I have not yet found any information about his deteriorating health during this period.

67 “Accepi litteras Illustrissimae Dominationis Vestrae cum ab illa tot annorum intervallo vix unas habuissem.” Jan Zamoyski to Stephen Bocskai. Warsaw, 17 February 1605. Veress, *Zamoyski János kancellár*, 675–677. MTA KIK KRKGY Ms. 433.

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The Election of Stephen Báthory as King of Poland and His Peace Treaty with the Sultan Murad III (1577) from an Ottoman Perspective¹

Wybór Stefana Batorego na króla Polski i jego traktat pokojowy z sułtanem Muradem III z 1577 roku z perspektywy osmańskiej

Abstract

The second Polish interregnum gave Stephen Báthory, voivode of Transylvania, an opportunity to seek the Polish throne for himself. When he entered the contest, he appeared to be one of the least likely candidates, and would have remained so had the Ottoman Empire not recognized the advantages of supporting him. Sultan Murad III and Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed Pasha, who also directed Ottoman foreign affairs, exerted significant diplomatic and, at times, military pressure on the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. At the same time, they did everything in their power to persuade Báthory's much stronger and more promising opponent,

1 This article has been written within the framework of the HUN-REN–SZTE Research Group of the Ottoman Age, and the University of Szeged Faculty, of Humanities and Social Sciences, Department of Medieval and Early Modern Hungarian History.

the Habsburg emperor, to accept the choice made by the Polish estates. Consequently, one of Báthory's first major foreign policy initiatives was to stabilize relations between Poland and the Ottoman Empire and to conclude a peace treaty that served as a model for the later Polish–Ottoman treaties and as an example for the first Anglo–Ottoman trade agreement.

Keywords: Stephen Báthory, voivode of Transylvania, Sultan Murad III, 1577 Polish–Ottoman peace treaty, Polish–Ottoman treaties.

Abstrakt

Drugie polskie bezkrólewie otworzyło Stefanowi Batoremu, wojewodzie siedmiogrodzkiemu, możliwość ubiegania się o tron Rzeczypospolitej. W chwili przystąpienia do rywalizacji uchodził on za jednego z najmniej prawdopodobnych kandydatów – i pozostałby nim, gdyby Imperium Osmańskie nie dostrzegło korzyści płynących z udzielenia mu poparcia. Sułtan Murad III oraz wielki wezyr Sokollu Mehmed Pasza, który kierował również polityką zagraniczną Porty, wywierali znaczną presję dyplomatyczną, a niekiedy także militarną, na Rzeczpospolitą. Jednocześnie czynili wszystko, co w ich mocy, aby przekonać znacznie silniejszego i bardziej obiecującego rywala Batorego – cesarza habsburskiego – do uznania wyboru polskich stanów. W rezultacie jednym z pierwszych ważnych posunięć Batorego w polityce zagranicznej było ustabilizowanie stosunków między Polską a Imperium Osmańskim oraz zawarcie traktatu pokojowego, który stał się wzorem dla późniejszych traktatów polsko-osmańskich, a także precedensem dla pierwszej angielsko-osmańskiej umowy handlowej.

Słowa klucze: Stefan Batory, wojewoda Siedmiogrodu, sułtan Murad III, traktaty polsko-osmańskie, traktat pokojowy z 1577 roku.

Stephen Báthory sent his permanent envoy, Sándor Kendy, to Istanbul in the second half of 1572 to inform the sultan's court that he had learned of the death of the Polish king, Sigismund Augustus (7 July 1572). The Swedish King John III Vasa (1568–1592), the Holy Roman Emperor Maximilian II and his relatives, and the Muscovite ruler Ivan IV (the Terrible) (1533–1584) were all considered possible candidates for the Polish throne, although, as Kendy noted, little credence was given to the latter.²

The House of Habsburg was regarded as a serious contender, but the Poles understood that such a choice would likely provoke an Ottoman

2 Endre Veress, *Báthory István erdélyi fejedelelem és lengyel király levelezése* [Correspondence of István Báthory, Prince of Transylvania and King of Poland], vol. I (Kolozsvár: 1944), 43.

military response. As was customary in such situations (and would be repeated during the election of Stephen Báthory), the sultan instructed Khan Mehmed Giray I to support the French prince.³ As is well known, however, the new king, Henry of Valois, remained on the Polish throne only for a very short time, for he fled Poland on the night of 18–19 June 1574, after the death of his brother, Charles IX (1560–1574). His brief reign in Poland nevertheless proved highly consequential, as he issued the *Articuli Henriciani*, which, for the remainder of the Commonwealth's existence, regulated the relationship between the monarch and the Polish Diet to the benefit of the Polish estates.⁴

This development was viewed very unfavourably by the Ottoman Porte, which had supported the French prince's potential accession to the Polish throne owing to the traditionally strong Franco – Ottoman diplomatic and military ties – especially in contrast to the hostility of the Holy Roman Empire and to the shared strategic interest of the Russian Tsar and the Ottomans' regional adversary, Safavid Iran.⁵

Before examining the sequence of political events that brought Stephen Báthory to the Polish throne, it is necessary to consider briefly why supporting him served the interests of the Porte and how he emerged as the most viable among several candidates. As a prominent scholar of the subject has noted, Báthory's election contributed to closer relations between Poland and the Ottoman Empire.⁶ Ottoman rivalry with

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- 3 Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania International Diplomacy on the European Periphery (15th-18th Century). A Study of Peace Treaties Followed by an Annotated Edition of Relevant Documents*, vol. 47 (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2011), 101; Jan Rypka, "Briefwechsel der Hohen Pforte mit den Krimchanen im II. Bande von Feridüns Münşeât," in *Festschrift Georg Jacob zum siebzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. Theodor Menzel (Leipzig: 1932), 249–250; Feridün Ahmed Beg, *Mecmû'a-i münşe'âtü s-selâfin. (Collection of the Sultans' Letters)*, vol. 2 (İstanbul: 1275/1858), 557–558.
 - 4 Dominik Kadzik, "The Political career of Gáspár Bekes and Ferenc Wesselényi in Poland-Lithuania during the Reign of Stefan Bathory," in *Poland and Hungary between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans: Chapters from the History of Poland and Hungary from the Middle Ages to the Modern Age*, eds. Sándor Papp, Stanisław A. Sroka and Gellért Ernő Marton, *Prace Historyczne* 148/4 (2021): 674.
 - 5 Amirhousein Berazesh, *Political and Diplomatic Relations. Iran and World in Safavid Dynasty* (Tehran: Amir Kabir Publishing House, 2013), 279–284. The original book in Persian.
 - 6 Stanisław Jaśkowski, Dariusz Kołodziejczyk and Piruz Mnatsakanyan, *Stosunki dawnej Rzeczypospolitej z Persją Safawidów i katolikosatem w Eczmiadzinie w świetle dokumentów archiwalnych. [The Relations of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth with Safavid Iran and the Catholicosate of Etchmiadzin in the light of archival documents]*, edited and provided with a historical introduction by Dariusz Kołodziejczyk (Warszawa: Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych Naczelna Dyrekcja Archiwów Państwowych, 2017), 67.

Russia had intensified when Ivan IV conquered and then fully annexed the Astrakhan Khanate – previously part of the Volga sphere of influence in the Caspian region – in 1556. The Ottoman Empire attempted to reclaim the area and even planned to construct a canal connecting the Volga and Don rivers, thereby linking the Black Sea with the Caspian Sea and advancing strategic objectives against Iran. This project, however, was thwarted by Ivan IV. Successful completion of the canal would also have provided the Ottomans with a major commercial advantage, potentially allowing them to rival the Iranians in the silk trade.⁷ Despite this setback, the sultan's vassal, the Crimean khan Devlet Giray I (1551–1577), continued to raid Russian territory, notably burning Moscow in 1571. Although the tsar had promised to return Astrakhan to him, he failed to fulfil this commitment, prompting further military incursions.⁸

It is not known precisely when the Porte was informed that the Poles were once again without a king, but it is certain that the departure of King Henry and Báthory's candidacy were communicated to the grand vizier.⁹ Karl Rym and David Ungnad had already reported from Constantinople to Vienna that Henry Valois's departure from Poland was a confirmed fact in July 1574.¹⁰ The first hostile reaction called for immediate military intervention in Poland, ordering the sanjakbey of Filakovo (Füleke) to prepare for an invasion. News that King Valois's departure had disrupted the Polish–Ottoman peace had to be disseminated along the border. The intention was to compel the Poles, through military pressure, not to elect the sons of the Habsburg and Muscovite “kings” as their rulers. At the same time, spies were sent to Poland to ascertain the situation.¹¹ The sultan also warned the Habsburg emperor – the principal source of potential threat – about the Ottoman preparations, although he expressed the hope that peace would be maintained. The letter to the “King of Vienna,”

7 Akdeş Nimet Kurat, *Türkiye ve İdil Boyu (1569 Astrahan Seferi, Ten-İdil Kanalı ve XV-XVII Yüzyıl Osmanlı-Rus münasebetleri)* (Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Dil- ve Tarih-Coğrafya Fakültesi Yayınları, 1966), Sayı 151.

8 Kolodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania*, 97–102.

9 László Szalay, *A magyar történelemhez. Erdély és a Porta 1567–1578 [On Hungarian History. Transylvania and the Porte 1567–1578]* (Pest: 1860), 167–168. Nr. CXV.

10 Rym és Ungnad II. Maximiliannak, Isztambul, 1574. július 18–20, ÖStA HHStA, Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Karton 30. Konv. 3. (1574 VI-VII) ff. 79–82.

11 Kemal Beydilli, *Die Polnischen Königswahlen und Interregnen von 1572 und 1576 im Lichte osmanischer Archivalien. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der osmanischen Machtpolitik* (München: 1976), 71; BOA M.D. 26 194 Nr. 533; BOA M.D. 26 213 Nr. 600. Kemal Beydilli included legible photocopies of all the documents used and translated into German, and I was able to check all the details. So, I also refer to the original archival material.

however, no longer named Bekes as the reason for mobilisation but cited the Polish interregnum instead. It further referred to Ottoman awareness of Moscow's ambitions, namely to place the son of Ivan IV on the Polish throne. To prevent this, the Crimean Tatar khan was appointed by the sultan. To oppose the efforts of Maximilian II, the troops of the pashas of Buda, Timișoara (Temesvár), and Rumelia were placed on alert.¹²

In addition to the military pressure following the departure of Henry Valois, the Porte intended to exert strong political coercion on Poland. Prior to Kemal Beydilli's monograph of 1976, the Ottoman Empire's interest in the appointment of the Polish king had been studied mostly by Polish scholars.¹³ Several important works have been published in the field since then.¹⁴ The role of the Ottomans in the appointment of the Polish king was not usually emphasised, as it was regarded as a matter pertaining to Christian Europe. Moreover, it was generally not assumed that the Ottoman state could have interfered in it. Nor am I attempting to suggest that Báthory was enthroned by Sultan Murad III in Warsaw, although, as will be seen, this was indeed the sultan's *expressis verbis* intention. The sources clearly indicate that the Ottomans' long-standing anti-Habsburg and anti-Russian policy would have been severely undermined by a king of Habsburg or Russian origin.

Some Ottoman sources relating to the election of the Polish king have been preserved in their original form in the Warsaw archives, whose catalogues also inform researchers about the interests of sultanic policy. I am comparing these sources with material from Turkey on an ongoing basis. When Lajos Szádeczky wrote the history of Stephen Báthory's election as King of Poland in 1887, the accompanying documentary collection was edited in collaboration with the Krakow scholar Ignacy Polkowski. Consequently, some of the sources were compiled from the holdings of the renowned Czartoryski Library, particularly the Naruszewicz Collection, which had mostly been copied from foreign archives by Adam Naruszewicz (1733–1796) – the eighteenth-century Jesuit priest and historian,

According to one item in this collection, on 11 September 1574 a Turkish messenger (çavuş) delivered a solemn oration before the Warsaw Diet

12 BOA M.D. 27. 216. Nr. 493; Beydilli, *Die Polnischen Königswahlen*, 78.

13 Janusz Pajewski, *Turcja wobec elekcji Batorego* (Kraków: 1935).

14 Wojciech Hensel, „Uwagi o stosunkach polsko-tureckich w XVI wieku do panowania Stefana Batorego,” in *Stosunki polsko-tureckie. Materiały z sesji naukowej zorganizowanej przez Instytut Orientalistyczny i Towarzystwo Polska Turcja w 1988 roku*, ed. Tadeusz Majda (Warszawa: Instytut Orientalistyczny UW, 1995), 19–29; Kazimierz Dopierała, *Stosunki dyplomatyczne Polski z Turcją za Stefana Batorego* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo PWN, 1986); Kołodziejczyk, *The Crimean Khanate and Poland-Lithuania*, 102.

(*Oratio legati Turcici habita ad Polonos Varsaviae congregatos*).¹⁵ As the envoy noted, with the departure of the former Polish ruler, King Henry Valois, there was no chance of his return. The Poles could not envisage that the German emperor or his son might become the new Polish king, fully aware that Ottoman–Habsburg enmity was of paramount importance. Although the two empires were momentarily displaying mutual friendship (which was true, as the so-called Peace of Edirne of 1568¹⁶ was in force), the *çavuş* claimed that the Germans respected only armed force. Ottoman diplomacy relied on the prudence of the Polish estates not to choose a king who would bring war upon them. Several alternatives were put forward, including Jan Kostka or the Swedish king, John III Vasa, but if none of these candidates were chosen, the sultan recommended his trusted man, Stephen Báthory, the voivode of Transylvania, who maintained peaceful relations and friendship with the Porte. This matter is also mentioned in another Ottoman document, the date of which I have reconstructed as 28 November 1574. (This is because in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries it was customary – though not compulsory – for Ottomans to “transliterate” Muslim month names into Christian ones when translating letters, so that the month would align with the Christian calendar. In this case, 13 March 982 corresponds to 13 Şaban 982, which equals 28 November 1574). The accuracy of my procedure is confirmed by the fact that the instructions for the second Polish interregnum issued by the divan are indeed dated November 1574.¹⁷

It should be noted that the content of the letter was also included in the work of the seventeenth-century Transylvanian historian Farkas Bethlen. The text bears a striking similarity to the speech delivered by the *çavuş* in Warsaw, described above.

Returning to the content of the text, the sultan mentioned, among other current matters, that if the Poles wished to maintain the good relations of the past, they should not choose a king who was an enemy of the Sultan. He recommended, firstly, the King of Sweden, whose wife was Catherine (1526–1583), the sister of the last Jagiellonian king, secondly, one of the Poles; and only thirdly, the voivode of Transylvania, Stephen Báthory.¹⁸ The document, along with other sources, is published in full by

15 Lajos Szádeczky, *Báthory István lengyel királlyá választása 1574–1576* [The election of Stephen Báthory as King of Poland 1574–1576.] (Budapest: 1887), 315. Nr. 1. 11 September 1574.

16 ÖStA HHStA UR Türkische Urkunden 122 1568. 03. 20–29.

17 BOA M.D. 27. 155 Nr. 360; 156 Nr. 361. (22 November 1574.)

18 Farkas Bethlen, *Erdély története* [History of Transylvania] vol. 3, transl. András Bodor, verified by Erzsébet Galántai, Péter Kasza and Tamás Kruppa, notes by Tamás Kruppa

Gerlach, albeit with a slightly different date.¹⁹ The original Turkish version of this important document has not yet been found, although there is evidence that letters from the Porte were sent to the Polish estates on behalf of the sultan in 1573.²⁰ I have no doubt as to the authenticity of the two texts cited above, though it is possible that the translation was slightly reworked in a humanist literary style. The authenticity of the sultan's charter is further corroborated by other sources. Thus, David Ungnad, in his envoy's report, provides a detailed account that on 28 November 1574 the experienced Polish envoy, Andreas Taranowsky, who had already served as a permanent ambassador in Istanbul for a number of years, discussed the situation at the Porte with the grand vizier. By this time, it was known that the sultan had taken an interest in the selection of the new Polish king and mentioned the name of Stephen Báthory alongside that of the Swedish king and the so called "castellan of Danzig."²¹

It should be noted that at the beginning of the second interregnum, Ottoman–Polish relations were far from cordial. Selim II even wrote a letter to the former king, Henry Valois, reprimanding him because Albertus Łasky (later Báthory's great opponent) had persuaded the Moldavian voivode, John III (Ioan Șchiopul), to abandon his allegiance to the Ottoman Porte.²²

(Budapest–Kolozsvár: Enciklopédia Kiadó, Erdélyi Múzeum Egyesület, 2004), 98–99.

19 *Stephan Gerlachs deß Aeltern Tage-Buch der von zween glorwürdigsten römischen Kaysern, Maximiliano und Rudolpho, beyderseits den Andern dieses Nahmens an die ottomanische Pforte zu Constantinopel abgefertigten und durch den Wohlgebornen Herrn Hn. David Ungnad, Freiherrn zu Sonnegk und Preyburg [...] mit würcklicher Erhalt- und Verlängerung des Friedens zwischen dem Ottomannischen und Römischen Kayserthum und demselben angehörigen Landen und Königreichen glücklichst-vollbrachter Gesandtschaft*, hrsg. von Samuel Gerlach (Frankfurt am Mayn: Zunner, 1674), 140–141; ÖstA HHStA Staatenabteilungen, Türkei 1. Karton 31. Konv. 2. (1575 III) 40r.

20 Beydilli, *Die Polnischen Königswahlen*, 172.

21 ÖstA HHStA Staatenabteilungen, Türkei 1. Karton 30. Konv. 3. (1574 VI–VII) ff. 12–13. Istanbul, 3 June 1574). Taranowsky's audience with the grand vizier: "Den 28 [1574. november] ist Herrn Andreas Taranovsski alls er von des Mehmeth Bassa audienz hie für dem Chauß fürüber hat reitten sollen, ist mir hommen, glectiwolet sein chauß difficultiert. Und hat baldan fanngge, mit mir also zureden, wie das Mehmet Bassa stennenden lazlich bey dem Achmat Zauß geschrieven habe, alls ob Eur. Mt. bey im Mehmet, für Eur Mt. geleibstigten Sohn in durchlauch von denn Sultano ain Intercession an die Senatores in Pollen zuerlangen sich beworben hetten. Wellchet er Mehmet aber nicht thuen, sondern inen vill lieber zu dem Schweden, zu dem Castellans von Dabzigkh, oder dem jetzigen weyda aus Sibenbürgen rathen wellen."

22 ÖstA HHStA Staatenabteilungen, Türkei 1. Karton 31. Konv. 3. (1575 VI–VII) ff. 12–13. Istanbul, 3 Juny 1574.

Stephen Báthory himself also sent his envoy to Warsaw, Giorgio Blandrata, whose letters to the Transylvanian voivode were also preserved.²³ Báthory promised the Poles that if he was elected, he would ensure that the previously signed peace treaty with the Porte would be reconfirmed. The essence of this promise is that from 1568 to 1577 the diplomatic situation between the two states was not settled, as the Polish–Ottoman peace treaty had not been renegotiated. Neither during the first interregnum nor during the short reign of Henry Valois, was there any opportunity to extend it.²⁴

I will not follow the procedure of the king's election in detail. As is known from contemporary sources, in reality there were numerous candidates, notably Maximilian II (the Holy Roman Emperor and King of Hungary), his sons Ernest and Ferdinand of Tyrol, Prince Alfonso d'Este of Ferrara, John III Vasa, the Czech Wilhelm Rosenberg, the voivode of Sandomierz Jan Kostka, the voivode of Podolia Mikołaj Mielecki, and the voivode of Bełz, Andrzej Tęczyński, as well as Ivan IV the Terrible and his son. All of these were joined by Stephen Báthory, initially with little chance. As the above-mentioned document testifies, the Porte only proposed Báthory as a third candidate.²⁵ The sultan's message was clear: almost anyone could be elected king – except a Russian or, especially, a Habsburg candidate.

While Stephen Báthory was successfully defending his power in Transylvania against an offensive by Gáspár Bekes (1575), Poland was preparing to elect a new king. It was important for Báthory to inform the sultan's court promptly of the good news, so he sent a messenger named Miklós to Istanbul. This had a great effect, and the grand vizier was particularly pleased (18 January).²⁶ The sultan reacted immediately: Polish society was divided into "two parties": one supporting Stephen Báthory, while the other favouring Maximilian II. It seems that only these two candidates were serious contenders in the election. Without going into the details of the procedure, after the vote the Polish Primate, Archbishop Uchański, declared the Habsburg emperor to be the ruler

23 Georgius Pray, *Epistolae Procerum Regni Hungariae*, vol. 3 (Posonii: 1806), 195–202, 203–204. For his role, see: Bethlen, *Erdély története* [History of Transylvania], 91–92. (After Blandrata, Mihály Berzeviczy was sent to the Poles by the voivode).

24 Dariusz Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations (15th-18th Century)*. An Annotated Edition of 'Ahdnames and Other Documents (Leiden–Boston–Köln: Brill, 2000), 123–124.

25 Bethlen, *Erdély története*, 93; Szádeczky, *Báthory István*, 316–328.

26 Ungnad to Maximilian II, Istanbul, 22–23 January 1676. ÖStA HHStA Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Karton 32. Konv. 3. (1576 I–IV), 49–54.

of Poland, to whom the good news was conveyed through an embassy. In contrast, the nobility nominated Anna of Jagiellon, the sister of the deceased last Jagiellonian king, and Stephen of Báthory.²⁷

At the end of January 1576, the sultan informed Báthory that the Poles had visited the Porte; they announced that they had been left without a king, and they had chosen Stephen Báthory as their ruler. Murad III supported Báthory's accession but imposed conditions: if he took the Polish throne, he could no longer interfere in Transylvanian affairs, and his reign in Poland must not be an obstacle to peace between Poland and Russia. The sultan also wrote to Báthory that should Transylvania be attacked from Vienna, he would defend it, and that any armed action by the Russians would be countered by the Khan of Crimea. Furthermore, the sultan instructed Báthory to examine the terms of his election, and, if they were compatible with the earlier Polish–Ottoman peace treaty (1568), he had to accept them. If he could, he was to report the terms to the sultan, but if he was in a hurry, he should proceed without delay.²⁸

Since the peace treaty with the Habsburgs had only recently been confirmed, it is perhaps not coincidental that the mobilisation was not directly aimed at Maximilian II but rather at Gáspár Bekes, although it remains unclear whether he was in fact preparing further action. The mobilisation was complete, and in addition to the order issued to the Bey of Szolnok, describing Bekes' efforts to collaborate with the "*nemçe*" king (Maximilian II), a list was enclosed designating officers to receive similar orders. This list included almost the entire Balkan army.²⁹ What is certain, however, is that in this case the massive mobilisation was not specifically to secure Transylvania but to protect the rear of Stephen Báthory, who was marching from Transylvania to the Polish kingdom. Several orders were issued to the Bey of Akkerman, to the voivode of Moldavia, and to the Bey of Silistra to ensure, on the one hand, the safe passage of Stephen Báthory through Moldavia via Hotin, and on the other hand, to provide him with sufficient military backup, that would not cross the Polish border.³⁰

It appears that diplomats were more actively engaged in January 1576 than before. Maximilian II sent Christopher Teuffenbach as an envoy to

27 Szádeczky, *Báthory István*, 316–328; Bethlen, *Erdély története*, 90–105; Ungnad to Maximilian II, Istanbul, 22–23 January 1576. ÖStA HHStA Staatenabteilungen, Türkei 1. Karton 32. Konv. 3. (1576 I–IV), 49–54.

28 BOA M.D. 27. 215. Nr. 492; Beydilli, *Die Polnischen Königswahlen*, 80–82.

29 BOA M.D. 27. 234. 544. 983 Şevval selh. / 31 January 1576 (To the Beglerbeg of Temesvár, Beg of Smederevo, Vidin, Beglerbeg of Rumelia etc.).

30 BOA M.D. 27. 301. Nr. 722, 723.

Transylvania to persuade Báthory to withdraw. At this time, it was even suggested that Szatmár, the Báthory family's recently lost possession, should be returned to Stephen Báthory by the Habsburg emperor to force him to resign from the Polish throne.³¹ Furthermore, the Transylvanian Diet had to decide on another critical issue: the succession of Stephen Báthory. The sultan's court, just like the Viennese, understood that the events in Mediaş (Medgyes) would be decisive, so the sultan sent a very serious letter to Maximilian II at the beginning of January. In this letter, the sultan characterised Poland as part of his empire, whose subjects had always been loyal to the sultan's authority. Since they had now elected Báthory, who was supported by the sultan, Murad III called on the Habsburg emperor not to violate the newly concluded peace.³²

The grand vizier's letter, judging by its contents, could have gone to Vienna together with this letter from the sultan. The lengthy and highly detailed letter of Grand Vizier Sokollu Mehmed has survived in a contemporary German translation. The letter (if my reconstruction is correct) fully complements the sultan's dispatch. The grand vizier does not immediately address the core of the issue but goes on at length to assess the benefits of the peace concluded the previous year, as a kind of introduction to what Vienna stands to lose if it does not keep the peace. In particular, he stresses that the peace is valid for all those who apply to join (*hat sy durch willen Gottes dieselb zuvolbringen, kain einzige consiedering, die fürsten und nambhaften potentate dieser ziet so dem reich seiner hoheit benachbart, und unserer freundschaft, inmassen dieselb es erfordern streif und consiständig sein*). Moreover, the grand vizier states that he considers the peace to be valid. He then turned to the legal status of Poland and Transylvania. According to the sultan, Poland and Transylvania were countries, like the rest of the Ottoman Empire, which showed complete loyalty to the Porte (*und Polen und den Siebenbürgen, welche von allteres jahr iren gehorsam, auch dienstbarkhait gegen diser Ihrer hochait glücklichen und hoch erhabtten porten vollkommlich erzeigt*). Therefore, he called on the Habsburg Emperor not to interfere in their affairs, since this would call into question the peace

31 Bethlen, *Erdély története*, 105.

32 BOA M.D. 27. 216–217. Nr. 493; Beydilli, *Die Polnischen Königswahlen*, 82–84; Stephan Gerlachs deß Aeltern Tage-Buch, 230–231, Joseph von Hammer-Purgstall, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches*, bd. 9 (Pest: 1833), Bd. 4. 639. (January 1576.)

and friendship between them. At the same time, he asked Maximilian II to pay the annual tax.³³

Stephen Báthory convened the Diet in the Transylvanian Saxon town of Medgyes on 14 January 1576 to receive the Polish delegation, who were to solemnly announce the election of the king in the presence of the estates and in full view of everyone. The sultan's aforementioned letter of late January 1576 regarding the election and support of Báthory had already been on its way to Vienna by this time, although it had not arrived by the time of the meeting.³⁴ Maximilian II wanted Stephen Báthory to desist from accepting the Polish throne at all costs. His commissioner, Christopher Teuffenbach, arrived at the voivode's seat in Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár), where he attended an audience on 14 January in the presence of the voivode and his brother, Christopher.

Báthory explained that he had not sought this honour but had been invited to the royal dignity by prominent Polish lords. What is more, he did not fail to mention that the Ottoman sultan had personally recommended him to the Polish estates (*und auch durch den Türkischen Kayser den Ständen fürgeschlagen und zum besten commandiert worden*). A key argument in favour of Báthory's election as king was that the still unmarried Báthory could fulfil the demand of the Polish orders to marry (as co-regent) the last Jagiellon. The expression, which may seem quite pro-Turkish to modern readers, may have sounded different in those days.

Báthory's argument that he could not offend the sultan by renouncing the Polish kingship, as he had cleared the way for him, was the following: "*sondern auch des Türkischen Khajser, der ime [Báthory] den weg zu solchem künigreich bereit hatt, grossen gefahr und ungnad gewartesdt sein*." The Polish electoral conditions did not pose any difficulty for the emperor. Báthory gave a lengthy account of the last Diet in Warsaw, where the sultan's *çavuş* had appeared. He was informed that the Poles and Lithuanians preferred to accept submission to the sultan and the surrender of whomever the sultan appointed for them.³⁵

The simultaneous presence of two elected kings carried the risk that Poland would suffer the fate of Hungary. It can be deduced from the

33 ÖStA HHStA Türkische Urkunden o.D. 1576. (As I believe that the content of the document described above is similar to the text written by the sultan in January 1576, this document may have also been written in early January 1576).

34 BOA M.D. 27. 407. Nr. 1006. 983. Şevval 19. = 21 January 1576; Endre Veress, *Báthory István erdélyi fejedelem és lengyel király levelezése [Correspondence of István Báthory, Prince of Transylvania and King of Poland]*, vol. 2 (Kolozsvár: 1944), 95. Nr. 74. (25 January 1575).

35 Veress, *Báthory István*, 84–89. Nr. 74. Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár), 16 January 1576.

report that a Polish embassy was scheduled to arrive in Medgyes on 25 January 1576, and Teuffenbach understood that both voivodeships of Wallachia and Moldavia had received the sultan's orders to support Báthory. The report emphasises Báthory's position that if the Habsburg emperor were to seize the Polish crown, it would immediately entail an Ottoman military attack. Teuffenbach himself was uncertain whether it was the sultan who personally nominated Báthory, as he said, or whether he had recommended himself, yet his action was not considered to reflect an honourable attitude towards his ruler, Maximilian II.

Báthory was quite open about the fact that he had always been loyal to the emperor, but the emperor had never trusted him enough. The case of Gáspár Bekes shows this, which forced Báthory to approach the sultan (*"Verwarung bringen und daneben des Türkischen Kayzers Schutz und scrimb auch erhalten möchte ..."*).³⁶

The nomination of Stephen Báthory as Polish king by the Transylvanian Diet in Medias (Medgyes) was compared to the election of King Matthias I (1458–1490) and János Szapolyai (1526–1540), whose careers (the former's father was a Transylvanian voivode) led from being Transylvanian voivode to the title of king. In both cases they rose from the ranks of commoners to become God's chosen, anointed persons. The only difference was that the role models had acquired the Hungarian royal title, while Báthory had set his sights on the Polish throne.³⁷

As the Transylvanian historian Farkas Bethlen put it, on returning to Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár) from the Mediaș (Medgyes) Diet, Stephen Báthory began to use the title King of Poland.³⁸ Gerlach's diary shows that the double election of the Polish king was already known in Istanbul at the beginning of March 1576. Báthory immediately informed his permanent envoy in Istanbul about the Polish decision and the Polish embassy sent to him. However, his secretary was Ungnad's undercover man – a paid agent who copied all incoming and outgoing correspondence and forwarded the letters to the Habsburg embassy. Within a few days, the full extent of the Polish royal election and the above-mentioned activities of the Polish embassy in Transylvania were known. At the same time, negotiations had already begun for the investiture of Christopher Báthory, the voivode's brother, for which Stephen Báthory had allegedly promised 60,000 or 70,000 ducats.³⁹

36 Veress, *Báthory István*, 84–89. Nr. 74. Alba Iulia (Gyulafehérvár), 16 January 1576.

37 Bethlen, *Erdély története*, 108.

38 *Ibidem*, 109.

39 *Stephan Gerlachs deß Aeltern Tage-Buch*, 162–163, 169; Gerlach, *Ungnád Dávid*, 178–182.

One final possibility arose that the chief captains of Szatmárnémeti (Satu Mare) and Kassa (Košice), Teuffenbach and Rueber, might prevent Báthory's journey to Poland. Adding to the tension, the imperial troops had occupied a fortress on the Transylvanian–Hungarian royal border which was on the way to Poland.⁴⁰ The resulting conflict and fear of a possible attack lasted until the autumn.⁴¹

However, the Porte and Báthory chose a safer route, further from the Hungarian borders, via Moldavia. Báthory, who fell ill, spent Easter in the Mogiła monastery and arrived in Cracow after the holidays. As the Archbishop of Gniezno, Jakob Uchański, continued to support Emperor Maximilian, he was not crowned by him but by the next highest-ranking prelate, Bishop Stanisław Karnkowski of Kujawy, in the Church of St Stanisław on 1 May 1576.⁴²

At the same time, the sultan ordered the Pasha of Buda, Sokollu Mustafa, to follow the events with the Buda and Timișoara (Temesvár) forces, as Bekes was still prepared to invade again with his army, but, if necessary, the Pasha could use the entire force of the Vilayet of Rumelia to resist.⁴³

Stephen Báthory intended his brother, Christopher, to occupy the vacant seat of the Transylvanian voivode. Therefore, he asked the sultan to initiate his brother's appointment to the voivodeship after Báthory himself had officially announced his accession to the Polish throne at the Porte. It was widely known that Báthory would be succeeded on the Transylvanian throne by his brother. David Ungnad, the Habsburg permanent envoy in Istanbul, had already announced in February that the new voivode would be Christopher.⁴⁴ Nevertheless, there were also rumours – probably unfounded – that Kristóf Hagymási might become a rival candidate to Christopher Báthory.⁴⁵ Soon, however, the news reached Istanbul that Stephen Báthory had been crowned in Poland.

40 *Monumenta Comitalia Regni Transylvaniae. Erdélyi országgyűlési emlékek*, vol. 3, ed Sándor Szilágyi (Budapest: 1877), 5.

41 *A budai basák magyar nyelvű levelezése 1553–1589* [Hungarian Correspondence of the Pashas of Buda 1553–1589], vol. 1, eds Sándor Takáts, Ferenc Eckhardt and Gyula Szekfű (Budapest: 1915), 121–122. Nr. 113. Buda, 11 September 1576.

42 Szádeczky, *Báthory István*, 303–304; Bethlen, *Erdély története*, 112; *Stephan Gerlachs deß Aeltern Tage-Buch*, 219; Gerlach, *Ungnád Dávid*, 187.

43 BOA M.D. 27. 232. Nr. 540. 983 Şevval 28 / 30 January 1576.

44 László Szalay, *A magyar történelemhez. Erdély és a Porta 1567–1578* [On Hungarian History. Transylvania and the Porte 1567–1578] (Pest: 1860), 259. Nr. CLXII.

45 Ungnad to Maximilian II, Istanbul, 1–3 June 1576. ÖStA HHStA Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Karton 33. Konv. 1. (1576 V–VI) ff. 135–154.

As a result, the sultan's chief stall-master (*mirahor* or *mīr-i aḥūr*) was immediately appointed to carry the *sanjak*, the flag of the sultan's power, to Transylvania to confirm the investiture of the new voivode.⁴⁶ Báthory must also have informed the Porte immediately after his coronation in Cracow (1 May 1576) that he had ascended the Polish throne, thus clearing the way for his brother's appointment as voivode of Transylvania, although no such document has yet been found. This event finally opened the way for the Porte to replace Stephen Báthory with his elder brother. According to Ungnad, the inaugural insignia were delivered by the chief stall-master (*mirahor*) and Ahmet Agha, who had long been involved in Transylvanian affairs. Ungnad reported that the inaugural badges, in addition to the flag, included a red cap, two horses (one fully equipped), 26 kaftans, and four "*wundschäck*" (i.e. *boncuk*), as well as beads.⁴⁷ These items conformed to the Ottoman investiture customs of the period. Ungnad's account is confirmed by a surviving contemporary Hungarian translation of the appointment decree issued at the time of the new voivode's investiture:

I have given you the dignity of voivode and sent you my banner (*zazlo*, i.e. *sancak*). Through my *sancaqbeg* (*zanchyakomtol*) I have sent you a gold-embroidered cap (*szofia*, i.e. *üsküf*) with a plume (*toll*, i.e. *sorguc*), a horse with complete harness and, moreover, garments of honour (*kaftan*, i.e. *hilat*). I have also sent garments of honour for the gentlemen who belong to you. And I have also sent my letter [written] concerning

46 "Postcripta von 5. Junii umb heut bricht in dem großen sultanischen divan das geschray auß, Báthori sey crönt und beilegen, zeuch auf seine Rebellen, Eure Majestät adherenten zutilgen und zubezwingen, so soll auch des sultani obrister stahlmaister deputiert sein, den sangjack fahnen zur bestätigung der waydaschafft dem Christoff Bathory hinein zuführen." Ungnad to Maximilian II, Istanbul, 4–5 June 1576. ÖStA HHStA Staa-tenabteilungen, Türkei I. Karton 33. Konv. I. (1576 V–VI) ff. 175–178, 176–177.

47 "das Nag Mathe waidischer gewessner agent alhie den 7 juny mit sultanischen mandaten an den Bascha zu Ofen von Themeßwar, unerwahrt von der Porten weiters bevelchs dem wayda wider seine in und außlendische feind unverzuglich alle mögliche hilff und beistand zulaisten, auch mit einem sondern bevalch an die stendt in Sibenbürgen, den Christo ff Bathori für ihren wayde ... zuekhennen, und ime ... zugehorsamen. ... dem 11. oder 12. diß (Jule) sollen Achmat Chiauß und der obrißst sultanisch Thüerhüeter gnaz befördert von hienen auf sein, und den sangjack fahnen dem Christoff hienein führen." Ungnad to Maximilian II, Istanbul, 10 June 1576. ÖStA HHStA Statenabteilungen, Türkei I. Karton 33. Konv. I. (1576 V–VI) ff. 202, 203, 204, 205, 206; Sándor Papp, *Die Verleihungs-, Bekräftigungs- und Vertragsurkunden der Osmanen für Ungarn und Siebenbürgen. Eine quellenkritische Untersuchung* (Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2003), 89; 229–232. Nr. 37–38.

the dignity and the land through my sanjakbey and chief stall-master, Mehmed Agha.⁴⁸

Stephen Báthory also agreed with his brother that as long as he held the Polish throne,⁴⁹ his brother would not yet take the seat of voivode in Transylvania.⁵⁰ It was therefore only in July that the Ottoman delegation brought Christopher Báthory the insignia of the voivode's dignity and the sultan's decree of appointment.⁵¹ Curiously, according to the Habsburg envoy, when the stall-master returned to Istanbul in mid-August, he was not satisfied with the honouring of his mission in Transylvania, because he had received only 11,000 thalers as a gift, far less than he had expected.⁵²

Surprisingly, it was believed in Istanbul that after Báthory's coronation, Poland had become a vassal state, just as Transylvania had been. The sultan also began to use the phrase for Poland which was in use for other vassal countries, namely that it should be "similar to other parts of the well-protected empire."⁵³

As I will discuss below, Stephen Báthory's first envoy as King of Poland arrived in Istanbul at the end of July 1576. He was accompanied by the sultan's envoy, Mustafa çavuş. According to the Habsburg permanent envoy, David Ungnad, Krzysztof Dzierżek's diplomatic status was not

48 "Az Erdély Vaidasagot Neket attam Es Zazlomat neked kwltem, Az en aranyos Szofiamatis Tollastol kwltem Az en Zanchyakomtol, Es louat mýnden Zerzamoszol, affelet kaftanokat, Es Az allattad Valo Vraknakis kaftanokat kwltem, Es ezt ez en lewelemet, Vgy mint a' týztreol es orzagrol valo, lewelet, vgy kwltem, az en Zanchyakom, es feo lowaz, Mesterem, Mehmet aga altal, Azert Valamýjt neked kwltem, Mýnd zazlomat Zkofiamat kaftanyimat Jo Newen vegyed, ..." Országos Széchenyi Könyvtár, Kézirattár (OSzKK.) Fol. Hung. 37. Protocollum Bathorianum, ff. 256r-v; László Szalay, *A magyar történelemhez. Erdély és a Porta 1567–1578 [On Hungarian History. Transylvania and the Porte 1567–1578]* (Pest: 1860), 273; Papp, *Die Verleihungs-*, 229.

49 Endre Veress, *Báthory István erdélyi fejedelem és lengyel király levelezése [Correspondence of István Báthory, Prince of Transylvania and King of Poland]*, vol. 2 (Kolozsvár: 1944), 30. Nr. 468.

50 OSZKK Fol. Hung. 37. Protocollum Bathorianum, ff. 258r-v; Szalay, *A magyar történelemhez*, 274–275; Papp, *Die Verleihungs-*, 230–232. Nr.38.

51 OSZKK Fol. Hung. 37. Protocollum Bathorianum. ff. 258r-v; László Szalay, *A magyar történelemhez. Erdély és a Porta 1567–1578 [On Hungarian History. Transylvania and the Porte 1567–1578]* (Pest: 1860), 274–275; Papp, *Die Verleihungs-*, 230–232.

52 Ungnad to Maximilian II, Istanbul, 18–20 August 1576. ÖStA HHStA Staatenabtailungen, Türkei I. Karton 33. Konv. 3. (1576 VIII-IX) 54, 61, 55, 60.

53 BOA M.D.Z 3. 283, 284; Beydilli, *Die Polnischen Königswahlen*, 132–134.

exactly clear, so he was addressed as “*vize agens*.”⁵⁴ (In Gerlach’s diary, it is recorded exactly at the end of July that, in accordance with Ungnad’s information, a man had arrived from Báthory with an important letter.⁵⁵) Having previously lived in Istanbul for five years, Krzysztof Dzierżek spoke Turkish fluently. (Dariusz Kołodziejczyk mentioned that he had spent six years in Istanbul since 1569 and then became an official translator of the Crown Chancery).⁵⁶ According to Ungnad, the letter sent by Báthory was written on 4 July in Warsaw.⁵⁷ In it, he described his accession to the throne and expressed his fear of a possible attack from Vienna. Ungnad also noted that a fully authorised embassy would arrive in the Ottoman capital soon thereafter, in August. It was probably in response to this letter that the sultan’s reply was written – the first in which he addressed Báthory as King of Poland (*cemaziyyü l-evvel* 984 corresponding to 27 July – 5 August 1576.) The introduction to the document tells that Báthory previously informed the sultan. According to this account, Báthory travelled to Poland complying with the sultan’s instructions, where he was crowned and took over the reign. It was also communicated that the greater majority of the country’s inhabitants had already been obeying him, the rest of whom he had hoped to bring under his authority. Báthory also informed the sultan that the Habsburg emperor was preparing for a military operation against Poland. The sultan announced that he had sent his letter to the German emperor to maintain peace and forward the accumulated taxes. He also ordered Devlet Giray, the Crimean Tatar khan, to march against Moscow because they, too, intended to invade Poland. Finally, the sultan ordered Báthory to settle his relations with his subjects.⁵⁸ The letter sent to Vienna, which I have analysed above together with the grand vizier’s letter, had its result: on 26 August Maximilian II informed Murad III, and a day later the grand vizier, that he did not

54 Ungnad to Maximilian II, Istanbul, 28–30 July 1576. ÖStA HHStA Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Karton 33. Konv. 2. (1576 VII), 140–146.

55 *Stephan Gerlachs deß Aeltern Tage-Buch*, 443–444.

56 Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, 178.

57 Ungnad to Maximilian II, Istanbul, 4, 10 August 1576, ÖStA HHStA Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Karton 33. Konv. 3. (1576 VIII–IX), 20–23, 25–34, 34–36.

58 Zygmund Abrachamowicz, *Katalog dokumentów tureckich. Dokumenty do dziejów Polski i kraków ościennych w latach 1455–1672* (Warszawa: 1959), 215–216. Nr. 223; AGAD (Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw (Polish: Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie, AGAD). Kor., Dz. turecki, teczka 155, nr. 479.

want to violate the peace or attack Transylvania, but that the Ottoman side should cease the border incursions in turn.⁵⁹

The 1577 Polish – Ottoman Peace Treaty

Krzysztof Dzierżek, who was Stephen Báthory's first envoy to the Porte, left for Poland after 6 p.m. on 10 August 1576. The Habsburg embassy thought that Báthory had completely subjugated Poland to the sultan's authority.⁶⁰ Gerlach's diary gives an account of this in such a way that after the coronation of Báthory, the Ottomans considered the Polish lords to be on the level of beylerbeys and sanjakbeys, no more than the sultan's own subordinates.⁶¹ The first few months were challenging for the new Polish king, but it was clear that he needed to settle the years of unsettled Ottoman-Polish relations by concluding a new treaty. To this end, he wrote again to the Porte, to which the sultan responded with a sovereign, the *name i hümayūn* (imperial letter). The sultan expressed his pleasure that the king had ascended the Polish throne, while also acknowledging Báthory's note that, as long as his opposition had not been defeated, he could not fully control Cossack raids into Ottoman territories. The sultan responded that this would be handled on the Ottoman side, but he pointed out that the king should not protest Ottoman measures. A key element of the letter was that the king intended to send a solemn envoy to the Porte soon to normalise diplomatic relations.⁶² Conflicts, however, did not cease. The sultan also complained of incursions, and his letter (perhaps written in October) was delivered by Ahmed çavuş, who was also a constant mediator in Transylvanian affairs, via Wallachia to Poland.⁶³ According to Ungnad, an Italian merchant was also mistreated

59 To Maximilian III Murad II, Regensburg, 26 August 1576. ÖStA HHStA Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Karton 33. Konv. 3. (1576 VIII-IX), 93, 97, 94–96; Maximilian II to Grand Vizier Mehmed Sokollı, Regensburg 27 August 1576. ÖStA HHStA Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Karton 33. Konv. 3. (1576 VIII-IX), 98–99, 104–105, 100–103.

60 "Cristoffen Czierzechs ... hat sich nach biß auch heut Verzog." Ungnad to Maximilian II, Istanbul, 10 August 1576, ÖStA HHStA Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Karton 33. Konv. 3. (1576 VIII-IX), 32v.

61 *Stephan Gerlachs deß Aeltern Tage-Buch*, 219; Gerlach, *Ungnád Dávid*, 187.

62 BOA M.D. 29. 33. Nr. 77. 1. Şevval 984 = 22 December 1576.

63 Abrachamowicz, *Katalog dokumentów tureckich*, 216. Nr. 224; AGAD. Kor., Dz. turecki, teczka 256, nr. 480; BOA M.D. 28. 105. Nr. 263. 25. Receb 984. / 18 October 1576.

by the Polish side, and the sultan demanded financial reparation from Báthory.⁶⁴

Before the embassy that concluded the peace treaty arrived, several events had complicated the Polish–Ottoman relations. In April 1577, rumours spread that the former envoy, the Turkish interpreter Krzysztof Dzierżek, was returning to the Porte. At the same time, there were reports of a massive Tatar attack on Poland, which would be carried out in the direction of Krakow and Warsaw. This was because the king had not given the khan his customary gift. It was simultaneously reported that the envoys from Moscow on their way to visit the khan were captured and blinded by the Poles. It is even possible that the Polish envoy interrupted his journey and returned to the king because of these developments.⁶⁵

In this confusing situation, it is certain that there was some Tatar activity along the Polish border, although some reports may have been unfounded or exaggerated. However, it appears that the Turcica material of the Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv in Vienna has preserved copies of almost all the important documents on the Polish – Ottoman peace treaty. This wealth of data shows that the Kingdom of Poland under Báthory and his Ottoman connections were fully known to the rival Habsburg power. The Habsburgs obtained a Latin translation of the peace treaty, the instructions given to the ambassador, and an enclosed German translation. They also acquired the text of the peace treaty of 1568 between Selim II and Sigismund Augustus, as well as an instruction sent to the Crimean Tatar khan Devlet Giray on 1 January 1577.⁶⁶

In order to make peace, Báthory sent a letter to the sultan in Latin, the text of which Gerlach recorded in his diary. This letter confirms that there was a Tatar embassy to the king, and at the same time, a Polish embassy was present at the court of the Crimean Tatar khan when the Tatar attack occurred.⁶⁷

The actual peace mission was led as envoy by Jan Sienieński, castellan of Halicz, who entered Istanbul on 1 July 1577. During their journey to Seraglio, the members of the envoy carried the gifts they had brought for the sultan. Ungnad's undercover agents also obtained a letter from the king to the grand vizier, in which Báthory demanded both the sultan's intention to make peace and the release of Polish prisoners who had been

64 Ungnad to Maximilian II, Istanbul, 10 August 1576, ÖStA HHStA Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Karton 33. Konv. 3. (1576 VIII-IX), f. 32v.

65 ÖStA HHStA Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Karton 35. Konv. 1. (1577 III-IV) ff. 164–165.

66 ÖStA HHStA Staatenabteilungen, Türkei I. Karton 35. Konv. 3. (1577 VIII-IX) ff. 48–59.

67 *Stephan Gerlachs deß Aeltern Tage-Buch*, 334; Gerlach, *Ungnád Dávid*, 203.

abducted during the Tatar invasion and the Ottoman incursions into the Dniester region. As will be seen in the analysis of the peace treaty below, the peace treaty that was concluded is highly detailed in its provisions for the release of Christian prisoners, which is entirely understandable considering the circumstances.⁶⁸

In the case of Poland, the *ahdname* had a different meaning than it did for Transylvania. While for Transylvania, as an Ottoman vassal state, the most important aspect – apart from the inter-state agreement between the Transylvanian ruler and the sultan – was the final confirmation of a new voivode by the Ottoman ruler, the treaty with the King of Poland was an agreement between two independent powers. Another key difference was that, while Transylvania paid tribute to the Porte, Poland did not. Although Báthory was obliged to pay an annual sum to the Crimean khan, this functioned more as a form of protection against Tatar raids than a tribute indicating dependence. Of course, especially at the beginning of Stephen Báthory's reign, the Porte sometimes acted as if Poland were its vassal. A similar attitude was occasionally taken toward the Habsburg Monarchy, due to the annual payment of 30.000 gulden in *harac* – the so called honorary gift (*Ehrengeschenk*) – by the Habsburg Emperor. In practice, however, these countries were equal and independent powers in relation to the Ottoman Empire.

Furthermore, under Islamic state law, the treatment of Christian subjects from Transylvania, Poland, and the Habsburg Monarchy (including the Kingdom of Hungary) differed entirely. A Transylvanian subject was considered a *zimmi* – a second-rank individual under the protection of Islam – whereas a Polish subject was a *müstamen*, a Christian whose country had concluded temporary agreements with the Islamic state, including peace and trade treaties established for mutually recognised interests. Venice, France, and the Netherlands are examples of this legal status. By contrast, the subjects of the Habsburg Monarchy were regarded as *harbî* (i.e. enemies of the House of War). This demonstrates that, in the eyes of the Porte, Stephen Báthory was assessed differently in legal terms when he left Transylvania to become King of Poland.

It is also worth examining Stephen Báthory's *ahdname* and its contents. One might assume, based on the text and the conditions formulated in the agreement, that Báthory was not an independent ruler in relation to the sultan. To address this question, I compared the document with earlier and later Polish *ahdnames*. The results may be summarised as follows:

68 Stephan Gerlachs *deß Aeltern Tage-Buch*, 362; Gerlach, *Ungnád Dávid*, 205–206.

1. The *ahdname* contains no reference to Stephen Báthory's former vassalage. The only feature that recalls his previous status is the consistent use of his Hungarian name – often written as Báthory István (*Bâtōriştván*) as a single word – in correspondence with the Porte.
2. In terms of their structure, the earlier Polish peace treaties differ from that of 1577, which reflects a more modern practice of the Porte: the sultan swears to the terms of the agreement only once, at the end of the document. (The structure of the 1577 *ahdname*, which became the model followed for later treaties, is thus different from the earlier treaty documents.)
3. The *ahdname* is also one of the most solemn, meticulously listing the titles of both the sultan and the king.
4. The issue of prisoner ransoms is treated with exceptional detail – more extensively than in previous *ahdnames*. A Polish prisoner who had converted to Islam was to be released immediately; a Christian prisoner was to be released immediately upon payment of ransom, and anyone captured after the conclusion of the agreement was to be released without ransom. Moreover, a Muslim who had converted only outwardly, without genuine conviction, was allowed to return to his country. The prisoner exchange was so significant that a circular was issued to the kadis (Islamic judges) of the empire, specifying the date of the Polish *ahdname* (1 cemāzīyü l-evvel 985, corresponding to 17 July 1577). If a kadi found a prisoner in their jurisdiction who turned out to be a Muslim of Polish origin, that person was to be released immediately. Any Christian prisoner was to be ransomed by the representatives of the Polish ambassador according to the prisoner's assessed value and then released. It was stipulated that only Polish subjects were to be ransomed; Christians of other nations, such as Russians, were excluded.⁶⁹ Although I have no direct data on this, it is likely that, after the peace treaty was signed, Polish agents travelled throughout the empire to ransom prisoners. A decree addressed to one of the *kadis* specifically stated that prisoners who had been released unlawfully – i.e. without ransom – as had occurred during the secret mission of the Transylvanian embassies – were not to be allowed to go free.⁷⁰

69 BOA M.D. 31. 66. Nr. 170.

70 BOA M.D. 31. 67. Nr. 171.

5. The text of the treaty also addresses relations with Crimea, trade with Moldavia and the Ottoman Empire, the regular export of goods, the shared use of pastures in the borderlands (present-day Ukraine), and the inheritance rights of dead traders.

I have compared the 1577 peace treaty with the text of the first Anglo–Ottoman trade agreement, which was concluded with the support of Stephen Báthory. Most of the trade provisions in the two texts are virtually identical, highlighting the primacy of Polish–Ottoman trade relations.⁷¹ Indeed, when William Harborne, again with Báthory's support, secured the first English trade agreement with the Porte, its trade clauses were so similar to those of the 1577 Polish–Ottoman treaty that they appear to have been modelled on it.⁷² This is not surprising, since Báthory himself had granted trading rights to English merchants two years earlier. Harborne had set out from Poland to Istanbul with an Ottoman embassy, taking advantage of Báthory's Ottoman – indeed, renegade Hungarian – connections.⁷³

The importance of trade relations is clearly evident from the correspondence surrounding the peace treaty. The treaty was dated 17 July 1577, and in the days that followed, the sultan issued ten additional decrees concerning Poland. In addition to the customary decrees sent from Istanbul to the Ottoman sanjakbeys and kadis along the Polish borders – which instructed them not to disturb the Polish king's ambassador, Jan Sienieński, and his men on their journey – these decrees also emphasised that, should they attempt to take prohibited goods out of the empire, such commodities were to be confiscated.⁷⁴

This precaution proved unnecessary, as other merchants who accompanied the ambassador departed immediately after the agreement had

71 AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 71. t. 260. no. 486, Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, 269–278; Royal ratification: AGAD, Libri Legationum, sign. 21. ff. 209a–212a; Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, 279–283. *Stephan Gerlachs deß Aeltern Tage-Buch*, 443–444; Susan Skilliter, *William Harborne and the Trade with Turkey 1578–1582. A documentary study of the first Anglo-Ottoman relations* (London: 1977), 232–233; Sándor Papp, “Keresztény vazallusok az Oszmán Birodalom észak-nyugati határainál (Diplomatikai vizsgálat a román vajdák szultáni ’ahdnâméi körül) [Christian vassals at the north-western frontiers of the Ottoman Empire (Diplomatic Examination Around the Sultan ,ahdnâmes of the Rumanian Voivodes)], *Aetas* 17 (2002): 1, 87–91.

72 Skilliter, *William Harborne*, 232–233; BOA M.D. 31. 67. Nr. 161. (Imperial letter to Stephen Báthory about the peacemaking); BOA M.D. 31. 64. Nr. 163. (It is a decree to the Moldavian voivode informing him that the Polish-Ottoman treaty had been concluded. The peace must be kept).

73 Skilliter, *William Harborne*, 44–48.

74 BOA M.D. 31. 67. Nr. 171.

been concluded. One travelled to Ankara to purchase silk lining worth 4,000 forints. A special decree was issued to the customs officers stipulating that goods acquired by the Poles with this substantial sum were to be exported from the empire free from customs duties.⁷⁵ Another decree, also addressed to the kadis, stated that some members of the ambassador's entourage lacked horses and therefore wished to buy them within the Ottoman Empire. The kadis were instructed to ensure that the Poles could acquire horses only for transporting goods and not for military purposes.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, the Ottomans did not interfere in Polish internal affairs, and Báthory himself likely did everything possible to assert his independence from the Ottoman vassalage. When the new Polish–Ottoman peace treaty was signed, there was no indication that Báthory had served as the sultan's voivode of Transylvania only a few months earlier. The new treaty was identical in style, titulature, and content to those concluded earlier between the Porte and the Polish kings.⁷⁷

The sultan also issued several orders to Ottoman dignitaries along the Hungarian–Ottoman border in connection with the new Polish agreement. One order was addressed to Mustafa, the pasha of Buda and nephew of the grand vizier. At first glance, its content is somewhat surprising: it states that the territory of the Fülek (Filakovo) sanjak “directly borders” Poland and that, because of the peace treaty, anyone attempting to claim Polish territory must be prevented from doing so. The decree was issued specifically at the request of the Polish ambassador.⁷⁸ I believe that, in this case, the Polish envoy sought a special decree to protect the territory of the thirteen Spiš towns in Upper Hungary (present-day eastern Slovakia), which had been mortgaged to Poland in 1412 by King Sigismund of Luxemburg (1387–1437), since an invasion of Poland from Filakovo (Fülek) was highly unlikely.

Conclusion

The transition from Ottoman vassal voivodeship to sovereignty as King of Poland created a new legal situation for Stephen Báthory and the

75 BOA M.D. 31. 64. Nr. 164.

76 BOA M.D. 31. 64. Nr. 165.

77 A. AGAD, AKW, Dz. tur., k. 71. t. 260. no. 486, Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, 269–278; The royal ratification: A. AGAD, Libri Legationum, sign. 21. ff. 209a–212a; Kołodziejczyk, *Ottoman-Polish Diplomatic Relations*, 279–283. *Stephan Gerlachs deß Aeltern Tage-Buch*, 443–444.

78 BOA M.D. 31. 65. Nr. 167.

Porte. Although Stephen Báthory was not initially the most promising candidate for the Polish throne from the Ottoman perspective, the Porte did everything in its power to support him in his bid for the crown. For a time, the Ottomans attempted to treat the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth as a vassal state, but Báthory's decisive action rendered this approach untenable. The peace of 1577 was an agreement between two sovereign states, and the treaty concluded at that time served as a model for later Polish–Ottoman treaties. Thus Stephen Báthory achieved what many had hoped for but few had accomplished: he rose from a wealthy Hungarian aristocrat to voivode of Transylvania – still far from sovereignty, for at that time he was regarded as a vassal of both the sultan and the King of Hungary – and ultimately became King of Poland. As king, he unquestionably attained the status of a sovereign ruler, a dignity that even the hereditary Polish monarchs could rightfully claim.

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From the Dniester to the Bosphorus: Selected Functions of the Landscape in the Eyes of Polish Diplomats to the Ottoman Empire in the First Half of the 17th Century

**Od Dniestru do Bosforu: wybrane funkcje
krajobrazu w oczach polskich dyplomatów
przy Imperium Osmańskim w pierwszej
połowie XVII wieku**

Abstract

This article examines how early modern Polish diplomats perceived and interpreted the landscapes they crossed on their way to Constantinople. Drawing on travel diaries and diplomatic reports, it explores how natural and cultural space functioned not merely as a backdrop but as an active participant in diplomatic experience. The author distinguishes several key roles of the landscape: as a stage for ceremony, where hills, bridges, and borders became tools of symbolic hierarchy and political communication; as a witness to history, where terrain preserved the memory of past battles and deaths, including the 1621 Battle of Khotyn and the site of Hetman Żółkiewski's fall, marked by his monument; as a realm of nature,

alternately admired for its richness and feared for its wildness; and finally as a source of danger, where swollen rivers, treacherous Balkan passes, and even earthquakes threatened travelers.

Keywords: Ottoman Empire, travel diaries, Polish diplomats, Constantinople, landscape, cultural space.

Abstrakt

Artykuł analizuje, w jaki sposób wczesnonowoczesni polscy dyplomaci postrzegali i interpretowali krajobrazy, które przemierzali w drodze do Konstantynopola. Opierając się na dziennikach podróży i raportach dyplomatycznych, autor ukazuje, że przestrzeń naturalna i kulturowa nie stanowiła jedynie tła, lecz była aktywnym uczestnikiem doświadczenia dyplomatycznego. Autor wyróżnia kilka kluczowych ról krajobrazu: jako sceny ceremonii, gdzie wzgórza, mosty i granice stawały się narzędziami symbolicznej hierarchii i komunikacji politycznej; jako świadka historii, w którym teren zachowywał pamięć dawnych bitew i śmierci — w tym bitwy chocimskiej z 1621 roku oraz miejsca śmierci hetmana Żółkiewskiego i jego pomnika; jako sfery natury, naprzemiennie podziwianej za jej bogactwo i budzącej lęk ze względu na dzikość; oraz wreszcie jako źródła zagrożenia, gdzie wezbrane rzeki, zdradliwe bałkańskie przełęcze, a nawet trzęsienia ziemi zagrażały podróżnym.

Słowa kluczowe: Imperium Osmańskie, dzienniki podróży, polscy dyplomaci, Konstantynopol, krajobraz, przestrzeń kulturowa.

In the early modern period, a diplomatic journey to Constantinople was not only an exceptional event for most inhabitants of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, but often the only opportunity in their lifetime to encounter a geographical and cultural space different from that of their homeland. This journey – passing through the lands of Podolia, Moldavia, Wallachia, Bulgaria, and Thrace – was, on the one hand, a physical and logistical challenge, and on the other, an encounter with a space marked by exoticism, unease, and fascination.

The aim of this article is to analyze the ways in which the landscape – understood as a dynamic natural and cultural construct – functioned in the accounts of diplomats of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth traveling to Constantinople in the first half of the seventeenth century. The focus is not so much on descriptions of space themselves, but rather on an examination of selected roles it played: as a stage for rituals and symbolic displays of status, as a carrier of historical memory, as a space

of nature, and as a potential source of danger.¹ This approach deliberately omits a deeper discussion of anthropogenic forms such as cities, castles, or smaller rural settlements. The reasons for this limitation include the sheer abundance of material, which could not be adequately addressed within the confines of a short format such as this article, and the fact that these topics have already been explored in other works within the fields of history and literary studies.² This focus also allows for the exploration of a research gap in studies on Sarmatian³ perceptions of nature, which have typically centered on territories in the eastern Mediterranean basin, often overlooking the regions of present-day Romania and Bulgaria.⁴ Likewise, various aspects related to travel and anthropogenic threats have been excluded from consideration.⁵

The source base for this article consists of diaries and diplomatic reports written by diplomats and members of their retinues. To a lesser extent, correspondence has also been used, although due to the different range of topics it addresses, it did not always provide material suitable for the purposes of this study.

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- 1 Urszula Myga-Piątek, *Krajobrazy kulturowe. Aspekty ewolucyjne i typologiczne* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2012), 17–24; Łukasz Smyrski, “Antropologia krajobrazu – na pograniczu dyscyplin,” *Etnografia Polska* 61/1–2 (2017): passim.
 - 2 Michał Kurań, “Obraz ulic w miastach imperium osmańskiego w wybranych relacjach polskich podróżników z drugiej połowy XVI i pierwszej połowy XVII wieku,” *Litteraria Copernicana* 29/1 (2019): 19–40; Roman Krzywy, “Deskrypcja Stambułu w Przeważnej legacji Samuela Twardowskiego wobec topiki laudatio urbis,” *Pamiętnik Literacki* 4 (2011): 41–58; Rafał Zarębski, “Bliski Wschód w XVI-wiecznych pamiętnikach polskich (na przykładzie wybranych kręgów tematycznych),” *Przegląd Orientalistyczny* 3–4 (2015): 187–188.
 - 3 The term “Sarmatians” is used here in a geographical sense to denote the inhabitants of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, regardless of their ethnic origin. It encompasses Poles, Ruthenians, Lithuanians, and other groups participating in the political and communicative space of the state. Just as the term “Briton” includes English, Welsh, and Scottish people, so too does “Sarmatian” in this context refer to all inhabitants of the Commonwealth who shared a political and geographical space.
 - 4 Michał Kuran, “Fauna i flora w staropolskich opisach Orientu (wybrane przykłady),” in *Analecta Literackie i Językowe*, vol. IX, ed. Michał Kuran (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2018), 303–345; Katarzyna Ossowska, “Opisy fauny i flory Ziemi Świętej pochodzące z XVI-wiecznych relacji polskich pielgrzymów,” *ibidem*, 285–303; Zarębski, “Bliski Wschód w XVI-wiecznych pamiętnikach polskich,” 188–189; Marek Prejs, *Egzotyzm w literaturze staropolskiej* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1999); Dariusz Dybek, “Przyroda egzotyczna w twórczości pisarzy polskich XVI i XVII wieku,” in *Człowiek wobec natury — humanizm wobec nauk przyrodniczych* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton, 2010).
 - 5 Antoni Mączak, *Życie codzienne w podróżach po Europie w XVI i XVII wieku* (Warszawa: Państwowy instytut wydawniczy, 1978), passim.

The Landscape as a stage for ceremony

In the writings of members of diplomatic missions, one frequently finds references that reveal the role of the landscape in ceremonial events. Among such occasions were the formal transfer of escort duties over the diplomat's retinue by Moldavian, Wallachian, and Turkish officials, as well as the ceremonial welcome of the ambassador by the local rulers. This was particularly significant in the case of the Moldavian hospodar, who, for historical reasons, was regarded as a vassal of the Polish Crown. During the passage of the ambassador through his territory, the hospodar was expected to personally greet him before they reach Iași and then accompany him during his entry into the capital.

In the first half of the seventeenth century, a hill near the village of Stepanowice (today Ștefănești, near the Romanian–Moldavian border) began to play an important role in this ceremony. After crossing the Prut River, Polish diplomats would typically pause at the top of the hill, from where they awaited the arrival of the hospodar or the next official escort. This scene was described in the greatest detail by Stanisław Oświęcim in 1636:

Having passed the bridge and the river, and having enjoyed a stretch of level ground, we came upon a rather steep and high hill, upon which there lieth a great mound, called Strojniowa [...] From this hill, as we began to descend *per declivitatem*, we expected that the hospodar, mindful of his duty [...] should, according to custom, come forth to meet us *in persona propria*.⁶

The custom to which Oświęcim refers in this instance likely originates from the time of Krzysztof Zbaraski's embassy, during which – while stationed upon this very hill – he beheld Stefan Tomşa⁷ approaching him. It is not known whether Zbaraski and Tomşa met at the summit or whether Zbaraski descended and the two met at the base; what is certain, however, is that in this case the hill granted the Polish side a clear advantage in

6 “Za mostem i rzeką trochę równiny zażywszy, przyszło w górę dość wysoką i przykrą jechać na której jest wysypana mogiła wielka zwana Strojniowa (...) Z tej góry, gdyśmy się *per declivitatem* spuszczać poczęli, spodziewaliśmy się, że hospodar, poczuwając się w powinności swej (...) *in persona propria* według zwyczaju przeciwko nam wyjechać miał”; Stanisław Oświęcim, “Podróż do Turcji” in *Z podróży Oświęcima: Turcya, Francya, Niemcy, Włochy*, ed. Piotr Klemens Kantecki (Lwów: Nakładem Księgarni Gubrynowicza i Schmidta, 1875), 7–8.

7 Samuel Twardowski, *Przeważna legacya*, ed. Roman Krzywy (Warszawa: Instytut Badań Literackich, 2000), 63.

terms of symbolic positioning, such that either course of action served to emphasize the status of the diplomat and, by extension, of the Polish king. By awaiting the hospodar atop the hill, the ambassador symbolically asserted the superiority of his sovereign, to whom the vassal was compelled to ascend – both literally and figuratively. Conversely, by descending to greet the hospodar in the valley below, the diplomat performed a symbolic act of magnanimity and grace. *A contrario*, the hospodar found himself in a disadvantaged position: he was forced either to ride up the hill – thereby accepting a gesture of subordination – or to remain at its foot and wait for the diplomat to descend to him, which risked offending the diplomat and, by implication, the Polish king himself.

It is therefore not surprising that successive ambassadors expected similar conduct from later hospodars – expectations which those rulers, however, had no intention of fulfilling. The conflict in this regard was entirely understandable and revolved around differing interpretations of what, in fact, constituted a proper act of welcome. Tomşa, after all, greeted Zbaraski twice: first near Ştefăneşti (approximately 85 km north of Iaşi), and then again after returning to the capital, when he rode out once more to meet the ambassador as he approached the city. This precedent gave the Polish side grounds to expect a hospodar's welcome at the hill in Ştefăneşti, as evidenced in the already cited passage from Oświęcim's diary, and – though to a lesser extent – in the diary of Miaskowski.⁸ Ultimately, however, no Polish diplomat succeeded in compelling the hospodar to perform the welcome at Ştefăneşti. The farthest that such a reception occurred was in 1643, when Mikołaj Bieganowski was greeted by the hospodar's delegation five miles from the city – approximately 40 kilometers away.⁹

Briefly, when discussing the significance of landscape in diplomatic ceremonies, it is also worth mentioning the aborted meeting between Stanisław Żółkiewski and Iskender Pasha. In 1617, during Polish-Ottoman negotiations, the Prince of Transylvania, Gábor Bethlen—acting as intermediary – proposed a meeting between the hetman and the

8 Miaskowski does not mention waiting for the hospodar; rather, near Ştefăneşti, he was greeted by envoys sent by the hospodar: the great *shavan* (master of artillery) and a courtier; Wojciech Miaskowski, "Diariusz Miaskowskiego," in *Wielka legacja Wojciecha Miaskowskiego do Turcji w 1640 r.*, ed. Adam Przyboś (Warszawa-Kraków: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1985), 46; Oświęcim, "Podróż do Turcji," 7–8.

9 NN's letter to S. Oświęcim, Iaşi, 30.08.1643; Stanisław Oświęcim, *Stanisława Oświęcimska Dyaryusz 1643–1651*, ed. Wiktor Czermak (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1907), 20; Michał Wasiucionek, *Ceremoniał jako polityka. Intrydy posłów wielkich Rzeczypospolitej do Jass w latach 1622–1744* (Master's thesis defended at the University of Warsaw in 2011), 89.

Ottoman governor of Silistra on Moldavian territory. The proposal was firmly rejected by the Polish side, which recognized in it a subtle exercise in spatial rhetoric. Żółkiewski's arrival would have signified not only the physical crossing of a border but also a symbolic act of submission—an action that could be publicly interpreted as a plea for peace. In this context, the very geography of movement becomes a political text: “who goes to whom” is no longer a matter of logistics but a form of communication about mutual status and relations. Żółkiewski, fully aware of this risk, perceived the proposed meeting place as part of an Ottoman narrative maneuver. In this light, the landscape is not a passive backdrop to negotiation, but an active component of diplomatic ritual – a mechanism of narrative and representational control, capable of strengthening or weakening a negotiator's position without a single word being spoken.¹⁰

The landscape played a significant role in other ceremonial practices of diplomacy, serving not only as a backdrop but also as a tool of symbolic communication. The exchanges of escorts (*przystaw*) and banners accompanying the diplomat's retinue typically took place in the open field upon entering or leaving major urban centers.¹¹ Conducting such ceremonies in open space allowed both sides to fully display their numbers and splendor – an aspect not without importance in the eyes of onlookers. These practices often provided local inhabitants with their only opportunity to see high-ranking state dignitaries – or even the ruler himself. For this reason, the ruler was expected to appear as impressively as possible, in order to present himself worthily to his subjects and thereby enhance his personal prestige. Bridges over rivers appear to have been ideal locations for such ceremonies. By their very nature, they channeled the movement of the retinue and possessed distinct symbolic significance – as physical and metaphorical points of passage, marking political and cultural boundaries.

According to Twardowski, it was on a bridge that Krzysztof Zbaraski was formally bid farewell by Radu Mihnea in 1622.¹² One particularly significant bridge that can be confidently identified as having served a ceremonial function was the bridge in Fokszany (modern-day Focșani in Romania) over the Milcov River, which marked the border between Moldavia and Wallachia. Approaching from the Moldavian side, the

10 Stanisław Żółkiewski's letter to King Sigismund III, Bar, 28.09.1617, Biblioteka Czartoryskich 110, 163.

11 Jakub Zieliński's letter to Stanisław Koniecpolski, Dziurdziów, 02.09.1634, *Korespondencja Stanisława Koniecpolskiego*, ed. Agnieszka Biedrzycka (Kraków: Societas Vistulana, 2005), 249.

12 Twardowski, *Przeważna legacja*, 70.

diplomat would be ceremonially farewelled by the Moldavian escort before crossing the bridge, where he would then be received by the Wallachian escort. This ceremonial transition was enhanced by the picturesque setting, with the majestic Carpathian peaks clearly visible from the vantage point of Focșani.¹³

The Landscape as a Witness to History

The lands stretching between Kamianets-Podilskiy and Constantinople have, throughout their history, witnessed pivotal events and decisive battles. These events, in addition to their impact on the immediate political situation, often left lasting marks on the local landscape, enabling the identification of key locations even centuries later.

One such event from history that became permanently inscribed in the landscape was the Battle of Khotyn in 1621. A year after the battle, Krzysztof Zbaraski visited the battlefield, reading the course of the battle directly from the terrain.

[...] gazing upon Chodkiewicz's accomplishment, he resolved to trace with his eyes the remnants of the war that had taken place the year before. Soldiers were present to point out the key locations. Here stood Jan Weyher, repelling the assault of the janissaries; here were the Cossacks, at times fighting with uncertain outcome, but more often gaining the upper hand; there, Stanisław Lubomirski launched the battle and dealt the Turks a crushing defeat. At sunrise, he also walked through the Ottoman encampments, identifying the sites of combat, observing the piles of bodies, and reflecting upon them in solemn contemplation.¹⁴

Reminders of the clash between the two armies were still clearly visible in 1636, when Stanisław Oświęcim, in addition to well-preserved earth fortifications, also noted bones protruding from the ground, standing

13 Miaskowski, "Diariusz Miaskowskiego," 49; Zbigniew Lubieniecki, "Dyariusz drogi tureckiej" in *Wielka legacja Wojciecha Miaskowskiego do Turcji w 1640 r.*, ed. Adam Przyboś (Warszawa–Kraków: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1985), 116.

14 "... spectato munere Chodkiewicz, vestigia belli, anno proxime elapso gesti, contrectare oculis composuit. Aderant milites, monstrabantque pugnae locos. Hic stetit contra impetum Ianizarorum Ioannem Veyheum: hic Cossacos interdum ambigue, saepius feliciter, praeliatis: inde Stanislaum Lubomirscum pugnam pariter, & cladem Turcarum exorsum. At orta luce, Osmani etiam castra circumivit, spatia certaminum cognoscendo, strues corporum intuendo, mirandoque;" Samuel Kazimierz Kuszewicz, *Narratio legationis Zbaravianae et rerum apud Otthomanos anno 1622 gestarum* (Gdańsk: 1645), 40.

out among the grass.¹⁵ Later diplomats in the first half of the seventeenth century no longer mention visiting the fortifications, but this does not mean they had vanished entirely from the landscape. When the Turkish army occupied Khotyn in 1673 and prepared to defend it against the Polish forces, it largely made use of the old ramparts constructed by the Poles in 1621.¹⁶

The sites of two other significant battles also remained visible in the landscape: the Battle of Sasowy Róg in 1612 and the Battle of Cecora in 1620. Kuszewicz recounts that during the journey, many members of Zbaraski's embassy wished to see the battlefield where Stefan Potocki had fallen. The defeat of 1612 held particular personal significance for the ambassador Wojciech Miaskowski, who had lost many friends and acquaintances there – a fact he recalls when visiting the burial mound beneath which Wallachian boyars and dignitaries, executed following Potocki's defeat, had been interred. Mass graves also marked the route of Hetman Żółkiewski's retreat in 1620, along which the remains of field ramparts at former campgrounds could still be seen, particularly at the bend of the Prut River near Cecora. The encampment of the besieged camp during the retreat seems to have left a powerful impression on the memory of the local population, as the event even entered local toponymy: one of the villages near the ramparts along the Dzieża River was named Tabor or Taborzyskoszcze (Campsite)¹⁷ in commemoration.

Surprisingly, none of the Polish legations mention the monument erected in honor of Stanisław Żółkiewski at the site of the chancellor's death in the Moldavian village of Berezówka (today Berezovca in Moldavia near the Dniester River). According to available sources, the stone obelisk was erected as early as 1621 at the expense of the chancellor's wife, Regina of the Herbut family, and their son, Jan Żółkiewski. As suggested by the inscription visible on a sketch depicting the monument in 1843, it was probably restored by Grzegorz Antoni Ogiński at the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It remained in relatively good condition until 1868, when it was toppled by a treasure hunter. The monument was later rebuilt in 1912 and restored again in 2003.¹⁸

15 Oświęcim, "Podróż do Turcji," 5; Zbaraski's visit to the battlefield was also described by Twardowski in his poem. Twardowski, *Przeważna legacya*, 63.

16 Damian Orłowski, *Chocim 1673* (Warszawa: Bellona, 2007), 79, 105–106.

17 Miaskowski, "Diariusz Miaskowskiego," 46–47; Lubieniecki, "Dyariusz drogi tureckiej," 109; Oświęcim, "Podróż do Turcji," 7.

18 This monument was mentioned, among others, by the Moldavian chronicler Miron Costin, writing in the late 17th century; Miron Costin, *Latopis Ziemi Mołdawskiej i inne utwory historyczne*, ed. Ilona Czamańska (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe

The omission of the monument to the tragically deceased Chancellor Żółkiewski by Polish diplomats may be explained by the considerable distance separating the obelisk from the customary route taken by diplomats. Berezówka lies approximately 100 kilometers west of Khotyn and around 90 kilometers west of the Prut River, along which Polish embassies typically traveled, whereas the other sites they mentioned were either directly on their route or only a short distance from it. It is also possible that diplomats who had known Żółkiewski personally did not hold the fallen hetman in as much esteem as later generations, who viewed him through the lens of his military achievements and his heroic death on the battlefield.¹⁹

Graves, fortifications, and bones protruding from the ground were among the most recognizable remnants of recent events. It was much more difficult for Poles to identify the locations of battles more distant in time. In such cases, they often resorted to generalizations, associating a given battle with a broader region rather than a precise location. This was the case, for example, with King John Albert's defeat in Bukovina (1497), which was linked to the entire Bukovina forest; with the defeat at Varna (1444), associated with the general vicinity of the city; and with the battlefield where Selim I clashed with his father Bayezid near Tekirdağ or Kariştıran (1511), which was linked to the towns of Czorluj (likely present-day Çiftlikköy) and Missyny (likely present-day Misinli), that is, the broader Kariştıran area (modern-day Büyükkariştıran in Turkey).²⁰

None of the diplomats traveling through the region in the seventeenth century, however, mention encountering any material remnants of these events; the past existed primarily within the sphere of historical memory. The situation was different in the 16th century, when Maciej Strykowski, *en route* to Constantinople in 1574, recorded that he had

UAM, 1998), 135; Marek Janicki, "Pochówki i pamięć poległych (XIV-XVII w.)," *Napis Seria 7* (2001): 75–76; Michał Baliński, *Studia historyczne Michała Balińskiego* (Wilno: 1856), 280. The original Latin inscription placed on the obelisk was also published by Baliński in the same work. As we can see in the 1843 drawing, there is an inscription – CNGA OGINSKI HWL – no longer preserved today, which most likely stands for *Curavit Nobilis Gregorius Antonius Ogiński, Hetman Wielki Litewski* ("Restored by the Noble Grzegorz Antoni Ogiński, Grand Hetman of Lithuania").

19 The motif of hostility toward Stanisław Żółkiewski may be particularly relevant in the case of Krzysztof Zbaraski, who remained in conflict with the hetman for the greater part of the final decade of Żółkiewski's life. *Korespondencja Krzysztofa księcia Zbaraskiego koniuszego koronnego 1612–1627*, ed. Anna Filipczak-Kocur (Opole: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, 2015), 33–44.

20 Twardowski, *Przeważna legacja*, 75; Oświęcim, "Podróż do Turcji," 14; Miaskowski, "Diariusz Miaskowskiego," 74.

seen the battlefield near Tekirdağ (Kariştiran), located a day's journey from Adrianople. Despite the passage of time, he noted that clear traces of the bloody clash were still visible.²¹

Diplomats also occasionally observed landscapes deliberately altered by human hands to commemorate significant events and thereby engage in a form of memory politics. Both Oświęcim and Miaskowski, in the vicinity of Focşani, describe a large mound erected to commemorate the wedding of the son of Wallachian hospodar Radu Mihnea – Alexandru Coconul – to Roxana Scarlatou.²² Twardowski and Kuszewicz, who accompanied Zbaraski, mention colossal statues or columns commissioned by Sultan Osman along the road near the Sea of Marmara, erected when, confident in victory, he set out for war against Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.²³ Deliberate reshaping of the landscape for commemorative purposes also includes the previously discussed burial mounds of fallen soldiers and the monument to Stanisław Żółkiewski, whose commemorative functions have been insightfully analyzed in an article by Marek Janicki.²⁴

The Landscape as a Realm of Untamed Nature

While traveling to Constantinople, diplomats and their retinues encountered not only anthropogenic landscapes but also environments

21 In his account, Strykowski does not mention the names of specific localities where the battle was said to have taken place. However, with a certain assumption, it is possible to more precisely locate the area he describes. If we assume that in his narrative Adrianople was mistakenly identified with present-day Lüleburgaz – which, given the topographical similarities and the fact that he composed his chronicle several years after the journey, seems plausible – then the region he describes would most likely correspond to the vicinity of present-day Büyükkarıştıran. The distance between Adrianople (Edirne) and Büyükkarıştıran is approximately 100 kilometers, while from Lüleburgaz to the same location it is just over 20 kilometers, which aligns far better with Strykowski's reference to a "day's journey." Based on this assumption, the accounts of all Polish diplomats appear to be consistent. Maciej Strykowski, *Kronika Polska, Litewska, Żmódzka y w szysztkey Rusi* (Królewiec: 1582), 726.

22 Oświęcim, "Podróż do Turcji," 17; Miaskowski, "Diariusz Miaskowskiego," 49.

23 The sources are not in agreement on this point. Twardowski writes that Osman ordered the construction of the columns upon returning from his campaign against Poland, while Kuszewicz claims they were commissioned as he was setting out for the war. With only these two accounts available, I am more inclined to trust Kuszewicz's version, as I see little reason why the sultan would have wished to commemorate a war he ultimately lost: Twardowski, *Przeważna legacya*, 75; Kuszewicz, *Narratio legationis Zbaravianae*, 40.

24 Janicki, "Pochówki i pamięć poległych," 67–75.

shaped purely by nature. When the sources are examined from this perspective, two distinct zones emerge in which descriptions of the natural landscape appear most concentrated. The first extends from the town of Focșani to the Balkan Mountains; the second encompasses the stretch between Adrianople (modern-day Edirne) and Constantinople.

The first of these regions astonished the Sarmatians primarily with its richness. They observed with wonder the abundance of wild animals and admired the beautiful, fertile fields. During Miaskowski's journey through Wallachia in 1640, to the surprise of the entire retinue, one of the escorting officers ordered his outfit to ride across the fields in a line to flush out and capture the game hiding there. Zbigniew Lubieniecki, who accompanied Miaskowski, recorded the moment with delight:

And so it was that in a single day I beheld nigh thirty hares. In these lands, they do breed most shamefully in abundance, though in the fields there be neither groves nor thickets. Yet likewise, the partridges do abound most shamefully; whilst riding but half a mile through the fields, the hounds did flush forth several dozens of pairs. Bustards, cranes, and wild geese are also in great number, though in the fields there be neither groves nor lakes.²⁵

The terrain itself was also appreciated. The Poles valued the flatness of Wallachia, which not only made travel easier but may also have reminded them of the familiar landscapes of their homeland – though it is worth noting that no direct comparison to Poland is ever made. Oświęcim describes Wallachia with the adjectives “flat and merry,” Miaskowski calls it “beautiful,” and Twardowski likewise praises the region for its open, flat terrain.²⁶

The greatest attention throughout the journey was devoted, however, to the ecosystem of the Danube. Marek Prejs explains this phenomenon by pointing to the Danube's significance as a civilizational boundary, separating the Sarmatian world from the Turkish one – a symbolic threshold whose crossing invited heightened emphasis.²⁷ Lubieniecki focused primarily on the abundance of bird species and the richness of the local fauna. Kuszewicz, on the other hand, emphasized the vegetation and

25 “I tak jednego dnia blisko 30 zajęcy widziałem. Jest w tych to krajach haniebnie sieła ich, choć w polach gajów, chrustów nie masz. Ale i kuropatw haniebnie sieła; do kilkudziesiąt par jadąc polem wyżłowie w półmiliu spłoszyli. Dropi, żurawi, gęsi dzikich wiele jest, choć w polu gajów, jezior nie masz.” Lubieniecki, “Dyariusz drogi tureckiej,” 119.

26 Miaskowski, “Diariusz Miaskowskiego,” 51; Oświęcim, “Podróż do Turcji,” 18; Twardowski, *Przeważna legacya*, 68.

27 Prejs, *Egzotyizm w literaturze staropolskiej*, 52–54.

terrain, describing the landscape as “the most beautiful.”²⁸ Twardowski combined both perspectives, thereby producing a more complete and evocative account:

Hence, climbing higher, we behold upon the plain

The Danube—swift yet broad in its sovereign
flow, Europe’s foremost river; born among
the Helvetians, It fades at last within the dusky Pontic deep.
Rich islands follow after, where on gracious turf
Graze geese and cranes all white-plum’d in array;
The swans’ cry and lament wake echoes in the shade
When rosy-fingered Dawn arises from her bed.
Along the currents Nereids weave their playful dances,
Then, weary, cool their limbs beneath the myrtle’s gloom;
Thick ivy twines the banks on either side, and here
The choicest melons glow with golden, honey’d rind.
Fisher-folk in their number throng the waters everywhere:
Some at the weirs take mighty sturgeon, some with stout lines
Draw monstrous catfish up, while with light-cast seines
Others ensnare sterlets and red mullet fleck’d with gold.²⁹

The boundary of the first region was marked by the Balkan Mountains, which – unlike the previous landscapes – were not held in high regard by the Sarmatians. Miaskowski described them as “unpleasant,” while Oświęcim referred to them as “high ... very unpleasant and difficult for travelers.” Lubieniecki likewise emphasized their height, complaining of the harsh, rocky roads.³⁰ The most extensive description of the mountains was once again offered by Twardowski, though it does not differ significantly from the others:

28 Lubieniecki, “Dyariusz drogi tureckiej,” 124; Kuszewicz, *Narratio legationis Zbaravia-nae*, 54–55.

29 “Stąd w górę się podniósłszy, obaczmy w równinie/ Dunaj, jako bystrze i szeroka pły-nie:/ Rzekę przednią Europy. Która w horyzoncie/ Począwszy się Helwetów, w czarnym znika Poncie;/ Po niej żyzne ostrowy, gdzie po wdzięcznej trawie./ Gęsi, i białopióre pasą się żurawie;/ Krzyk i lament łabęci echo w cieniu sporzy./ Z łożnice gdy różanej przyjdzie wstawać zorzy./ Po nurtach nereidy z sobą harce zwodzą,/ A w cieniu spracowane myrtami się chłodzą;/ Brzegi bluszcz bujne snuje, z tej i owej strony,/ Smakiem najdoskonalsze żółcą się melony./ Ciekawych pełno pływa rybołówów wszędy./ Ci po jazach jesiotry, ci na sielne wędy/ Biorą wyży ogromne, ci w lekkie sageny/ Czeczugi, i złożone imają barweny.” Twardowski, *Przeważna legacya*, 71.

30 Miaskowski, “Diariusz Miaskowskiego,” 53; Oświęcim, “Podróż do Turcji,” 47–48; Lubieniecki, “Dyariusz drogi tureckiej,” 131.

Then, as we enter here, the shadows of tall peaks
 Do straightway blot the sun's all-gilded rays;
 On rocky cliffs there booms a thunderous roar,
 While winds, choked in the gulfs,
 Break forth with force and shatter trees with might.
 Dark paths lie through wastes and thickets wild,
 Where mouflons, deer, and nimble goats
 Cling to the heights and hang on ledges sheer.
 Here clouds in congress gather close and low,
 And in cold caverns harpies bark and shriek.³¹

The mountains are clearly portrayed in a negative light – as great masses that block out the sun and release suffocating winds so strong they break the trees in their path. The roads are desolate, inhabited only by horned beasts, and the image of dread is completed by mythological harpies lurking in caves.

As noted at the beginning of this chapter, the Balkans mark the end of the first major region eagerly described by the diplomats. The road beyond – through the lands of present-day Bulgaria – is generally devoid of reflections on the landscape, particularly with regard to nature, which apparently did not strike the Sarmatians as worthy of mention. This changes, however, when the diplomats pass (depending on the route taken) through Adrianople (modern-day Edirne in Turkey) or Kirk Kilise (modern-day Kırklareli in Turkey). At that point, the landscape must have changed so markedly that the Poles, intrigued by its unfamiliarity, resumed describing it once more.

A common observation concerned changes in the terrain, which became increasingly rocky, as well as shifts in vegetation: the appearance of cypress trees, orange trees, and chestnuts. It is difficult to determine whether the rocky ground was perceived as a virtue or a flaw. The reception of cypresses, however, was clearly positive, as Miaskowski emphasized the presence of one such tree in a caravanserai. The most enthusiastic praise for the landscape came from Samuel Twardowski, who painted for the reader an image of an earthly Arcadia, where even in winter flowers continue to bloom, and a pleasant fragrance fills the air. At the same time, even he acknowledged the landscape's shortcomings, accusing the Turks of squandering the land's potential – a land which,

31 "Tedy tu jako wciągniem, gór ogromnych cienie/ słoneczne nam zarazem zawałają promienie./ Po skałach huk, wiatry się po przepaściach duszą,/ skąd się hurmem wykradą drzewa silnie kruszą./ Drogi ciemne zaległy pustynie i łązy,/ po których mufrońni, danieli i kozy/ wieszają się. Tu z sobą chmury się zlegają,/ tu po zimnych harpije kawernach szczekają." Twardowski, *Przeważna legacya*, 73.

instead of yielding rice and olives, produced only weeds. In the context of contemporary thought, which linked climate and fertility with moral order, this was more than a mere economic critique. Paradise, according to medieval tradition, was a space both fertile and orderly, whereas hell appeared as a realm of extremes – of frost and fire, chaos and barrenness. Thus, a land that could be paradise but bears only weeds is here presented as tainted by human mismanagement, or even morally degraded.³²

In their observations, the Poles also noted a greater concentration of certain bird species – most notably storks and turtle doves. Upon reaching the Sea of Marmara, the Polish diplomats also had the opportunity to see marine animals, although it appears they were not particularly interested in them. Lubieniecki makes only a passing mention of dolphins he observed, Twardowski notes merely a turtle, and Miaskowski, although he refers to sea fish, is unable to name a single species.³³ Stanisław Oświęcim, in particular, seemed to appreciate the Mediterranean landscape. He praised the beautiful location of Küçükçekmece near Constantinople: “on one side it is washed by the sea, offering a far-reaching prospect; on the other, a great lake, into which water flows from that same sea; and on a third side, a high hill adorned with trees bearing various fruits.”³⁴

The Landscape as a Source of Danger

Any journey in the pre-industrial era was inherently fraught with risks to the life and health of travelers. These dangers can be divided into two categories: those of anthropogenic origin and those arising from nature. In this chapter, we shall focus on the latter – particularly those dangers stemming from the landscape itself.³⁵

The first major category of natural hazards faced by travelers was rivers. On the journey to Constantinople, diplomats had to cross two large rivers – the Dniester and the Danube – as well as an indeterminate

32 Yuri M. Lotman, *Universe of the Mind. A Semiotic Theory of Culture* (London–New York: I. B. Tauris, 1990), 173–175, 179.

33 Twardowski, *Przeważna legacya*, 75; Miaskowski, “Diariusz Miaskowskiego,” 55–56; Lubieniecki, “Dyariusz drogi tureckiej,” 132; Prejs, *Egzotyzm w literaturze staropolskiej*, 64–65.

34 “z jednej strony oblewa go morze, na które daleki jest prospekt, z drugiej strony jezioro wielkie, w które z tegoż morza woda wpada, z trzecie góra wysoka, drzewami różnych owoców przyozdobiona.” Oświęcim, “Podróż do Turcji,” 53–54.

35 On the subject of anthropogenic threats, see: Mączak, *Życie codzienne w podróżach*, 175–195.

number of smaller ones.³⁶ Polish diplomats generally tried to plan their travels to avoid the peak of the spring thaw and heavy rains, which in some cases significantly delayed the start of their missions.³⁷ Following periods of intense rainfall or snowmelt, even normally small streams could become formidable obstacles.

Such was the case with the Seret River, which Miaskowski's delegation was forced to cross in early March 1640. Swollen by meltwater, the river necessitated a hybrid crossing: wagons were ferried across on barges, while the animals were led through a ford which, despite extensive searching, still reached halfway up the horses' flanks. Zbigniew Lubieniecki was particularly fortunate during this crossing, barely managing – thanks to the help of a ferryman – to save his carriage from slipping off the barge.³⁸ A different method was employed when crossing the Pravov River in Wallachia. Observing its depth and swift current, the Wallachian escort ordered his cavalry to position themselves in a line upstream of the ford, in order to break the current and slow the flow. According to Miaskowski, this tactic had some effect – though even so, the current managed to sweep away several wagons.³⁹

The most problematic and dangerous part of the journey was the route through the Balkan mountain range, which the Poles traversed between Provadia and Haidos (modern-day Aytos in Bulgaria). Oświęcim describes two possible ways of crossing the mountain massif: the first led through unspecified passes – most likely corresponding in large part to the modern Route 73 – while the second followed the course of the “Iciera” River (probably today's Luda Kamchiya, aligning with the modern Route 208). The latter route was considered somewhat easier, though still challenging due to the river's swift current, which had to be crossed no fewer than seventeen times, as well as due to steep, rocky ascents. Moreover, this route was not always accessible: during spring thaws or heavy rains, the swelling of the river made passage impossible, forcing diplomats to take the more difficult road through the mountain passes.⁴⁰

Crossing the Balkans required careful preparation in advance. Before setting out on the mountain road, all wagons were thoroughly repaired,

36 Miaskowski, “Diariusz Miaskowskiego,” 45; *idem*, *Relacja Miaskowskiego*, 81.

37 Krzysztof Kochanowski's letter to King Sigismund III, Constantinople, 22.06.1602, *Documente privitoare la Istoria Romanilor. Suplementul II, Vol. II*, ed. Eudoxiu de Hurmuzaki (București: Sococu și Teclu, 1895), 141.

38 Lubieniecki, “Dyariusz drogi tureckiej,” 115–116.

39 Miaskowski, “Diariusz Miaskowskiego,” 50.

40 Oświęcim, “Podróż do Turcji,” 47–48.

and in Provadia, special buffalo were hired for the task of hauling the carriages up and down the rocky slopes. Miaskowski describes the use of ropes and chains for this purpose – likely in much the same manner as one would transport artillery. The effort demanded the involvement of the entire retinue and, in some instances, even the personal assistance of the diplomat himself. Zbigniew Lubieniecki experienced firsthand the dangers of such a crossing: while securing his carriage, he was pinned against the rocks and suffered severe bruising to his back.⁴¹ Complaints about the Balkan passage also came from Aleksander Trzebiński, who made the crossing in the winter of 1634. In a brief letter to his superior, he described the road as “very bad, cold, and snowy.”⁴² One can only imagine how greatly the harsh winter conditions intensified the hardships of what was already a demanding journey.

The final – and perhaps most unpredictable yet potentially most dangerous – type of threat Polish diplomats could encounter in the landscape south of Khotyn were earthquakes, which occasionally struck the region. One such event affected the embassy of Wojciech Miaskowski during its journey to Constantinople in 1640. On March 19, the delegation stopped in the village of Rybnik/Rymnik (present-day Râmnicu Sărat in Romania), situated halfway between Focșani and Buzău. While they were encamped there, the earth shook three times. Zbigniew Lubieniecki, a member of the embassy, described the event as follows:

In the morning *eadem die*, an hour before daybreak once, and again at midnight, the earth did quake throughout the whole town; and a third time, toward midday. As it shook by night – mine host with whom I lodged, being an old man, and many other elders, men of good credit, and some from our own company, did affirm they felt it; and the wagoners, who slept beneath the open sky beside the carts, did so clutch them for the trembling of the earth. As for the shaking by day, it was in some places only. In the lodging of Mr Kossakowski, our companion, he himself lay in bed unaware, but the hostess, who sat upon the ground near the hearth, did suddenly leap up and exclaim: ‘Do ye not feel it?’ Only then did the others look to the earth and perceive that verily it was so. He marveled, and his servants likewise, for it endured for a quarter hour. As for myself, I felt it not by night, for I slept right soundly, having sat up late with the company.

41 Miaskowski, “Diariusz Miaskowskiego,” 73; Lubieniecki, “Dyariusz drogi tureckiej,” 158–159; Kuszewicz, *Narratio legationis Zbaravianae*, 57–58. On the methods of transporting artillery, see: Walther Litzelmann, *Vortrab zu der Arckalay - Büchsenmeisterbuch*, 1580–1582, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cgm 909, ff. 161v–162.

42 Aleksander Trzebiński’s letter to Stanisław Koniecpolski, Kararagat, 06.02.1634; *Korespondencja Stanisława Koniecpolskiego*, 210.

By day I marked it not either, for, as I reckon, the ground shook not in the place where I sat.”⁴³

Some members of the diplomat's retinue reported experiencing as many as three seismic tremors in a single day, though the ambassador himself, Miaskowski, mentioned only one, which he felt in the evening around 8 p.m.⁴⁴ These differing accounts suggest that the embassy encountered a localized earthquake of moderate magnitude while in Râmnicu Sărat. The nature of the event – extended over time and varying in perceived intensity – corresponds to a well-documented seismic pattern: a main energy impulse preceded or followed by a series of micro-tremors. Given the descriptions of coachmen clinging to their wagons as the ground shook, and the report of the earth trembling for as long as a quarter of an hour, the intensity of the phenomenon can be estimated at level III, and in some areas even level V, on the Mercalli intensity scale.

Polish diplomats occasionally recorded far more dangerous earthquakes. Particularly striking is the account given by Maciej Strykowski, a participant in Jędrzej Taranowski's embassy to Constantinople in 1574–1575.⁴⁵ Despite the passage of more than half a century, Strykowski vividly recalls traces of the catastrophic earthquake of 1509. Contemporary seismological studies estimate this quake – known as the so-called “Little Apocalypse” (*küçük kıyamet* in Turkish) – at approximately 7.2 on the Richter scale or VIII–IX on the Mercalli scale, with its epicenter likely located in the Sea of Marmara region. The scale of destruction and the death toll, estimated in the tens of thousands, make it one of the most devastating earthquakes in the history of Ottoman Constantinople. In contrast with such a powerful event, the tremors felt in Râmnicu Sărat

43 “Rano *eadem die* na godzinę przede dniem raz, a drugi w pół nocy ziemia trzęsła się po wszystkim miasteczku i w dzień ku południowi trzeci raz. Co w nocy się trzęsła, gospodarz mój, com u niego stał, już stary i wiele innych starych ludzi godnych wiary i z kompaniję naszej niektórzy powiedali, że czuli, a woźnice, co na dworze spali podle wozów, aż się wozów chwyтали dla trzęsienia ziemię. Co w dzień się trzęsła, to miejscami. W gospodzie pana Kossakowskiego, towarzysza naszego, sam leżał w łóżku nie postrzegłszy, ale gospodyni co siedziała na ziemi u pieca, porwie się i rzecze jej: “Czy nie czujecie?” Oni dopiero pojrzą na ziemię, ale jest *in rei veritate*. Dziwował się i z czeladzią, a trwało to przez ćwierć godziny. Ja tego sam nie czułem w nocy, bom spałem bardzo dobrze, siedziawszy z wieczora długo w noc z kompaniją. W dzień nie postrzegłem, bom nie widział, nie trzęsła się znać na tym miejscu, gdzie siedział.” Lubieniecki, “Dyariusz drogi tureckiej,” 118.

44 Miaskowski, “Diariusz Miaskowskiego,” 50.

45 Strykowski, *Kronika Polska, Litewska, Żmudzka*, 719.

in 1640 seem far less intense, though they nonetheless reflect the clear seismic activity characteristic of the Danubian and Balkan regions.⁴⁶

Conclusion

As indicated in the title, this article addresses only selected functions that the landscape served during the journeys of Poles to the Bosphorus, and it certainly does not exhaust this vast and multifaceted subject. Having examined the role of landscape in ceremonies, we may observe that it typically combined both practical and symbolic functions, capable of significantly enriching the ceremonial with new layers of meaning and opening the way for status-related performances among its participants – as was the case with the hill in Ștefănești.

Having examined the section devoted to the question of history, we may conclude that the relationship between history and landscape operated in both directions. In the period immediately following a given event – when its traces were still visible in the terrain – the landscape served a commemorative and educational function. This is evident in the case of Krzysztof Zbaraski, who reconstructed the course of the Battle of Khotyn by reading the landscape, or in the burial mounds marking the retreat route of Stanisław Żółkiewski from Moldavia in 1620. Over time, however, as the landscape ceased to vividly reflect the course of past events, the relationship between history and landscape reversed: now it was historical knowledge that prompted travelers to seek out places of significance within the landscape. In the early modern period, the landscape not only happened to preserve traces of history but was also deliberately shaped by human hands and perceived as a space of memory – serving to construct a particular vision of the past, advantageous from the perspective of the state, a noble family, or the ruling dynasty.⁴⁷

46 Nicholas Ambraseys, *Earthquakes in the Mediterranean and Middle East: A Multidisciplinary Study of Seismicity up to 1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 422–432.

47 It is worth quoting here a passage from the will of Stanisław Żółkiewski from the year 1618, in which the author explicitly states the intended purpose of the burial mound he desired: “A jeżeliby w Wołoszech albo gdzie za granicą śmierć Pan Bóg przysłał, tamże pogrześć grzeszne ciało moje, a na temże miejscu mogiłę wysoką usuć; nie dla ambicyjej jakiej tak mieć chcę, ale żeby grób był kopcem Rzeczypospolitej granic, żeby się potomny wiek wzbudzał do pomnożenia i rozszerzenia granic państw Rzeczypospolitej”; [“And should it be that in Wallachia or elsewhere beyond the border the Lord God sends me death, let my sinful body be buried there, and upon that very spot let a high mound be raised; not out of any ambition do I wish this, but that the grave might serve

Focusing on the more natural aspects of the landscape, several general observations can be made. The first is the Poles' aversion to mountains, which they were unable to describe with any superlatives, and their clear preference for flat terrain – most evident in their appreciation of Wallachia. Depending on individual tastes, they could also be genuinely captivated by the flora and fauna they encountered, valuing above all its abundance. More mixed impressions emerge from their observations of the Mediterranean landscape, which some Poles found enchanting, while others gave it little attention. What unites these reflections, however, is a consistent marginalization of the sea – an element that seemed both unfamiliar and largely unappealing to them.

Based on the final section of this article, devoted to the dangers associated with travel, it becomes clear that even in the absence of anthropogenic threats, traversing routes considered in the 17th century to be major lines of communication involved numerous challenges and risks. Two key segments of the journey to Constantinople posed particular threats to the lives and health of travelers. The first was the crossing of rivers without bridges, which required hazardous fording – often in unfavorable weather conditions. The second critical stage of the journey was the passage through the Balkans, where the difficult and rocky terrain forced the diplomatic retinue to undertake prior preparations, resulting in additional expense. In addition, Polish diplomats had to contend with the unfamiliar phenomenon of earthquakes – unknown in their homeland – which, at irregular intervals, struck the territories south of the Dniester.

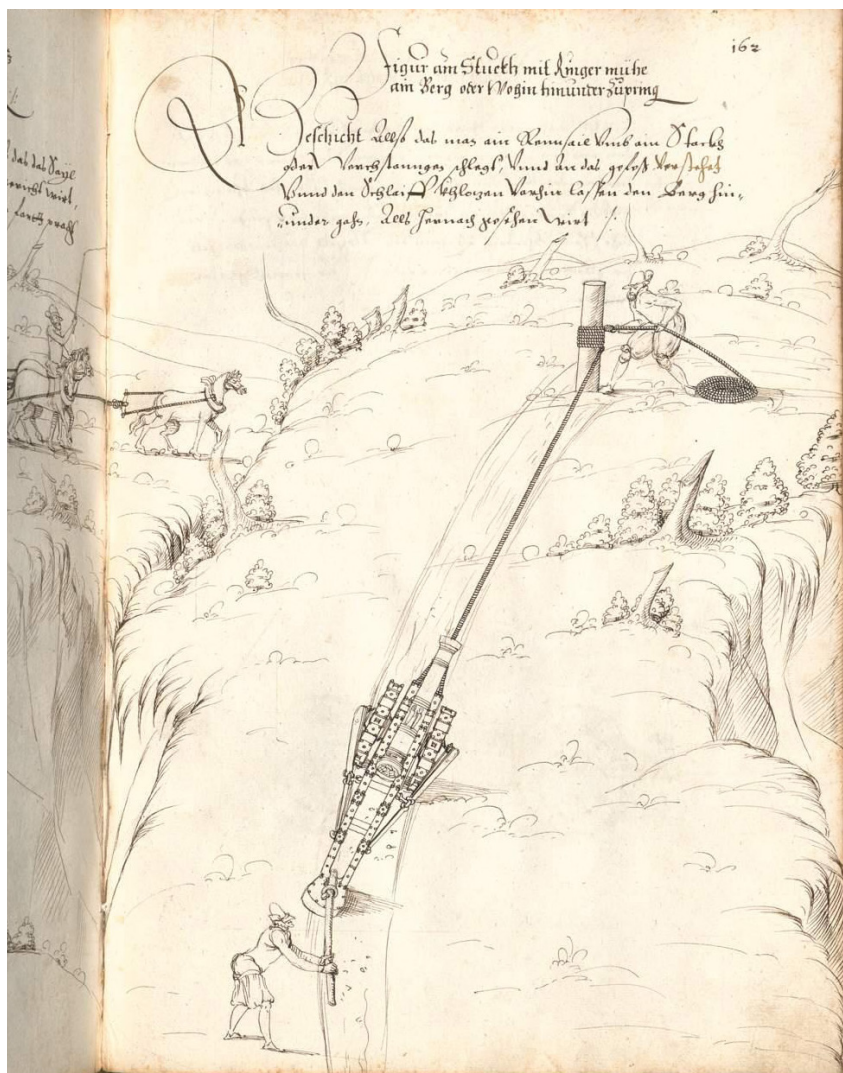
as a marker of the Commonwealth's borders, that future generations might be stirred to enlarge and expand the frontiers of the Commonwealth"]; "Testament B," in *Pisma Stanisława Żółkiewskiego kanclerza koronnego i hetmana*, ed. August Bielowski (Lwów: Ossolineum, 1861), 290.



The Monument to Stanisław Żółkiewski in the village of Berezovca, as it stood in 1843. M. Baliński, *Studia historyczne Michała Balińskiego* (Wilno: 1856), 227.



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Relations between the Transylvanian Prince György II Rákóczi and the Political Elite of the Kingdom of Hungary (1657–1658)¹

Stosunki między księciem Siedmiogrodu
Jerzym II Rakoczym a elitą polityczną
Królestwa Węgier (1657–1658)

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- 1 This article has been written within the framework of the HUN-REN–SZTE Research Group of the Ottoman Age (between 2017 and 2022 MTA–SZTE Research Group of the Ottoman Age and between 2022 and September 2023 ELKH–SZTE Research Group of the Ottoman Age). This project has received funding from the HUN-REN Hungarian Research Network. This paper focuses only on the affairs of the political elite of the Kingdom of Hungary. For an examination of the broader context, see: János Szabados “...egyiket megsértvén, mástul semmit sem reménlhetvén, egyebet az veszedelemlnél magára nem várhatna. II. Rákóczi György 1657–1658. évi politikája, avagy a fejedelmi cím és Jenő elvesztéséhez vezető út bemutatása a Habsburg Monarchia és a Magyar Királyság szemszögéből 1”, *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 135/2 (2022): 259–289; János Szabados “...egyiket megsértvén, mástul semmit sem reménlhetvén, egyebet az veszedelemlnél magára nem várhatna. II. Rákóczi György 1657–1658. évi politikája, avagy a fejedelmi cím és Jenő elvesztéséhez vezető út bemutatása a Habsburg Monarchia és a Magyar Királyság szemszögéből 2”, *Hadtörténelmi Közlemények* 135/3 (2022): 571–594; I am indebted to András Peter Szabó, who provided me with the itinerary of Ferenc Wesselényi for the clarification of the database presented in the study, especially regarding the place of dispatch of certain documents, and also with important letters, which were not available despite my extensive collection.

Abstract

In this paper, I examine the relations between Prince György II Rákóczi and the political elite of the Kingdom of Hungary in the period following the Transylvanian prince's campaign in Poland (1657). I briefly describe the operation of the court apparatus responsible for eastern affairs and the activities of the principal Hungarian officeholders – the palatine, the archbishop of Esztergom, the judge royal, and the chancellor – together with the dynamics of their correspondence with Rákóczi in light of these events. To support this investigation, I have developed a database containing information from published sources and archival documents. Combining qualitative aspects (the intentions and interests of the Hungarian dignitaries) with quantitative analysis, the study offers answers to questions such as why the palatine and the archbishop of Esztergom did not correspond for months and through which intermediaries the correspondence was conducted. The analysis also sheds light on the political motivations that led Hungarian dignitaries either to support the prince or, at times, to oppose his policies.

Keywords: Principality of Transylvania, Ottoman Empire, diplomacy, correspondence, political interests, quantitative and qualitative analysis.

Abstrakt

W niniejszym artykule analizuję relacje między księciem Jerzym II Rakoczym a elitą polityczną Królestwa Węgier w okresie po kampanii siedmiogrodzkiego księcia w Polsce (1657). Krótko przedstawiam funkcjonowanie aparatu dworskiego odpowiedzialnego za sprawy wschodnie oraz działalność najważniejszych węgierskich urzędników – palatyna, arcybiskupa Esztergomu, najwyższego sędziego oraz kanclerza – a także dynamikę ich korespondencji z Rakoczym w świetle tych wydarzeń. Na potrzeby badań opracowałem bazę danych zawierającą informacje z opublikowanych źródeł i dokumentów archiwalnych. Łącząc analizę jakościową (intencje i interesy węgierskich dostojników) z analizą ilościową, badanie dostarcza odpowiedzi na takie pytania jak: dlaczego palatyn i arcybiskup Esztergomu nie korespondowali ze sobą przez wiele miesięcy oraz za pośrednictwem jakich osób prowadzono korespondencję? Analiza rzuca również światło na motywacje polityczne, które skłaniały węgierskich dostojników do wspierania jego polityki, a niekiedy także do sprzeciwiania się jej.

Słowa kluczowe: Księstwo Siedmiogrodu, Imperium Osmańskie, dyplomacja, korespondencja, interesy polityczne, analiza ilościowa i jakościowa.

Introduction

In 1657, the Transylvanian prince György II Rákóczi (reigned 1648–1660) attacked the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth in alliance with Sweden and the Cossacks, but without the permission of the Sublime Porte.² Despite initial successes, the campaign ended in failure in the summer of 1657, when his allies abandoned the prince, and the Poles forced him to sign a humiliating peace. The prince returned home with only a handful of troops, while the larger part of his army was captured by the Crimean Tatars.³ In this paper, I present the dynamics of the diplomatic relationship between György II Rákóczi and the political elite of the Kingdom of Hungary. First, I briefly survey the governmental structure of the Habsburg Monarchy and the Kingdom of Hungary, and then introduce the members of the Hungarian political elite. Secondly, I examine their views on the prince's policies, period by period (August – November 1657, November 1657 – January 1658, January – July 1658, July – September 1658).⁴ To analyse this correspondence, I draw on a database that I have compiled. In what follows, I will seek to answer the question – by combining quantitative and qualitative analysis – of when, and for what reasons, the political elite was motivated to correspond or refrain from communicating with the prince, and what the outcomes of the events and negotiations were up to the end of September 1658.

The Eastern diplomacy of the Habsburg Monarchy and the officials of the Kingdom of Hungary

In the seventeenth century, the Aulic War Council was responsible for diplomacy between the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire. Since Leopold I, King of Hungary and Bohemia and later Holy Roman Emperor (1658–1705),⁵ was residing in Prague and subsequently in

2 For the diplomatic preparations for the campaign, see: Gábor Kármán, *Confession and Politics in the Principality of Transylvania 1644–1657* (Göttingen: Vanderhoeck & Ruprecht, 2020), 199–250.

3 Gábor Kármán, “Die Krise des Fürstentums Siebenbürgen in den Jahren 1657 bis 1661. Eine Vorgeschichte des habsburgisch-osmanischen Krieges von 1663/1664,” in *Das “Dreieckverhältnis” zwischen Polen, Osmanen und Habsburgern* (Wien: Heeresgeschichtliches Museum, 2022), 87–90.

4 The periods represent major turning points in the historical events described later in this paper.

5 John P. Spielman, *Leopold I. zur Macht nicht geboren* (Verlag Styria: Graz – Köln – Wien, 1981), 27–193.

Frankfurt between the autumn of 1657 and the summer of 1658, the Aulic War Council was divided into a “present” and a “left behind” department, each keeping separate registers. In addition, in Vienna the so-called “left behind Privy and Deputy Councillors” (*hinterlassene geheime und deputierte Räte*) oversaw the various affairs.⁶

Besides the Aulic War Council, Habsburg–Ottoman diplomacy was obviously moulded by leading Hungarian dignitaries. The most important dignitaries in the Kingdom of Hungary in the seventeenth century were the palatine, the archbishop of Esztergom, the judge royal, and the chancellor.⁷

Ferenc Wesselényi was elected Palatine (1655–1667) in 1655, but his initial attitude towards the Rákóczi family was rather cold because they had estates in Upper Hungary and it gave rise to administrative conflicts. However, this attitude seems to have eased over time. The Palatine was also hostile to György II Rákóczi’s campaign in Poland.⁸ The archbishop of Esztergom at this time was György Lippay (in office 1642–1666), who had previous experience in Habsburg–Ottoman diplomacy, since in 1642 (while still chancellor) he was a key member of the committee that negotiated the so-called second peace talks in Szőny. The archbishop was also quite distant from György II Rákóczi in the first half of the 1650s because of the negotiations of the prince with Protestant rulers.⁹ Ferenc Nádasdy,

6 János Szabados, *Die Karriere des deutschen Renegaten (Hans Caspar) in Ofen (1627–1660) im politischen und kulturellen Kontext* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2023), 37–38; Gergely Brandl, Csaba Göncöl, Krisztina Juhász, Gellért Ernő Marton, and János Szabados, “Kommunikation und Nachrichtenaustausch – Verhandlungsstrategie der habsburgischen Seite bei der Friedensverhandlung von Szőny 1627,” *Chronica. Annual of the History University of Szeged* 19 (2020): 125; For the list of the probable councillors in that period, see: Szabados, “...egyiket megsértvén...,” 265, footnote 33.

7 The Ban of Croatia was also an important dignitary, but Miklós Zrínyi did not interfere much in the prince’s affairs, even though he had an excellent grasp of the broader political context. Cf. János B. Szabó, *Erdély tragédiája 1657–1662* (Budapest: Corvina, 2019), 104–114.

8 For Wesselényi, see: Gábor Várkonyi, “A nádor és a fejedelem. Gondolatok Wesselényi Ferenc és II. Rákóczi György kapcsolatáról,” in *Portré és Imázs. Politikai propaganda és reprezentáció a kora újkorban*, eds. Nóra G. Etényi, Ildikó Horn (Budapest: L’Harmattan, 2008), 147–162; Kármán, *Confession and Politics*, 184–197; Gábor Várkonyi, “Ütközőpályán: Wesselényi Ferenc nádor állásfoglalása II. Rákóczi György erdélyi fejedelem politikájáról, 1658,” in *Háborúk, alkotások, életutak. Tanulmányok a 17. század közepének európai történelméről*, eds. Gábor Nagy, Noémi Viskolcz (Miskolc: Miskolci Egyetemi Kiadó, 2019), 172–179.

9 For Lippay, see: István Fazekas, *Die Ungarische Hofkanzlei und ihre Beamten von 1527 bis 1690* (Vienna: Institut für Ungarische Geschichtsforschung in Wien, Collegium Hungaricum, 2024), 376–377. For his attitude towards the Rákóczi family, see: Kármán, *Confession and Politics*, 145–150, 179–197.

then a relatively young judge royal (in office until 1670),¹⁰ held his post from 1655, and like Wesselényi, seems to have established contact with the Transylvanian prince from this time.¹¹

Chancellor György Szelepcsényi (1644–1666), who was already archbishop of Kalocsa in the examined period, may have been the most influential in shaping the relations between Rákóczi and the elite. He had ample experience in the field of Habsburg–Ottoman diplomacy, as he had visited Constantinople at least two times (1641, 1643) before his appointment as chancellor. Moreover, in 1642 he also participated in the peace negotiations in Szőny. As chancellor, for example, Szelepcsényi reconciled the conflicts between Wesselényi and Rákóczi in 1654 and was sent after the prince in 1657 to dissuade him from pursuing his campaign, a mission that ultimately proved unsuccessful. His role is significant because, as chancellor, he was most of the time directly at the side of the monarch and thus had indirect influence on the Hungarian king.¹²

At this point, it is necessary to mention Jónás Mednyánszky – another key figure in the unofficial relations with the political elite of the Kingdom of Hungary. This servitor of Rákóczi had already played an important role under György I Rákóczi (1630–1648) and possessed an exceptionally extensive network of contacts.¹³ He maintained communication with almost all the above-mentioned Hungarian dignitaries (see Table 1),¹⁴ as well as with several highly influential court officials, and virtually all significant unofficial information passed through him. In addition, he received regular reports from Vienna, and thus served as a key source of information for the prince on Hungarian affairs and, indirectly on Ottoman matters as well.¹⁵

10 Although the term Lord Chief Justice also appears in the literature, *Jugde Royal* (*iudex curiae regis*, Hung. *országbíró*) better reflects the legal system of the Kingdom of Hungary than the aforementioned Anglo-Saxon term. Cf. Kármán, *Confession and Politics*, 139, 189, 194; János M. Bak, *Online Decreta Regni Mediaevalis Hungariae. The Laws of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary* (Budapest: Central European University, 2019), 1043 (footnote 155) and 1612.

11 For Nádasdy, see: Katalin Toma, “Egy dunántúli nagyúr erdélyi kapcsolatai. Nádasdy III. Ferenc és II. Rákóczi György,” *Századok* 146/5 (2012): 1161–1188.

12 For the role of the Chancellor and for Szelepcsényi, see: Fazekas, *Die Ungarische Hofkanzlei*, 49–50, 391–393.

13 For Mednyánszky's correspondence with the prince, see: *Monumenta Hungarica, az az Magyar Emlékezetes Írások*. I, ed. Károly György Rumy (Pest: Trattner János Tamás, 1817), 281–282; The National Archives of Hungary (MNL OL) Archives of the Family Mednyánszky (P 497), box 3. fasc. “1646, 1647” *passim*.

14 For the sources used in the database, see footnotes: 16–19.

15 For his importance, see: Gergely Sárközi, “Álhírek és valóság. II. Rákóczi György lengyelországi hadjárata és Mednyánszky Jónás tevékenysége Vitnyédy István leveleinek

Table 1. The Correspondence of György II Rákóczi with the political elite of the Kingdom of Hungary between August 1657 and October 1658

		Recipients					
Senders	Persons	Ferenc Wesselényi	György Lippay	Ferenc Nádasdy	György Szelepcsényi	Jónás Mednyánszky	György II Rákóczi
	Ferenc Wesselényi	X	32	0	2	2	7
	György Lippay	18	X	5	5	0	6
	Ferenc Nádasdy	1	6	X	3	21	14
	György Szelepcsényi	2	6	3	X	1	1
	Jónás Mednyánszky	1	1	12	3	X	13
	György II Rákóczi	11	9	15	4	9	X

About the sources and the database

The sources examined in the database consist, on the one hand, of previously published documents¹⁶ and, on the other hand, of materials retrieved from various fonds of the National Archives of Hungary,¹⁷

tükrében,” in *Szerencsének elegyes forgása. II. Rákóczi György és kora*, eds. Gábor Kármán, András Péter Szabó (L'Harmattan: Budapest, 2009), 325–340; László Fülöp, “Újabb kiegészítések Mednyánszky Jónás beckói lakodalmi feljegyzéséhez,” *Fórum Társadalomtudományi Szemle* 13/3 (2011): 131–137.

16 Only those source publications and archival sources are listed here that were used in this study. For other sources in the database, see: Szabados, “egyiket megsértvén...,” 262–263, footnotes 26–27. The source publications used here are: Sándor Szilágyi, “Mednyánszky Jónás jelentései II. Rákóczy Györgyhez és ennek anyjához,” *Történeti Lapok* 1 (1874–1875): 417–582, passim; Sándor Szilágyi, “Szelepcsényi György leveles tárczájából,” *Magyar Történelmi Tár* 3/15/2 (1892): 193–208; “*Irom kegyelmednek, mint igaz magyar igaz magyarnak.*” Lippay György veszprémi és egri püspök, esztergomi érsek levelei magyar arisztokratákhoz, nemesekhez (1635–1665), ed. Péter Tusor (Budapest: Gondolat, 2015), 297–312.

17 The National Archives of Hungary (MNL OL) *Insinuata Consilii Bellici* (A 14); MNL OL *Acta Transylvanica* (A 98); MNL OL *Acta Publica* (E 142); MNL OL *Archivum familiae Rákóczi* (E 190); MNL OL *Archivum Familiae Wesselényi* (E 199); MNL OL P 497.

the Esztergom Primate Archives,¹⁸ and the Austrian State Archives.¹⁹ The database contains 2,163 items for the period under consideration, of which 210 are pieces of correspondence between individuals relevant to the research (see Table 1).²⁰ If the correspondence between the Hungarian dignitaries and the court (letters sent and received) is also included, the total amounts 380 items.²¹ This indicates that the political elite of the Kingdom of Hungary was in close contact with the monarch and his entourage, and suggests that only a fraction of the letters sent or received by the dignitaries has survived to this day.

If one examines the correspondence between György II Rákóczi, the above-mentioned political elite of the Kingdom of Hungary, and Jónás Mednyánszky in purely quantitative terms for the period under study, several important observations emerge. It is striking that the palatine and the judge royal hardly corresponded at all (one letter in total, see Table 1), which was presumably due to their rivalry.²² Furthermore, it is apparent that Jónás Mednyánszky, who acted as mediator, did not correspond intensively with the palatine and the archbishop of Esztergom; although, this does not exclude other forms of personal contact, for which I found data, too.²³ The dignitaries of the Kingdom of Hungary were in continuous correspondence with the emperor and the Viennese councillors (see Table 2).²⁴

18 Esztergom Primate Archives (EPL), Archivum Saeculare (AS), Acta Radicalia (AR) Classis (Cl.) X. Nr. 196, *passim*.

19 Österreichisches Staatsarchiv (ÖStA), Haus-, Hof- und Staatsarchiv (HHStA), Türkei I. Kt. (Karton) 129–131; ÖStA HHStA Ungarische Akten Specialia (UA Spec.) Kt. 309/310/311; ÖStA Kriegsarchiv (KA), Protokolle des Wiener Hofkriegsrats (HKR Prot.) Band (Bd.) 315–319.

20 If Jónas Mednyánszky is included, there are altogether 210 letters, while without his correspondence, there are only 147 letters.

21 For the table about the whole correspondence in the discussed period, see: Szabados, “...egyiket megsértvén...1,” 264.

22 Nádasdy sometimes strongly criticised Wesselényi. Cf. Ferenc Nádasdy to Jónás Mednyánszky. Seibersdorf, 19 August 1657 and Sopronkeresztúr, 26 August 1657. ÖStA HHStA UA Spec. Kt. 309/310/311. Konv. A. f. 27, 30. Of course, it is possible that there was more correspondence between the two office holders, but the documents were either deliberately or accidentally destroyed.

23 Cf. György Lippay to György II Rákóczi. Trnava, 25 April, 1658. “...*Írom kegyelmednek...*,” 304.

24 This correspondence is best traced through the records of the Aulic War Council, in the family archives of the Palatine, in the Primate Archive of Esztergom, and in the National Archives of Hungary. Cf. ÖStA KA HKR Prot. Bd. 315–31, *passim*; MNL OL E 199 fasc. I/4, *passim*; MNL OL A 14 Nr. 266; MNL OL E 142 fasc. 31. Nr. 77, 79.

Table 2. The Correspondence of Ferenc Wesselényi and György Lippay with Leopold I and the Viennese councillors

Senders and Recipients	Lippay and Wesselényi to Leopold I	Lippay and Wesselényi to the Viennese councillors	Leopold I to Lippay and Wesselényi	Viennese Councillors to Lippay and Wesselényi
Months and years				
August 1657	0	0	0	0
September 1657	0	0	1	1
October 1657	0	0	0	1
November 1657	0	0	0	2
December 1657	0	0	0	1
January 1658	0	0	1	0
February 1658	0	0	0	0
March 1658	0	1	0	1
April 1658	0	1	0	4
May 1658	0	0	0	1
June 1658	0	0	1	2
July 1658	1	1	0	2
August 1658	0	0	1	0
September 1658	0	3	1	3
October 1658	0	0	0	0

Correspondence between György II Rákóczi and the Hungarian political elite between August 1657 and November 1657

Rákóczi intended to establish contact the leading officials of the Kingdom of Hungary after his return from his failure in Poland. Presumably, the prince appealed to the contemporary sense of common noble nationalism, which was already present at the time, when he addressed the political elite of the kingdom.²⁵ His first contact was with Ferenc Wesselényi, who was stationed at that time at Zólyom (present day: Zvolen).²⁶

25 András Péter Szabó, "True Hungarian Blood": Noble Nationalism in the Post-1657 Crisis in Transylvania, in *Identity and Culture in Ottoman Hungary*, Pál Fodor and Pál Ács, eds. (Berlin: Klaus Schwarz Verlag, 2017), 141–161.

26 Szabados, „...egyiket megsértvén...I. „, 271.

It seems that the prince then preferred to keep in contact with the palatine as he had sent him five letters by the beginning of November. Three letters from the palatine can be registered in the database, but they all date from August. This was probably because the king had warned the palatine that he could correspond with the prince only with the monarch's knowledge and consent—to Wesselényi's resentment.²⁷ In the autumn, the prince also wrote a letter to Szelepcsényi, to which the chancellor presumably replied, according to the records (see Table 1).²⁸ During this period, there is no evidence of any meaningful communication between Archbishop Lippay, Judge Royal Nádasdy, and the prince, although the palatine and the archbishop corresponded with each other frequently (see Table 3).²⁹ At this time, however, general anxiety prevailed in the Kingdom of Hungary over the possible punishment of Rákóczi by the Sublime Porte, due to various reports.³⁰ On 30 October 1657, a meeting was held at which only Lippay and Szelepcsényi were present among the Hungarian dignitaries, and the latter was entrusted with the task of maintaining contact with the prince, as they had already met several times before.³¹ It was also decided by the councillors who accompanied

27 „[...] und nicht schreibung hinfüro ohne Ihr Mt. vorwissen dem Rakozy.” Ferenc Wesselényi to Leopold I. Zvolen, 25 August 1657. ÖStA KA HKR Prot. Bd. 316. 1657. Anw. Exp. f. 543r Nr. 46; “[...] Daß ihme [viz. to Wesselényi] die correspondenz mit Sybenbürgen verbotthen.” Ferenc Wesselényi to the left behind Privy and Deputy Councillors. Banská Bystrica, 23 September 1657 ÖStA KA HKR Prot. Bd. 316. 1657. Hint. Exp. ff. 76r–v Nr. 3. Further in-depth investigations are needed to clarify the issue, because Johann Christoph Puchheim was also given similar orders: “Wird auch den veldmarschalckh graff von Puchaimb verbschaidt, waß er dem Ragozi auf sein an ihme abgangene schreiben andwortten solle, wie auch wan hinfüro an könig in Pohlen oder Ragozy waß zuschreiben, vorfinde vorher solches zu berichten [...]” Leopold I to Ferenc Wesselényi, Prague, 29 September 1657. ÖStA KA HKR Prot. Bd. 317. 1657. Anw. Reg. f. 323r Nr. 104.

28 “Szelepheny legt bey, waß ihme der Rakozy und Mediansky geschrieben wegen schikung seines canzler zu ihr kgl. Mt. The left behind Privy and Deputy Councillors to Leopold I. Vienna, 11 September 1657. ÖStA KA HKR Prot. Bd. 316. 1657. Anw. Exp. f. 555v Nr. 134.

29 For the letters of Wesselényi to Lippay, see: EPL AS AR Cl. X. Nr. 196. fasc. 30, passim.

30 “Avisirt der Türckhen versamblung undt daß selbige etwan den fürsten in Sibenbürgen absetzen, und an dessen stet einen vezier [...] substituieren möchten.” Ferenc Wesselényi to the left behind Privy and Deputy Councillors. Zvolen, 18. September 1657. ÖStA KA HKR Prot. Bd. 316. 1657. Hint Exp. ff. 77r–v Nr. 7.

31 For their correspondence and meetings, see: Kármán, *Confession and Politics*, 179–183, 193–194.

the monarch to Prague that the Hungarian magnates should not correspond with the Transylvanian elite.³²

Table 3. The Correspondence between György Lippay and Ferenc Wesselényi

Senders and recipients	Wesselényi to Lippay	Lippay to Wesselényi
Months and years		
August 1657	4	2
September 1657	16	7
October 1657	7	5
November 1657	1	0
December 1657	3	0
January 1658	0	0
February 1658	0	0
March 1658	0	0
April 1658	0	0
May 1658	0	0
June 1658	0	0
July 1658	0	0
August 1658	0	0
September 1658	0	0
October 1658	0	4

Correspondence between Rákóczi and the Hungarian political elite between November 1657 and January 1658

In November 1657, Rákóczi renounced his title of prince in favour of Ferenc Rhédey (1657–1658), because he had been ordered to do so by the Sublime Porte.³³ This development necessitated a new strategy on the part of the political elite of the Kingdom of Hungary. The question of reclaiming the counties of Szabolcs and Szatmár – handed over to the Rákóczi family in 1647 during the period of their princely rule – now

32 “Die magnates Hungariae sollen nit mit Sübenbürgen correspondirn [...]” Leopold I to the left behind Privy and Deputy Councillors. Prague, 7 November 1657. ÖStA KA HKR Prot. Bd. 316. 1657. Hint. Exp. f. 108v Nr. 29. For the meeting, see: Toma, “Egy dunántúli nagyúr,” 1178.

33 Szabó, *Erdély tragédiája*, 91–101.

returned to the agenda.³⁴ The retrieval was advocated by György Lippay, as was the re-establishment of the Transylvanian bishopric and the reinvasion of the Jesuits to Transylvania, matters he wished to discuss with Rhédey, the new prince.³⁵ After Rákóczi had sent an envoy to Szelepcsényi with the help of Jónás Mednyánszky, the archbishop made it clear in his letter to the chancellor that it would be more advantageous for the Kingdom of Hungary if Rhédey remained the prince of Transylvania (Lippay continued to correspond with Rhédey thereafter).³⁶ The archbishop of Esztergom was, at this point, not particularly concerned about Ottoman threats to occupy Borosjenő (present-day Ineu) as winter was approaching.³⁷ In January 1658, Leopold I (1657/1658–1705) called for a conference with the Hungarian political elite, at which Szelepcsényi – or István Koháry, chief captain of Fülek (present day Filakovo) and Szécsény³⁸ – was once again to be entrusted with negotiations with Rhédey.³⁹ By then, however, it was too late, as Rákóczi had resumed power by force on 14 January 1658.⁴⁰ Thus, the plans for installing a new prince had already been thwarted almost as soon as they had been formulated.

34 For the two counties, see: Kármán, *Confession and Politics*, 129.

35 "...dem zum neuen fürsten in Sibenbürgen abschikhenden gesandten auch commission aufzutragen, sich zu bemühen, wie die Jesuiter und bischoff wider in Sibenbürgen restituirt werden, ingleichen wegen begehörung der 2 gespanschaften vom Rakoczy." György Lippay to Leopold I. Trnava, 25 November 1657. ÖStA KA HKR Prot. Bd. 316. 1657. Anw. Exp. f. 705v. Benedek Kisdý Bishop of Eger specifically called what happened to Rákóczi a punishment from God: "Ecce sic punit Deus arrogantis et elati spiritus homines, Catholicorumque persecutores Principes." [Behold! So punishes God the arrogant and lofty people, and particularly those princes who persecute Catholics!] Benedek Kisdý to György Lippay. Jászó, 14 November 1657. MNL OL A 98 box 12. fasc. 16. Nr. 67. f. 1210; On the question of the Jesuits in Transylvania, see: Kármán, *Confession and Politics*, 151–155.

36 György Lippay to György Szelepcsényi. s. l. s. d. (Autumn 1657). MNL OL E 190 box 47. item 11. Nr. 88. Cf. Szabó, *Erdély tragédiája*, 118; For further details on the correspondence of Lippay and Rhédey, see: Szabados, "...egyiket megsértvén...", 579, footnote 66.

37 György Lippay to István Csáky. Bratislava, Before 18 October 1657. Tusor, "Írom kegyelmednek...", 301.

38 *A szécsényi seregszék jegyzőkönyve (1656–1661)*, ed. András Péter Szabó, Géza Pálffy bevezető tanulmányával (Nograd Megyei Levéltár: Salgotarjan, 2010), 335–337.

39 "Recuperierung der zwei gespanschaften und vestung Szatmar. Schikhung deßwegen den Stephanum Kohari oder hungarischen canzler zum neuen fürsten in Sübenbürgen." The left behind Privy and Deputy Councillors to Leopold I. Vienna, 27 November 1657. ÖStA KA HKR Prot. Bd. 316. 1657. Hint. Exp. f.150v Nr. 51.

40 Szabó, *Erdély tragédiája*, 100–101.

Correspondence between January and July 1658

After Rákóczi had regained his position as prince, he was forced to adopt a defensive posture. During this period, Leopold I travelled to Frankfurt for the imperial election (Reichstag), accompanied by Szelepcsényi, which made communication even more difficult.⁴¹ On 4 February 1658, a meeting took place in Pozsony (present-day Bratislava) with the participation of the palatine, the archbishop, the judge royal and several Viennese councillors, but the fall of Rhédey was not discussed there, only the defence of the Kingdom of Hungary.⁴² The king and the Sublime Porte were then interested in keeping the peace, while Rákóczi, some of the Hungarian magnates, and Venice (at war with the Porte at that time),⁴³ would have supported an escalation of the conflict.⁴⁴ What is more, Rákóczi also sent envoys (Dénes Bánffy and Gábor Kövér) to Leopold I,⁴⁵ but the king only ordered General Annibale Gonzaga to defend the borders of the Kingdom of Hungary.⁴⁶ In a letter written to Wesselényi in April 1658, the prince specifically asked for a diversionary action on the part of the Hungarian magnates.⁴⁷

To facilitate communication, the absent monarch then ordered the palatine and the archbishop of Esztergom to Pozsony (Bratislava).⁴⁸ This explains why no correspondence can be recorded in the database between

41 Furthermore, Szelepcsényi himself has indicated that he has little influence on decision-making. Cf. György Szelepcsényi to Ferenc Nádasdy. Frankfurt, 27 June, 1658. Szilágyi, "Szelepcsényi György," 204–205.

42 "...wie daß hungarische defensionsweesen gegen deß Türkhen mechtigen khriegs verfassung khönne beobachtet werden." Report on the Conference for the left behind Privy and Deputy Councillors. Bratislava, 4 February 1658. ÖStA KA HKR Prot. Bd. 318. 1658. Hint. Exp. ff. 35v–36r Nr. 26.

43 Kenneth M. Setton, *Venice, Austria and the Turks in the Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1991), 137–243.

44 Szabó, *Erdély tragédiája*, 105–106.

45 Sándor Gebei, "II. Rákóczi György szakítása a törökkel (1657–1660)," in *Az oszmán-magyar kényszerű együttélés hozadéka*, ed. Zsuzsanna J. Újváry (Piliscsaba: Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem, 2013), 315–316.

46 István Czigány, "Amikor a török két háborúba kezd. Egy „lopakodó” háború anatómiája 1658–1661," in *Határok fölött. Tanulmányok a költő, katoná, államférfi Zrínyi Miklós-ról*, eds. Sándor Bene, Pál Fodor, Gábor Hausner and József Padányi (Budapest: MTA Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpont, 2017), 321–322.

47 György II Rákóczi to Ferenc Wesselényi. Lónya, 6 April, 1658. MNL OL E 199 fasc. II/88. Nr.8. f. 15.

48 "Dem erzbischofen und palatino zuschreiben, daß sie denen deputierten räthen zu Wien nächender an der handt entweder zu Wien oder Preßburg sein wolten in abwesenheit Irer kgl. Mt." Leopold I to Ferenc Wesselényi and György Lippay. Prague, 10 January. ÖStA KA HKR Prot. Bd. 319. 1658 Anw. Reg. ff. 7v–8r Nr. 23.

the two officeholders during Leopold's absence (see Table 3). However, they corresponded continuously with Vienna and Frankfurt as well (see Table 2).⁴⁹

It was during this period that Ferenc Nádasdy emerged as an important intermediary, with whom the prince, as is known from previous research, maintained both direct and indirect contact (see Table 1).⁵⁰ In public matters, they corresponded openly, in private matters, however, they used ciphered correspondence. Indirect communication was maintained through Jónás Mednyánszky (see Table 1), and this cryptic correspondence may still hold important information for research. For example, it is known from these letters that Lippay was still corresponding with Rhédey after Rákóczi's return to power.⁵¹ The palatine and the archbishop communicated less frequently with Mednyánszky and preferred to receive him in personal meetings.⁵² The Hungarian political elite was presumably unaware that Rákóczi was also constantly trying to "soften up" Grand Vizier Mehmed Köprülü (mostly unsuccessfully).⁵³ The prince finally settled scores with Gürcü Kenan, the vizier of Buda, and defeated him in July,⁵⁴ almost simultaneously with the election of Leopold I as Holy Roman Emperor, thereby creating yet another new political situation.⁵⁵

Period of destiny: July 1658 – September 1658

The political elite of the Kingdom of Hungary had to adapt to the new situation again. In the summer of 1658, György Lippay was already in correspondence with Rákóczy, which was probably because, according

49 Cf. the reference of footnote 21.

50 Toma, "Egy dunántúli nagyúr," 1179–1182.

51 Jónás Mednyánszky to György II Rákóczi. Dohna, 12 February 1658. Szilágyi, "Mednyánszky Jónás," 482. Rákóczi also heard about the issue from Szelepcsényi. Cf. György II Rákóczi to Jónás Mednyánszky. Újugar, 27. February 1658. MNL OL P 497 Box 3. fasc.1658' f. 21.

52 György Lippay to György II Rákóczi. Trnava, 25 April 1658. "Írom kegyelmednek...", 304.

53 Simon Reniger to Leopold I. Adrianople, 28 May 1658. ÖStA HHStA Türkei I. Kt. 130. Konv. 1. ff. 164–165.

54 János Szabados, "Adalékok az 1658. július 6-i páülési csata körülményeihez," *Lymbus* 17 (2019): 287–319; Szabó, *Erdély tragédiája*, 139–146.

55 Gebei, "II. Rákóczi György," 316.

to some sources, the prince was willing to convert to Catholicism.⁵⁶ In any case, the Hungarian magnates were probably unaware that Rákóczi had also encouraged the grand vizier to attack Christian states,⁵⁷ but simultaneously he had also appealed to the emperor for military support, where his spokesman was Judge Royal Ferenc Nádasdy.⁵⁸ In August, it also became clear that the rebellion of Abaza Hasan would force Mehmed Köprülü to return to the Ottoman capital, so instead of a campaign against Venice, he went to Transylvania to settle affairs there.⁵⁹ Rákóczi was fully aware of the gravity of the situation and launched a “general attack” on the emperor and the Hungarian dignitaries to ask for help⁶⁰ who forwarded his letters to the monarch.⁶¹ However, Leopold I refused to make a decision until he returned home, whereas the Viennese councillors were aware of the prince’s double game.⁶² The grand vizier’s armies surrounded Borosjenő at the end of August 1658, and in early September the defenders surrendered, allowing the Ottomans to occupy the long-coveted castle

56 Tamás Kruppa, “II. Rákóczy György, a Szentszék és Velence 1658-ban,” in *Háborúk, alkotások, életutak. Tanulmányok a 17. század közepének európai történelméről*, eds. Gábor Nagy, Noémi Viskolcz (Miskolc: Miskolci Egyetemi Kiadó, 2019), 79–81.

57 Reniger had already reported on the conspiracy against the Habsburgs before this. Cf. Simon Reniger to Leopold I. Adrianople, 1 March 1658. ÖStA HHStA Türkei I. Kt. 129. f. 162.

58 Toma, “Egy dunántúli nagyúr,” 1181–1182; Ferenc Nádasdy to Leopold I Sopronkeresztúr, 3 August 1658. ÖStA HHStA Türkei I. Kt. 130. Konv. 2. f. 58.

59 Until that point, the real target of the campaign was in question. Cf. Szabolcs Hadnagy, “A Campaign Against Two Enemies Simultaneously? The 1658 Military Venture of the Ottomans,” in *New Approaches to the Habsburg–Ottoman Diplomatic Relations*, eds. Sándor Papp, Gellért Ernő Marton (Szeged: University of Szeged, Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, Department of Medieval and Early Modern Hungarian History, 2021), 107–123.

60 György II Rákóczi to Ferenc Nádasdy. Székelyhid, 24 July 1658. ÖStA HHStA Türkei I. Kt. 130. Konv. 2. f. 17. Lippay also mentioned that he had received letters from the prince. Cf. György Lippay to György II Rákóczi. Bratislava, 29. August 1658. “*from kegyelmednek...*,” 307.

61 Ferenc Nádasdy to Leopold I. Sopronkeresztúr, 3 August 1658. ÖStA HHStA Türkei I. Kt. 130. Konv. 2. f. 58; “Communicirt, waß der Rakoczy an ihne geschriben...” György Lippay to left behind Privy and Deputy Councillors. s. l. 21 August 1658. ÖStA KA HKR Prot. Bd. 318. 1658. Hint. Exp. f. 196v Nr. 22.

62 Leopold I to Ferenc Wesselényi. Frankfurt, 5 August 1658. MNL OL E 142 Fasc. 31. Nr. 77. For Rákóczi’s double game, see: “...des Rakoczy protestation und kleinmuetigkeit, auch angebotene einnemmung in Jeneö und andere plaz besazung und begehre hilff. Deß groß vesir dem Ragoczy gethane versprechen demselben perdon zu erlangen. Die deputierte finden nicht für ratsamb dem Rakoczy zu assistiern, noch die beehrte 600 mann in Jeneö oder anderstwo zulassen.” The left behind Privy and Deputy Councillors to Leopold I. Vienna, 30 August 1658. ÖStA KA HKR Prot. Bd. 318. 1658. Anw. Exp. ff. 342v–343r Nr. 33.

without a siege. A few days later, Mehmed Köprülü appointed Ákos Barcsay as prince in his camp,⁶³ while the expected military assistance failed to materialise.⁶⁴

Conclusions

The quantitative processing of the data has revealed the dynamics of the correspondences, and if, in addition to the quantitative analysis, qualitative aspects (the changing attitude of the Hungarian dignitaries towards Rákóczi) are also considered, certain conclusions can be drawn. For example, Ferenc Wesselényi and György Lippay did not correspond from January to September 1658 because the monarch had ordered them to Bratislava during his absence. Furthermore, we have seen that the Archbishop of Esztergom endeavoured to assert the interests of his Church: as soon as the opportunity arose, he attempted to repair the damage done to the Catholic Church in Transylvania. However, when Transylvania (and the Kingdom of Hungary) was seriously threatened, and Rákóczi expressed his intention to convert to Catholicism, Archbishop Lippay began to correspond with Rákóczi and became one of the advocates of the his cause. It was only in the first half of 1658 (i.e. after Rhédey's deposition) that Ferenc Nádasdy became an important ally and intercessor of the prince in certain matters – for example, he mediated Rákóczi's aims for military support towards the monarch – acting through Jónás Mednyánszky. This can be clearly 'measured' through a quantitative examination of the correspondence. György Szelepcsényi, who remained at the king's side, was either unable or unwilling to intervene in the prince's affairs. Of course, the officials of the Kingdom of Hungary were not aware that Rákóczi was also constantly attempting to placate the grand vizier and even persuade him to participate in an attack against the Habsburgs. From the end of July 1658, the prince put all his eggs in one basket and relied on the intervention of the officials of the Kingdom of Hungary, who, unlike before, were now united in their efforts. However, circumstances turned out to be highly unfavourable

63 Sándor Papp, "II. Rákóczi György és a Porta," in *Szerencsének elegyes forgása. II. Rákóczi György és kora*, eds. Gábor Kármán, András Péter Szabó (Budapest: L'Harmattan, 2009), 162–170; Sándor Papp, "Amikor a nagyvezír választott fejedelmet Erdélynek. Köprülü Mehmed pasa audienciája 1658-ban," in *Háborúk, alkotások, életutak. Tanulmányok a 17. század közepének európai történelméről*, eds. Gábor Nagy, Noémi Viskolcz (Miskolc: Miskolci Egyetemi Kiadó, 2019), 120–133.

64 Szabados „...egyiket megsértvén...,” 584–585.

for him, leading to a prolonged period of internal conflict in the history of the Principality of Transylvania, and in the long run, to the Ottoman campaign against the Kingdom of Hungary in 1663.

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The Effects of the “Eastern European Thirty Years’ War” (1654–1686) on the Ukrainian regions

Skutki „wschodnioeuropejskiej wojny trzydziestoletniej” (1654–1686) na terenach ukraińskich

Abstract

According to the decision of the Pereiaslav Rada of 1654, Ukraine voluntarily entered into union with Russia, which triggered the outbreak of the “Eastern European Thirty Years’ War” (1654–1686) between Russia and the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth for control over Ukrainian territory. From 1657 onward, following the death of Bohdan Khmelnytsky, Ukrainian hetmans struggled for power, often supported by Polish, Ottoman, and Russian intervention. In Ukrainian historiography, this tragic period is known as the “Ruin.” The Treaty of Andrusovo of 1667 officially divided the Ukrainian lands along the Dnieper: Left-Bank Ukraine remained under Romanov rule, while Right-Bank returned to the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. News of division shocked the Cossack *starshyna*, and the Russian government was accused of a grave betrayal of the Pereiaslav Agreement. The Treaty of Andrusovo, later reaffirmed as the “Eternal Peace” in 1686, restored Right-Bank Ukraine – except for Kyiv – to Poland, where it remained – though not without conflict or dispute – until the Second

Partition of Poland in 1793. The incorporation of Ukrainian regions into different political states and cultural spheres contributed to long-term divergences in their historical development.

Keywords: Eastern European “Thirty Years’ War”, Pereiaslav Agreement (1654), Zaporozhian Host; Treaty of Andrusovo (1667), Eternal Peace of 1686.

Abstrakt

Zgodnie z decyzją Rady Perejaśławskiej z 1654 roku, Ukraina dobrowolnie weszła w unię z Rosją, co zapoczątkowało wybuch „wschodnioeuropejskiej trzydziestoletniej wojny” (1654–1686) między Rosją a Rzeczpospolitą Obojga Narodów o kontrolę nad ziemiami ukraińskimi. Od 1657 roku, po śmierci Bohdana Chmielnickiego, ukraińscy hetmani toczyli walkę o władzę, często przy wsparciu polskiej, osmańskiej lub rosyjskiej interwencji. W historiografii ukraińskiej ten tragiczny okres określany jest mianem „Ruiny”. Traktat andruszowski z 1667 roku oficjalnie podzielił ziemie ukraińskie wzdłuż Dniepru: Lewobrzeżna Ukraina pozostała pod panowaniem Romanowów, natomiast Prawobrzeżna wróciła do Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów. Wiadomość o podziale wstrząsnęła kozacką starszyzną, a rząd rosyjski oskarżono o poważną zdradę ugody perejaśławskiej. Traktat andruszowski, później potwierdzony jako „pokój wieczysty” w 1686 roku, zwrócił Prawobrzeżną Ukrainę – z wyjątkiem Kijowa – Polsce, gdzie pozostawała, choć nie bez konfliktów i sporów, aż do II rozbioru w 1793 roku. Włączenie poszczególnych regionów Ukrainy do odmiennych organizmów politycznych i stref kulturowych doprowadziło do długotrwałych różnic w ich rozwoju historycznym.

Słowa klucze: wojna trzydziestoletnia we wschodniej Europie, ugoda perejaśławska z 1654 roku, wojsko zaporoskie, traktat andruszowski z 1667 roku, „pokój wieczysty” z 1686 roku.

Events leading to the “Eastern European Thirty Years’ War”

The beginning of Ukraine’s history dates back to the Kievan Rus’, a state that played an important role in the ethnogenesis of all three East Slavic ethnic groups (Russian, Ukrainian, and Belarusian).¹ When the Mongols conquered Kyiv in 1240, the Kievan Rus’, already divided into

1 Csilla Fedinec, Márta Font, Imre Szakál and Beáta Varga, *Ukrajna története: régiók, identitás, államiság* (Budapest, Társadalomtudományi Kutatóközpont, 2021), 7.

principalities, came to an end, gradually becoming part of the Golden Horde. During the 1340s, Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania started competing to control the south-western territories of the former Kievan Rus'. By 1349, Poland had taken control over Galicia and Western Volhynia, while the Eastern Ukrainian territories (except for Western Volhynia) had become part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

In Latin historical sources from the fourteenth century,² East Slavic people living in the south-western territories of the former Kievan Rus' were referred to as "Ruthenians" and their lands as "Ukrainian territory." The name "Ukraine" comes from the Slavic word "kraj," which, according to contemporary usage, meant "borderland."³ Starting with Gediminas (1316–1341), the Grand Dukes of Lithuania firmly claimed that the territories of the former Kievan Rus' belonged to them. The population living in the south-western regions of the former East Slavic state put up no resistance against the expansionist efforts of the Grand Dukes; instead, these territories joined the Grand Duchy of Lithuania "voluntarily." The Union of Krewo of 1385, establishing a personal union between the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania,⁴ ended the privileged status granted by the Lithuanian rule in the Ukrainian regions. After this agreement, the name "Ruthenian" was used to refer to Orthodox subjects who had no rights. Polish became the official language in both states. In accordance with the Union of Lublin of 1569,⁵ the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were unified under a single state called the "Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodów" (Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth). As a result of the real union, Lithuania lost its direct control over nearly all the Ukrainian territories,⁶ which were taken over by the Poles. The tolerant religious and social policies characteristic of Lithuanian rulers were replaced by the Polish rulers' integration plans.

The Union of Lublin accelerated the integration of the Ukrainian nobility into the Polish–Lithuanian *szlachta*, leaving the East Slavic people living in these territories without their cultural and social elite

2 *Źródła Dziejowe*. T. X. *Sprawy wołoskie za Jagiellonów*, ed. Aleksander Jabłonowski (Warszawa: Gebethner i Wolff 1878), 34.

3 *Акты Литовско-Русского государства*, Вып. 1. (1390–1529) Изд. М. Довнар-Запольским (Москва: Университетская типография, 1899), 229.

4 *Akta uniji Polski z Litwą, 1385–1791*, ed. Stanisław Kutrzeba, Władysław Semkowicz (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, Towarzystwo naukowe warszawskie, 1932), 1–3.

5 *Ibidem*, 414.

6 The Polish crown, which acquired Halich and Western Volhynia in 1387 and Western Podolia in 1430, extended its authority to all of Podolia, Volhynia and Kyiv after 1569.

class.⁷ After this process, the Cossacks,⁸ an “intermediate social class” and a significant military force in the Polish-Lithuanian state during the late sixteenth century, became the leaders of the East Slavs. At the turn of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the term ‘Ukraine’ acquired a narrower meaning: it did not mean borderlands in general anymore; but it stood for a specific geographic unit, lying along the middle course of the Dnieper River, that is, the central regions of present-day Ukraine.⁹ By this time, in Polish written sources, the word ‘Ukraine’ had been used as a proper noun: e. g. “villages and towns in Ukraine,” “Kievan Ukraine,” etc. The population living in this area was referred to as ‘Ukrainians’; however, this did not make reference to an ethnic group, but it was a geographic and administrative designation.¹⁰

In June 1596, Sigismund III (1586–1632), in order to preserve the religious unity of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, signed the Union of Brest,¹¹ leading to the foundation of the Greek Catholic Church. From 1596, the king outlawed the Orthodox Church in the Polish-Lithuanian state, intensifying the already existing religious conflicts in the Ukrainian territories. With this decision, Sigismund III contributed to regular Cossack uprisings, aiming to defend the Orthodox religion.

The Union of Brest and the ban of the Orthodox Church had catastrophic consequences for the Polish government: the protection of the Orthodox religion justified the Cossack uprisings and made the Ukrainian population more unified than ever. From 1596, minor Cossack uprisings became common. The revolts culminated between 1648 and 1654 and were led by Hetman Bohdan Khmelnytsky. Seeing the initial overwhelming victories, nearly the entire Ukrainian Orthodox population joined the Cossacks, whose uprisings turned into a popular movement that aimed to defend their religion and began to contemplate the

7 Віталій Щербак, *Українське козацтво: формування соціального стану: Друга половина XV – середина XVII ст.* (Київ: Видавничий дім «Кієво-Могилянська академія», 2006), 167.

8 Three types of Ukrainian Cossacks can be distinguished: private, registered and “free” Cossacks. Most of the Cossacks belonged in the latter group. They lived near the rapids along the Dnieper River and, in the 1540s, established their own “military state,” the Zaporozhian Sich.

9 АРХИВ ЮЗР 1863 (*Архив Юго-Западной России, издаваемый Временной комиссией для разбора древних актов, высочайше учрежденной при Киевском военном, Подольском и Волынском генерал-губернаторе*), 4, 196, 201.

10 АРХИВ ЮЗР 1861, 142.

11 Julian Pelesz, *Geschichte der Union der rutenischen Kirche mit Rom*. Band II. (Wien: Mechithariste Buchdruckerei (W. Heinrich), 1881), 23; АРХИВ ЮЗР 1859, 501–504.

possibility of liberating themselves from the rule of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

From 1648, the Cossacks obtained significant influence over the Ukrainian territories. They stopped being an intermediate social class –between the nobility and the peasantry–, as they formed a separate social group, known as the “Cossack aristocracy,” which took control over the region. The most significant success achieved by the rebels was the signing of the Treaty of Zboriv¹² in 1649, according to which, the Polish government recognised the autonomous status of “Cossack Ukraine,” comprising the Kyiv Voivodeship, the Bratslav Voivodeship, and the Chernihiv Voivodeship, within the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. According to the Treaty of Bila Tserkva,¹³ signed on 18 September 1651, only the Kyiv Voivodeship could maintain its autonomy, which meant a significant setback compared to the Treaty of Zboriv, indicating the decline of Khmelnytsky’s movement. In late September 1653, the united Cossack-Tartar troops attacked the Polish army near Zhvanets. Even though the Cossacks were on the edge of victory, their allies, the Crimean Tartars, forced them to negotiate with the Poles, jeopardising the very existence of the movement.

Russia was the most reliable ally of the rebels, but until 1653 Alexei Mikhailovich chose not to intervene in the conflict. After they learned about the Cossack army’s defeat near Zhvanets, Bohdan Khmelnytsky’s letters – seeking the Tsar’s diplomatic, financial, and military support¹⁴ – finally convinced the Russian leadership. The hetman sent the first letter to Alexis I on 8 June 1648, informing him about Ladislaus IV’s death and expressing his desire to “appoint a common Orthodox ruler for Poland and Ukraine.”¹⁵ In other words, the Cossack leader suggested to the Russians that, with their help, the tsar could occupy the Polish throne. However, from the beginning, the tsar opted for neutrality regarding the Ukrainian territories; Alexis I did not provide the military support the Cossacks hoped to receive. Eventually, due to various circumstances, the Russian ruler decided to get involved in the conflict. On the one hand, conquering the south-western – Ukrainian – territories of the former Kievan Rus’, the first significant Eastern European state, would have

12 *Воссоединение 1953/1. (Воссоединение Украины с Россией – Документы и материалы в трёх томах)*, 299–306.

13 *Источники Малороссийской истории, собранные Д. Н. Бантыш-Каменским, и изданные О. Бодянским. Т. 1. (Москва: Университетская типография, 1858)*, 29–31

14 *Воссоединение 1953/2*, 34–37, 127–131, 132–133.

15 *Ibidem*, 32–33.

completed the process of the “reunification of the Russian lands,” one of the main goals of Russian rulers. On the other hand, the idea of protecting the “co-religionists” living outside Russia provided the moral base for supporting the Ukrainian movement and “liberating” the Orthodox Ruthenians from Catholic oppression. The tsar decided to get involved in the fights when he considered Russia strong enough to confront the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and saw the decline of the Ukrainian movement due to the lack of unity and a strong and reliable ally. At this point, the possibility of conquering the Ukrainian territories and annexing the former Kievan Rus’ to Russia was in danger.¹⁶

On 1 October 1653, on the tsar’s suggestion, the Zemsky Sobor approved Khmelnytsky’s request – repeated on various occasions – according to which the “Zaporozhian Host was accepted under the auspices of the Russian tsar”.¹⁷ After the Zemsky Sobor adopted the decision, the Russian ruler sent a delegation led by boyar Vasiliy Buturlin to the hetman to negotiate the conditions for joining their forces. On 8 January 1654, Bohdan Khmelnytsky summoned a military Rada in Pereiaslav, where he outlined four possibilities: to remain under the authority of the Roman Catholic king of Poland, to join the Muslim Ottoman sultan, to join the Crimean khan, or to join the Orthodox Russian tsar. The participants – following the hetman’s recommendation – chose the last option, that is, to place themselves under the authority of the Russian tsar.¹⁸

In accordance with the Pereiaslav Agreement of 1654,¹⁹ which ended the anti-Polish movement led by Bohdan Khmelnytsky (1648–1654), the Ukrainians “voluntarily” joined Russia. In practice, this meant that the Polish-Lithuanian rule was replaced by Russian governance. Under the Russian rule, the official name of the Ukrainian territories became the Hetmanate or the Zaporozhian Host.²⁰ The March Articles of 1654,²¹ declaring the annexation of Ukraine, did not determine the legal status of the Hetmanate within Russia; therefore, both parties could interpret the nature of this new relationship according to their own interests.

16 Dimitri Strémooukhof, “Moscow the Third Rome: Sources of the Doctrine,” *Speculum* 28/1 (1953): 100.

17 *Воссоединение* 1953/3, 411.

18 *Ibidem*, 460.

19 *Ibidem*, 516.

20 The name “Zaporozhian Host” referred at the same time to the Cossack army, comprising 60,000 soldiers and serving the Romanovs, as well as the Ukrainian administrative system, having the Cossack regiments as their administrative unit.

21 *Воссоединение* 1953/3, 567–570.

The "Eastern European Thirty Years' War"

During the second half of the seventeenth century, a rivalry began between Central and Eastern European powers (the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Sweden, the Ottoman Empire, and the emerging Russia) to gain control over the Ukrainian territories, excellent for agricultural production, and to control the Zaporozhian Host – an armed force comprising several tens of thousands of soldiers – which could be a crucial weapon at the disposal of any ruler. Among other factors, the formation and the survival of an independent Ukrainian state were impossible due to the rivalry of neighbouring superpowers.

The "Eastern European Thirty Years' War" (1654–1686)²² broke out between Russia and the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth over the possession of Ukraine and marked the beginning of Russia's successful westward expansion. The tsarist government justified its claims to the Ukrainian territories by invoking the idea of "Moscow, the Third Rome",²³ according to which Russia's mission was to unify every Slavic and Orthodox peoples within a single empire – as a kind of Third Roman Empire. In the official explanation offered for the attack on the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in 1654, this conflict was described as a "war fought on new principles",²⁴ since the Russian army did not invade enemy territory but instead attacked the Polish-Lithuanian troops that, it claimed, were killing their Orthodox brethren.

After Ukraine was annexed by Russia, a Polish–Russian war was inevitable. In spring 1654, the Russian army, and approximately 20,000 Cossacks managed to conquer strategically important Belarusian cities. In late autumn 1654, even with the support of the Crimean khan, the Polish army failed to recapture the city of Mogilev, which meant that the

22 Sándor Gebei, "Nagyhatalmak vetélkedése Ukrajnáért a XVII. század második felében," in *Emberek és eszmék* – *Tanulmánykötet Vadász Sándor 70. évfordulójára*, ed. Gebei Sándor (Eger: Eszterházy Tanárképző Főiskola, 2001), 203.

23 Анна Николаевна Клименко, "Идея «Москва-Третий Рим» и её интерпретация в современных геополитических интерпретациях," Под. ред. А. Г. Дугина; Ред.-сост. Савин Л. В., *Левиафан*. 3. Материалы международной научной конференции «Геополитика многополярного мира». (Москва: Евразийское Движение, 2012), 105–107; Андрей Сергеевич Усачев, "Третий Рим или Третий Киев? (Московское царство XVI в. в восприятии современников)," *Общественные науки и современность* 1 (2012): 82–83.

24 Sándor Gebei, *Az erdélyi fejedelmek és a lengyel királyválasztások* (Szeged: Belvedere Meridionale, 2007), 149.

Russian ruler could hold on to the title of “Autocrat of White Russia”,²⁵ added to his name after the successful siege of the city. After the capture of Vilnius (Wilno in Polish) that took place between 29 July and 8 August 1655, Alexei Mikhailovich became the “Autocrat of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Volhynia and Podolia.”²⁶

Meanwhile, in Podolia, the main Cossack army suffered various defeats, creating tension between the tsar and the hetman. Both sides carried out individual military manoeuvres in pursuit of their own expansionist ambitions. To compensate for the lack of Russian support, Bohdan Khmelnytsky tried to seek external allies. From the outset, the hetman exceeded the powers granted to him by the March Articles of 1654 and repeatedly demonstrated that he considered his agreement with Moscow as a vassal relationship based on mutual military alliance; therefore, he believed he had the right to express his views on foreign affairs affecting both states.

The hetman's strongest ally in this matter was Charles X Gustav, the king of Sweden, a member of the Zweibrücken dynasty, who saw the Russo-Polish war an opportunity to implement the Oxenstierna plan,²⁷ which aimed at establishing complete control over the Baltic region (*dominium maris Baltici*). Since the Swedish government could not come to an agreement with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to join their forces to stop Russia, it seemed promising to establish a diplomatic relationship with Bohdan Khmelnytsky: forging an alliance with the anti-Polish Zaporozhian Host and putting an end to the Russian expansion would have been beneficial for Sweden. Since 1599, the Swedish government had been engaged in an ongoing dispute with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth over the succession to the Swedish throne. In response to the significant financial compensation John II Casimir Vasa demanded in exchange for renouncing the Swedish throne, Charles X Gustav launched an attack on the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The war against Poland initiated by Charles X Gustav, the king of Sweden, between 1655 and 1660, is known as the “Deluge” (*Potop* in Polish). Actually, the fall of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the second

25 *Летопись Самовидца о войнах Богдана Хмельницкого и междоусобицах, бывших в Малой России по его смерти*: Доведена продолжателями до 1734 года (Москва: Университетская типография, 1846), 69.

26 Gebei, *Az erdélyi fejedelmek és a lengyel királyválasztások*, 153.

27 Władysław Konopczyński, *Dzieje Polski nowożytnej*, T. 2. 1648–1795 (Warszawa: Skład główny u Gebethnera i Wolffa, 1936), 24.

largest state in Europe, began in the mid-seventeenth century,²⁸ when the Khmelnytsky Uprising, taking place between 1648 and 1654,²⁹ shook the very foundations of the state.³⁰

The Swedish Deluge began on 10 July 1655, and after the surrender of the Polish troops on 25 July 1655, Greater Poland pledged allegiance to the Swedish king.³¹ Even though the Russian army had occupied Vilnius and most parts of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania by 29 July, the Swedish ruler declared his intention to conquer the Lithuanian territories. With the support of the Swedish king, the most powerful magnates in Lithuania—members of the Radziwiłł family—repudiated the Union of Lublin of 1569 and pledged allegiance to Charles X Gustav,³² thereby undermining the foundations of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. Russian and Swedish expansionist ambitions in Lithuania led to a war between the two states.

By October 1655, the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth had been surrounded by its enemies: the Russian army was advancing through Lithuanian and Belarusian territories, Greater Poland had come under Swedish control, while the Cossacks were besieging Lvov. After John II Casimir fled Poland, Charles X Gustav ceremoniously entered Kraków on horseback on 19 October 1655, convinced that the establishment of a Swedish Empire dominating much of the European continent was within reach.³³ Since the Sejm refused to recognize him as King of Poland, he began to develop a plan to divide the territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

In mid-August 1655, Sweden's successful advances in the territories of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth encouraged Bohdan Khmelnytsky to accept the treaty of amity and cooperation proposed by Charles X Gustav.³⁴ Seeing the destruction of the Commonwealth, the hetman wanted to take control over the Lublin, the Volyn, the Belz and the Lvov Voivodeships. However, at the end of October, these ter-

28 Robert I. Frost, *After the Deluge – Poland–Lithuania and the Second Northern War 1655–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 1.

29 The Khmelnytsky Uprising is also considered in historiography as part of the so-called First Great Northern War (1648–1667). Stewart P. Oakley, *War and Peace in the Baltic 1560–1790* (London–New York: Routledge, 1993), 74.

30 Edward Opaliński, "Kryzys, rozpad i odrodzenie I Rzeczypospolitej w okresie II wojny północnej (1655–1660)," *Kwartalnik Historyczny Rocznik CXXV/ 2* (2018): 337–363.

31 Frost, *After the Deluge*, 34.

32 Gebei, *Az erdélyi fejedelmek és a lengyel királyválasztások*, 158.

33 *Ibidem*, 160.

34 Архив ЮЗР 1908, 76.

ritories requested the protection of the Swedish state. In November 1655, Khmelnytsky sent a letter to Charles X Gustav, in which he referred to himself as the “devoted servant” of the Swedish ruler and suggested continuing the negotiations with the Swedish government.³⁵ However, the Swedish and Ukrainian expansionist interests clashed, and Charles X Gustav ordered the Zaporozhian Host to lift the siege of Lvov, as it already belonged to Sweden.

The news of the Swedish-Ukrainian negotiations also reached Moscow and, for “self-defence purposes,” the tsarist government proposed a ceasefire to Warsaw without consulting Bohdan Khmelnytsky. In this tense international situation, Moscow had three options to consider regarding their long-term strategy for a Russo-Polish peace treaty: 1) Alexei Mikhailovich was in favour of a Baltic expansion, and, in case of a successful war against Sweden, he was ready to transfer the Ukrainian lands back to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth; 2) taking advantage of John II Casimir’s complicated situation, he could insist on retaining his new possessions in Poland;³⁶ 3) he could divide Ukraine between Russia and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Khmelnytsky was also aware of these possibilities, and he felt betrayed by Alexei Mikhailovich because, as he declared, “he proved his viciousness to the hetman and the entire Zaporozhian Host when he made peace with the Poles and wanted to hand over the Cossacks to them.”³⁷

When Warsaw learned about the deterioration of the relationship between Ukraine and Sweden, at the end of 1655 they sent a delegation to Chyhyryn to convince the hetman to return to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. They promised full autonomy to the Zaporozhian Host in exchange for an army of 10,000 Cossack soldiers to support the Poles in the war against Sweden.³⁸ The hetman did not respond immediately; the Cossacks seriously considered making peace with the Poles. Still, they did not end the negotiations with Charles X Gustav either, who sent a letter to the hetman asking him not to fall for the Poles’ promises and to forge an alliance with him against the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth instead.³⁹

35 Архив ЮЗР 1908, 89–92.

36 Sándor Gebei, *Az Erdélyi fejedelemség és a Zaporozsjei Had politikai kapcsolatrendszerének vizsgálata 1648–1660 között* (Kandidátusi Értekezés, 1985), 180.

37 Акты ЮЗР 1861 (Акты, относящиеся к истории Южной и Западной России, собранные и изданные Археографической комиссией), 575.

38 *Источники Малороссийской истории, собранные Д. Н. Бантыш-Каменским*, 89.

39 *Ibidem*, 129–131.

On 17 May 1656, the Russian ruler declared war on Sweden, marking the beginning of an armed conflict between the two states. During this time, the Russian government gave lower priority to the "Eastern European Thirty Years' War," fought over the Ukrainian territories. As the tsarist army advanced towards Riga after the successful siege of Daugavpils, the negotiations between Russia and Poland, preparing a possible ceasefire, accelerated.

The conference of Vilna started in August 1656. The last meeting was held on 3 November, when the Polish and Russian rulers mutually acknowledged each other's titles.⁴⁰ Alexei Mikhailovich could bear the title of "Tsar of Little and White Russia," while John II Casimir could maintain the title of "Grand Duke of Lithuania." Further negotiations were postponed until the next session of the Sejm, but the two parties agreed on ceasing hostilities, bringing about a temporary pause in the "Eastern European Thirty Years' War." The delegations left Vilna without achieving significant progress, as important matters remained pending until the next session of the Polish parliament. However, they concluded a truce, which was crucial for both sides. Even though it was temporary, the fighting of the "Eastern European Thirty Years' War" ceased for a while. The Treaty of Vilna did not cause notable changes in the Russo-Polish relationships. Their only common goal was to take joint actions against Sweden, but they never agreed on a military collaboration.⁴¹ Learning about the truce negotiated by the Russians and the Poles, in September 1656 Charles X Gustav proposed the establishment of a completely independent Cossack state under his loose protectorate (*protectitium foedus*) in exchange for the Cossacks' military support either against the Poles or the Russians, depending on the international situation.⁴²

It is worth emphasising that although the hetman established diplomatic relations with other states independently of the Moscow government, he never broke his alliance with the tsarist court. Even though he considered himself the tsar's vassal, he led the Zaporozhian Host as a sovereign ruler. Establishing diplomatic relationships on his own, without Russia's help, is compelling evidence of his sovereignty, as it infringed on the regulations imposed by the March Articles. Even during the alliance with Russia, Bohdan Khmelnytsky never renounced his intention to establish a sovereign state, for which the creation of a monarchical

40 Акты ЮЗР 1861, 192.

41 Frost, *After the Deluge*, 34.

42 Архив ЮЗР 1908, 156–163.

form of government based on hereditary hetmanic power was crucial. During Bohdan Khmelnytsky's rule (1654–1657), the Russian tsar did not exercise his power in the Hetmanate directly, since the Zaporozhian Host functioned as an autonomous administrative unit within Russia. However, it had only an “apparent independence” in practice.

The Treaty of Andrusovo of 1667 – the division of Ukraine between Russia and the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth

From 1654, Bohdan Khmelnytsky and his successors did not consider the Russian bond a definite and viable solution. The majority of Cossacks openly supported one of the neighbouring great powers: there were large groups who favoured the Polish⁴³ and the Russian empires,⁴⁴ as well as substantial numbers who supported the Ottoman Empire.⁴⁵ By 1660, the Zaporozhian Host had become greatly divided: the territories on the left bank of the Dnieper River remained loyal to the tsar, while Right-Bank Ukraine rejoined the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The primary goal of Left-Bank and Right-Bank Ukraine's hetmans, however, was to reunify the Ukrainian territories, even though the two banks would ultimately follow different paths.

The Treaty of Oliva,⁴⁶ signed in April 1660 by Poland and Sweden, put an end to the war that had broken out between the two countries sixty

43 After Bohdan Khmelnytsky's death, Yuriy Khmelnytsky was elected hetman. Since he was still underage, Ivan Vyhovsky led the Cossacks as a regent (1657–1659). In 1658, Vyhovsky signed the Treaty of Hadiach with the Polish government: the Grand Principality of Ruthenia, comprising the Voivodeships of Chernihiv, Bratslav and Kyiv, joined the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, elevating the Ruthenian territories to the same rank as the Polish and Lithuanian regions. *Prawa, Konstytucje y Przywileie Krolestwa Polskiego, y Wielkiego Xięstwa Litewskiego, y wszystkich Prowincyi należących: Na Walnych Seymiech Koronnych od Seymu Wiślickiego Roku Pańskiego 1347 Aż do Ostatniego Seymu uchwalone*, vol. 4. ed. 2 (1641–1668) (Warszawa: Drukarnia Piarów, 1786), 637–644.

44 In summer 1665, the hetman of Left-Bank Ukraine travelled to Moscow to visit the Russian tsar and was forced to sign the *Moscow Articles*, which further limited the autonomy of the Hetmanate. *Источники Малороссийской истории, собранные Д. Н. Бантыш-Каменским*, 5–7.

45 In 1665, pro-Polish troops, summoned in Chyhyryn, in Right-Bank Ukraine, elected Petro Doroshenko (1665–1676) their leader, who recognised the Sultan's authority. Микола Крикун, *Між війною і радою. Козацтво Правобережної України в другій половині XVII – на початку XVIII століття* (Київ: Критика, 2006), 252.

46 *Российский государственный архив древних актов*. фонд 79. опись 5. дело 2. Сношения Польши с Россией.

years earlier. John II Casimir, on his and his successors' behalf, definitively renounced his claim to the Swedish throne and lost possession of the region of Livonia. As a result, the Western Dvina became the border between Poland and Sweden. Since the Poles did not have to worry about a two-front war anymore, the Polish ruler launched an attack on the Russian army in Lithuania, re-escalating the "Eastern European Thirty Years' War." In 1666, the Polish-Lithuanian and Russian rulers found themselves in a challenging position: both countries had run out of their human and material resources. From 1654, the forces gradually became balanced, and both rulers realised that neither Warsaw nor Moscow could gain exclusive possession of the entire Ukrainian region. The hetman of Right-Bank Ukraine, Petro Doroshenko's⁴⁷ approach to the Ottoman and Tatar states contributed to the acceleration of the peace negotiations, as it threatened both the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth's and Russia's interests.

The Russo-Polish peace negotiations, suspended several times, resumed in February 1666. The delegation representing the Polish government was led by designated Ambassador Jerzy Karol Chlebowicz, while the Russian delegation was headed by Afanasy Lavrentievich Ordin-Nashchokin. Disagreements arose between the tsar and Ordin-Nashchokin, which complicated the negotiations with the other party. The leader of the Russian delegation was willing to renounce Kyiv in order to reach an agreement with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth because he believed that the Ottoman and Tartar expansion in Ukraine was much more dangerous. On the other hand, Tsar Alexei I insisted on retaining possession of the "ancient" capital – Kyiv – and proposed to renounce other cities along the Dvina River instead.

At the end of 1666, news that the sultan planned to launch a large-scale attack on the Polish-Lithuanian territories in the spring spread quickly. As a result, it became vital for the government in Warsaw to reach an agreement with the tsar as soon as possible. It became even more urgent when they saw that Moscow was willing to grant significant concessions. Despite these circumstances, the negotiations at Andrusovo reached a successful conclusion only at the thirty-first meeting, when John II Casimir – by the grace of God, the King of Poland and Sweden and the Grand Duke of Lithuania and Rus' – and Tsar and Grand Duke

47 Акты ЮЗР 1869, 58.

Alexei Mikhailovich, the Autocrat of Great, Little and White Russia, signed the Truce of Andrusovo for thirteen and a half years.⁴⁸

According to the treaty containing thirty four articles, Russia recovered Smolensk. At the same time, the Ukrainian regions were officially divided into two parts along the Dnieper River: the Romanovs retained the possession of Left-Bank Ukraine, while Western Ukraine became part of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth again. Kyiv fell under Russian rule, but after two years, they would have had to hand it over to the Polish government, but it never happened. Both states received the right to dispose of the military power of the Zaporozhian Sich; however, the Sich Cossacks never acknowledged the authority of either country. On 6 May 1686, the “Eternal Peace”⁴⁹ was concluded in Moscow between Russia and Poland, reaffirming the provisions of 1667 and ending the “Eastern European Thirty Years’ War.”

Conclusion

Despite the divisions within the Zaporozhian Host, the Russian government feared that Ukraine – whose annexation the tsar actively pursued – might become powerful enough to establish an autonomous state independent from Russia. This helps explain why Alexei Mikhailovich considered the Treaty of Andrusovo of 1667 a great success, even though he had to share, for the moment, Ukraine with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. As a result of the Polish-Russian agreement, Ukraine became the “loot” of two foreign rulers, and hopes of establishing an independent Ukrainian state steadily faded. The Dnieper River now divided Ukraine not only geographically but also administratively.

The Truce of Andrusovo marked a turning point in the power relations in seventeenth-century Eastern Europe. Previously, Poland, Sweden, and the Ottoman Empire shaped the destiny of the region. From this point onward, the expansionist ambitions of Russia could not be ignored anymore. By 1667, the tsar had consolidated the country’s position in the region as a major power. However, it was uncertain whether the agreement concluded by Russia and Poland would bring a long-lasting

48 *Полное собрание законовъ Россійской Имперіи, повеленіемъ государя императора Николая Павловича составленное – Собрание Первое. С1649 по 12 декабря 1825. Т. 1. с 1649 по 1675* (Санктпетербург: Печатано в Типографіи Отдѣленія Собственной Его Императорского Величества Канцеляріи, 1830), 656–669.

49 *Источники Малороссійской истории, собранные Д. Н. Бантыш-Каменским*, 289–296.

peaceful period and whether the Hetmanate would accept the terms and conditions included in the treaty. The fact that the representatives of the Zaporozhian Host were not invited to Andrusovo – and that Hetman Ivan Briukhovetsky was informed about the details of the truce only at the end of February – clearly demonstrates that Russia did not treat the Cossacks as equal parties. The agreement between the tsar and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the division of Ukraine shocked the Cossack *starshyna*, who accused the Russian ruler of violating the Pereiaslav Agreement. Henceforward, the leaders of the Hetmanate could no longer hope for a privileged position within the Russian state.

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A Window of Opportunity: Jesuit Missionary Strategy, China, and European Power Politics, 1685–1704¹

Okno możliwości: strategia misyjna jezuitów, Chiny a europejska polityka mocarstw, 1685–1704

Abstract

This paper examines the relationship between international power politics and the strategy of the Jesuit Order in both local and global contexts, focusing on the period from 1685 to 1704. It argues that during these years a distinct window of opportunity emerged in which the Jesuit Order, operating amid limited and often fragmented coordination with the Holy See, and benefiting from short-term and asymmetrical support from major European powers – notably France, the Habsburg Monarchy, the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, and Russia – sought to develop a missionary strategy centred on the establishment of a land route linking Europe

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with China. While only some of these powers were formally associated through the Holy League, their overlapping geopolitical interests temporarily converged with Jesuit ambitions. Central to this strategy were Russia's increasing openness to the West and the favourable disposition of the Kangxi Emperor towards Christianity, which together appeared to create unprecedented conditions for sustained transcontinental engagement between China and Europe.

Keywords: Jesuit Order, Holy See, missionary strategy, international power politics, land route to China, Kangxi Emperor, Philippe Avril SJ, Tomasz Dunin Szpot SJ.

Abstrakt

Artykuł analizuje relacje między międzynarodową polityką mocarstw a strategią zakonu jezuitów w ujęciu lokalnym i globalnym, koncentrując się na latach 1685–1704. Autor dowodzi, że w tym okresie wykształciło się wyraźne „okno możliwości”, w ramach którego Towarzystwo Jezusowe, działając w warunkach ograniczonej i często fragmentarycznej koordynacji ze Stolicą Apostolską oraz korzystając z krótkotrwałego i asymetrycznego wsparcia ze strony głównych potęg europejskich – przede wszystkim Francji, Monarchii Habsburskiej, Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów oraz Rosji – dążyło do wypracowania strategii misyjnej opartej na ustanowieniu lądowego szlaku łączącego Europę z Chinami. Choć większość tych państw była formalnie powiązana sojuszem w ramach Ligi Świętej, ich częściowo zbieżne interesy geopolityczne czasowo splotły się z dążeniami jezuickimi. Kluczowe znaczenie dla tej strategii miały rosnąca otwartość Rosji na Zachód oraz przychylne nastawienie cesarza Kangxi wobec chrześcijaństwa, które łącznie zdawały się stwarzać bezprecedensowe warunki dla trwałych kontaktów transkontynentalnych między Chinami i Europą.

Słowa kluczowe: Towarzystwo Jezusowe, Stolica Apostolska, strategia misyjna, polityka mocarstw, droga lądowa do Chin, cesarz Kangxi, Philippe Avril SJ, Tomasz Dunin Szpot SJ.

The Jesuit Order exercised global influence and constructed an extensive web of transcontinental connections in the seventeenth century. Its missionary and diplomatic activities are often compared to the global infrastructures that facilitated what is commonly described as the first phase of early modern globalisation. In terms of geographical reach, the Jesuits maintained a particularly wide spatial presence – dispatching their members to such distant regions as Tibet, Siam, Vietnam, and Korea – which differed in scope and character from the overseas expansion of contemporary maritime empires. By comparison, the Dutch colonial

empire, operating primarily through the Dutch East India Company, focused on selected overseas regions and commercial networks and – like other European powers, such as Portugal, Spain, France, and England – pursued its interests within a competitive imperial environment.²

Since the pioneering successes of Matteo Ricci, China came to be seen as a singularly demanding yet unusually promising arena of Jesuit engagement.³ Its deeply entrenched traditions of scholarship, bureaucratic governance, and moral philosophy confronted missionaries with a civilisation whose intellectual authority resisted easy assimilation into European conceptual frameworks. Meaningful engagement with the educated mandarinat required not merely theological flexibility, but a sustained command of classical learning and a carefully crafted rhetorical self-presentation, while access to the imperial court depended upon the delicate negotiation of knowledge, service, and cultural credibility.⁴

In the last quarter of the seventeenth century, Jesuit missions in China were shaped by a number of interrelated factors. The years 1685–1704 proved particularly significant, as five key conditions converged: the decline of the Portuguese *Padroado* system; the growing prominence of France; the war against the Ottoman Empire waged by the Holy League; the policies of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth under the reign of John III Sobieski, together with the Holy See's expectations regarding

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- 2 Conference report on the meeting held at the University of Warsaw, 2–3 December 2022: Elisa Frei, “Two Early Modern Global Networks in Asia: The Society of Jesus and the Dutch East India Company,” *Archivum Historicum Societatis Iesu* (2022): 873–876; Hélène Vu Thanh, “The Jesuits in Asia under the Portuguese *Padroado*: India, China and Japan,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Jesuits*, ed. Ines G. Županov (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 400–426.
 - 3 It should be noted that the earliest Jesuit to identify China as a particularly promising missionary field was Francis Xavier, who regarded it as a strategic centre for the conversion of elites and, potentially, of vast populations. While fully aware of the risks involved and personally prepared for martyrdom, Xavier's assessment of China was primarily shaped by its perceived civilizational and evangelizing significance – a vision that later informed Jesuit engagement, including that of Matteo Ricci, see: Georg Schurhammer SJ, *Francis Xavier: His life, his Times*, t. 4. *Japan and China. 1549–1552*, transl. M. Joseph Costelloe SJ (Rome: The Jesuit Historical Institute, 1982), 560.
 - 4 John W. Witek, “Catholic missionaries, 1644–1800,” in *The Cambridge History of China*. Volume 9, Part Two: *The Ch'ing Dynasty to 1800*, ed. Willard J. Peterson (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 329–371. The Jesuits in China learned from the mistakes made in Japan, where insufficient knowledge of local culture and language, alongside political and strategic factors, contributed to the missionary collapse. Jurgis Elisonas also emphasizes that Francis Xavier's command of the Japanese language was so poor that it provoked indignation among the native courtly elites. Jurgis Elisonas, “Christianity and the daimyo,” *The Cambridge History of Japan* Volume IV: *Early Modern Japan*, ed. John Whitney Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 307–315.

the conversion of Saxony following the accession of Augustus II; and, finally, the rising importance of Russia as a member of the Holy League and its gradual opening to the West, symbolically confirmed by Tsar Peter I's visit to Vienna in 1698. For the Jesuits working in China, the years 1687–1692 constituted a watershed period, marking their involvement in facilitating the first formal treaty between Qing China and Russia – a European power – concluded on the basis of the emerging political principle of equal sovereignty. This diplomatic breakthrough coincided with the favourable stance of the Kangxi Emperor, expressed in the edict of toleration of 1692, which granted the Jesuits the right to teach and propagate Christian doctrine in China.⁵

The edict presented a systematic and pragmatic assessment of European missionaries by the administrative apparatus of the Qing dynasty, portraying them primarily as useful and loyal collaborators rather than as a religious or political threat. The emperor emphasised the services rendered by Europeans in the fields of mathematics, military technology, and diplomacy – particularly in relations with Muscovy – while at the same time explicitly affirming the absence of any criminal behaviour, seditious activity, or “false doctrines” among Christians. Against this background, the restrictions imposed on European religious practices are deemed irrational and contrary to the principles of good governance, especially since other religious groups, such as Buddhists, Lamaists and Daoists were permitted to conduct worship and offer sacrifices. The edict therefore advocated the preservation of existing Christian churches and the restoration of freedom of worship, not on the grounds of theological toleration, but within a logic of state order, utility, and social stability. In this way, the document reflected the characteristic policy of selective toleration pursued during the reign of the Kangxi Emperor, in which Christianity was accepted as a harmless and functional religion so long as it remained subordinated to the interests of the empire.⁶

The Kangxi edict of 1692 constituted a more consequential achievement than the baptism of members of the Southern Ming imperial family performed by Michał Boym, an episode frequently likened in Jesuit literature to the Edict of Milan. The adoption of the baptismal names Constantine and Helena on that occasion deliberately evoked the Constantinian

5 Alfred W. McCoy, *To Govern the Globe* (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2021), 29–83. See also: Liam Matthew Brockey, *Journey to the East: The Jesuit Mission to China, 1579–1724* (Cambridge–London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2007).

6 Latin version of the edict is preserved as: *Khamhi Imperatoris Tartaro Sinici Decretum*: Archivio Storico “de Propaganda Fide” (APF). S.C. Indie Orientali e Cina, vol. 6, 1691–1697, f. 209.

paradigm of imperial conversion. Kangxi's edict, by contrast, did not involve dynastic baptism, but provided something which seemed to be more enduring: explicit imperial recognition of Christianity as a licit religion within the legal and administrative framework of the Qing state. In this respect, it functioned as a form of state-sanctioned toleration comparable – at the level of political effect rather than theological meaning – to Constantine's decree, creating a protected space for Christian practice without implying imperial conversion.⁷ Tomasz Dunin Szpot presented the imperial edict of 1692 as a chronological and narrative turning point in the history of the China missions. He treated the decree primarily as an administrative fact that granted freedom to preach the Divine Law throughout the Chinese Empire, and used it to structure the final part of his account. At the same time, he explicitly acknowledged the limitations of his sources, especially the uneven and fragmentary nature of the annual letters, noting that information from Peking was more abundant than that from other Chinese provinces.⁸

This development encouraged the Jesuits to intensify their diplomatic efforts and to seek alternative routes of communication with the Middle Kingdom. One of the best examples of this were Philippe Avril's *Description of the Road to China* and Tomasz Dunin Szpot's *Historia Sinarum Imperii* and *Collectanea Historiae Sinensis*. They both focused on promoting a land route through Russia to Peking. Father Philippe Avril emerged in the 1680s as one of the most persistent explorers of a long-imagined overland road to China. In 1684 he was sent by the Order with the support of King Louis XIV to trace a practicable passage across the vast spaces that Europeans loosely called Great Tartary, with Russian Siberia as its critical hinge. His journey carried him through the Levant, Persia, the shores of the Caspian Sea, and along the Volga to Moscow, where he hoped to secure permission to proceed eastward to the Chinese frontier. That permission was never granted. The tsar's officials, suspicious of foreign scrutiny and jealous of their expanding Asian dominions, closed the Siberian route to him. Yet Avril's mission did not end in fiasco. From merchants, officials, and archives – Russian and Polish alike – he patiently assembled a body of geographical and logistical knowledge that allowed him, on his return to France in 1689, to offer European readers their first coherent account of Siberia and of the overland routes that might lead, at last, toward China. Although he never reached Peking, he argued in writing that a land passage to China

7 ARSI. Jap. Sin. 103, ff. 79v–80r.

8 ARSI. Jap. Sin. 105 II, f. 228r.

was neither myth nor fantasy, but a project whose success depended less on geography than on the shifting calculations of imperial power.⁹

The French effort to establish an overland route to China coincided with initiatives undertaken by Jesuits in Peking, as reflected, among other things, in the maps of Tomasz Dunin Szpot preserved in ARSI, Jap. Sin. 105. In these, the Polish Jesuit outlined three routes leading to China: a northern route, extending from Moscow through Tobolsk and along the major river systems of Siberia, including the Amur basin, towards the Qing capital; a southern route, broadly corresponding to the itinerary envisaged by Philippe Avril; and a route running from Agra via Benares and Tibet into China.¹⁰

The route *ex Moscovia in Chinam* shown on the map represented a northern overland passage following the river systems of Siberia rather than continuous land roads. From Moscow it proceeded eastward through the Volga basin and across the steppe regions commonly labelled as Great Tartary, before entering southern Siberia. There the route followed major rivers, which functioned as the primary highways of movement in sparsely populated areas. The itinerary passed south of Lake Baikal, avoiding its northern shore and continuing through the Transbaikal region, where river valleys provided more practicable routes. From this corridor the route advanced toward the Mongolian frontier and the northern boundary of the Qing Empire, approaching China

9 Philippe Avril's account was disseminated beyond France, appearing in 1693 in English and 1791 in Polish version, attesting to the broad European interest in overland routes to China. Philippe Avril S.J., *Voyage en divers états d'Europe et d'Asie, entrepris pour découvrir un nouveau chemin à la Chine* (Paris: Claude Barbin, Jean Boudot, George & Louis Josse, Jacques le Febvre, 1692); Philippe Avril, *Travels into divers parts of Europe and Asia, undertaken by the French King's order to discover a new way by land into China: containing many curious remarks in natural philosophy, geography, hydrography, and history; together with a description of Great Tartary, and of the different people who inhabit there, translated out of French, with a supplement extracted from Hakluyt and Purchas* (London: printed for Tim. Goodwin, at the Maidenhead over-against St. Dunstan's Church in Fleet Street, 1693); *Podróż do różnych krajów Europy i Azji przez misyonarzów S.J. w roku 1690 odprowadzona, końcem odkrycia nowej drogi do Chin, zamykająca w sobie wiele ciekawych uwag fizycznych, geograficznych i historycznych, z opisaniem Tartarii W., przypisana Stanisławowi Jabłonowskiemu, hetmanowi W. Kor., tłumaczona z francuskiego przez ks. Remigiusza Ładowskiego, S.J.* (Warszawa: u P. Dufour, konsyliarza nadwornego J.K. Mości, dyrektora Drukarni Korpusu Kadetów, 1791); Ronald S. Love, "A Passage to China: A French Jesuit's Perceptions of Siberia in the 1680s," *French Colonial History* 3 (2003): 85–100.

10 *Tabula Itineris ex Moschovia in Chinam, a Moschis facta*: ARSI. Jap. Sin. 105 I, f. 98r; *Duplex Iter Terrestre in Chinam ex Persia et ex Mogor iuxta descriptionem P. Antonii Thomae missa 1690 ex Sina*: ARSI. Jap. Sin 105 I, f. 227r. About Jesuit travellers in Asia: Cornelius Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia 1603–1721* (New Delhi–Madras: Asian Educational Services, 1997).

through an extended frontier zone rather than a single entry point. Overall, the route reflected patterns of movement typical of early modern Siberia, shaped by river navigation, seasonal constraints, and imperial administration.¹¹

The Persian route depicted by Antoine Thomas followed the line of the ancient Silk Road, proceeding from Isfahan and Tabriz through the established caravan cities of Bukhara and Samarkand, which for centuries had served as key hubs of transcontinental exchange. From there, it continued across eastern Turkestan via the oasis centres of Kashgar and Yarkand, before entering China through its north-western frontier. Rather than representing a newly conceived passage, this route reflected a long-standing Eurasian communication corridor shaped by commerce, diplomacy, and cultural contact, well known to merchants and travelers long before the early modern period and reinterpreted here within a Jesuit geographical framework.

The third route from Agra to China was copied from Antoine Thomas's map and followed a demanding but well-known path linking the Mughal world with China's south-western frontier. From Agra, it ran east along the Ganges toward Bengal, then turned north through the Himalayan and Tibetan regions, with Lhasa marked as an important stopping point. Instead of using sea routes or crossing the Central Asian steppes, the road led to Sechuan Province and relied on mountain passages long used by traders, pilgrims, and envoys. It entered China not at the imperial centre but through the south-west, where access to the interior was gradual. By including this route, Dunin Szpot pointed out that the Jesuits understood China to be reachable by more than one land route and that they preferred to work through established Asian corridors rather than imagining and designing entirely new paths.¹²

One of the reasons why the land route to the Middle Kingdom was so desperately sought was the gradual collapse of the system of *Padroado*. It became ineffective due to the collapse of the joint Iberian Empire. Its key manifestation was the Portuguese Restoration War between Spain and Portugal (1640–1668), which brought an end to the period of personal union between the two monarchies and led to the destabilization of Portuguese imperial structures. The letter of King Pedro II of Portugal,

11 More about *Iter Moschoviae*, see: Janusz Smółucha, "«Iter Moschoviae» – wczesne kontakty dyplomatyczne między Wielkim Księstwem Moskiewskim a Chinami w dziełach Tomasza Szpota Dunina," in *Jezuici. Nauka i nauczanie, sztuka, kultura, duchowość XVI–XX w.*, ed. Waldemar Graczyk, Jolanta M. Marszałska (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo De Republica, 2023) [in print].

12 ARSI. Jap. Sin. 105 I, f. 98r, ARSI. Jap. Sin 105 I, f. 227r.

dated 19 October 1689 and addressed to Father Filippo Grimaldi is an important source for the study of alternative communication routes to China at the close of the seventeenth century.¹³ The document attested to the direct awareness and involvement of the Portuguese Crown in plans to reach the Qing state by an overland route via Moscow and Tartary. In the letter, Pedro II explicitly granted his *beneplacito* to Grimaldi's intention to return to China by land (*facendo il camino per la Moscovia, e Tartaria*) and framed the journey primarily in terms of its missionary purpose, closely linking the success of the Catholic mission to the goodwill of the Chinese emperor. While the king did not articulate a broader geopolitical strategy, his remarks reflected a clear concern for both the propagation of the faith and the interests of the Portuguese Crown at the Qing court. At the same time, the document highlighted the role of Jesuit actors as key intermediaries of information and initiative, and might be read as indirectly illustrating the flexibility of Jesuit networks operating alongside, and at times beyond, the formal structures of the *Padroado*.¹⁴

The decline of the *Carreira da Índia* in the first half of the seventeenth century stemmed from structural weaknesses compounded by growing English and Dutch maritime competition. From the late sixteenth century the Portuguese monopoly on the Cape route steadily eroded, and by the 1620s it had lost its effective dominance. Unable to match the joint-stock organisation, convoy systems, and military capacity of the English East India Company and the Dutch VOC, Portuguese shipping suffered heavy losses and increasing financial strain, exacerbated by the conflicts of the Iberian Union. Although English support proved decisive for Portuguese independence after 1640, the resulting concessions – most notably the transfer of Bombay – further weakened Portugal's position in Asian trade. In this context, Jesuit missionaries, long reliant on Portuguese maritime routes, increasingly sought alternative overland routes to China.¹⁵

Whereas earlier China missions had been dominated by Italian and Portuguese Jesuits, by the late seventeenth century French missionaries occupied a leading position at the Qing court, particularly in the sciences. This shift reflected a broader reconfiguration of Jesuit strategy,

13 APF. S.C. Indie Orientali e Cina vol. 5, 1688–1690, f. 397r; Charles R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415–1825* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), 228–248.

14 APF. S.C. Indie Orientali e Cina vol. 5, 1688–1690, f. 397r.

15 Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire*, 381–382; Roger Crowley, *Conquerors: How Portugal Forged the First Global Empire* (London: Faber & Faber, 2015); Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia 1500–1700: A Political and Economic History* (Oxford–Malden: John Wiley, 2012), 153–189.

in which scientific expertise, courtly service, and geopolitical change became central to the European presence in China. The year 1685 marked an important moment of convergence between French ambitions and Qing openness, shaping a new phase of Jesuit activity in China. Following the audience granted by Louis XIV in 1684 to Philippe Couplet and the Chinese convert Shen Fuzong, and the dispatch in 1685 of six mathematically trained Jesuits, French involvement in China assumed a distinct court-oriented and scientific character. Rather than relying on maritime expansion, this model was grounded in royal patronage, learned service, and direct engagement with the Qing court.¹⁶ Arriving in Peking in 1688, the French missionaries established regular contact with the Kangxi Emperor, contributing to astronomy, mathematics, and cartography. Their presence did not replace earlier Portuguese missions nor directly shape imperial policy, but coincided with a period of relative openness. The edict of toleration of 1692 should therefore be understood as part of Kangxi's broader strategy of governance, within which Jesuits were valued as useful and politically non-threatening experts and scholars.

At the same time, French interest in alternative routes to China intensified. The idea of an *Iter Moscoviae*, promoted by Ferdinand Verbiest and discussed at Versailles, reflected the desire to bypass the long and hazardous maritime route controlled by Portuguese shipping. Supported by the Royal Academy of Sciences, Louis XIV sought to free French Jesuits from the constraints of the *Padroado* by exploring an overland passage through Muscovy. This project was entrusted to Philippe Avril, as noted above, whose later writings systematised information on the Siberian route. Parallel initiatives, such as the French embassy to Siam and the publication of *Confucius Sinarum Philosophus* (1687), illustrated the integration of missionary, scientific, and diplomatic objectives within a coherent French global strategy.

Also, the correspondence of Jean-François Foucquet, edited by Isabelle Landry-Deron, revealed that the so-called French phase of the China missions functioned as a project closely aligned with the policies of Louis XIV's court, and increasingly independent of Portuguese patronage. These letters documented both heightened expectations associated with Kangxi's favourable attitude and the growing tensions generated by

16 Philip Mansel, *King of the World. The Life of Louis XIV* (London: Allen Lane, 2019), 289–290.

the Chinese rites controversy,¹⁷ which ultimately undermined the project in the early eighteenth century. Although French political ambitions in China later diminished under more restrictive Qing policies, the Jesuit presence at the Peking court persisted for decades, with figures such as Jean-Joseph-Marie Amiot symbolising its long-term legacy.¹⁸

It is worth noting that the heritage of this long-standing Jesuit presence persisted well beyond the decline of the court missions. In 1784, Father Jean-Joseph de Grammont, a French Jesuit residing in Peking, baptised the Korean scholar Yi Sŭng-hun. This event is regarded as the founding moment of the Catholic Church in Korea, and it also illustrates the continued role of French Jesuits as intermediaries linking East Asian Christian communities. A few years later, in 1801, another French missionary in Peking, most likely sent to Rome a translation of a letter from the king of Korea to the Chinese emperor, reporting the persecution of Christians in the kingdom. Taken together, these episodes indicate that, even at the turn of the nineteenth century, Peking remained a significant communication hub for information concerning Christianity in East Asia, long after the formal end of the era of Jesuit court missions.¹⁹

Maritime travel to Asia via the Cape of Good Hope was long, dangerous, and costly in terms of both time and human lives. Contemporary accounts repeatedly emphasised the high mortality among missionaries assigned to East Asia, and these losses strengthened the conviction that alternative routes were urgently needed. This concern was reflected institutionally in a papal brief of December 1673, which permitted missionaries to travel overland to India without passing through Lisbon. Such concerns were not unfounded. Part of the miscommunication between the pope and the Chinese emperor stemmed precisely from the hazards of maritime travel. In 1704, when the Kangxi Emperor sent envoys to the Pope by sea, he never received a response, as both envoys perished on their journey.²⁰

17 The most informative source in this respect: Kilian Stumpf SJ, *The Acta Pekinensia or Historical Records of the Maillard de Tournon Legation*, vol. 1–3, eds. Paul Rule, Claudia von Collani (Rome–Leiden: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu – Brill, 2015–2025). Among secondary studies: *Handbook of Christianity in China. Volume One: 635–1800*, ed. Nicolas Standaert (Leiden–Boston–Köln: Brill, 2001).

18 See: *L'Europe missionnaire en Chine sous l'empereur Kangxi. Lettres du père jésuite Jean-François Foucquet écrites de Chine à sa famille (1698–1721)*, ed. Isabelle Landry-Deron (Paris: Collège de France, Institut des hautes études chinoises, coll. «Bibliothèque de l'Institut des hautes études chinoises», 2022).

19 APF. S.C Cina e Regni Adiacenti, vol. 1A, ff. 448r–455v.

20 Ludwig von Pastor, *The History of the Popes from the Close of the Middle Ages. vol. XXIII. Clement XI (1700–1721)* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Treubner and Co., 1941), 448.

One indication of Jesuit determination is found in the negotiations surrounding the Treaty of Grzymułtowski (1686) between the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and Russia. At the request of the Jesuits, Marcján Ogiński, Grand Chancellor of Lithuania and one of the principal negotiators, sought to insert a clause explicitly guaranteeing free passage for “messengers of the Gospel” travelling through Muscovite territory to China. Although the Russian side refused to include such a provision, arguing that existing passport regulations sufficed, the episode demonstrates the extent to which Jesuit interests shaped diplomatic expectations, even if they did not ultimately prevail.²¹

A similar tension characterised Jesuit hopes connected with the Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689). While Jesuits in Peking initially expected the negotiations to secure Russian support for the *Iter Moschoviae*, their involvement ultimately worked against this objective. There is no doubt that Nerchinsk represented a major diplomatic success for Russia, and that Jesuits such as Thomas Pereira and Jean-François Gerbillon played an essential mediating role. By grounding the treaty in principles of *ius gentium*, it marked a significant departure from traditional Chinese diplomatic practice and reflected broader transformations in the early modern international order.²² Yet for the Russian court, Jesuit participation aroused suspicion. Russian accounts, including those attributed to Golovin, accused the Jesuits of obstruction, thereby weakening their position in Moscow. By contrast, the Kangxi Emperor viewed Jesuit service favourably, a disposition that coincided with the promulgation of the edict of toleration in 1692, which granted limited religious freedoms to Catholics in China.²³

The Grand Embassy of Peter I to Europe in 1697–1698 revived hopes in certain Catholic circles of closer contacts between Russia and the Holy See. Contemporary diplomatic and Jesuit reports, particularly those circulating in Vienna, noted the tsar’s critical attitude toward ecclesiastical authority and his openness to religious discussion, though not a rejection of Orthodoxy. These perceptions encouraged speculation about a possible rapprochement, rather than realistic expectations of conversion.

21 Monika Miazek-Męczyńska, “Przez Moskwę do Chin? Polski wkład w jezuickie poszukiwania drogi lądowej na Daleki Wschód,” in *Itinera clericorum: kulturotwórcze i religijne aspekty podróży duchownych*, eds. Danuta Quirini-Popławska, Łukasz Burkiewicz (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Ignatianum, 2014), 517.

22 Marc Mancall, *Russia and China. Their Diplomatic Relations to 1728* (Cambridge — Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1971), 266–276.

23 Joseph Sebes S. J., *The Jesuits and the Sino Russian Treaty of Nerchinsk (1689): The Diary of Thomas Pereira, S.J.* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Jesu, 1961), 108–109.

In Vienna, such hopes found expression above all in the figure of Father Johann Friedrich Wolff, an influential Jesuit preacher and confessor at the imperial court of Leopold I. Wolff, who had some knowledge of Slavic languages, delivered a sermon on 29 June 1698, the feast of Saints Peter and Paul, at a Jesuit church attended by the tsar. According to contemporary accounts, the sermon employed symbolic imagery of a “new Peter” receiving the keys once more – a metaphor commonly interpreted in connection with Russia’s war against the Ottoman Empire and broader expectations surrounding the liberation of Christian holy sites. The tsar’s favourable reaction to the sermon was widely noted, and reports circulated that he ordered it to be translated into Slavic languages. Although these Viennese episodes did not lead to any concrete ecclesiastical realignment, they illustrate the persistence of Catholic interest in Russia as a potential partner within the broader anti-Ottoman context. Later commentators occasionally projected similar hopes onto subsequent Russo-Turkish conflicts, but such interpretations should be understood as retrospective constructions rather than direct continuations of late seventeenth-century expectations.²⁴

Although the *Iter Moschoviae* project ultimately failed, one significant outcome of the Russo-Jesuit encounter was a renewed interest in Eastern Christianity cultivated within Central European institutions such as the Collegium in Olomouc, where Jesuits drew inspiration from the legacy of Saints Cyril and Methodius, the apostles of the Slavs. While remaining firmly anchored in the Latin Church, these Jesuits regarded the Greek-Slavonic tradition as an important historical precedent for engagement with the Christian East. This intellectual orientation directed missionary initiatives both towards Russia and China. In the eighteenth century, the most prominent Bohemian representative of this tradition, Father Karel Slaviček, educated in Olomouc, was active in China from 1715 until his death in 1735, serving at the Qing court as a scientist and cultural intermediary.²⁵

24 М. М. Богословский, *Пётр I: Материалы к биографии*, т. 3: *Первое заграничное путешествие* (Москва–Ленинград: Государственное социально-экономическое издательство, 1941), 520–526; Gościwił Malinowski, “Fryderyk Kazimierz Wolff SJ (1643–1708) i Tomasz Dunin Szpot SJ (1644–1713) – polscy jezuici jako pośrednicy kulturowi w czasach poselstwa cara Piotra I do Europy (1697–1698),” *Rocznik Filozoficzny Ignatianum* 29/4 (2023): 101–109; Robert K. Massie, *Peter the Great. His Life and Work* (London: Head of Zeus, 2016), 218–231.

25 Joseph Dehergne, *Répertoire des Jésuites de Chine, de 1542 à 1800* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1973), 255. These Bohemian Jesuits helped forge an intellectual and religious bridge between Europe and China, making substantial contributions to the cultural and scientific exchanges between East and West. And despite the

The work of Tomasz Dunin Szpot belonged to the final phase of these initiatives, preceding the decisive escalation of the Chinese rites controversy. By 1711, when Szpot was completing *Collectanea Historiae Sinensis*, the papal legate Charles-Thomas Maillard de Tournon had already died the previous year in Macau, following a failed and deeply contested mission. The final pages of his *opus magnum* are marked by profound bitterness with which the Polish Jesuit assessed the consequences of Rome's intervention in the rites controversy. He presented Maillard de Tournon's legation not as a pastoral success, but as a sequence of misunderstandings, coercive measures, and administrative rigidity that culminated in the paralysis of the China mission. Szpot repeatedly stressed the legate's lack of linguistic and cultural competence, arguing that decisions of far-reaching consequence were taken on the basis of incomplete and distorted information. Consequences of this negligence were particularly grave in his view and led to the abandonment of missions, the surrender of churches to local authorities, and the widespread demoralisation of Christian communities. At the same time, he highlighted the pragmatic resilience of those missionaries who remained, invoking Portuguese jurisdictional rights and earlier papal decrees to justify continued activity in China. The text thus combined historical narration with implicit indictment: the Holy See – Szpot suggested – listened too readily to a single voice and too little to the collective experience of missionaries on the ground. His conclusion stands as a sober testimony to a lost opportunity, written by a witness who, at the end of his life, recorded not triumph, but the enduring cost of doctrinal absolutism imposed without adequate understanding of local realities.²⁶

Equally harsh words were directed at Charles Maigrot, a French Catholic missionary and Vicar Apostolic of Fujian. His formal denunciation of the Chinese rites, submitted to Propaganda Fide, triggered a judicial process on the matter in Rome. Maigrot's refusal to comply with the Qing court's conditions for missionary activity led to his expulsion

expulsion of the Jesuits from Moscow in 1689, the Jesuits continued to reside incognito in Moscow as members of the imperial embassy, all from the Jesuit province of Bohemia. Father Milan remained until 1719, father Berula, Bayer, Hitrecius, Broggio were with him at various times. These Jesuits visited many cities in Russia, including St. Petersburg, Narva, Kazan, Astrakhan and Azov. Peter tolerated the presence of the Jesuits in St. Petersburg, but his benevolence soured in consequence of the reception and protection given to his son Alexis at the court of Charles VI. Peter expelled the Jesuits again in April 1719. Jan Joseph Santich, O.S.B., *Missio Moscovitica. The Role of the Jesuits in the Westernization of Russia, 1582–1689* (New York – Washington – San Francisco: 1995), 190.

26 ARSI. Jap. Sin 105 II, f. 477v.

from China in 1706, following the Kangxi Emperor's decree against missionaries who rejected accommodation. After returning to Europe, he continued to advise Roman authorities, thereby contributing to decisions that ultimately curtailed Jesuit missionary methods and undermined the long-term viability of the China mission. Szpot concluded with a note of bitter irony that Maigrot had "won the battle" against the Jesuits.²⁷

Although the Jesuits' accommodative approach was neither immediately nor definitively overturned, subsequent papal decisions – culminating in *Ex illa die* (1715) –together with the reaction of the Kangxi Emperor, led to the gradual restriction of Catholic activity in China. In this context, projects such as the *Iter Moschoviae* steadily lost their strategic relevance, as the political and religious conditions that had made them conceivable in the late seventeenth century no longer prevailed. The failure of the *Iter Moschoviae* thus illustrates how global missionary projects depended not on theological ambition alone, but on fragile and rapidly shifting geopolitical constellations. Yet, while the *Iter Moschoviae* was ultimately undermined by external constraints arising from rivalry among the European powers, the hopes raised by the edict of 1692 were effectively nullified by decisions taken by the Holy See in 1704.

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The Practices of Editing in Ottoman Incunabula: İbrahim Müteferrika's Contributions to the Publications in His Printing House

Praktyki edytorskie w osmańskich inkunabułach: wkład İbrahima Müteferriki w publikację jego oficyny drukarskiej

Abstract

The rise of Turkish printing is closely connected both to the Ottoman manuscript traditions and to the centuries-old practices of European printing. In this article, I outline the main features of the first Turkish incunabula in the light of İbrahim Müteferrika's editorial practices. In addition to his two own works (*Usûl ül-hikem fî nizâm ül-ümem*, *Fuyûzât-ı miknatisîye*), I examine the corrections and additions he made to several other books printed in his press. Using manuscripts associated with İbrahim Müteferrika in the Süleymaniye Library and the Raşid Efendi Library in Kayseri, as well as a Latin account of the Müteferrika Press titled *Origo et Principium Typographiae Ottomanicae*, which offers additional information about the sources employed for particular prints, I trace the background of his own writings, translations and the editions he substantially revised. These manuscript translations and other excerpts provide a more complete

picture of Ibrahim Müteferrika's activities as an author in the Ottoman era, as well as of his education and scholarly interests.

Keywords: Ibrahim Müteferrika, Ottoman incunabula, copyright in Ottoman era, *Origo et Principium Typographia Ottomanicae*, *Usûl ül-hikem fî nizâm ül-ümem*.

Abstrakt

Rozwój drukarstwa tureckiego pozostaje ściśle powiązany zarówno z osmańską tradycją rękopiśmienną, jak i wielowiekowymi praktykami europejskiej typografii. W niniejszym artykule przedstawiam główne cechy pierwszych tureckich inkunabułów w świetle praktyk edytorskich Ibrahima Müteferrika. Oprócz jego dwóch własnych dzieł (*Usûl ül-hikem fî nizâm ül-ümem*, *Fuyûzât-ı miknatîsiye*), analizuję poprawki i uzupełnienia, które wprowadził do kilku innych książek drukowanych w jego oficynie. Wykorzystując rękopisy związane z Ibrahime Müteferriką przechowywane w Bibliotece Süleymaniye i Bibliotece Raşid Efendi w Kayseri, a także łańciński opis jego drukarni zatytułowany *Origo et Principium Typographiae Ottomanicae*, dostarczający dodatkowych informacji na temat źródeł użytych przy poszczególnych edycjach, odtwarzam kontekst powstania jego własnych prac, przekładów oraz tych wydań, które poddał znaczącym rewizjom. Te rękopiśmienne tłumaczenia i inne wpisy pozwalają nam uzyskać pełniejszy obraz działalności Ibrahima Müteferrika jako autora w epoce osmańskiej, a także jego wykształcenia i zainteresowań naukowych.

Słowa kluczowe: Ibrahim Müteferrika, inkunabuły osmańskie, prawa autorskie w epoce osmańskiej, *Origo et Principium Typographia Ottomanicae*, *Usûl ül-hikem fî nizâm ül-ümem*.

As is well known, Ibrahim Müteferrika was active in many fields during the Ottoman era – as a founder of the first Ottoman-Turkish printing house, as an author and scholar, and as a *müteferrika* (a public official serving as chief correspondent). Recent research and the documents uncovered show more information about his ambassadorial engagements before and after founding the printing house. A clearer picture of his role as a mediator for Prince of Transylvania Ferenc Rákóczi II in the Ottoman government is beginning to emerge from the letters and correspondences related to the Hungarian emigration in Rodostó (Tekirdağ). These wide-ranging activities, in terms of importance should be concerned quite separately. In this article, I would like to focus on his works as an author, translator and editor/compiler, furthermore, these

points allow us to look back at his motivations and his studies as a young man in Transylvania and possibly in Europe.

To understand the circumstances of the first Ottoman-Turkish printing house and the characteristics of its printings, it is worth taking a look at the manuscript and printing culture of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in Europe and Transylvania, since we will see that it had a quite important role to play on the beginnings of Ottoman printing.

For centuries, since the Gutenberg press was established, publishing and copyright in Europe have had a very different meaning from that of today. The printer, who was also the publisher, had a largely secondary copyright, which meant that he could improve and change the text at its own discretion. For this very reason, the identity and qualifications of the printers were quite important factors. As one of the main centres of the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century printing culture, Transylvania shows these characteristics very clearly: the printer was generally a scientist and many of them also wrote their own works, it is enough to mention the late Renaissance Hungarian writer Gáspár Heltai, who led his famous press in Kolozsvár (today: Cluj Napoca, Romania) between 1550–1574.¹ In the foregoing years, especially after 1669, Ibrahim Muteferrika's birthplace Kolozsvár continued to be one of the main centres of Transylvanian-Hungarian printing and education.

In fact, it was the knowledge required by the printing trade that eventually gave rise to the above-mentioned publishing custom. The fact that the introduction of European printing to the Ottoman Empire was thus the work of a Hungarian printer who came from such an intellectual environment and held himself to these standards, gives the reason that beyond the local manuscript traditions and expectations, the first Ottoman-Turkish printed works bear all these printing and publishing features.

Both in Europe and in the Ottoman Empire, these habits were fed by the old manuscript culture, consequently in countries and cultures where book printing arrived later, we can expect a similar set of habits among the manuscript copiers. In the manuscript book culture of the Ottoman Empire, the role of the copiers was emphasised because of the multiplication of manuscripts for the *medreses*, and therefore, in the case of Ottoman manuscripts, information about who copied the work was almost as important as the author himself. The reproduction of works, often dating back hundreds of years, in this way could obviously lead to

1 Zoltán Ferenczi, II. Id. *Heltai Gáspár nyomdája 1550–1574. A kolozsvári nyomdászat története* (Kolozsvár: Keresk. És Iparkamara, 1896), 6.

some changing or even degeneration of the text, but it could also have had a positive effect, i.e. it could have been enriched or expanded, but in any case, the text was constantly changing. İbrahim Müteferrika himself stresses this fact in his petition to the Grand Vizier in 1726, in (*Vesilet al-tibâ 'a*)² as one of the reasons why it was necessary to finally have well-edited and faithful copy of the texts in the empire. Nevertheless, continuing the above-mentioned tradition of printing and the conventions of Ottoman manuscript copiers, he did not consider adding to and enriching the texts he chose to print in his press, although in most of the prints he did not conceal these amendments.

In the case of the works published by the Müteferrika press, we are thus witnessing the meeting of these two traditions, the European printing and the Ottoman manuscript copying cultures. However, from the first print of the Müteferrika Press, *Lugat-i Vankûlî*'s preface and archival documents it is known that the intellectual work was not the sole responsibility of İbrahim Efendi: he had several assistants in the running of the printing house, at the beginning, the Jewish printer named Yona ben Ja'akov Aşkenazi was quoted by Müteferrika himself in the petition to the Grand Vizier İbrahim Paşa. This Ottoman Jew from Poland probably took on the bulk of the printing work from setting to printing, as he was a very active printer, running the most productive printing house in Istanbul from 1710 until 1778, he and his sons and grandsons.³ In engraving, İbrahim seems to have collaborated with an Armenian printer named Miğirdiç Galatavi. He was also accompanied by two Muslim assistants, one called Ahmed-El Kırımı and one called İbrahim Tophanevî.⁴ The printing activity itself (typesetting, printing, technique) was thus certainly the joint work of these several specialists, but the editing of the printed works seems to have been mainly the work of İbrahim Efendi, as was the preface (*mukaddime*) written before almost all the printed works. The importance of Yirmisekiz Çelebizade Mehmet Said Efendi, who was the partner of Müteferrika in the founding of the press, should also not have to be overlooked. He accompanied his father, Yirmisekiz Çelebi Mehmet Efendi, who was the leader of the Empire's embassy to France in 1720–1721, and after this journey he was the one who presented the idea of printing to the Vezier Damad İbrahim Paşa, but after the founding

2 *Lugat-i Vankûlî*, 1141 Receb (February 1729).

3 Yasin Meral, *İbrahim Müteferrika öncesi İstanbul'da Yahudi matbuatı. 1493–1729* (İstanbul: Divan Kitap, 2016), 52.

4 Orlin Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika ya da ik Osmanlı matbaa seriüveni. 1726–1746. Yeniden Değerlendirme* (İstanbul: Yeditepe Yayınevi, 2006), 177.

of the press due to his official mandates he has not subsequently been actively involved in the running of the printing works.⁵ Here we also have to mention Yanyalı Esad Efendi's name. The *medrese* teacher and later *kadi* of Galata, originated from the North Greek city of Ioannina, was at that time among the members of the committee formed for the revision of the works to be printed in the printing house and also of the translation committees organized and encouraged by the Grand Vezier Damad İbrahim Paşa for creating new translations of important Arabic, Persian and Greek works.⁶ According to Çolak, he accompanied İbrahim Muteferrika in the press as a copy-editor.⁷ Although we don't have further data about in what prints of the press he was involved in and he is mostly known of his Greek and Persian translations, he possessed knowledge of Latin as well, consequently we should rule out the possibility that he may have contributed to the translations and extracts related to İbrahim Muteferrika and his press.

The works for which İbrahim Efendi has a certain authorship can be divided into three categories, namely author, translator, and editor/compiler. We have three manuscripts in Latin (Paris, The Hague and Vienna) from the early years of the printing house, which are important sources and a clue to the role İbrahim Efendi played in the creation of the printed products, since the printer himself may have been the author of these accounts. The most complete version is the one from La Hague, the account in Vienna is presumably a copy, as the one in Paris too. These accounts from 1730 onwards until the 12th publication in 1733, often in plural sentences, describe the prints published in the Muteferrika press. For the works described below along the lines of the above mentioned three categories, I will refer to the information given in the La Hague copy where relevant and also add information gained from the research I made in the Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi in Istanbul,

In 1729, the year the printing house was founded, a copyright dispute arose over the third product of the printing house, Jan Tadeusz

5 In addition to his ambassadorial and other duties, in 1753 he prepared a catalogue under the title "Ferāidü'l-müfredāt fî't-ṭıbb ve Esmāü'n-nebāt," a record of herb names according to Arabic, Persian, Turkish, Greek and Latin sources. See: Erhan Afyoncu, "Mehmed Said Paşa, Yirmisekizcelebizâde," in *İslâm Ansiklopedisi*, vol. 28 (Ankara: Türkiye Diyanet Vakfı, 2003), 524–526; Orlin Sabev, *The Muteferrika Press. Arabic Typography in an Ottoman context* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2025), 46.

6 Kazım Sarıkavak, "Yanyalı Esad Efendi," *TDV İslâm Ansiklopedisi* 43 (2013): 322.

7 Hasan Çolak, "İbrahim Muteferrika and the Ottoman Intellectual Culture in the Early 18th Century: a Transcultural Perspective" in *Arabic-Type Books Printed in Wallachia, Istanbul, and Beyond: First Volume of Collected Works of the TYPARABIC Project*, eds. Radu-Andrei Dipratu, Samuel Noble (Berlin–Boston: De Gruyter, 2024), 1–20.

Krusiński's *Târîh-i seyyâh der beyân-i zuhûr-i Ağvâniyân ve sebeb-i indihâm-i binâ-i Devlet-i Şâhân-i Safeviyân*, which was – according to the beginning of the print – supposed to have been translated by Ibrahim Müteferrika. The Polish Jesuit missionary Krusiński, who had personally recommended the work to the Grand Vizier Damat İbrahim Paşa, complained to the printer in the preface to his next work written in 1740, claiming that the printer was making untrue statements, since the translation from Latin to Turkish was made by Krusiński himself. Ibrahim Efendi probably did not abuse his power as printer and did indeed translate the work, as he writes in the *mukaddime* (preface) of the print and even describes the method he followed during translation. Nevertheless, it is probable that Krusiński did also translate it, since he was in Istanbul for a time at the invitation of the Grand Vizier, who had invited him to translate European works into Ottoman Turkish.⁸ The presumption that the printer used his own translation is confirmed by the Latin account in La Hague where it is stated that the translation is made by the printer himself (in plural phrase „*a nobis*”). Recep Demir proves the same through a detailed analysis⁹ and this is also supported by the fact that the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul preserves a manuscript copy of the work, the year is the same as the year of publication (1729) where the name of Ibrahim Efendi is given as translator at the beginning of the work.¹⁰

The fourth product of the printing house was *Târîh al-Hind al-Garbî al-musemmâ be-Hadîs-i Nev*, a history and geography of the New World, whose author, although Ibrahim Müteferrika mentioned Kâtip Çelebi in his Latin manuscript of 1734, is more likely to have been Muhammad al-Su‘udi or maybe Seydi Ali Reis. In any case, the identity of the Ottoman-Turkish translator is not provided in the print. Compared to the earlier manuscript copies, the volume contains many corrections, which Müteferrika refers to as being based on the original Arabic work of the sixteenth century. Whichever work it was, this Müteferrika print should be treated not only as a new edition of this work but even separately from the older manuscript copies in the sense that almost the whole third chapter of the book was translated from Western, probably

8 Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika*, 194

9 Recep Demir, “İbrahim Muteferrika as a Translator in the Context of Tarih-i Sayyah,” in *Turkey, Looking Behind and Before*, ed. William H. Taylor (London–Istanbul: AGP Research, 2016), 190–195.

10 Jan Tadeusz Krusiński, “Târîh-i seyyâh der beyân-i zuhûr-i Ağvâniyân ve sebeb-i indihâm-i binâ-i Devlet-i Şâhân-i Sa feviyân, 1142 [1729], Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Yazma Bağışlar, 02415

Italian adaptations of Spanish authors,¹¹ as well as the 13 black and white engravings of the book were lifted from unknown Western sources. The illustrations of animals and plants led Toderini to believe that the ulema destroyed several copies of the print.¹²

İbrahim Müteferrika's own work, the only one to appear in print, *Usûl ül-hikem fî nizâm ül-ümem*, published in the month of Şaban 1144 (February 1732), bears witness to the mature thought of Müteferrika's knowledge collected from European authors and works. Compared to his other, untitled manuscript work generally referred as *Risale-i Islamiye* (Treatise on Islam), written almost twenty years before the founding of the printing press, this treatise on the theory of the state reflects a very different approach. The manuscript of *Usûl ül-hikem fî nizâm ül-ümem* in the Hüsrev Paşa collection in the Süleymaniye Library with the date 1143 (1730) probably served as a model before printing as it is 48 folios as the later print, and which may have been Müteferrika's original, author's copy.¹³ Undoubtedly İbrahim Müteferrika's interest and knowledge is shown very clearly through the subject of this work which is presumably an outcome of his previously carried out research and translations. This is the reason why İbrahim Müteferrika's name is connected by several research to a tractate from 1718, found in an appendix of a work of the Ottoman historian Esad Efendi written in the first half of the nineteenth century¹⁴ and of an Ottoman Turkish translation of a part of Raimondo Montecuccoli's work about Turkish–Hungarian wars.¹⁵ The original source

11 Thomas D. Goodrich, "The Search for the Sources of the Sixteenth-Century Tarih-i Hind-i Garbi," *Bulletin of Research in Humanities* 85 (1982): 269–294.

12 Sabev, *İbrahim Müteferrika*, 194

13 Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Hüsrev Paşa Koleksiyonu, 00292M

14 The short tractate is found first by Faik Reşit Unat in Istanbul in 1942 and later by Anton C. Schaendlinger in Vienna, both in a work called *Vekayinâme* of Ottoman historian and Kazasker Esat Efendi. Formally it is a fictive dialogue between an Ottoman and a European officer about the neccessarrity of the modernization of Ottoman army and political arrangements. Both Unat and Schaendlinger hypothesized that the author of the unsigned tractate must be İbrahim Müteferrika. Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar is also at the same opinion. See: Faik Reşit Unat, "Ahmet III. devrine ait bir ıslahat takriri. Muhayyel bir mülâkatın zabıtları," *Tarih Vesikaları* 1/2 (1941): 107–121; Anton C. Schaendlinger, "Die Entdeckung des Abendlandes als Vorbild. Ein Vorschlag zur Umgestaltung des Heerwesens und der Außenpolitik des Osmanischen Reiches zu Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts," in *Das Osmanische Reich und Europa 1683 bis 1789. Konflikt, Entspannung und Austausch*, ed. Gernot Heis, Grete Klingenstein (Wien: Oldenbourg, 1983), 94; Ahmet Hamdi Tanpınar, *On Dokuzuncu Asır Türk Edebiyatı Tarihi* (İstanbul: Çağlayan Kitabevi, 1982), 45.

15 Raymundus Montecuccoli, *Commentarii bellici Raymundi Sac. Rom. Imp. Principis Montecuccoli juncto artis bellicae systemate ex augustissimae bibliothecae authographo*

of this translation was a Latin translation of Montecuccoli's Italian work *Della guerra col Turco in Ungheria*, probably written mainly for the inner circles of the imperial court in Vienna or even personally for Leopold I in 1680.¹⁶ The untitled tractate with the dialogue from 1718, without any authorship data contains very similar and in some cases even the same arguments as Müteferrika's printed work *Usûl ül-hikem*. As is often the case with the Ottoman translations of the period, the authors of these two works did not consider it essential to reveal their identity, which led the researchers to create several ideas about the authorship. Whoever the mysterious and – as in the *Tercüme-i Fenn-i Harb* refers himself – humble translator (*mütercim-i hâkir*) created a translation which is very often reflected in the thoughts expressed by Ibrahim Müteferrika in *Usul-el Hikem*. Analyzing these similarities should be a goal of a separate research, still it can be maintained that the Hungarian-Ottoman printer read and used Montecuccoli's works since his descriptions of Hungarian and Austrian military equipment and methods can be found in some paragraphs of *Usul-el Hikem* even word by word.

Just afterwards, a volume of translations on magnetism, the *Fuyûzât-ı miknatisîye*, was published, which is a work compiled from Ibrahim Efendi's own translations. In the preface the publication he indicates that he translated it from a work published in Leipzig in 1721. According to Niyazi Berkes, it is possible that the source was William Whiston's *The Longitude and Latitude Found by the Inclinator of Dipping Needle* (London, 1721), but as the comparative studies by Delio V. Proverbio and Bekir H. Küçük have demonstrated, Christoph Eberhard's *Specimen Theoriae Magneticae* (Leipzig, 1720) were also among the sources of Müteferrika's translation.¹⁷ However, in the Latin manuscript of the printing press, it is already written that he compiled the work from extracts taken from

nunquam hactenus edito, Figuris Aeneis illustrati, cum privilegio Sac. Caes. Majestatis (Vienna: 1718).

16 The manuscript has not even been published in the original language for some time, but translated into several languages. The French translation published in 1712 with the title "Mémoires de Montecuccoli, generalissime des troupes de l'empereur, ou principes de l'Art militaire en général" made the author more widely known and demonstrably had a big influence on European military thinkers of the following centuries. See: István Czigány, György Domokos, Levente Nagy, János B. Szabó and Ferenc Tóth, "Raimondo Montecuccoli és műve," in *Raimondo Montecuccoli: A magyarországi török háborúkról*, eds. and transl. György Domokos, Levente Nagy and Gábor Hausner (Budapest: Dialóg Campus Kiadó, 2019), 11–32.

17 Sabev, *The Müteferrika Press*, 117.

several books on the subject.¹⁸ One such excerpt may be the work *Zeyl der Beyan-ı Mikyası Berr ü Bahr ve Mikdar-ı Mesafe-i Kürre-i Arz* (Supplement to the system of land and sea measurements and the determination of the distances of the globe), which is kept in the Hamidiye collection of the Süleymaniye Library in Istanbul, its author is İbrahim Müteferrika.¹⁹ The work, only three pages long, is a part of a composite manuscript on folios 41–43, and is preceded and followed by other works in Arabic and Ottoman Turkish on seafaring, physics and astronomy, but dated later, between 1742 and 1744. Regarding that in any part of the printed book İbrahim Müteferrika does not specify the sources from which he drew, only that he used Arabic sources, the above mentioned short extract in the Hamidiye Collection should have been a possible preparatory work by him for the later publication.

A very important product of the printing house was Kâtib Çelebi's *Cihannümâ* (World Guide), which was written and composed by the author from European sources. İbrahim Müteferrika also made considerable additions to the original work, and for this reason he should be considered a co-author. Kâtib Çelebi (1609–1657) used Mercator's famous *Atlas Minor*, and wanted to expand his work further by drawing on other European sources.²⁰ Müteferrika should have been aware of this: he added 276 pages to the original work. In the preface, İbrahim Efendi mentions that the Chief Mufti Dâmâdzâde Mevlânâ Şeyh Ahmed had recommended the printing of the work, but it was certainly a much earlier decision and probably the result of years of work. In some places the work mentions the sources used, mentioning Edmond Pourchot.²¹ In the Hague copy of the Latin manuscript mentioned earlier, we find the following text: “The author is Kâtib Çelebi, who lived during

18 “Id est pro fluvia magnetica, ubi tractatur de viribus magneticis, id est virtute, qua se magnes ad mundi polos dirigit, et qua ferrum sibi attrahit, et virtutem suam ferro, et chalybi communicat. Acus nautica inclinatoria, et declinatoria quid sit, et quomodo inserviat ubicunque locorum, inveniendi longitudinem, et latitudinem.” Origo et principium Typographiae Ottomanicae, La Hague, Rijksarchief, Legatiearchief Turkijë tot 1811, No 1090, published by Franz Babinger, Stambuler Buchwesen im 18. Jahrhundert (Leipzig: Deutscher Verein für Buchwesen und Schrifttum, 1919), 30.

19 Süleymaniye Yazma Eser Kütüphanesi, Hamidiye Koleksiyonu, reference nr. 873–005.

20 The translation of Gerard Mercator's *Atlas Minor* was not the independent work of Kâtib Çelebi, he cooperated with Şeyh Mehmed İhlâsî, who was originally a French monk and at an unknown date came to Istanbul and converted to Islam. We know from the preface of İbrahim Müteferrika in *Cihannümâ* that İhlâsî recommended for Kâtib Çelebi to translate this work, which they finished finally in 1655 together.

21 In his Latin publications, his name appears as *Edmundus Purchotius*, whereas in the *Cihannümâ* it is written as *Porkuçiyuş*.

the reign of Sultan Mahmud and dedicated his work to him. This work, however, was not completed by him, but by the Ottoman printer, who added the kingdoms of Asia which are not included in the first edition. The *Harmonia Macro-Cosmica Universalis*,²² was also attached to it, as the conception of the various authors, namely Ptolemy, Copernicus and Tycho Brahe too”.²³ Taking into consideration that he used Andreas Cellarius’s work to complete the *Cihannümâ*, we can assume that he read and maybe translated one of the author’s works. The proof of this is the Ottoman-Turkish manuscript version of the *Atlas Coelestis* translated as *Mecmûatü hey’etî’l-kadîme ve’l-cedîde* (Atlas of the Old and New Skies). In the preface to the work, Müteferrika writes that he translated the work on the order of Sultan Ahmed III in 1733. The only known copy of the translation is in the Library of the Military Museum (Askeri Müze Kütüphanesi) in Istanbul.²⁴ In addition to the 112 leaves of text, the work contains 65 folios of illustrations, copied from the original edition, with the illustrations described in Ottoman Turkish.

The 16th product of the press, Ömer Bosnavî’s short but highly successful work *Ahvâl-i gazevât der diyâr-i Bosna* (The situation of the Bosnian campaigns) is also a strongly edited and supplemented edition and special in a sense that it was published almost immediately after it was finished by the author and expanded by the printer.²⁵ As Ibrahim Müteferrika informs us in the appendix he wrote titled *Beyan-ı me’haz-ı vakîât* (Explanation of the source of the events), Ömer Bosnavî’s text is about the battles between the Ottomans and the Habsburgs in Bosnia in the period of his first governorship (1736–1739). Ibrahim Müteferrika felt it neces-

22 The map collection of Andreas Cellarius, *Harmonia Macrocosmica*, first print: Amsterdam, 1660.

23 “Author est Tyátib Cselebi, qui vixit tempore Sulthan Mehem[m]ed Imperatoris, cui dedicavit editionem suam, sed liber iste nondum erat finitus quem Typographus Otthomanicus finivit, et adiunxit regna Asiae, quae in prima editione deerant, similiter adiuncta est Harmonia Macro-Cosmica Universalis secundum diversorum auctorum opiniones, id est secundum opinionem Ptholomei, Copernici, et Tychonis.” *Origo et principium Typograhiae Ottomanicae*, La Hague, Rijksarchief, Legatiearchief Turkijë tot 1811, No 1090; published by Franz Babinger, *Stambuler Buchwesen im 18. Jahrhundert* (Leipzig: Deutscher Verein für Buchwesen und Schrifttum, 1919).

24 Askeri Müze Kütüphanesi No. 1456

25 We know only manuscript copies of the text in Turkey archives which were replicated from the printed edition, no original, author’s copy is known. Nevertheless the big amount of manuscript copies shows that the work was met with great interest until its second printed edition in 1876. Hatice Oruç, “On ‘Ahvâl-i Gazavât Der Diyâr-ı Bosna’ (The State of Holy Wars in the Province of Bosnia) by Omer Bosnavî,” in *Bosnia and Herzegovina: Common History and Multicultural Atmosphere in the Balkans*, eds. Mahir Aydın, Metin Ünever (Istanbul: IBAC, 2015), 109.

sary to expand this work: he checked the accuracy of its data by consulting reliable participants of the expeditions about the events described in the book. The final part of the work called *Hâtime: Der-beyân-ı keyfiyet-i eyâlet ve ahâlî-i memleket* (fol. 61a–62a) consists of Ömer Efendi's conclusion and of a description of the current geographical, ethnic and political situation in Bosnia written by the printer. Because of this addition and the corrections made by İbrahim Müteferrika, we can also consider this print as a supplemented version of the original work.

As discussed above, the prints of the first Ottoman Turkish press were preceded by a thorough editorial and proofreading process before they were printed, therefore each Müteferrika publication should be treated as a separate work, not merely as a simple edition/translation of a particular author's work. His activity in typography regarding these aspects as a continuer of both European printing and Eastern/Ottoman manuscript culture demonstrates clearly that with his personality and knowledge the Ottoman book culture gained a mind that had no equal in the later history of the eighteenth-century Ottoman Turkish printing. The documents just presented provide strong support for the assumption that Müteferrika, in addition to the general Latin, Greek and theological education of the time in Transylvanian colleges, was particularly well versed in the natural sciences, geography, cartography and military sciences. Considering that in the 1680s and 1690s, when İbrahim Efendi was a young man, the Protestant (Unitarian) college in Cluj-Napoca focused mainly on teaching Protestant theology and literature. The book lists of the college library from the end of the eighteenth century show that the fields in which İbrahim Müteferrika was well educated were poorly represented.²⁶ Consequently, he could not have obtained this education in his hometown. Since as a *müteferrika* he carried out several official missions to Europe (Vienna, France, etc.) where he undoubtedly maintained connections and obtained books, we can assume that in his youth he acquired his knowledge of geography, cartography and all natural sciences at a foreign university. During the period of his possible peregrination, the Low Countries were popular among Hungarian, especially the Transylvanian, Protestant students, along with Heidelberg and other German cities, and were a particularly important location for printers. Our ongoing investigations related to this research of Hungarian students in European universities and his connections with the Rákóczi emigration will hopefully help us to clarify the remaining gaps in his pre-Ottoman life.

26 See: Gábor Sipos, *A kolozsvári református kollégium könyvtára a 17. században* (Szeged: Scriptum Kft., 1991).

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Encounters in the Habsburg Lands: Eighteenth-Century Polish Travel Accounts of Hungary by Ignacy Zawisza (1715) and Józef Aleksander Jabłonowski (1762)

**Kontakty i doświadczenia w krajach
habsburskich. Osiemnastowieczne polskie
relacje z podróży po Królestwie Węgier
Ignacego Zawiszy (1715) i Józefa Aleksandra
Jabłonowskiego (1762)**

Abstract

This article examines two eighteenth-century Polish travel accounts describing journeys through the Habsburg-ruled Kingdom of Hungary: the military account by Ignacy Zawisza from 1715 and the unpublished manuscript by Józef Aleksander Jabłonowski from 1762. The aim of the article is to highlight how Polish travellers perceived space, society, and history in the region, depending on the context of their journey as well as their social position and intellectual ambitions. The primary sources are two travel narratives – Zawisza’s printed and concise account, based on his military campaign experience, and Jabłonowski’s much more extensive

manuscript, combining topographical observations with historical, genealogical, and heraldic reflections. The article also draws on relevant scholarship on eighteenth-century travel culture, Polish-Hungarian relations, and the representation of early modern elites. Both narratives are analysed comparatively, using a cultural perspective that makes it possible to reveal the cognitive, representational, and identity-building functions of travel writing in eighteenth-century noble culture. Special attention is paid to narrative construction and to the tension between factual description and the symbolic dimension of the travel accounts. The article argues that travel through Hungary served not only practical and cognitive purposes for the Polish nobility, but also played a role in self-representation and the shaping of identity. While Zawisza's account aimed to document participation in a Habsburg-led military campaign, Jabłonowski's manuscript was a conscious attempt at self-fashioning and presenting himself as a member of European intellectual networks. The article thus demonstrates how travel could serve as a medium for asserting status and participating in the transnational culture of early modern Europe.

Keywords: noble travel, travel accounts, eighteenth century, Kingdom of Hungary, Ignacy Zawisza, Józef Aleksander Jabłonowski.

Abstrakt

Artykuł analizuje dwa osiemnastowieczne polskie opisy podróży przez terytorium Królestwa Węgier znajdującego się pod panowaniem Habsburgów: wojskową relację Ignacego Zawiszy z 1715 roku oraz rękopiśmienną relację Józefa Aleksandra Jabłonowskiego z 1762 roku. Celem artykułu jest ukazanie różnic w postrzeganiu przestrzeni, społeczeństwa i historii regionu przez polskich podróżników w zależności od kontekstu wyprawy oraz pozycji społecznej i intelektualnych ambicji autora. Podstawę źródłową stanowią dwie relacje podróżne – drukowana, zwięzła relacja Zawiszy, oparta na doświadczeniu kampanii wojennej, oraz znacznie obszerniejszy rękopis Jabłonowskiego, łączący obserwacje krajoznawcze z refleksjami historycznymi, genealogicznymi i heraldycznymi. Artykuł opiera się także na literaturze dotyczącej kultury podróży w XVIII wieku, polsko-węgierskich kontaktów oraz nowożytnej reprezentacji elit. Obie relacje zostały poddane analizie porównawczej z uwzględnieniem perspektywy kulturowej, co pozwoliło uchwycić ich funkcje poznawcze, reprezentacyjne i tożsamościowe w kontekście osiemnastowiecznej kultury szlacheckiej. Szczególną uwagę poświęcono sposobowi konstruowania przekazu oraz napięciu między opisem faktograficznym a symbolicznym wymiarem relacji podróżnych. Główną tezą artykułu jest stwierdzenie, że podróże przez Węgry pełniły dla polskich elit nie tylko funkcję praktyczną czy poznawczą, ale także reprezentacyjną i tożsamościową. Podczas gdy relacja Zawiszy służyła dokumentacji udziału w kampanii wojennej u boku

Habsburgów, zapis podróży Jabłonowskiego stanowił świadomą próbę autokreacji i prezentacji jako członka europejskich sieci intelektualnych. Artykuł pokazuje tym samym, jak podróże mogły służyć budowaniu pozycji jednostki w transnarodowej kulturze nowożytnej Europy.

Słowa klucze: podróże szlacheckie, relacje z podróży, XVIII wiek, Królestwo Węgier, Ignacy Zawisza, Józef Aleksander Jabłonowski.

Polish–Hungarian relations in the eighteenth century were multifaceted, encompassing political, economic, and social dimensions. Despite unfavourable political conditions and shifting geopolitical realities, their intensity and frequency remained relatively stable throughout the century.¹ Following the disastrous Battle of Mohács in 1526, part of the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary came under Habsburg rule, and in the eighteenth century the territory was further expanded at the expense of the weakening Ottoman Empire. While the Hungarian nobility retained a degree of formal political autonomy and certain representative institutions, real power resided with the Viennese court. The relationship between the Hungarian elites and the Habsburgs was inherently ambivalent: on the one hand, tensions arose from restrictions on religious and national freedoms, especially after the suppression of the uprising led by Francis II Rákóczi (1703–1711); on the other, segments of the magnate class benefitted from their loyalty to the emperor, securing high positions in the administration, the military, and at court. The Hungarian lands, particularly those bordering the Ottoman Empire, also became heavily militarised and served as arenas of complex ethnic interactions involving Slovaks, Ruthenians, Germans, and Serbs.²

Meanwhile, from 1697 to 1763, the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth remained in a personal union with Saxony, which oriented its political interests increasingly toward Western Europe. The ties resulting from this union with the Wettin dynasty coincided with the efforts of French diplomacy, which throughout the eighteenth century sought to

1 This article was written as part of research conducted within the project funded by the National Science Centre, Poland (NCN), no. UMO 2025/57/B/HS3/00052, titled *Autokreacja magnata: Józef Aleksander Jabłonowski (1711–1777) i kultura reprezentacji w osiemnastowiecznej Rzeczypospolitej*.

Józef Andrzej Gierowski, *The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the XVIIIth Century. From Anarchy to Well-organised State* (Kraków: Nakładem PAU, 1996), 94.

2 Waław Felczak, *Historia Węgier* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1996), 164–167; László Kontler, *A History of Hungary* (Budapest: Atlantis Publishing House, 2016), 191–232.

construct a network of political counterbalances to Russian and Habsburg dominance in Eastern Europe – primarily by promoting cooperation among Sweden, the Commonwealth, and the Ottoman Empire. In the second half of the century, the geopolitical situation of the Polish–Lithuanian state deteriorated further. Russia, Austria, and Prussia—the three neighbouring powers – began to interfere more aggressively in its internal affairs, using diplomatic pressure, military coercion, and the mechanism of the free royal election to advance their own interests. This trend intensified in particular during the reign of the last king, Stanisław August Poniatowski, whose election in 1764 was directly supported by Empress Catherine II and the Russian army. As a result, the Commonwealth increasingly came under the control of external powers, which severely constrained its ability to pursue an independent foreign policy and deepened its dependence on its neighbours.³

Closer ties between Poland and Hungary emerged on two notable occasions in the eighteenth century. The first occurred during the anti-Habsburg uprising led by Francis II Rákóczi, which was met with a degree of sympathy among certain members of the Polish elite, including the influential Elżbieta Sieniawska, the wife of Kraków castellan.⁴ The second instance took place during the Bar Confederation (1768–1772), when the leaders of the movement sought refuge in the former territories of the Kingdom of Hungary while fleeing Russian military domination.⁵ Although Hungary was rarely a primary destination for the Polish nobility, its geographical location and political status within the Habsburg Empire made it a point of interest for travellers from the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. The divergent geopolitical orientations of the two countries – Hungary aligned with Vienna, and the Commonwealth with Saxony or France – did not preclude occasional, spontaneous encounters. This also applied to noblemen undertaking educational journeys (*Grand Tours*) or travelling for other purposes, such as seeking employment, cultivating social or political connections, or simply exploring new regions. On their way south, they would sometimes pass through Hungarian lands, where encounters of various kinds could take place.⁶

3 Richard Butterwick, *The Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, 1733–1795. Light and Flame* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2020).

4 Bożena Popiołek, *Królowa bez korony. Studium z życia i działalności Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej ok. 1669–1729* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe WSP, 1996), 43–55.

5 Władysław Konopczyński, *Konfederacja barska*, vol. 1 (Volumen: Warszawa, 1991), 293.

6 Adam Kucharski, *Theatrum peregrinandi. Poznawcze aspekty staropolskich podróży w epoce późnego baroku* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, 2013), 281–282. The

This article examines two travel accounts written by Ignacy Zawisza (1696–1738), Lithuanian sword-bearer, and Józef Aleksander Jabłonowski (1711–1777), Voivode of Nowogródek, who visited Hungary at different points in the eighteenth century, for different reasons and within different contexts. These records, belonging to the genre of ego-documents, provide valuable material for the study of individual travel experiences, but also for understanding how the Kingdom of Hungary was perceived as a cultural, political, and symbolic space.⁷ A comparative analysis of these testimonies offers insight into both the personal impressions of the two authors and the broader mechanisms involved in shaping Polish noble imaginaries of this region of Europe.⁸

The accounts differ in many respects, beginning with the time of their composition: Zawisza's text recounts impressions from 1715, whereas Jabłonowski's description refers to a journey made in 1762. The social profiles of the authors were equally distinct. Zawisza, although a member of a senatorial Lithuanian family, faced circumstances that required him to carve out his own career path. Jabłonowski, in contrast, belonged to the high nobility. His family had recently ascended into the ranks of the magnates through wealth and office, and his considerable financial resources enabled him to undertake a Grand Tour and other journeys across Western Europe.⁹ Accordingly, the two narratives reflect different types of travel: Zawisza moved with a military unit to which he was attached, whereas for Jabłonowski – a renowned writer, compiler, and erudite – travel formed a key element of his lifestyle. What unites both texts, however, is their retrospective character: each was composed as part of a conscious effort to record and organise personal recollections, most likely for the purpose of preserving them within a family archive.¹⁰

author highlights that among the various forms of Polish-Hungarian interaction, commercial exchange may have played the most significant role.

- 7 Stanisław Roszak, "Ego-Documents – Some Remarks about Polish and European Historiographical and Methodological Experience," *Biuletyn Polskiej Misji Historycznej / Bulletin der Polnischen Historischen Mission* 8 (2013): 27–42.
- 8 Filip Wolański, *Europa jako punkt odniesienia dla postrzegania przestrzeni geograficznej przez szlachtę polską osiemnastego wieku w świetle relacji podróżniczych i geograficznych* (Wrocław: Instytut Historyczny UW, Wrocławskie Towarzystwo Miłośników Historii, 2002).
- 9 Teresa Zielińska, *Magnateria polska epoki saskiej* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1977), 160–162.
- 10 This practice reflected broader eighteenth-century manuscript culture, in which noble families frequently compiled autobiographical accounts, genealogies, and travel recollections for preservation in private archives, thus contributing to the construction of dynastic memory and identity: Stanisław Roszak, *Archiwa sarmackiej pamięci. Funkcje*

While Jabłonowski's intellectual pursuits were marked by methodical consistency, Zawisza's recollections of childhood and youth appear more fragmentary and episodic; his narrative breaks off around the year 1715 and 1716. Despite the differences in chronology, social background, and personal circumstance, these two accounts offer a valuable comparative perspective on how individual travel experiences intersected with broader frameworks of representation and perception of foreign space – in this case, the former Kingdom of Hungary – in the Polish noble culture of the eighteenth century.

The Kingdom of Hungary in the account of Ignacy Zawisza

Ignacy Zawisza (1696–1738), son of Krzysztof Zawisza, Voivode of Mińsk, came from a noble family closely affiliated with the Saxon court. He received a solid education in Königsberg and at the Jesuit college in Braunsberg, and he gained his first political experience alongside his father, notably during the 1712 session of the Polish–Lithuanian Diet. His family's support for Augustus II paved the way for a military career within the orbit of the Elector-King's court in Dresden.¹¹ In 1715, Zawisza was sent to Dresden, where he began military service at the court of Augustus II. For young nobles from the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth aligned with the Saxon faction, this was a typical career path – the Elector's court offered opportunities to acquire both military experience and valuable political and social connections. After a brief stay in Karlsbad and Cieplice, where he accompanied the king during a therapeutic stay, Zawisza was admitted to the Corps of Cadets. This institution, established to train a joint Polish-Saxon officer corps, was intended to prepare young nobles for military and administrative service.¹² His promotion to lieutenant in

i znaczenie rękopiśmiennych ksiąg silva rerum w kulturze Rzeczypospolitej XVIII wieku (Toruń: Wydawnictwo UMK, 2004).

11 Katarzyna Kuras, "A 'Polish' Courtier in the Service of the House of Wettin (1697–1763)," in *Courtiers and Court Life in Poland, 1386–1795*, vol. 5, ed. Bożena Czwojdrak (Turnhout: Brepols, 2024), 229–254.

12 Jacek Staszewski, *Polacy w osiemnastowiecznym Dreźnie* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1986), 140.

the Foot Guard Regiment opened the way to further advancement in the military hierarchy.¹³

Shortly thereafter, in 1716, Zawisza's unit – part of the Saxon contingent supporting imperial operations – was placed under Habsburg command and dispatched southward, to the territory of the former Upper Hungary.¹⁴ The objective of the campaign was not to occupy Hungarian lands, which served merely as a transit zone, but rather to reach the border with the Ottoman Empire and launch a counteroffensive into Serbian territory.¹⁵ The march led through Moravia, which Zawisza described in notably positive terms in his memoirs, praising both the region's prosperity and the friendliness of its inhabitants toward imperial troops. However, it soon became evident that the journey ahead would be far less comfortable. Near Košice, the troops were issued only bread, and other provisions were in short supply. The unit then crossed the "great Hungarian mountains,"¹⁶ reaching Nejhelem (Nyékládháza) after three days of marching – a town seized by the emperor during the campaigns against Rákóczi. With each passing mile, the terrain became more challenging and living conditions deteriorated. The tone of Zawisza's account conveys a growing sense of tension and anticipation.¹⁷

The next stop on the march was Komárno, an important fortress situated on the Danube – at the time within the borders of the Kingdom of Hungary (now Slovakia) – which served as a strategic defensive point along the Habsburg monarchy's southwestern frontier. The troops paused there for two days to rest, preparing for the continuation of the march and the crossing of the river. As a fortified transportation hub, Komárno played a significant logistical role in the campaign: it enabled the replenishment of supplies and the reorganisation of forces before entering more vulnerable border regions. The crossing of the Danube near Esztergom (historically known as Gran) proved dramatic. The strong current tore apart the rafts, creating a serious threat to the soldiers' safety: "For on such a wide river a great surge arose, tearing the raft apart, and the men were unable to hold it together until we began firing to signal for help."¹⁸

13 "Notacyja Ignacego Zawiszy, miecznika Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego (1712–1715)," in *Pamiętniki Krzysztofa Zawiszy, wojewody mińskiego (1666–1721)*, ed. Julian Bartoszewicz (Warszawa: Nakładem Jana Zawiszy, 1862), 371–372.

14 Zawisza gives the year 1715, but in fact the events took place in 1716.

15 Kontler, *A History of Hungary*, 207.

16 "Notacyja Ignacego Zawiszy," 374 ['Wielkie góry węgierskie'].

17 *Ibidem*.

18 *Ibidem* ['Albowiem na tak szerokiej rzece szturm wielki powstał iż płyt cale się rozrwał, którego utrzymać ludzie nie mogli, aż poczęliśmy strzelać dla ratunku'].

The troops were saved by swift intervention from the riverbank and ropes thrown by local inhabitants. As a result, they reached Buda on 15 June, where Habsburg forces were regrouping. The three-day halt there was used to resupply provisions.¹⁹

Zawisza's account of the subsequent stages of the campaign is brief and somewhat unclear. He notes that on 18 June, the troops – having previously resupplied – left Buda and arrived in a place he refers to as “Grec.” Determining the exact route is difficult, but it is likely that Zawisza was referring to Grebenec, a fortified site on the Military Frontier between the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire, where the first skirmishes with enemy units occurred. The allied forces appear to have reached the area rapidly, probably following the course of the Danube from Buda. This movement, seemingly self-evident to Zawisza, was not even mentioned in passing, suggesting he considered it routine. After marching two miles, the troops took positions in the small fortress of Grebenec. Following approximately three days of resistance against Ottoman forces, the unit received orders to retreat toward Titel and Futog, where the main body of the Habsburg army under Prince Eugene of Savoy was concentrating.²⁰ It was in this border zone between the Habsburg monarchy and the Ottoman Empire that the central phase of the campaign began. The primary Ottoman objective was the fortress of Petrovaradin, which they began to bombard while the imperial army was still in the process of assembling. In Zawisza's view, the Turks might have succeeded in capturing the stronghold had it not been for a last-minute relief force that reinforced the garrison. At that time, Zawisza himself was stationed in Titel and later took part in the defence of Futog. His account of the siege of the fortress – lasting approximately three and a half weeks—is somewhat more detailed. He emphasises the severe shortages of food: “Apart from the commissariat bread, we had nothing else.”²¹

While Zawisza entirely omits the journey from Buda to Grebenec in his account, the siege of Petrovaradin—although he did not participate in its defence, being stationed at Futog – forms the central episode of his Hungarian experience. In his memoirs, he offers a brief justification for this shift in focus: “Yet for the curious human eye, it seemed fitting to me to describe this fortunate victory – how it was achieved and by what

19 *Ibidem*.

20 *Ibidem*, 375.

21 *Ibidem*, 376 [‘Oprócz chleba komisarzkiego, więcej nic nie mieliśmy’].

stratagem the battle was won.”²² He begins his narrative with a description of the town and its fortress, which—alongside Esztergom, Buda, and Vienna – formed a crucial bulwark of imperial defence. This, he explains, accounted for the Ottoman determination to seize Petrovaradin, bringing artillery from Belgrade and exploiting the ongoing concentration of imperial forces under the command of Prince Eugene of Savoy. In Zawisza’s view, the fortress – besieged for three weeks – would have fallen had it not received reinforcements from three regiments sent from Futog (where he was stationed) on 13 July. These troops surprised the Ottoman forces and succeeded in entering the fortress, which, as he writes, “greatly strengthened [the defenders’] courage and resolve.”²³ During the night, the allied forces constructed a bridge across the Danube “for communication and for the army to cross to the other side.”²⁴ Under cover of darkness and in strict silence – smoking was forbidden – the troops of Prince Eugene crossed the river and launched a surprise attack on the Ottoman besiegers.²⁵

Zawisza claims that the battle began on 20 July, whereas in fact it took place on 5 August 1716. In this context, it is worth noting several other significant discrepancies between his account and the historical record. The Ottoman forces began the siege of Petrovaradin only on 26 July – not three weeks earlier, as the author suggests, but merely nine days before the engagement. Moreover, the fortress was not on the verge of capitulation: its defence, commanded by the engineer Baron von Löffelholz, was well-organized. Zawisza’s narrative thus includes clear elements of dramatization, most likely resulting from a retrospective reconstruction of events based on hearsay and personal conjecture.²⁶ He probably reconstructed the course of the battle from eyewitness reports, which drew attention to factors such as the natural constraints of the terrain – steep

22 *Ibidem* [‘Jednak dla ciekawego ludzkiego oka tej to szczęśliwej otrzymanej wiktoryi opisać mnie się zdało, jakim sposobem i jakim fortelem jest batalia wygrana’].

23 *Ibidem*, 377.

24 *Ibidem* [‘Dla komunikacyi i dla przejścia na tamtą stronę wojska’].

25 Zawisza also recalls that, ‘in order to drown out the sound of horses’ hooves, such intense cannon fire was unleashed from the fortress that the Turkish troops, entrenched in their attack positions and so close to the town, heard nothing—until the very moment they were assaulted in their redoubts.’ (‘aby tententu końskiego słyszeć nie było, bito haniebnie z armat z fortecy tak mocno, iż wojsko tureckie, które było w retranszamentach ataku i tak blisko miasta, nie słyszało, aż na ten czas, gdy ich w retranszamentach atakowano’). *Ibidem*, 377–378.

26 See: Adriano Di Papo, Gizella Nemeth, “La battaglia di Petrovaradino. 1716,” *Nuova Antologia Militare* 4/15 (2023): 425–472.

hills and vineyards – and the role of key commanders, particularly the Hungarian field marshal János Pálffy, who led the cavalry.²⁷

Zawisza was also intrigued by the fate of Count Breuner, who was taken prisoner by the Ottomans after unsuccessfully attempting to bribe one of his soldiers with “a whole sack of red gold coins” in exchange for a horse.²⁸ According to circulating rumours, Breuner met a tragic end – he was reportedly hacked to death by the Turks once they realised the battle was lost.²⁹ The author also offered a vivid account of the cowardice shown by the Spanish infantry at Petrovaradin: “the Spanish infantry regiments [...] after firing a single volley, fell into confusion and began to panic, all throwing down their weapons and fleeing.”³⁰ He included colourful anecdotal details as well, such as the presence of “the vizier’s naked concubines – one a Turk, the other of Greek origin.”³¹ Zawisza attributed the Habsburg victory primarily to the poor preparation of the Ottoman forces. In his view, the Habsburg allies were themselves ill-prepared, but the situation of the Ottomans was even worse. Of decisive importance, he argued, was the defeat and subsequent retreat of the Ottoman cavalry, which sealed the outcome of the battle. He also ventured broader strategic reflections, noting that “chasing the enemy too far often brings about one’s own ruin.”³²

Zawisza’s account was likely written down years after the events it describes—a delay that would explain certain chronological inaccuracies, such as the mistaken battle date. However, it was probably based on earlier notes, which may account for the coherent sequence of events. The narrative’s character – and thus the subjective lens through which the Kingdom of Hungary is depicted – was shaped by practical considerations. Zawisza undertook the journey as a soldier, focused on engaging in military action against the Turks. His account, therefore, is dominated by strategic concerns and anecdotal impressions, with the most detailed descriptions reserved for events he did not witness directly – above all, the battle of Petrovaradin. Hungary appears not as a clearly individualized cultural space, but rather as a military landscape marked

27 *Ibidem*, 459.

28 “Notacyja Ignacego Zawiszy,” 379 [‘worek cały czerwonych złotych pieniędzy’].

29 Di Papo, Nemeth, “La battaglia di Petrovaradino,” 464.

30 “Notacyja Ignacego Zawiszy,” 379 [‘A hiszpańskie piesze regimenta (...) raz wydawszy ognia, tak się mieszały i tak się trwożyć poczęły, że wszyscy broń rzuciwszy, uciekać poczęły’].

31 *Ibidem*, 380 [‘Gołych nałożnic wezyra, jedna turkini, druga greckiej nacyi’].

32 *Ibidem*, 381 [‘Te zapędzenie się za nieprzyjacielem, bywa często zgubą własną’].

by hardship, danger, and the tension of a civilizational clash. In this way, Zawisza constructs an image of Hungary reduced to its strategic and symbolic functions – as a frontier zone shaped by violence and uncertainty.

Upper Hungary in the account of Józef Aleksander Jabłonowski (1762)

Ignacy Zawisza's journey through the lands of the Kingdom of Hungary was a military expedition, undertaken in the context of a specific campaign. His account, deeply embedded in the realities of the front and subordinated to the logic of troop movements, was not intended as a description of the country as such, but rather as a testimony to a youthful adventure in the service of Augustus II. The case of Józef Aleksander Jabłonowski, however, is entirely different. A Lithuanian magnate, erudite, and seasoned traveller, Jabłonowski visited Hungary almost half a century later, under very different circumstances and with entirely different aims.³³

Jabłonowski's 1762 journey formed part of an extended tour of Europe that included Italy, Hungary, and France. The Kingdom of Hungary was not the principal destination of his travels; rather, it was a transitional stage on the route from southern Europe to Versailles, where Jabłonowski aimed to renew courtly contacts, make purchases, and engage in new acts of self-presentation.³⁴ Although Hungary occupied a marginal place in the geography of his travels, the very fact that this magnate left behind an account of passing through the region merits attention. Jabłonowski – a seasoned observer, acutely aware of his social standing and well versed in the world of European elites – rarely recorded banal or superfluous details in his writings.³⁵ In this sense, his remarks on Hungary, though sparse, form part of a broader pattern: they reveal how a traveller from the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth perceived the peripheral regions of the Habsburg monarchy – their landscape, society, and infrastructure. At

33 Janina Dobrzyniecka, "Jabłonowski Józef Aleksander," *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. X (Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo PAN, 1962–1964), 225–228; Andrzej Betlej, *Sibi, Deo, Posteritati. Jabłonowsky a sztuka w XVIII wieku* (Kraków: Societas Vistulana, 2010), 162–165.

34 Katarzyna Kuras, "La famille Jabłonowski à Versailles au XVIIIe siècle : impressions et inspirations," *Bulletin du Centre de recherche du château de Versailles* 23 (2023), <http://journals.openedition.org/crcv/27019> (access: 24.06.2025).

35 Jarosław Kurkowski, "Józef Aleksander Jabłonowski a historiografia," in *Jabłonowsky: w kraju i poza jego granicami*, ed. Norbert Tomaszewski (Ciechanowiec: Muzeum Rolnictwa im. ks. Krzysztofa Kluka, 2015) 47–62.

the same time, his notes offer an opportunity to juxtapose two perspectives: Zawisza's military reconnaissance and the reflections of a cosmopolitan aristocrat who visited Hungary not by command but by choice. The following sections examine how Jabłonowski described his passages through Upper Hungary, what observations he made, and how he situated them within the broader horizon of his European experience.

The travel account written by Jabłonowski in 1762 was most likely part of a larger notebook compiled to organize and preserve his recollections. This assumption is supported by similar entries found among the papers he left from various journeys. These notes reveal a consistent effort to connect specific locations along the travel route – often accompanied by coordinates and distance measurements – with descriptions of prominent monuments, transcriptions of epitaphs, and information about noble families or notable individuals associated with a given place. In this last category, the notes typically include detailed genealogical and heraldic data relating to specific persons, as well as descriptions of monuments Jabłonowski had personally seen. This type of narrative structure – focused on genealogical detail and formulaic descriptions of places – reflected Jabłonowski's own intellectual interests: he was both a historian of noble lineages, who published genealogical studies, and a polymath engaged in the study of local and regional pasts.³⁶

Jabłonowski's encounter with the former Kingdom of Hungary began after he crossed the southern borders of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, entering the region of Orava. Even before reaching these areas, near Żywiec, he noted several Hungarian references. The most significant point of interest for him was Orava Castle, particularly its complex and multi-layered architectural form. Jabłonowski identified four phases in the architectural development of the castle, with particular attention paid to the period associated with the Thurzo family and their dynastic necropolis located within the castle church. He meticulously transcribed a number of epitaphs, underscoring their value as documentary sources.³⁷ Jabłonowski was also interested in genealogical connections between Polish and Hungarian families, as well as in terminological matters – for instance, he included a marginal note explaining the office of the *Palatinus Hungariae*. His description of Orava Castle focused on its distant past and made no reference to more recent historical episodes, such as

36 Details concerning Jabłonowski's extensive body of work and its profile in: Dobrzyńska, "Jabłonowski Józef Aleksander," 226–228.

37 Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich in Wrocław, rkps 9656 II, "Diariusz memorabilium podróży Aleksandra Jabłonowskiego. 1762" [hereafter referred to as: "Diariusz podróży"], 7–8.

its seizure by Rákóczi's forces during the 1703–1711 uprising. Another noteworthy point in Jabłonowski's Orava itinerary was the town of Kubin (which he referred to as Mokradz), which he valued primarily for its administrative function. He noted that Józef Abassy, a descendant of the princes of Transylvania, came here to preside over judicial proceedings – remarking that what Poles called *voivodeships*, Hungarians referred to as *counties*.³⁸ In Kubin, Jabłonowski mentioned a reclaimed church, a local physician, and a small palace that failed to attract his attention. More intriguing were his incidental geographical observations: he classified the Orava River as one of the “great rivers,” and upon leaving Kubin for Rosenberg (modern Ružomberok), he took note of Mount Fatra in the distance.

Initially, the topographical descriptions of Upper Hungary served a rather supplementary function within a narrative primarily focused on people and genealogical connections. However, Jabłonowski's attitude shifted as he approached Rosenberg. The road leading there was described as “mountainous and stony,” and the location itself as intriguing enough to merit a broader portrayal: “The castle called Lykava sits atop what they here call Thurza (...). The town lies on the river Váh, which also originates in the Tatras and flows into the Danube near Komárno (...), there is a depot for Hungarian salt there, as in our Wieliczka or Bochnia.”³⁹ Such extensive attention to geographical matters may not have stemmed solely from growing interest, but rather from the relative lack of material typically drawing Jabłonowski's attention. In Rosenberg, he was disappointed by the destruction of old epitaphs, and the Piarist college was mentioned only in passing, with reference to the names of its founders.⁴⁰ Thus, nature remained – and particularly the mountains, which, when contrasted with the wooden architecture of the town, offered a fertile ground for reflection.

Jabłonowski began his account of the surrounding landscape with a personal experience – the Fatra Mountains struck him as so inaccessible and difficult to traverse by carriage that he opted for water transport, not only for himself but also for his entire entourage. This decision was based on prior experience: he had traveled through the region in 1759 and was well aware of the challenges involved in navigating mountainous

38 *Ibidem*, 9.

39 *Ibidem*, 10 [“Zamek zwany Łykawa na wyrchu jak tu zowią Thurza (...). Miasto te zaś leży nad Wagą rzeką, a Waga wypływa także od Tatrów i w Dunaj wpada pod Komórno (...), skład tam soli węgierskiej jak u nas w Wieliczce lub Bochni”].

40 *Ibidem*.

terrain in a multi-horse-drawn carriage.⁴¹ By emphasizing these objective difficulties, he adopted the pose of a seasoned traveler who, by making deliberate choices, affirmed his worldliness, status, and knowledge.⁴² For Jabłonowski – both traveler and polymath – the observation of mountains served as a stimulus for reflections extending beyond the immediate landscape, reaching into history, symbolism, and etymology. These personal experiences thus triggered a broader line of thought in which the landscape of Upper Hungary intertwined with a topography of memory and historical imagination:

Let me here offer a brief description and my own opinion of these mountains. First of all, three types of mountains are found in Hungary: the Tatras, the Mátra, and the Fatra – named after the Hunnic princes, ancestors of the Hungarians, whether Giszla or Gejza, the father of Saint Stephen, who took them as his heraldic symbol and which remain to this day. Only his son, Saint Stephen, placed a cross on the highest of the three – that is, on the Tatras, for these are the tallest, as I have said, and they separate Hungary from Poland.⁴³

The topography of the region – both remembered from past experience and encountered anew during the journey – served as a point of departure for Jabłonowski's reflections on topics that consistently fascinated him: ancient history and the creation of heraldic symbols. Thus, as he contemplated the natural landscape, he turned toward the legendary past of the Kingdom of Hungary, transforming the surrounding mountains into integral elements of a historical narrative that he recorded along his route. In his internal imaginarium, these reflections formed a coherent whole: the location of the mountain ranges was closely tied to their historical significance, and information about their geographic position was inseparable from the broader past of the region. Jabłonowski noted, for instance: "The Mátra range lies below Buda, the Tatras toward Pressburg, known in Slavic as Presborek."⁴⁴ He was particularly capti-

41 Jabłonowski claimed that his carriage was pulled uphill by as many as sixteen pairs of horses (though the condition of the manuscript makes the exact number difficult to determine), while downhill it required twelve pairs. See also: Antoni Mączak, *Życie codzienne w podróżyach po Europie w XVI i XVII w.* (Warszawa: PIW, 1980), 17; Wolański, *Europa jako punkt odniesienia*, 125–128.

42 In recent scholarship, such acts of self-fashioning have often been interpreted as a means of asserting masculinity – see, for instance, Sarah Goldsmith, *Masculinity and Danger on the Eighteenth-Century Grand Tour* (London: University of London Press, 2020).

43 "Diariusz podróży," 10.

44 *Ibidem* ['Matry idą poniżej Budzyna, Tatry ku Presburkowi, po słowiańsku zwanym Presborek'].

vated by the Tatras and the Mátra. He also ventured into etymological speculation, interpreting the names of the mountain ranges as Slavic personifications – Tatry as the “father,” and Mátyra as the “mother.”⁴⁵ His remarks on the Fatra range reveal his awareness of the dangers and complexities associated with mountainous terrain. Although seemingly the smallest, the Fatras posed serious logistical challenges in terms of transportation. Jabłonowski also emphasized that the Tatras, especially their lower sections, deserved further semantic distinction. His reasoning was likely practical: differentiated nomenclature would better reflect the actual geography and correspond to the varying degrees of difficulty involved in traversing this landscape.

Jabłonowski’s description of the mountains may initially appear fragmented – suspended between geographical observations and an effort to grasp the region’s history in the *longue durée*. Yet this multilayered narrative not only reflects the intellectual breadth of the traveller but also aligns with the increasingly popular eighteenth-century trend of discovering mountains as spaces of fascination – not merely cartographic or mineralogical, but also aesthetic. His descriptions reveal a distinct tension between the tradition of the *voyage savant* and a growing sentimental impulse that – though not yet fully developed – prefigures a new mode of engaging with nature.⁴⁶ In his notes, geographic and heraldic themes coexist with accounts of a different nature – at times almost fantastical, unverifiable, and yet powerfully evocative. While travelling along the river Váh, Jabłonowski encountered a story told by the inhabitants of Kralovice, who claimed that for twelve weeks each winter they saw no sunlight – not due to obstructed visibility, but because of the total absence of light caused by the shadow of the surrounding mountains. This information not only surprised but also fascinated him, prompting associations with Lapland – a land of cold and darkness well known from travel literature.⁴⁷ The rock formations he observed from the river had an even stronger impact. Their extraordinary shapes – resembling “columns, collapsed houses, statues” – evoked aesthetic and archaeological associations.⁴⁸ One particular rock formation, striking in its proportion

45 *Ibidem*.

46 Ion Mihailescu, Simon Dumas Primbault and Jérôme Baudry, “Science on the Summit: Exploring Scientific Tourism Through the Lens of Eighteenth Century Mountain Ascents,” *Journal of Alpine Research | Revue de géographie alpine* [En ligne] (2022): 110–111, <http://journals.openedition.org/rga/10265> (access: 24.06.2025).

47 “Diariusz podróży,” 11.

48 *Ibidem* [‘Kolumny, domy rozwalone, statuy].

and “colossal” appearance, reminded him of an ancient sculpture.⁴⁹ This kind of experience – merging observation and imagination, reality and imagined classical form – can be seen as an expression of pre-Romantic aesthetics. Though not yet fully articulated, it was already present in the intellectual sensibility of an eighteenth-century traveller of refinement. Jabłonowski’s sensitivity to landscape and its “figurativeness” reveals a new way of seeing – not for the purposes of the cartographer or data-collector, but as a liminal experience: moving, even unsettling.⁵⁰

The farewell to the mountainous landscape also marked a return to the narrative mode more typical of Jabłonowski, in which places and monuments take precedence. While travelling along the river Váh, he primarily noted castles – some in ruins but, in his opinion, still restorable, such as Stary Hrad (“Old Castle”). His account of the river journey is brief; the only points he deemed worthy of mention were prominent buildings and their architectural condition – occasionally accompanied by general information about their owners. At Strečno, his attention was momentarily drawn to a piece of local lore shared by the boatmen: that the body of Saint Sophia had been discovered there. The castle itself he assessed rather critically: “this castle is significantly ruined; no windows or any intact parts are visible, and only its rear could be observed through a telescope, once so splendid.”⁵¹ In contrast, Jabłonowski expressed admiration for the town of Žilina, situated “in a very beautiful place on a hill, above meadows and gardens; the first brick-built town I had seen since crossing the border.”⁵² His description of Žilina is more vivid and shows a heightened sensitivity to the natural surroundings – perhaps a result of his earlier experiences in the mountains. Yet this sensitivity remained within certain limits: after noting the town’s location, the traveller returned to familiar topics – namely, the property ownership (in this case, the Hungarian Esterházy family) and key architectural monuments. His attention was drawn in particular to the churches, including the parish church and the Franciscan complex, as well as to townhouses – remarkably large and

49 *Ibidem* [‘Kolosalna’].

50 This transformation in the perception of mountains – as a shift from dread or indifference to fascination and sublimity – has been insightfully analysed by Marjorie Hope Nicolson, *Mountain Gloom and Mountain Glory: The Development of the Aesthetics of the Infinite* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1959).

51 “Dziariusz podróży,” 11 [‘Zamek ten znacznie zrujnowany; ani okna ani żadnej rzeczy całej nie widać, przez perspektywę tylko tył onego rekognoskować można było wspaniały’].

52 *Ibidem* [‘W pięknym bardzo miejscu na wzgórku, ponad łąkami i ogrodami; pierwsze murowane, które od granicy widziałem’].

richly appointed. In describing their interiors, Jabłonowski drew comparisons with the urban fabric of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth: “in the one where I myself stayed, there were ten rooms and a hall on a single floor, and one room led into another – such a layout I have not seen even in Lublin or Lwów, with so many rooms on a single storey, reached by such bright and convenient staircases.”⁵³ His account of Žilina is unusually comprehensive and multifaceted, also touching on aspects of contemporary economic life. Jabłonowski noted the production and export of local beer varieties – “which are also sent to Poland”⁵⁴ – and offered a relatively detailed reflection on modes of transport (cart, wagon, on foot), distances, and travel time, which he deemed relatively swift.

On the road from Žilina to Trenčín, Jabłonowski returns to a more annalistic style, focusing on brief descriptions of the towns he passed through, the monuments he observed, and basic information about the local landowners and their genealogies.⁵⁵ This mode of notation resembles a kind of polyhistor’s questionnaire – meticulously filled in according to recurring categories encompassing topography, heraldry, and local history.⁵⁶ Although Hungary was merely a transit stage in his journey, Jabłonowski treated it as a cognitive space worthy of indexing and embedding within a broader system of knowledge. In this way, his journey fits within the eighteenth-century model of the *voyage savante* – a learned exploration driven not by a thirst for adventure but by the desire to classify and comprehend the world. Even a seemingly peripheral territory such as Upper Hungary becomes, in this framework, an archive: a landscape inscribed with traces of the past, awaiting reconstruction and interpretation.⁵⁷

Conclusions

Although the accounts of Ignacy Zawisza and Józef Aleksander Jabłonowski differ in nearly every respect – time, context, purpose, and

53 *Ibidem*, 12 [“W tej com ja sam stał to dziesięć pokojów z salą na jednym piętrze i pokój z pokoju, jakiej jednej anim w Lublinie ani w Lwowie nie obaczy o tylu pokojach na pierwszym piętrze z schodami wygodnemi a jasnymi”].

54 *Ibidem* [“Które i do Polski wożą”].

55 *Ibidem*, 13–14.

56 Stanisław Roszak, *Koniec świata sarmackich erudytych* (Toruń: Stowarzyszenie Oświatowców Polskich w Toruniu, 2012), 27–28.

57 Larry Wolff, *Inventing Eastern Europe: The Map of Civilization on the Mind of the Enlightenment* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994).

tone – in both cases Hungary emerges as a borderland, in multiple senses of the word. For Zawisza, it is primarily a zone of military tension – a geographic and political frontier where imperial interests intersect and where a young nobleman gains his first experience of war. For Jabłonowski, by contrast, it is a stage in an erudite journey, a cultural periphery of the Habsburg monarchy that provokes reflection on history, symbolism, and genealogy.

Hungary functions here as a liminal space – neither entirely familiar nor wholly foreign; neither centre nor periphery – but it is precisely this ambiguity that makes it particularly susceptible to interpretation. In the writings of both authors, it becomes a laboratory of imagination – a space in which politics, geography, and history intersect. Zawisza's narrative is dominated by front-line experiences and a heroic recollection of battle, while Jabłonowski engages in erudite writing that integrates landscape into intellectual and symbolic reflection.

Juxtaposing these two accounts allows us to trace a shift in the mode of describing space that unfolds over the course of the eighteenth century: from episodic, action-oriented wartime narratives to travel writing as a tool for organizing knowledge and emotion. This transformation reflects broader cultural developments of the era – a growing interest in topography, a new appreciation of the educational and aesthetic value of travel, and the gradual reimagining of nature from a cartographic object into a source of experience and contemplation. In this sense, Zawisza and Jabłonowski are not merely traversing the same territory; they also embody two distinct ways of engaging with the world – military reconnaissance and scholarly exploration. Both contribute to the *longue durée* of European encounters with Hungary, yet each does so through the prism of individual trajectories, experiences, and modes of writing.

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Towards a Comparative Study of Polish and Hungarian Witchcraft Persecutions: Historiographical and Legal Perspectives¹

**Studium porównawcze polskich i węgierskich
prześladowań czarownic: perspektywa
historiograficzna i prawna**

Abstract

This article explores the possibility of a legal-historical comparison of Polish and Hungarian witchcraft trials. It begins by outlining the historiographical background, tracing developments since the so-called anthropological turn in witchcraft studies. It then presents the most significant statistical data pertaining to the regions of both countries. Finally, it proposes a microhistorical framework through a discussion of general legal issues. The paper concludes that a straightforward regional or sub-regional comparison is not feasible; instead, thematic, contemporaneous,

1 This article and the research behind it have been supported by two institutions: the Research Group for Classical Studies of the Hungarian Research Network and the Department of Medical Communication and Translation Studies at the Szent-Györgyi Albert Medical School, University of Szeged.

trial-by-trial comparisons can be conducted by building on individual cases and examining parallel court practices.

Keywords: historiography of witchcraft, crime of witchcraft, statistics of witchcraft, history of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, history of the Kingdom of Hungary, comparative history.

Abstrakt

Artykuł podejmuje zagadnienie możliwości przeprowadzenia prawnohistorycznego porównania polskich i węgierskich procesów o czary. Rozpoczyna się od zarysowania tła historiograficznego, śledząc rozwój badań od tzw. zwrotu antropologicznego w studiach nad czarownictwem. Następnie przedstawia najważniejsze dane statystyczne dotyczące obszarów obu terytoriów. W dalszej części proponuje ramę mikrohistoryczną, opartą na omówieniu ogólnych zagadnień prawnych. Autor dochodzi do wniosku, że bezpośrednie porównanie regionalne lub subregionalne nie jest możliwe; zamiast tego możliwe są porównania tematyczne, równoległe czasowo, prowadzone „proces po procesie”, budowane na analizie poszczególnych przypadków oraz badaniu równoległych praktyk sądowych.

Słowa kluczowe: historiografia czarownictwa, przestępstwo czarów, statystyka czarownictwa, historia Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów, historia Królestwa Węgier, historia porównawcza.

Methodology and historiography of comparisons

Magic and witchcraft, from early modern demonological debates to the early Romantic and rationalist scientific inquiries (e.g. Jules Michelet or Joseph Hansen), consistently attracted scholarly and antiquarian interest.² Although its sources played an influential role in certain questions (e.g. remnants of early religious beliefs), the study of witchcraft only gained prominence in international historical scholarship following the

2 General historiographies ranging from medieval contemporary debates, recently: “Themes of Witchcraft Research,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft*, ed. Brian P. Levack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 449–592. On German-speaking lands: Wolfgang Behringer “Geschichte der Hexenforschung” in *Wider alle Hexerei und Teufelswerk. Die europäische Hexenverfolgung und ihre Auswirkungen auf Südwestdeutschland*, eds. Sönke Lorenz, Michael Jürgen Schmidt (Stuttgart: Jan Thorbecke, 2006), 485–680.

anthropological turn of the 1970s.³ This shift not only increased academic interest in the subject, but also reoriented traditional lines of inquiry, such as legal issues derived from court records of witch persecutions, towards new interdisciplinary perspectives.⁴ For instance, the examination of strictly legal and criminological aspects has been integrated with broader historical trends, such as the social history of crime or the history of violence.⁵ Despite numerous publications on witchcraft at the European level, most research into its legal aspects has been conducted at the national level, with local microhistorical studies being the most common.

This is especially true for the period of the European witch-hunts (fifteenth to eighteenth centuries), when local legal contexts and actual judicial practices varied significantly between territories, even within the most affected regions of the Holy Roman Empire.⁶ On the other hand, despite the broad differences, European witchcraft had more in common than what set it apart, as Henningsen and Ankarloo asserted in 1984 in

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- 3 Most scholars associate this historiographical shift with the recognition of the realities of witchcraft beliefs – not merely as magical practices or belief systems, but as a multi-causal social construction that can be examined from a multidisciplinary perspective with a social function in conflict-management within rural communities. See: Gábor Klaniczay, “A Cultural History of Witchcraft,” *Magic, Ritual and Witchcraft* 5 (2010): 188–212. Thomas A. Fudge, “Traditions and Trajectories in the Historiography of European Witch Hunting,” *History Compass* 4 (2006): 488–527. From another perspective this change can be seen in two more aspects: chronologically (construction of witchcraft shifted down to late 14th century and the end of the trials up to second half of the 18th century) and geographically (the European periphery should have independent research). See: Gustav Henningsen, Bernt Ankarloo, “Introduction,” in *Early Modern European Witchcraft* eds. Bengt Ankarloo, Gustav Henningsen (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 1–16.
 - 4 On the historiography of witchcraft and law: Brian P. Levack, “Crime and the Law” in *Palgrave advances in witchcraft historiography*, eds. Jonathan Barry, Owen Davies (New York–Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 146–163.
 - 5 Malcolm Gaskill situates witchcraft alongside other offences (such as coinage and murder) and explores the criminal and judicial context. Malcolm Gaskill, *Crime and Mentalities in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013). In the field of the history of violence, witchcraft is discussed within the framework of persecutions, alongside crimes such as heresy. See: Robert W. Thurston, “Violence towards Heretics and Witches” in *The Cambridge World History of Violence Volume III*, eds. Robert Antony, Stuart Carroll, and Caroline Dodds Pannock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 513–530.
 - 6 On witchcraft as crime: Wolfgang Behringer, “Law on Witchcraft (Early Modern),” in *Encyclopaedia of Witchcraft. The Western Tradition*. ed. M. Richard Golden (Denver–Oxford: ABC Clío, 2006), 634–640.

Stockholm.⁷ With this statement, they aimed to establish the foundation for comparative regional studies of the European peripheries, a pursuit that soon found immediate followers with similarly aligned objectives.⁸ Within this scholarly tradition, Hungary and Poland were jointly characterised by certain regionally specific features, such as notions of chronological belatedness, a more moderate persecution typically confined to isolated trials, differing roles of centres and peripheries, challenges of cultural top-down acculturation, a stronger persistence of archaic beliefs, and issues concerning the transfer of legal and demonological knowledge.⁹ The perspectives of these – especially issues of data and chronology – have been questioned by the latest studies, though many of the lines of inquiry remained important. It is, however, regrettable that while the most recent handbooks and encyclopaedias contain well-developed, country-specific chapters,¹⁰ the initial objective of regional comparisons was barely continued, though there are attempts at two-state comparisons.¹¹

However, in recent general works, the struggle to achieve a concise pan-European comparison has persisted. Particular attention should be given to Rita Voltmer's essay, which, in addition to providing a general theoretical and statistical framework for the period of the witch-hunts,

7 They mention theology, law, gender, chronology (1450–1750), reformation and counterreformation, popular and elite culture struggles, Cartesian scepticism as common issues. See: Ankarloo, Henningsen, "Introduction" 9.

8 Almost simultaneously, an international conference was held in Budapest with the explicit aim of understanding the similarities and differences in the persecutions across Central Europe, with involvement of like Carlo Ginzburg. It was concluded that the greater persistence of archaic beliefs and the prolonged duration of the social conflicts underlying the persecutions are characteristics of the region. See: Éva Pócs, Gábor Klaniczay "Witch-Beliefs and Witch-Hunting in Central and Eastern Europe. Introduction," *Acta Ethnographica Hungarica* 37 (1991–1992): 7–13.

9 For a summary: Gábor Klaniczay, "Hungary: The Accusation and the Universe of Popular Beliefs"; Henningsen, Ankarloo, *Early Modern European Witchcraft*, 219–257; William Monter, "Witchcraft-Trials in Continental Europe," in *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe. The Period of Witch-Trials*, eds. Bengt Ankarloo, Stuart Clark and William Monter (London: Athlone Press, 2002), 1–52; Marjike Gijswijt-Hostra "Witchcraft after the Witch-Trials," in *Witchcraft and Magic in Europe. The Eighteenth and the Nineteenth Centuries*, eds. Bengt Ankarloo, Stuart Clark (London: Athlone Press, 1999), 95–191.

10 See: Ildikó Kristóf, "Witch-Hunting in Early Modern Hungary"; Levack, *The Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft*, 334–355; Golden, *Encyclopaedia of Witchcraft*, 515–520; Wanda Wyporska, "Poland"; Golden, *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft*, 907–910, Michael Ostling, "Witchcraft in Poland: Magic and Malefice"; Levack, *The Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft*, 334–355.

11 See: Brian P. Levack, "Witch-hunting in Poland and England: Similarities and Differences," in *Britain and Poland-Lithuania. Contact and Comparison from the Middle Ages to 1795*, ed. Richard Unger (Leiden–Boston: Brill, 2008), 233–243.

defines several aspects of the shared legal foundation. By distinguishing between the accusatorial and inquisitorial traditions within Europe, she exercises considerable caution in drawing comparisons (e.g. differences in legal traditions and court structures, the arbitrary use of torture, the classification of witchcraft as a compound criminal offence, incomplete trials and records, latency, etc.). Nevertheless, she acknowledges that, at its core, a witch trial constitutes a “legal punitive procedure against people of both sexes accused of practising criminal witchcraft, sorcery, and magic.”¹² From a historical perspective, such trials exhibit procedural (e.g. structure of trial records, standards of evidence, predominance of secular courts, application of ordinary legal processes) and theoretical commonalities (e.g. the definition of *maleficium* as a criminal offence, whereas slander constituted a non-punitive but civil action) particularly within continental Europe.

On the basis of the foregoing, our aim is to continue the comparisons. In this brief study, I can only outline the possibilities and pitfalls of such a comparison. Our primary focus will be on the historical aspects of the legal context. In my paper, I will begin by briefly discussing the main historiographical trends. This will be followed by a concise overview of the recent regional statistical data. Then, I concentrate on four key legal issues: the evolving concept of crime; the organisation of the courts; procedural law; and, finally, the sources of law and German legal transfers. To conclude, I will propose the framework of microhistorical comparison to address certain challenges posed by legal particularities. Overall, the aim of this paper is not to offer a comprehensive legal comparison, but rather to propose a methodological framework.

Hungarian and Polish historiographical traditions

Given the multi-ethnic mosaic of East-Central Europe, it is impossible to capture its full complexity, and the recent abundance of literature on witchcraft and magic—in both interregional and national languages—means that this overview may easily mislead. On the other hand, despite shared 19th-century ethnographic progress,¹³ Polish and Hungarian historiographical traditions remain markedly distinct. One of the main

12 See: Rita Voltmer, “The Witch Trials,” in *The Oxford Illustrated History of Witchcraft and Magic*, ed. Owen Davies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

13 For the period: Wanda Wyporska, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Poland, 1500–1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, Macmillan, 2013), 13–20.

elements of difference between the studies is derived from the archival material, namely the court records. In Hungary, the publication of the trial records remained constant from the early positivist tradition.¹⁴ In the latest phase it reached an internationally significant level, with more than 2000 trials published in their entirety and about twenty volumes published on witchcraft and magic, mostly due to the research group led by Éva Pócs and Gábor Klaniczay from the 1980s.¹⁵ By contrast, in Polish research the issue of sources remained a central problem.¹⁶ It is due to the fact that the historically rich archives of Poland experienced a heavy loss due to Second World War.¹⁷ As a result, not only did a mosaic-like uneven distribution occur, but a great dependency on literary sources, mainly printed law books and demonologies.¹⁸ On the other hand, it also caused methodological problems, since in his well-known works the Marxist historian Bohdan Baranowsky used extrapolation of smaller urban courts, which led to overestimations.¹⁹ At the same time, works like Małgorzata Pilaszek's study have proved that local archives can supplement the data significantly, since she had collected almost 900 trials nationwide.²⁰ Still, one can claim, that beside the ever-growing numbers and publications, the statistics remain somewhat unreliable.²¹

14 About the publication of the Hungarian trials: Péter Tóth G., "Boszorkányos hagyaték. A magyarországi boszorkányperek feltárásának kutatástörténete a kezdetektől napjainkig," in *Párbeszéd a hagyománnyal. A néprajzi kutatás múltja és jelene*, ed. Vargyas Lajos (Pécs–Budapest: PTE Néprajz–Kulturális Antropológia Tanszék–L'Harmattan Kiadó, 2011), 635–695.

15 On the research group: Gábor Klaniczay, Éva Pócs "Introduction," in *Witchcraft and Demonology in Hungary and Transylvania*, eds. Gábor Klaniczay, Éva Pócs (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 1–12. The complex database contains witchcraft trials, verbal charms and folk belief narratives. For witchcraft see: Péter Tóth G., *Digital Database of Witch Trials* (Budapest: MTA BTK, 2013), boszorkanykorok.hu (access: 17.12.2025). For selected Hungarian studies: *Witchcraft Mythologies and Persecutions I–III*, eds. Gábor Klaniczay, Éva Pócs (Budapest: CEU Press, 2006–2008).

16 There are initiatives for a databases: Łukasz Hajdrich, "Polska historiografia procesów o czary. Zarys problemu," *Historia@Teoria* 2 (2017): 209–221.

17 Wanda Wyporska claim that on in the Central Archive out of 5000 books of court record only 500 remained intact. Wyporska, "Witchcraft in Early Modern Poland" 25–26 and Wyporska, *Poland*, 907–910.

18 Wyporska, "Poland"; Golden, *Encyclopaedia of Witchcraft*, 907–910; Ostling, "Witchcraft in Poland: Magic and Malefice"; Levack, *The Oxford Handbook of Witchcraft*, 334–355.

19 For a critique about Bohdan Baranowsky, see: Małgorzata Pilaszek, "Witch-Hunts in Poland 16th–18th centuries," *Acta Poloniae Historica* 86 (2002): 103–115.

20 Małgorzata Pilaszek, *Procesy o czary w Polsce w wiekach XV–XVIII* (Kraków: Universitas, 2008), 1–74.

21 Wyporska, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Poland*.

In terms of interpretations, the Hungarian scholarship was mainly focused on historical anthropology where topics such as the relationship between witchcraft and healing, popular and Christian demonology, political-social tensions and demonological processes, change and decline of the legal understanding of persecutions.²² Microhistories of urban witch-panics, the criminal-legal context, life of prominent figures like exorcists also caught attention later.²³ Though the functionalist understanding of witchcraft as a social conflict management and explanatory strategy in village and smaller urban communities was not called into question, the socio-political, cultural, and legal contexts of the persecutions were understood better.

In the Polish research despite the fact, that the early Marxist, anti-clerical, class-struggle based understanding of Baranowski's work was supplemented by few scholars for international audience,²⁴ the recent inquiries brought a general flourish of the topic for non-Polish readers, showing a glimpse of a very rich internal discussion.²⁵ The research directions were also based on the functionalist definition, and with similar focus on popular magic and social tensions with greater interest in ecclesiastical issues such as the Tridentine reforms or heretical movements. Unlike in Hungary the examination brought general nation-wide monographs of the region with overarching research questions (Ostling's popular on Christian culture and demonology) or surprising outcomes (Pilaszek's observation on the gender gap in punitive customs and size of the city courts), but there are regional studies that show mosaic features in legal context, ecclesiastical demonology or magical practices as in

22 For recent monographs, on healing, cultural and social tensions: Gábor Klaniczay, *A boszorkányüldözés története* (Budapest: Balassi, 2022). 18th century history of the persecution in nationwide involving magic, superstition, vampirism and the legal understanding with the decline enlighten era: Péter Tóth G., *Boszorkánypánik és babobantéboly* (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 2020). For wide range of Hungarian publications with contemporary literature: Tóth G., *Boszorkánypánik és babobantéboly*, 499–577 and *A magyarországi boszorkányság forrásainak katasztere 1408–1848*, ed. Tóth G. Péter (Budapest–Veszprém: MTA Néprajzi Kutatóintézete–Laczkó Dezső Múzeum, 2000), 191–212.

23 About the extraordinary life of the Franciscan exorcist brother Rochus of Sombor, see: Dániel Bárh, *The Exorcist of Sombor. The Mentality of an Eighteenth-Century Franciscan Friar* (London–New York: Routledge, 2020). On the microhistory of the most extensive persecutions: Gergely Brandl, *A szegedi boszorkányperek története és forrásai (1726–1744)*, PhD dissertation (Szeged: Szegedi Tudományegyetem, 2024).

24 See: Janusz Tazbir, "Hexenprozesse in Polen," in *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 71 (1980): 280–307.

25 Recent list: Wyporska, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Poland*, 197–199; Hajdrich, "Polska historiografia," 209–221.

Ukraine, Royal Prussia, Greater Poland, and also precise microhistories like in case of the city of Kleczew.²⁶

Available statistical data

The most recent moderate estimate done by Rita Voltmer, put the numbers of executions in Europe (Russia included) between 40 and 60 thousand, of which 20 to 25 thousand occurred within the territory of the Holy Roman Empire. At the same time, she warns that the judicial and statistical specificities are so uncertain and incomparable that the number of trials, of sentences or the number of accused persons, the type of the courts or even the acquittals or appeals “provide us with incompatible data.”²⁷ All in all, even if our data only provide tendencies, it is worth highlighting that the eastern territories of Central Europe, with circa 4,000 executions (see table 1.), are still considered moderate.

The traditional framework for comparing witchcraft persecutions in Hungary and Poland has often been based on the “delay theory,” derived from the centre-periphery model. This theory posits that the intensity of persecutions in Hungary and Poland lagged behind the major waves of witch trials in the Holy Roman Empire. While this temporal difference is less evident in the development of criminalization, it becomes more noticeable in the number of court cases. What is particularly striking is the prolonged duration of trials in these regions compared to the most severely affected areas of the German states, while showing parallels to neighbouring areas of the Empire like Bavaria or Saxony.

26 See: Pilaszek, *Procesy o czary*, 225–250, on Christion demonology: Michael Ostling, *Between the Devil and the Host: Imagining Witchcraft in Early Modern Poland* (Oxford–New York: Oxford University Press, 2011). By regions: Jacek Wijaczka, *Procesy o czary w Prusach Książęcych (Brandenburskich) w XVI–XVIII wieku* (Olsztyn: Pruthenia, 2019); Catharina Dysa, *Witchcraft Trials and Beyond: Right-Bank Side Ukrainian Trials of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, Ph.D. dissertation (Budapest: Central European University, 2004). For Wielkopolska: Wyporska, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Poland*; Tomasz Wiślicz, “The Township of Kleczew and Its Neighbourhood Fighting the Devil (1624–1700),” *Acta Poloniae Historica* 89 (2004): 65–95.

27 Voltmer, “The Witch Trial,” 120–122.

Table 1. The numbers of known witchcraft trials and processes in the early-modern period by comparison, c=circa, estimations ()=known minimum numbers, []=last known trial

Place ²⁸	Starting date	Abolition date	Number of processes	Number of accused	Number of executions
(1) Kingdom of Hungary	1521	1768	c. 4000 (2114)	c. 10000 (4582)	c. 1000 (848)
(2) Poland and Lithuania	1511	1776	c. 2000 (867)	c. 4000 (1316)	c. 1200 (558)
(3) Margravate of Moravia	1494	[1696]	c. 300 (?)	c. 300 (?)	c. 300 (123)
(4) Kingdom of Bohemia	1498	[1756]	c. 800 (?)	c. 800 (?)	c. 800
(5) Silesia	1456	1742, 1756	c. 600 (444)	1200 (950)	c. 700 (593)
(6) Duchy of Bavaria	1589	1756	c. 1500	c. 3000	c. 200 (176)
(7) Electorate of Saxony	1407	1766	c. 900	c. 1500	c. 300

Source: (1) Tóth G., „Boszorkányos hagyaték,” 655, Kristóf, „Witch-Hunting,” 334–355. (2) Ostling, „Between the Devil,” 16–24, Wyporska, „Poland,” 208, Pila-szek, „Procesy o czary,” *passim* (3–5) Voltmer, „The Witch Trial,” 101–103, Peter Kreuz, „Kingdom of Bohemia,” Golden, *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft*, 134–135, Peter Kreuz, „Moravia,” Golden, *Encyclopaedia of Witchcraft*, 785–786, Ludolf Pelizaeus, „Silesia,” Golden, *Encyclopaedia of Witchcraft*, 1038–1039. (6–7) Voltmer, „The Witch Trial,” 101–103, Behringer, „Duchy of Bavaria,” Golden, *Encyclopaedia of Witchcraft*, 97–101, Manfred Wilde, „Electorate of Saxony,” Golden, *Encyclopaedia of Witchcraft*, 1008–1010.

However, the earlier assumption that the peak of persecution in both regions occurred simultaneously is increasingly being challenged. Polish statistical data – though problematic – suggests that the period of intense persecution in the Crown lands of Poland, particularly in Wielkopolska (of which we have better data) occurred before 1700. By contrast, the peak of persecutions in the Kingdom of Hungary appears to have occurred later, in the late 1740s to the 1750s. More importantly, both kingdoms show significant differences between territories, mostly due

28 It is well known that the delineation of different geographical territories is often problematic and subject to change. For Poland and Lithuania (from 1569 the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth), we have followed the framework proposed by Wanda Wyporska („Poland,” 907–910.), for the Kingdom of Hungary, we have adopted the suggestions of Péter Tóth G. („Boszorkányos hagyaték,” 654–671). In all other cases, we have relied on the guidelines provided by the *Encyclopedia of Witchcraft*.

to demographic and historical facts (e.g. “Great Deluge” in Poland or the Ottoman occupation of Hungary) (see table 2)

Table 2: The numbers of known witchcraft trials by regions

Place ²⁹	1521– 1570	1571– 1600	1601– 1650	1651– 1700	1701– 1750	1751– 1770	1771– 1790
Wielkopolska	6	8	29	114	81	6	3
Kingdom of Hungary	18	25	63	125	230	35	1
Ottoman Hungary	1	1	5	43	310	116	17
Transylvania	7	17	39	195	280	45	5
Croatia	1	4	4	11	17	3	0
Partium	1	3	26	62	313	62	5

Sources: Tóth G., „Boszorkányos hagyaték,” 655, Wyporska, „Poland,” 908, Wyporska, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Poland*, 30–31, Ostling, *Between the Devil*, 16–24.

Factors such as legal literacy and source preservation significantly affect the congruence of our data. One such factor is the role of different courts: the majority of the Polish material derives from courts in urban centres, whereas the Hungarian trials display a more balanced distribution, with many cases originating from county or signorial courts. This distinction is important, since in the Hungarian free royal cities there appears to be a tendency to end such trials earlier as in the smaller courts. Despite these challenges, one of the most intriguing aspects is that the Polish trials in Wielkopolska show a major decline much earlier. This may mean that, at almost the same time as the Hungarian peak, persecution in Greater Poland had already become nearly insignificant.

Summary: what to compare? General framework and ideas for comparison

Although the legal-punitive frameworks of both regions are quite different, there are many similarities in the characteristics of their legal environments. The primary reason for these similarities lies in the

29 For the territories of the Kingdom of Hungary, it is worth maintaining the 16th–17th-century partition even after the Peace Treaties of Karlowitz (1699) and Passarowitz (1718), since these regions display markedly different patterns in their legal traditions and, consequently, in their witchcraft trials. See: Tóth G., “A magyarországi boszorkányság forrásainak katasztere,” 1–50.

decentralized and fragmented nature of their legal systems. In both regions, the absence of strong and effective centralized legal rules and norms has resulted in a mosaic organization of the courts, their jurisdictions, procedural laws, and even sources of law, thereby undermining legal coherence.

Another common factor is the positioning of both regions on the periphery of German law, which has consistently influenced their legal systems, primarily through customary law. Additionally, the similarities may be further shaped by fundamental social historical factors. The inhabitants of municipalities with comparable legal statuses – namely small towns and villages – were the most affected by persecution. In both cases, approximately 90% of the persecuted were women, who were often closely connected socially to their accusers.³⁰

Judicial trends indicate that, in the early stages of persecution (up until the mid-17th century), witchcraft was not recognized as a distinct offense but was instead associated with other crimes, primarily assault, damage, and various sexual or religious acts. However, after this period, the broad legal and demonological conception of witchcraft – referred to as the “diabolic cumulative notion” – became more focused on the practice of witchcraft, specifically *maleficium*. This framework was subsequently employed to establish charges in judicial sentences. Elements such as apostasy (*apostasia*), demonic alliance (*pactum cum daemone*), gained a more important role, only during the more intense periods of persecution, occurring later than similar developments in Western Europe. It may also suggest that there was an existing popular magical concept which was criminalised only in later period of the persecutions.³¹

In peripheral regions of witch persecution (British Isles, East-Central Europe, Scandinavia, etc.), the so-called “single trial” cases – those involving a few isolated individuals – are more typical than mass persecutions. This trend is also evident in the Polish and Hungarian cases, where the scale of witchcraft trials appears inversely proportional to the size of the court and the settlement. In smaller, local courts, where conflicts often involved local social conflicts (folk magic practitioners, healers, cunning folk etc.) punishments tended to be milder. Conversely, in larger, more developed courts, the greater legal expertise sometimes led to more extensive prosecutions.³² However, chain reactions that led

30 Hungary: Kristóf, “Witch-Hunting in Hungary,” 515–520; Poland: Pilaszek, “Witch-Hunts in Poland,” 103–132; Ostling: “Witchcraft in Poland,” 334–355.

31 Wyporska, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Poland*, 90–75.

32 Ostling, *Between the Devil and the Host*, 91–107.

to widespread mass persecutions were rarely observed in Polish and Hungarian contexts, and the number of perpetrators remained lower, the largest ones still fall within the category of ‘panic-trials’ (4–19) on the 2nd level of the six-level Behringer scale.³³

The most challenging aspect of legal comparison appears to be the issues of procedural law. On one hand, there seems to be a division in both regions between criminal law (e.g., *crimen magiae*, *crimen divinae majestatis*, *crimen sortilegii*, *blasphemia*, *haeresis* etc.) and civil law (*defamatio*, *violatio*). At the same time, while the majority of Polish literature notes a shift from accusatory and inquisitorial procedures toward investigative methods, certain legal institutions, such as the accusatorial oath, which has become extinct in Hungary, are a sign of mixed procedure in some Polish cases.³⁴ While judicial ordeals such as the water test were absent in both countries, the practice known as “swimming the witches” persisted. However, this practice is not part of the formal legal process but rather a kind of para-legal procedure used to bring a case to court.

Despite the inconsistencies, it seems that the trials were mostly conducted in secular courts, much like other criminal trials, rather than as exceptional cases. The use of torture is also a contentious issue. In both countries, it seems that it was commonly employed, though generally reserved for serious cases involving the death penalty. In Hungarian witch trials, its widespread use may have only become common in the 18th century at a limited and unregulated level. In Poland, however, regulations governing torture, particularly in Kraków and influenced by the legal compilation of Bartłomiej Groicki or German legal tradition, appear to have been more rigorous.³⁵ Torture was also frequent in Polish witch trials, although its application did not necessarily result in a death sentence or a higher prevalence of demonological testimonies, and it was generally treated as misleading. In contrast, in Hungarian legal culture, torture was considered a normal judicial practice, and in cases connected to diabolism or severe punishment, it seems to have been used overwhelmingly.³⁶

33 On the different scales (single-trials, chain trials and big persecutions) many attempt has been done to construct the volumes of persecution and to compare see: Voltmer, “The Witch Trial,” 90–100.

34 Ostling, *Between the Devil and the Host*, 91–107; Wyporska, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Poland*, 90–75.

35 Wyporska, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Poland*, 74–80.

36 Wyporska, *Witchcraft in Early Modern Poland*, 29–30, 81–83; Tóth G., *Boszorkánypánik és babobantéboly*, 327–385.

Conclusion: how to compare? The problem of legal sources and Carpzov paradigm

As I have highlighted, comparing European regions or subregions in the context of witchcraft is problematic due to legal, chronological, and source-based limitations. Although the theoretical potential for comparison addresses well-discussed themes, it often relies on overarching research questions posed “from above.” By contrast, given the widespread uncertainties, research “from below”—focusing on court practices and individual trials—can provide sufficiently detailed insights.

In the case of comparison, two different approaches appear to be available. The first applies when the comparison involves jurisdictions where the crime of witchcraft appears regularly over a long period, in contrast with other criminal penalties, and where court practice and the social background are relatively stable, with a well-elaborated set of consistent legal customs. (In Polish research, the town of Kleczew provides such an example, similarly, in Hungary, the city court of Debrecen.³⁷) The other possibility is the examination of an intensive period, or a witch-panic, where a microhistorical framework may be applied. In such cases, the inquiry cannot rely on a great number of trials, but the larger proceedings tend to have more extensive records, including greater detail on the legal background. It is difficult to find relatively simultaneous processes that share comparable legal, demonological, and chronological patterns. Therefore, it is worthwhile to supplement trial-by-trial comparison with a broader theoretical framework, taking into account similarities of a legal, theological, and related nature.

One example of a theoretical guiding thread is the export of German law and the sources of law. This issue is worth examining to explore why it is beneficial to analyse these factors from this perspective, as significant similarities appear to exist in the use of legal sources.³⁸ In both jurisdictions, criminal law is not fully codified; instead, common law

37 For Debrecen: Ildikó Kristóf, “*Ördögi mesterséget nem cselekedtem.*” A boszorkányüldözés társadalmi és kulturális háttere a kora újkori Debrecenben és Bihar vármegyében (Debrecen: Ethnica Kiadó, 1998). For Kleczew: Wiślicz, “The Township of Kleczew,” 65–95.

38 Legal comparisons differ from historical, since the subjects tends to be epistemological. Our suggestion intend to use similar framework. See: Szilvia Bató, “Österreichische Wirkungen in der ungarischen Strafrechtswissenschaft vor 1848 durch das Beispiel der Straftaten gegen das Leben,” in *Internationale Konferenz zum zehnjährigen Bestehen des Instituts für Rechtsvergleichung der Universität Szeged*, eds. Attila Badó, Detlev W. Belling, János Bóka and Péter Mezei (Potsdam: Universitätsverlag Potsdam, 2014), 71–90.

predominates. Consequently, particularly in witch trials, courts exercised considerable autonomy in the application of legal sources, selectively choosing norms. This allowed the use of domestic laws, statutes, ordinances etc. and, notably, the adoption of German law in a customary fashion.

For example, German imperial decrees, such as the *Constitutio Criminalis Carolina* and related commentaries and legal works, played a significant role in both places. Benedict Carpzov's *Practica Nova Imperialis Saxonica* of 1635, for instance, is of mutual interest as it may have substantially influenced both procedural law (e.g., the use of torture, imprisonment) and substantive law (e.g., changes in punishments, such as the spread of burning instead of exile). Nevertheless, the references to legal documents in both jurisdictions reveal a more diverse legal landscape.³⁹ To fully understand the extent of this legal influence, it is critical to identify those legal texts that were actively employed or simply referenced in judicial proceedings. Therefore, it is necessary to identify parallel trials that may illuminate the direct impact of these citations.

Initial findings suggest that cases with higher levels of legal literacy in the eighteenth century exhibit greater similarities in their use of legal sources, particularly those with a well-developed demonological framework. A comparative study, for example, of the Szeged Witch Panic of 1728–1729 and the Polish Grodzisk trials of 1710–1721 reveals a consistent citation and application of Carpzov's work. In these trials, the depiction of the crime, and its diabolical context (e.g. *pactum diabolici*) look similar and probably underline similarities in the legal background. There are even similarities such as the significance of the magic involving the Holy Host (communion wafer) during the trials, which are explicit in the work of Carpzov and many other sources.

39 In case of Hungarian legal tradition, the example of the the so-called *Praxis Criminalis* the law book of Ferdinand III is a well-researched example for Austrian–Hungarian legal transfer. See: Gábor Béli, István Kajtár, “Österreichisches Strafrecht in Ungarn: Die *Praxis Criminalis* von 1687,” *Zeitschrift für Neuere Rechtsgeschichte* 16 (1994): 325–334.

Table 4. Cited costumarily used foreign legal sources with demonological content in Szeged 1728–1729

City	Author/Ruler	Title	Year	Type of Source (example)
Szeged	Charles V	<i>Constitutio Criminalis Carolina</i>	1532	Art. 109. On the punishment of witches
Szeged	Benedict Carpozov	<i>Practica Nova Imperialis Saxonica</i>	1635	Pars. I. Quest. 49. How should witches and evil people who conspire with the Devil be punished?
Szeged	Ferdinand III (Leopold von Kollonich)	<i>Peinliche Landgerichtsordnung (Forma processus judicii criminalis seu praxis criminalis)</i>	1656 (1687)	About the Crime of Magic (De crimine magiae)

Source: Brandl–Tóth G. 2016, 416–419.

Table 5. Customarily cited foreign legal sources with demonological content in Grodzisk 1710–1721

City	Author/Ruler	Title	Year
Grodzisk	Charles V (Bartłomiej Groicki)	<i>Constitutio Criminalis Carolina</i>	1532 (1558)
Grodzisk	Benedict Carpozov	<i>Practica Nova Imperialis Saxonica</i>	1635
Grodzisk	Peter Binsfeld	<i>Tractatus de confessionibus maleficorum et sagarum</i>	1589
Grodzisk	Matthias Berlich	<i>Conclusiones practicabiles I–V. volumina</i>	1615–1619

Source: Pilaszek 2016, 194; Wyporska 2013, 209.

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The Polish Network of an Ottoman Pasha: Ilyash Kolchak Pasha, his Polish Secretary, and Connected History¹

Polska sieć kontaktów osmańskiego paszy:
Iljasz Kołczak Pasza, jego polski sekretarz
i historia powiązana

Abstract

This article explores the cross-border networks that emerged along the Ottoman–Polish border in the early eighteenth century through the case of Ilyash Kolchak Pasha and his Polish secretary, Piotr Pawłowski. Drawing on a unique corpus of Polish-language correspondence preserved in Russian and Ukrainian archives, it reconstructs how Hotin functioned not merely as a fortress but as a logistical, postal, and diplomatic hub. Kolchak – a Bosnian-born Ottoman border governor fluent in Polish – used his position and linguistic skills to cultivate a dense web of relationships with nobles, clergy, soldiers, diplomats, and merchants on both sides of the border. As his secretary, translator, and intermediary, Pawłowski operated his own smaller but vital network of nobles, Tatars, Armenians, Hungarians, and diplomats, enabling everyday exchanges of letters, goods, and

¹ This text is based on my dissertation. It is also a fruit of a long cooperation with Dariusz Kołodziejczyk and a goodbye to Kolchak Pasha and his archive.

intelligence. The article argues that this border was not a rigid civilizational line but a corridor of brokerage, social infrastructure, and mutual dependence. It challenges state-centric and Huntingtonian civilizational binaries by foregrounding intermediaries and their networks as constitutive forces in early modern borderlands. The Ottoman–Polish border emerges as a zone of structural entanglement, where imperial systems overlapped, and trans-imperial actors like Kolchak and Pawłowski shaped political, commercial, and cultural exchange.

Keywords: Ilyash Kolchak Pasha, Piotr Pawłowski, Ottoman–Polish border, cross-border networks, intermediaries.

Abstrakt

Artykuł analizuje sieci transgraniczne powstałe na pograniczu osmańsko-polskim w pierwszej połowie XVIII wieku, skupiając się na postaci Iljasza Kołczaka paszy oraz jego polskiego sekretarza Piotra Pawłowskiego. Na podstawie unikalnego zbioru korespondencji w języku polskim, zachowanej w archiwach rosyjskich i ukraińskich, rekonstruuje on funkcjonowanie Chocimia nie tylko jako twierdzy, lecz także jako węzła logistycznego, pocztowego i dyplomatycznego. Kołczak – bośniacki karierowicz i osmański pasza, biegle władający polszczyzną – zbudował rozległą sieć relacji z polską szlachtą, duchowieństwem, żołnierzami, dyplomatai i kupcami. Pawłowski, jego sekretarz i tłumacz, prowadził własną sieć kontaktów z Tatarami, Ormianami, Węgrami i dyplomatai, pośrednicząc w codziennym obiegu listów, towarów i informacji. Artykuł dowodzi, że granica osmańsko-polska nie była sztywną linią podziału cywilizacyjnego, lecz korytarzem pośrednictwa, infrastrukturą społeczną i przestrzenią współzależności. Przeciwstawia się państwowocentrycznym i „huntingtonowskim” ujęciom historii, ukazując znaczenie pośredników i ich sieci kontaktów w kształtowaniu kontaktów politycznych, handlowych i kulturowych. Pogranicze osmańsko-polskie jawi się jako strefa strukturalnych powiązań, w której systemy imperialne nakładały się na siebie, a aktorzy tacy jak Kołczak i Pawłowski współtworzyli transimperialną rzeczywistość XVIII wieku.

Słowa kluczowe: Iljasz Kołczak Pasza, Piotr Pawłowski, granica osmańsko-polska, sieci transgraniczne, pośrednicy.

In April 1734, a curious episode unfolded on the southern border of the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth. A Catholic priest named Stanikowski penned a letter to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha, the Ottoman governor of the fortress town of Hotin, warning him of an impending Russian invasion. The priest, seemingly unconcerned by confessional divides, not only relayed military intelligence but also reminded Kolchak Pasha

of his earlier promise—made under “the wing of His Gracious protection”—to shelter him and members of his household.² It is a moment that sits uncomfortably with Samuel Huntington’s enduring and oft-critiqued thesis of the “Clash of Civilizations.” Huntington’s theory, premised on deep-rooted, immutable divides between civilizational blocks – Christian and Muslim, Western and non-Western – struggles to account for such instances of interreligious solidarity and political pragmatism. Yet, as this article will demonstrate, such entanglements were not exceptional but rather indicative of a broader pattern of cross-border networking, brokerage, and interdependence that characterized life along the well-connected Ottoman–Polish border in the early eighteenth century.

This article focuses on the cross-border network of Ilyash Kolchak Pasha and his Polish-language secretary, Piotr Pawłowski. Kolchak, a mercenary of Bosnian origin, had lived on the Ottoman–Polish border since the 1720s. In the early 1730s, he rose to become governor of Hotin, a fortified outpost and key node in the empire’s border management. Pawłowski was a Christian from the Commonwealth who served as Kolchak’s Polish secretary – a go-between who mediated diplomacy, negotiated relationships, and moved with fluency across cultural lines. Their partnership, forged in a zone of uncertainty and political ambiguity, tells us much about how borders were navigated and how survival often depended on those willing to bridge divides.³

Hotin itself, perched on the northern edge of the Ottoman world, was much more than a military fortress. Restored in the early eighteenth century, it had become a thriving outpost – part depot, part relay station, part diplomatic switchboard. As this article illustrates, Hotin served three overlapping roles. First, it acted as a courier hub, connecting nobles and ecclesiastical figures in the Commonwealth with Istanbul and the Crimea. If a letter needed to move quickly and securely from Lwów or Kamieniec Podolski to the imperial capital, it often passed through Hotin. Second, the town operated as an information node, where rumours, intelligence, and formal reports flowed in from Russia, Poland–Lithuania, and the Ottoman heartlands – colliding, confirming, or correcting one another. And third, Hotin functioned as a marketplace, drawing merchants and

2 Letter of Priest Stanikowski to Ilyash Kolchak of Hotin, Mielnica, 21 IV 1734, see: *Turecki pasza i szlachta: korespondencja osmańskiego gubernatora Chocimia Iliasza Kołczaka paszy ze szlachtą Rzeczypospolitej z lat 1730–1739*, eds. Mariusz Kaczka, Dariusz Kołodziejczyk (Narodowy Instytut Polskiego Dziedzictwa Kulturowego za Granicą Polonika, 2020), 339.

3 On Kolchak Pasha and his career, see: *Turecki pasza i szlachta*, 83–96, 47–48 (on Pawłowski).

traders who came for Ottoman goods: food, textiles, horses. These roles – logistical, informational, commercial – are discernible in the correspondence networks Kolchak and Pawłowski cultivated.

As Lindsay O'Neill argues, "the eighteenth century was awash with letters."⁴ In the British Atlantic, correspondence stitched together the empire. In early New England, as Kathrine Grandjean has shown, letters moved along routes cut through violence, fear, and uncertainty.⁵ On the Ottoman frontier, too, letters were the lifeblood of diplomacy and daily life. Historians of science have used them to study "how human communities make and remake knowledge."⁶ Bruno Latour's "actor-network theory," with its call to "follow the actors themselves," has reshaped how we think about circulation and connection – but rarely has that framework been applied to Ottoman studies.⁷ And yet, the world of Kolchak and Pawłowski was a brokered one, deeply layered with go-betweens: translators, letter-carriers, petitioners – those who lived between languages, and between loyalties.

Indeed, Kolchak and Pawłowski's network approximates what social scientists call "a small-world network": one in which dense local clusters are linked by long-range connections, producing surprisingly short paths between distant nodes.⁸ These were networks of practical utility, but also ones of fragile trust, navigated by go-betweens who operated – often literally – between a rock and a hard place.⁹ With his Polish secretary at his side, Kolchak was able to bridge the Ottoman and Polish worlds and

4 Lindsay O'Neill, *The Opened Letter: Networking in the Early Modern British World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015), 9.

5 Katherine Grandjean, *American Passage: The Communications Frontier in Early New England* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2014), 217. For her book, Grandjean built a database of 3,000 letters from early New England, which constituted the basic source for her book.

6 Paula Findlen, "Introduction – Early Modern Scientific Networks: Knowledge and Community in a Globalizing World, 1500–1800," in *Empires of Knowledge: Scientific Networks in the Early Modern World*, ed. Paula Findlen (London–New York: Routledge, 2019), 9.

7 Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 12; John-Paul A. Ghobrial, *The Whispers of Cities: Information Flows in Istanbul, London, and Paris in the Age of William Trumbull* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

8 *Small Worlds: Method, Meaning, and Narrative in Microhistory*, 1st ed. School for Advanced Research Advanced Seminar Series, eds. James F. Brooks, Christopher R. N. Decorse and John Walton (Santa Fe: School for Advanced Research Press, 2008).

9 Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Between a Rock and a Hard Place: Some Afterthoughts," in *The Brokered World*, eds. Simon Schaffer, Lissa Roberts, Kapil Raj, and James Delbourgo (Sagamore: Science History Publications, 2009), 429–440.

postal systems, tapping into overlapping communications infrastructures. Nobles from Lwów or Kamieniec Podolski routinely entrusted their letters to Ottoman postal networks when they needed reliable delivery to Istanbul or the Crimea. In this way, Hotin became not only a strategic military fortress, but a postal and diplomatic hinge between two worlds that were, in fact, deeply intertwined.

Following Kolchak's network, we can unsettle the analytical binaries that have long structured early modern historiography: empire and periphery, Islam and Christendom, subject and agent.¹⁰ The Ottoman–Polish frontier – so often depicted as a zone of confrontation in jingoistic national historiographies – emerges here as a connective tissue: elastic, porous, and peopled by actors whose loyalties were negotiated rather than certain.¹¹ What we see in Kolchak's correspondence is not the anomaly of coexistence but its daily structure, hard to prove in the past without formidable archives. The courier routes out of Hotin did more than deliver mail; they routed trust, recalibrated power, and built a kind of inter-imperial civility, and border friendship.

This border was not an edge but a connecting node – one that complicates the geopolitical grammar of both Ottoman and Polish historiography. Kolchak's career, and Pawłowski's role within it, force us to abandon the idea of the border as a line to be defended and instead understand it as a corridor of brokerage and knowledge transmission. Kolchak and Pawłowski were not merely imperial agents; they were infrastructural actors in a much wider story of circulation of people, goods and ideas.

The implications are historiographical as much as historical. Despite the global turn, early modern studies remain haunted by state-centric frameworks and analytical stovepipes. We still default to imperial cores when mapping sovereignty, communication, or reform.¹² But Kolchak's

10 The dichotomy Christian–Muslim appears rarely in historiography and mostly in encyclopedic entries, see for instance: Mario Apostolov, *The Christian-Muslim Frontier: A Zone of Contact, Conflict and Co-Operation* (London–New York: Routledge, 2010); David Thomas, John A. Chesworth, *Christian-Muslim Relations. A Bibliographical History Volume 8. Northern and Eastern Europe (1600–1700)* (BRILL, 2016), <http://public.eblib.com/choice/PublicFullRecord.aspx?p=4715142> (access: 17.12.2025).

11 For a similar argument, see: Luca Scholz, *Borders and Freedom of Movement in the Holy Roman Empire*, First edition, Studies in German History (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), 166 (on uncertainty in border regions); Tamar Herzog, *Frontiers of Possession: Spain and Portugal in Europe and the Americas* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015), 48–68.

12 Perhaps with formidable exceptions such as: Ali Yaycıoğlu, *Partners of the Empire: The Crisis of the Ottoman Order in the Age of Revolutions* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016).

frontier resists such gravitational pull. It demands a historiography of the periphery rather than the center – of those minor but critical figures who, like Pawłowski, stitched imperial systems together. What if, instead of looking at Istanbul, one could write Ottoman history from the periphery of Hotin – for instance, by studying its social fabric and interconnectedness in a micro-historical perspective?

Such connected history, then, is not simply about recognizing contact. It is about decentering imperial self-narration by restoring visibility to the intermediaries who sustained alternative orders of mobility, legitimacy, and knowledge. The Ottoman-Polish border, through the lens of Kolchak's network, becomes a proving ground for a more entangled epistemology: one that privileges bottom-up processes and actors in the past over politics. To recover that world is not only to reframe the eighteenth-century borderlands – it is to rethink how we write the history of empires and multiethnic states.

Kolchak's network within Poland-Lithuania

The best example of an Ottoman borderland network that formed a small world of its own is that of Ilyash Kolchak Pasha – a Bosnian-born mercenary who rose to become the Ottoman governor and commander of the fortress and administrative district of Hotin. In the 1720s, while still serving as a janissary commander, Kolchak – who sometimes wrote in Polish in shorthand – facilitated the exchange of information between Abdi Pasha, then-governor of Hotin, and Polish-Lithuanian nobles. His mediation helped arrange audiences for Crown Hetman Sieniawski's envoys at Abdi Pasha's divan.¹³ In 1721, Pylyp Orlyk, a Cossack hetman under Ottoman protection, passed incognito through Hotin on his way to Istanbul and reached Abdi Pasha through Kolchak's mediation.¹⁴ Kolchak's ability to act as a go-between rested on his knowledge of Polish and familiarity with the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Kolchak communicated, translated, and negotiated across cultural divides while preserving a complex identity. Outwardly Ottoman, he carried Moldavian and Polish elements of his identity beneath the surface.

13 Letters of Ilyash Kolchak Pasha to Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski, Grand Crown hetman, in Hotin, 1721–1722, BC, ms. 5855, No. 1884–1885.

14 *Dijarij Get'mana Pilipa Orlika*=*Diarjusz Hetmana Orlika*=*Le Journal de l'hetman Orlik*, *Praci Ukraïns'koho Naukovoho Instytutu* 17, ed. Jan z Tokar Tokarzewski Karaszewicz (Warszawa: 1936), 17.

Such intermediaries – literate, fluent, attuned to multiple worlds – could rise high. At the height of his career, Kolchak himself became governor of Hotin and built an expansive web of informers inside Poland–Lithuania, involving close to a hundred people. Two recently discovered manuscripts – one preserved in Ukraine, the other in Moscow – offer a rare window into this world. They contain Kolchak’s Polish-language correspondence and illuminate the depth of Ottoman–Polish connectivity.¹⁵ When Russian forces captured Hotin in 1739, they took Kolchak to Moscow along with his entire archive. Today, his Polish letters lie among twenty-seven bound volumes in the archive of the Russian Empire’s Ministry of Foreign Policy. Based on some 2,000 pages of material, it is possible – if incompletely – to sketch the contours of Kolchak’s network. How did an Ottoman border governor, fluent in Polish and well-versed in local cultural codes, forge ties with the Polish–Lithuanian nobility?

Though Kolchak could write in Polish, he relied on a Polish secretary named Piotr Pawłowski to handle his correspondence. Pawłowski drafted replies, copied outgoing letters, and managed the Latinate side of the archive that operated mostly in Polish and Latin. A go-between par excellence, he was deeply embedded in Poland–Lithuania and maintained both financial and personal ties with the local nobility. Over the years, Pawłowski built a network of his own, often acting as mediator when nobles petitioned Kolchak for minor matters. Still, his influence remained tethered to Kolchak’s authority.

Kolchak, for his part, did not need translators. His fluency in Polish meant that nobles felt at ease visiting Hotin. In 1734, Michał Potocki, Palatine of Volhynia, forwarded his brother’s letters to Kolchak and promised “he will come to talk with Your Lordship and will have the honor to bow [in front of You] in Hotin.”¹⁶ Carl von Löseken, a German officer in Polish-Lithuanian service, wrote to inform Kolchak that a friend of his had arrived and wished to pay respects to Kolchak. “If You do not take it amiss,” he added, “[I will send him] with my wife and other ladies, and they will greet You.”¹⁷ The women, as he noted, also hoped to shop in Hotin. During the Russian invasion of the Commonwealth, Potocki even sent his wife – and their silver and jewelry – to Kolchak’s fortress

15 Mariusz Kaczka, *Pashas and Nobles: Paweł Benoe and Ottoman-Polish Encounters in the Eighteenth Century*, Ph.D. dissertation (European University Institute, 2019), 76.

16 Letter of Michał Potocki to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin, in Satanów, 16 III 1734, in *Turecki pasza i szlachta*, 316.

17 Letter of Carl von Löseken to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin, in Okopy Św. Trójcy, 3 IX 1733, in *Ibidem*, 260.

for safekeeping.¹⁸ Polish nobles wanting to visit and talk with the pasha frequently appear on the pages of his correspondence. Perhaps the best example of the personal meetings between the pasha and Polish nobles is contained in the letter of a grieving father:

Because my weak health put me to bed for a few weeks, I could not greet Your Lordship, My Great Pasha and personally tell you about my despair. Now, with this humble missive, I report that my son of young age, taken by frivolous behavior, bathed on horseback in the Dniester River. When he tried to cross over to the Polish side, just next to the rocks on the Polish side, he drowned, and I cannot even find his body. The inhabitants of this village called Nasłowcz are afraid of Your Lordship's anger. Because of that, I report personally to Your Lordship about my despair and that he drowned by accident and was not killed by anyone. Moreover, when I had this honor of greeting Your Lordship in person, You warned me not to cross over to the Polish side to my estates, and I love every order that You give me.¹⁹

In the end, the letter's author – who lived in Ilyash Kolchak's estates during a Russian invasion of Poland – adds that the pasha had told him in person about the dangers of crossing the river and returning prematurely to Poland–Lithuania. Thus, it seems that it was quite common for Polish nobility to cross the border, walk through the streets of the Ottoman city-fortress of Hotin, and shop there. Noblemen and noblewomen also sought shelter in the pasha's estates in 1733 and 1734 when the Russian army entered Poland–Lithuania. In-person encounters between the Polish–Lithuanian nobility and Kolchak went smoothly thanks to his proficiency in Polish, Polish culture, and the language of friendship.

Ilyash Kolchak Pasha's networking extended well beyond these everyday encounters in part due to his official standing as governor of Hotin. As a rule, military officers and border judges formed the core of Ottoman pashas' networks, as most correspondence arose from minor conflicts. To provide an example, in 1737, Florian Schylling, commandant of Kamieniec Podolski, informed the pasha that an Ottoman merchant called Mustafa had arrived in this Polish–Lithuanian border city to sell oranges and lemons. Mustafa, however, did not behave according to the cultural expectations held for a Muslim merchant and instead acted

18 Letter of Michał Potocki to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin, in Warszawa, 2 XII 1735, in *Ibidem*, 407.

19 Letter of Wojciech Popławski to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin, in Nasławcz, 9 VI 1735, in *Ibidem*, 393–394.

“against modesty, custom and his faith” by getting drunk at the local tavern. Unfortunately, this was not the end of the story as, at midnight, the delinquent harassed a young Polish noblewoman in her house. In the end, the city’s guard imprisoned Mustafa, but Schylling freed him for the sake of “conserving [...] the neighborly friendship.”²⁰ What is uncommon in Kolchak’s example is the friendliness and frequency of many of his exchanges. Kolchak’s manuscripts of Polish correspondence suggests that all the most important Polish–Lithuanian commanders dispatched a letter per week to the Kolchak, and if they failed to do so, they felt obliged to excuse themselves. Kolchak also maintained friendly quotidian encounters with ordinary border soldiers. The finest example of this is the fact that Polish soldiers stationed at the Ottoman border used to ask Kolchak for wood from his forests to heat their homes or build their houses.²¹

The pasha’s network included ordinary nobles. As the pasha’s manuscripts indicate, ordinary nobility was often in cordial contact with Ilyash Kolchak. An example which illustrates this is Józef de Campo Scipio, Kolchak’s regular correspondent.²² Originating from the Polonised Italian Scipio family, he engaged in regular correspondence with the pasha and provided him with political and military information from Poland–Lithuania. In return, Kolchak informed Scipio of the situation in the Ottoman Empire and updated him on the Ottomans’ progress in their wars with Persia. Scipio used the Ottoman state couriers (called *ulak*) to dispatch his correspondence throughout the Ottoman Empire with the pasha’s support which strengthened their bond. The pasha’s fortress at Hotin acted as a local Fedex and was an important hub at the northern-most pivot of the ‘right-hand road’ (*sağ kol*) connecting Istanbul to Crimea and the north-east, and thus Scipio’s letters might have arrived in Istanbul in only six days.²³ In this way, Scipio could and did exchange letters with the French ambassador in Istanbul, marquis de Villeneuve.²⁴

20 Letter of Florian Schylling to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin, in Kamieniec Podolski, 24 IV 1737, in *Ibidem*, 436.

21 *Turecki pasza i szlachta*, 105.

22 Henryk Palkij, “Józef Scipio (zm. 1743),” in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. XXXVI (Warszawa–Kraków: Polska Akademia Nauk, Instytut Historii PAN, 1995).

23 Colin J. Heywood, “Some Turkish Archival Sources for the History of the Menzilhane Network in Rumeli During the Eighteenth Century (Notes and Documents on the Ottoman Ulak, I)” *Boğaziçi Üniversitesi Dergisi: Beşeri Bilimler* 4–5 (1976–1977): 40–41, 51, fn. 22.

24 Letter of Józef Scipion to marquis de Villeneuve, in Kamieniec Podolski, 13 III 1734, Centralnyi Dierzavnyi Istorichnyi Arkhiv Ukrainii m. Kyiev (henceforth: CDIAUK), fond 254, opis 1, ms. 597, ff. 19v–r (copy in Scipion’s hand).

This is how Kolchak's small-world network functioned while tapping into an Ottoman and – *in extenso* – global network.

In some cases, the Ottoman pasha played the role of patron to Polish-Lithuanian noblemen, noblewomen, and even clergy. In 1734, Russian troops entered Poland-Lithuania to support Friedrich Augustus II of Saxony's candidacy for the Polish crown. Consequently, Kolchak began receiving a large volume of petitions from Polish-Lithuanian nobility asking for protection and shelter on his estates. The administrative district under the protection of Ottoman troops was a refuge for Polish nobles in times of trouble. Consequently, Stanisław Jabłonowski, Starost of Czehryń in the triple Ottoman-Polish-Russian borderland, fled to Hotin with his wife and entire court and asked for shelter in one of the pasha's villages.²⁵ Entire noble families crossed the border while waiting for the situation in Poland-Lithuania to improve. Perhaps surprisingly, even Catholic priests from the borderland received Ottoman protection when they requested it.²⁶ However, the pasha's network reached beyond the Ottoman-Polish-Russian borderland and included diplomats.

Kolchak's small-world network passively coexisted in the large, complex, global and diplomatic networks of the Ottoman Empire. One of the pasha's Polish correspondents was the French envoy extraordinary at the Polish-Saxon court, marquis de Monti. Monti was likely aware that Kolchak's secretaries were able to correspond in Ottoman Turkish, Latin, or Polish, but not French.²⁷ In the same manner as Scipio, Monti used the pasha's couriers to dispatch news and letters from Poland-Lithuania to the French ambassador in Istanbul, marquis de Villeneuve. These letters are preserved today in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in Paris.²⁸ As his letter books demonstrate – Villeneuve used different ways to send letters to Monti, but most of them passed through the hands of Ilyash Kolchak.²⁹ Small gifts smoothed the exchange of letters between Monti

25 Letter of Stanisław Jabłonowski to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin, in Dłużek, 6 VII 1735, in *Turecki pasza i szlachta*, 395.

26 Letter of Priest Stanikowski to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin, in Mielnica, 21 IV 1734, in *Ibidem*, 339.

27 In one of the letters conserved in Moscow, marquis de Villeneuve asks Piotr Pawłowski, Kolchak's secretary to write not in Polish, as he was unable to find reliable translators from Polish, but in Ottoman Turkish, Latin or Italian, see: marquis de Villeneuve to Piotr Pawłowski, in Constantinople, 23 IX 1735, AVPRI, fond 26, ms. 2, f. 386v.

28 'Lettre reçues de M. de Monty, ambassadeur en Pologne (1731–1733)', Bibliothèque nationale de France (henceforth: BnF), Département des Manuscrits, Français ms. 7196.

29 'Lettres au Roi, au cardinal de Fleury et à M. de Monty, ambassadeur en Pologne (1728–1737)', BnF, Département des Manuscrits, Français ms. 7177, f. 337r: "Partie le 28 novembre 1733 par de courrier tartare au Pacha de Choczim."

and Villeneuve. In December 1734, Monti conveyed information from Poland-Lithuania to the pasha in a letter with an enclosed golden snuff box.³⁰ Indirectly, Monti promised pasha the grace of his master by stating that he “informed about all of that My Lord, His Majesty the King [Louis XV – M. K.] and about the friendship, with which you support the entire French nation.”³¹ Ilyash Kolchak Pasha’s network encompassed not only the direct borderland but also diplomatic centers such as Istanbul and Paris. The pasha’s network not only included French diplomats but also Polish diplomats on their way to and from Istanbul.

In Kolchak’s correspondence, we find letters from all the diplomats who passed by and through Hotin. It seems evident that Polish diplomats to Istanbul, who as a rule passed through Hotin, exchanged letters with Ilyash Kolchak. Their frequency, however, and chronology suggest that diplomats kept corresponding with Kolchak years after their return to Poland and provided him with news – in the form of both printed and handwritten newsletters. In exchange, Ilyash Kolchak furnished them with passports, forwarded their letters to Poland-Lithuania or Istanbul, and functioned as a link between Warsaw and Istanbul. This exchange involved not only information but also goods. In November 1734, Polish resident in Istanbul, Jan Stadnicki, dispatched to Poland “five Turkish horses” and asked Kolchak for his protection and passports.³² In the same manner, Jan’s father, Józef Stadnicki, sent additional servants to Istanbul to his son and asked pasha for passports and protection.³³ Senders accompanied their letters with small gifts, dominated by silver, gold, and other luxury objects. Some of the letters suggest the sender’s striking familiarity with Kolchak’s family. Józef Sierakowski, envoy extraordinary on duty from 1732 to 1733, for instance, adds a postscript in almost every letter with familiar greetings for the pasha’s younger brother and son.³⁴

30 Letter of marquis de Monti, French envoy extraordinary in Poland to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin, in Gdańsk, 10 XII 1733, in *Turecki pasza i szlachta*, 280. Letter of marquis de Monti, French ambassador in Poland to marquis de Villeneuve, French ambassador in Istanbul, Gdańsk, 10 XII 1733, BnF, Département des Manuscrits, Français 7196, ff. 297v–299r.

31 Letter of marquis de Monti, French envoy extraordinary in Poland to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin, in Warsaw, 6 VI 1733, in *Turecki pasza i szlachta*, 242–243.

32 Letter of Jan Stadnicki, Polish resident to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin, in Pera, 19 XI 1734, in *Ibidem*, 383–384.

33 Letter of Józef Stadnicki, Castellan of Biecz to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin, at the castle in Niemirów, 9 VIII 1733, in *Ibidem*, 256–257.

34 Letter of Józef Sierakowski to Ilyash Kolchak Pasha of Hotin, in Żabcze, 18 VII 1733, in *Ibidem*, 252.

Kolchak's network was, in essence, a small-world: a planet with its own orbit, and trailing satellites. The most vital of these was the network built by his secretary, Piotr Pawłowski.

Traitor, trickster and translator: the network of Piotr Pawłowski, Ilyash Kolchak's Polish secretary, and connected history

The story of Piotr Pawłowski is emblematic of the very fabric of connected history: it anchors abstract theories in lived experiences. Far from being a marginal character, Pawłowski's activity demonstrates how minor figures – secretaries, translators, postal intermediaries – functioned as the sinews of cross-cultural diplomacy, commerce, and intelligence.³⁵ He was not a passive conduit but an active broker between Catholic nobles, Muslim pashas, Tatar intermediaries, and Armenian merchants. The letters he received and sent did more than communicate – they constituted a social infrastructure that enabled the daily operation of border life in this early modern Ottoman-European borderland.

Through Pawłowski's eyes, we can see the Ottoman–Polish border not as a hard divide, but as a permeable membrane, a contact zone where social, political, and commercial flows created hybrid networks. His exchanges with Lipka Tatars, Hungarian and Cossack exiles, and even French diplomats reinforce the point that the early modern world was not only interconnected but also multilingual, multicultural, and full of individuals who navigated multiple allegiances.³⁶ The tension between loyalty and treachery in Pawłowski's final flight – first fleeing Kolchak, then revealing himself as a Russian agent – mirrors the ambiguity of identity and allegiance in frontier diplomacy. His life makes visible the dense web of affiliations, pressures, and motivations in early modern borderlands.

In this sense, Pawłowski's as much as Kolchak's world refutes Huntington's "Clash of Civilizations" not by idealizing interconnectedness,

35 This was raised recently by Florian Kühnel, who in his prolific study focuses on secretaries rather than diplomats, see: Florian Kühnel, *Diplomatie als kollektive Praxis: Botschaftssekretäre und diplomatischer Alltag im frühneuzeitlichen Istanbul*, Frühneuzeit-Forschungen, Bd 29 (Göttingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2024).

36 Sanjay Subrahmanyam, "Connected Histories: Notes towards a Reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia" *Modern Asia Studies* 31/3 (1997): 735–762; Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Courtly Encounters: Translating Courtliness and Violence in Early Modern Eurasia* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012).

but by showing a form of pragmatic coexistence, where relationships were forged out of necessity, convenience, and mutual benefit, even amid underlying rivalries. People like Pawłowski did not wait for official diplomacy to shape their actions. Instead, they acted ahead of it, creating informal routes for letters, gifts, gossip, and goods, routes that often mattered more than formal alliances or declarations.

Connected history, therefore, provides the right lens through which to read this kind of archival microhistory of networking. It shifts the spotlight from grand narratives to granular interactions, revealing how small-world networks – often overlapping, sometimes conflicting – built up the scaffolding of early modern cross-border relations. Figures like Pawłowski and Kolchak give connected history its empirical grounding and demonstrate that even seemingly peripheral actors played central roles in maintaining and shaping trans-imperial dynamics.

Piotr Pawłowski was the secretary and translator of Ilyash Kolchak Pasha. He handled the pasha's correspondence, made translations and copies of letters, and oversaw the Latinate section of the Hotin archive. Likely a petty noble from the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth, Pawłowski had sought a better life in Ottoman service on the borderlands. Having already served in the fortress before Kolchak's governorship, he developed his own network of correspondents. Polish–Lithuanian nobles routinely addressed Kolchak and Pawłowski in separate letters, often enclosed in the same envelope. If no letter was sent directly to Pawłowski, those written to Kolchak typically included a postscript greeting him – sometimes apologizing for the absence of a separate message. Still, Pawłowski's network reveals a more quotidian web of exchanges than that of Kolchak. His correspondents often included Lipka Tatars stationed in Hotin or Armenian merchants traveling between Poland–Lithuania and Ottoman provinces, including the capital.³⁷

In the eighteenth century, Hotin served as a local marketplace for the Polish–Lithuanian nobility, who had a taste for oriental textiles, foodstuffs, and horses. This is clearest in Pawłowski's correspondence, where petty requests were more often addressed to him than to the pasha. In 1733, for example, the provincial noble Lastek Cieński sent Pawłowski a list of desired items. He asked him to influence Kolchak Pasha to provide a horse, a tent, Ottoman travel bottles, and a spear. He also requested “pink, elderflower, and orange sherbet from the pasha's kitchens, at least

37 Basic info on Pawłowski, see: *Turecki pasza i szlachta*, 97–98.

four jugs, and tobacco, but only the good kind.”³⁸ On another occasion, Jan Kamieński asked Pawłowski for bags, a horse (promised by Kolchak as a gift), and a tent. He also sought Pawłowski’s help in dealing with Hotin’s Bosnian and Greek merchants.³⁹ Jan Świrski, the regional chief justice, wrote to his “beloved Pawłoś,” asking him to procure and send “six *okkas* of coffee, but only the best-quality green one, [...] two *okkas* of bar soap, two pipe stems, and about two *okkas* of tobacco, but only the good one.”⁴⁰ These are only the most vivid examples. Such requests – for goods, favors, and introductions – formed the everyday substance of Pawłowski’s correspondence. He was often asked to act as a go-between, smoothing access to the pasha’s favor.

Trade also generated debts, often settled with Pawłowski’s mediation. In June 1732, he received two letters from Daniel Elewterowicz, an Armenian merchant from Lwów, who was searching for his brother’s debtors in the fortress of Akkerman. Elewterowicz, well-versed in Ottoman administration, noted that the local pasha had only two *tuğs* (horsetails) and likely could not send a personal emissary. He suggested that a *buyuruldu* (written order) from Kolchak Pasha might be required. Though the outcome remains unknown, it is clear in the preserved collections that Pawłowski frequently intervened in matters of debt.⁴¹

Hotin also served as a kind of early modern FedEx, as nobles turned to Pawłowski to forward letters into Ottoman territory or Crimea. In March 1734, Michał Potocki, Palatine of Wołyń, wrote to Pawłowski, saying, “I do not want to trouble His Lordship, the Pasha, but I am asking Your Lordship to send this letter” to Crimea.⁴² It is unsurprising, therefore, that Stefan Jan Melkonowicz – an official in the Crown Postal Service – was on friendly terms with Pawłowski. In December 1743, Melkonowicz apologized for not visiting him while in Hotin, and added a personal

38 Letter of Lastek Cieński to Piotr Pawłowski, from Solec, 15 III 1733, AVPRI, fond 26, ms. 2, f. 122v.

39 Letter of Jan Kamieński to Piotr Pawłowski, from Turzyń, 24 VI 1732, AVPRI, fond 26, ms. 2, ff. 80v–81r.

40 Letter of Jan Świrski to Piotr Pawłowski, from Kamieniec Podolski, 14 VI 1729, AVPRI, fond 26, ms. 2, ff. 305v–306v. One *okka* was slightly less than 1.3 kg.

41 Letter of Daniel Elewterowicz to Piotr Pawłowski (mistakenly addressed as Pawliński), from Lwów, 2 VI 1732 and from Lwów, 4 VI 1732, AVPRI, fond 26, ms. 2, ff. 76v–79v.

42 Letter of Michał Potocki to Piotr Pawłowski, no place, 30 III 1734, AVPRI, fond 26, ms. 2, f. 248v (asking to forward the letter to one of the Mirowicz brothers, Fedor or Ivan). See also another letter in the same manner asking Pawłowski to forward correspondence to the Crimean khan, letter of Michał Potocki to Piotr Pawłowski, in Satanów, 24 III 1734, *Ibidem*, f. 253v.

note: concern over the progress of Pawłowski's daughter's education.⁴³ In October 1733, dispatch rider Antoni Łączyński sent a letter to Pawłowski from his route to Istanbul. It included a long note of thanks for earlier assistance, and a postscript written by Jan Stadnicki, the Polish–Lithuanian resident in Istanbul.⁴⁴ Stadnicki offered advice on how to forward letters to Poland more efficiently and greeted Pawłowski's wife – evidence of personal familiarity. Through Pawłowski's network, we glimpse how the Ottoman postal system was quietly used by Europeans within the Ottoman Empire.

Hotin, as revealed through these letters, also functioned as an information hub. Ottoman borderland governors were expected to gather transborder intelligence. Much of this responsibility fell to their secretaries, who compiled, translated, and dispatched reports. An especially telling example comes from Pawłowski's exchanges with Lipka Tatar officers serving in either the Crown army or the Hotin garrison. The Lipkas – Muslims long settled in the Commonwealth – used their position between cultures to provide valuable information. Ismail Aga Józefowicz, a Tatar in Ottoman service, had relatives in the Crown army. He addressed Pawłowski directly in disputes and forwarded his kinsman Aleksander Józefowicz's reports on the military situation in Poland–Lithuania. These letters, under Pawłowski's auspices, were entered into the Hotin archive.⁴⁵

If Kolchak's network was a small-world, Pawłowski's was perhaps an even smaller one – but deeply embedded within the first. His letters overlapped with the pasha's and relied on his authority. Pawłowski corresponded frequently with Ádám Jávorka, a Hungarian émigré who moved between the Ottoman Empire, Russia, Crimea, and Poland–Lithuania.⁴⁶ Jávorka wrote in Latin, often adding greetings in Polish to Pawłowski's wife and sons.⁴⁷ Another curious case is Grzegorz Orlik, son of the exiled

43 Letter of Stefan Jan Melkonowicz to Piotr Pawłowski, in Kamieniec Podolski, 3 XII 1736, AVPRI, fond 26, ms. 2, f. 416v.

44 Letter of Antoni Łączyński, dispatch rider to Istanbul to Piotr Pawłowski, in Istanbul, 6 X 1733, AVPRI, fond 26, ms. 2, ff. 153v–r.

45 See letter of Aleksander Józefowicz to Ismail Aga Józefowicz, in Międzybóž, 22 I 1734, AVPRI, fond 26, ms. 2, f. 231v. See also a letter by Ismail Aga Józefowicz to Ali Aga Rudnicki, AVPRI, fond 26, ms. 2, f. 428v, which is also conserved in the Hotin archive.

46 *Turecki pasza i szlachta*, 500.

47 See letters of Ádám Jávorka to Piotr Pawłowski, in Żwaniec, 11 I 1737, AVPRI, fond 26, ms. 2, f. 231v; in Brzeżany, 23 V 1732, f. 72v; in Jarosław 3 I 1733, ff. 104v–r (postscript in Polish greeting Pawłowski's wife and sons); in Czarnokoźienice, 20 III 1734, f. 252v; in Czarnokoźienice, 30 III 1734, f. 263v; in Bakhchysarai, 15 III 1736, ff. 399v–400r (incipit in Polish).

Cossack hetman Pylyp Orlyk.⁴⁸ Writing from the Crimean Khanate, Orlik addressed Pawłowski in Polish but apologized: “Have patience with my Polish – for in truth, through long wanderings in foreign lands, I have forgotten my own language” – Orlik added.⁴⁹ The French ambassador in Istanbul, marquis de Villeneuve, also wrote to Pawłowski, politely requesting that he use Turkish in future letters, as it was easier to find someone trustworthy to translate them into French, Italian, or Latin.⁵⁰ All three men asked Pawłowski to forward their messages or provide information – an indication of his centrality in this diplomatic mesh.

Pawłowski was a typical early modern figure: a trickster, translator, and traitor. Secretaries and translators in the service of local Ottoman governors were often formidable sources of information for foreign powers, as they had direct access to knowledge and military intelligence. Deceptive and frequently disloyal, these figures could sell their services to the highest bidder, all while maintaining the appearance of a loyal, humble, and “invisible technician” of diplomacy – an unacknowledged servant whose labor quietly sustained the wheels of international communication.⁵¹ This seems to have been precisely the case with Piotr Pawłowski. In February 1738, he fled to Poland-Lithuania, where he was arrested by local authorities. Shortly thereafter, Russian representatives intervened, revealing that Pawłowski had been operating as their agent while serving alongside Kolchak Pasha. They demanded his release.⁵² Whether he ended up in chains or turned to Russian service remains unknown, but his story reflects the complexity of local networking and diplomacy – a world marked less by rigid allegiance than by negotiation, improvisation, and entanglement across borders.

Conclusion

What Kolchak’s and Pawłowski’s world urges us to consider is not only the porousness of state borders in the early modern world, but the

48 Emanuel Rostworowski, “Grzegorz Piotr Orlik h. Nowina,” in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. XXIV (Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków-Gdańsk: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Polska Akademia Nauk, 1979).

49 Letter of Grzegorz Orlik to Piotr Pawłowski, in the camp near Kauszany, 7 IX 1734, AVPRI, fond 26, ms. 2, ff. 342v–343v.

50 Letter of marquis de Villeneuve to Piotr Pawłowski, Constantinople, 23 IX 1735, AVPRI, fond 26, ms. 2, f. 386v.

51 Steven Shapin, “The Invisible Technician,” *American Scientist* 77/6 (1989): 554–563.

52 *Turecki pasza i szlachta*, 99.

methodological limits of our historical categories. Too often, connected history has served as a polite corrective – a way to soften binaries with exceptional studies without dismantling them. But what if, instead of merely connecting Islam and Christendom, center and periphery, subject and state, we viewed these categories themselves as historical outcomes of the very entanglements we are studying? The Ottoman–Polish border was not a line between two discrete worlds, but a zone of coexistence, where identities were shaped through interaction, dependence, and betrayal.

Pawłowski's movements – across borders, across allegiances – underscore this. He was not a marginal exception but a nodal actor, integral to the operation of trans-imperial infrastructures. His role as Kolchak's secretary was not a mask for espionage; espionage was built into the system. Pawłowski's desk in Hotin was a point of convergence for Ottoman governance, Polish nobility, and Russian intelligence. If we follow Latour's exhortation to "follow the actors themselves," Pawłowski does not merely link allegedly disconnected empires – he embodies their relational logic.

This, in turn, invites a sharper critique of connected history as a genre. Too often, its language remains curiously antiseptic, celebrating movement, networks, and circulation without confronting the ambiguous economies and asymmetries of power that made such movement possible. Kolchak's and Pawłowski's world was not a cosmopolitan utopia in a globalized world without borders. It was at times violent, precarious and uncertain whilst also real and inhabited. It forces us to reconsider whether connection is an interpretive goal or simply a starting point. In this light, the Ottoman–Polish border becomes a case not of anomalous cooperation, but of structural entanglement, one stretching over centuries and generations.

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Sacerdotalisation. Changes in Clerical Private Lives in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth¹

Sacerdotalizacja. Zmiany w życiu prywatnym duchowieństwa w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów

Abstract

The Council of Trent expected priests to dutifully perform their professional obligations and to shine as examples of Christian life. Although this new ideal was treated as coherent and holistic by both Catholic reformers and historians, the article proposes to analyse it as two separate processes: clerical professionalisation and sacerdotalisation, which represent, respectively, the attempts to modify professional and private lives. Such a distinction not only sheds light on situations when both post-Tridentine goals were not fully aligned but also draws attention to the specificity of Catholic priests, who were expected to change their private lives more than other professional groups. The article offers a preliminary account of the sacerdotalisation in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from 1569 to 1795. In an attempt to create an anthropological portrait, it is

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mostly based on egodocuments, with special attention given to the writings of Kazimierz Dziuliński, a parish priest in Słaboszów within the diocese of Kraków from 1676 to 1701. An argument is proposed that, by the final decades of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the private lives of priests had come to play a unifying rather than dividing role. Clergy were hierarchically divided and maintained close relationships with laymen according to their rank as well as shared with relative groups many everyday practices, especially feasting and trading. However, the belief in the power of ordination, seminary education, social influence and peer control fostered enough commonality for priests to feel and be perceived as members of a distinguished and relatively elevated group. Generally, at the end of the eighteenth century, priests kept celibacy, exhibited specific nonverbal communication, prayed the breviary, wore clerical garb, and usually read religious literature.

Keywords: clergy, professionalisation, private life, everyday life, Catholic Church, Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth.

Abstrakt

Sobór Trydencki oczekiwał od księży sumiennego wypełniania obowiązków zawodowych oraz bycia wzorem chrześcijańskiego życia. Choć oba cele były traktowane łącznie zarówno przez katolickich reformatörów, jak i przez historyków, w artykule zaproponowano ich analizę jako dwóch odrębnych procesów: profesjonalizacji oraz sacerdotalizacji, które odpowiadają próbom zmiany – odpowiednio – życia zawodowego i prywatnego. Takie rozróżnienie pozwala nie tylko uchwycić sytuację, w których oba cele nie były w pełni zgodne, ale także zwraca uwagę na specyfikę katolickich księży, od których oczekiwano głębszych zmian w życiu prywatnym niż od innych grup zawodowych. Artykuł przedstawia wstępną analizę zmian w życiu prywatnym w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów w latach 1569–1795. W próbie stworzenia antropologicznego portretu skorzystano przede wszystkim z egodokumentów, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem pism Kazimierza Dziulińskiego, proboszcza w Słaboszowie w diecezji krakowskiej w latach 1676–1701. Wyszynęto tezę, że w ostatnich dekadach istnienia Rzeczypospolitej praktyki życia prywatnego księży sprzyjały tworzeniu wspólnej tożsamości. Duchowieństwo było hierarchicznie podzielone i utrzymywało bliskie relacje z ludźmi świeckimi zgodnie ze swoim statusem społecznym, dzieląc z nimi wiele codziennych praktyk, takich jak ucztowanie i handel. Jednak wiara w moc święceń, wykształcenie seminaryjne, wpływ społeczny oraz kontrola innych księży powodowały, że księża mogli czuć się i być postrzegani jako członkowie osobnej i wyróżnionej grupy. Pod koniec XVIII wieku księża zasadniczo zachowywali celibat, posługiwali się specyficzną komunikacją niewerbalną, odmawiali brewiarz, nosili strój duchowny i czytali przeważnie literaturę religijną.

Słowa kluczowe: duchowieństwo, profesjonalizacja, życie prywatne, życie codzienne, Kościół katolicki, Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodów.

Introduction

The Council of Trent (1545–1563) decided that the reform of the clergy was crucial for strengthening Catholicism. Reformers envisaged a priest who would dutifully perform his professional obligations as well as shine as an example of Christian life. Although this new ideal of the “pastor bonus” was treated as coherent and holistic both by the Catholic reformers and historians of Early Modern Catholicism,² I propose to analyse it as two separate processes of clerical professionalisation and sacerdotalisation, which represent, respectively, attempts to modify professional and private lives. Such a distinction not only sheds light on situations when both post-Tridentine goals were not fully aligned but also allows for noticing similarities between the Catholic clergy and other occupational groups that were professionalised in early modernity. At the same time, it draws attention to the specificity of Catholic priests, who were also expected to significantly change their non-professional activities.

Professionalisation was the process of transforming the clergy into a group possessing confessionally specific knowledge and skills as well as fulfilling their occupational duties in accordance with the income they received. The success of professionalisation is relatively easy to assess because the criteria were simple and easy to verify, and it was regularly tested during canonical visitation. As a result, historians have already

2 Jean Delumeau, *Catholicism Between Luther and Voltaire: A New View of the Counter-Reformation* (London: Burns & Oates, 1977), 179–188; Rosemary O'Day, *The English Clergy: The Emergence and Consolidation of a Profession, 1558–1642* (Leicester: Atlantic Highlands, 1979); Ian Green, “Reformed Pastors’ and Bons Curés: the Changing Role of the Parish Clergy in Early Modern Europe,” *Studies in Church History* 26 (1989): 249–286; Gilles Deregnacourt, *De Fénelon à la Révolution : le clergé paroissial de l'Archevêché de Cambrai* (Lille: Presses universitaires de Lille, 1991); Marc Forster, *The Counter-Reformation in the Villages: Religion and Reform in the Bishopric of Speyer, 1560–1720* (London: Cornell University Press, 1992), 58–60; *Idem*, *Catholic Germany from the Reformation to the Enlightenment* (Basingstoke–New York: Macmillan Education UK, 2007), 117–128; Frans Ciappara, “Trent and the Clergy in Late Eighteenth-Century Malta,” *Church History* 78/1 (2009): 1–25; Michael Hayden, *The Catholicisms of Coutances: Varieties of Religion in Early Modern France, 1350–1789* (McGill-Queen's Press, 2013), 147–194.

concluded that the advent of clerical professionalisation was incremental and, until the end of the eighteenth century, not yet fully successful.³

On the other hand, sacerdotalisation could be defined as the process of shaping the private lives of priests, so that it would represent their separate and elevated status caused by special relations with God established during Holy Orders.⁴ It entailed changing everyday practices, by which priests communicated their social positioning such as, keeping celibacy, avoiding taverns, dressing clerically or praying the breviary. Whereas the Council of Trent initiated professionalisation, when it comes to sacerdotalisation, post-Tridentine reformers have been repeating and reinforcing the process which could be traced back as early as to the first centuries of Christianity.⁵

Sacerdotalization had more elusive criteria and was less methodically examined by the Church. Most synods focused only on direct transgressions against the moral norms of clerical behaviour such as breaches of celibacy.⁶ What is more, as Celeste McNamara discovered, the demands for maintaining a special standard of private life were less important

3 Angelo Turchini, "La nascita del sacerdozio come professione," in *Disciplina dell'Anima, Disciplina del Corpo e Disciplina della Società tra Medioevo ed Età Moderna*, eds. Paolo Prodi, Carla Penuti (Bologna: Società editrice il Mulino, 1994), 225–256; Ulrich Pfister, "Pastors and Priests in the Early Modern Grisons: Organized Profession or Side Activity," *Central European History* 33/1 (2000): 41–65; Luise Schorn-Schütte, "Priest, Preacher, Pastor: Research on Clerical Office in Early Modern Europe," *Central European History* 33/1 (2000): 1–39; Kathleen M. Comerford, "The Care of Souls Is a Very Grave Burden for [the Pastor]: Professionalization of Clergy in Early Modern Florence, Lucca, and Arezzo," *Dutch Review of Church History* 85: *The Formation of Clerical and Confessional Identities in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Wim Jense, Barbara Pitkin (2005): 349–368; Wietse De Boer, "Professionalization and Clerical Identity," *Dutch Review of Church History* 85: *The Formation of Clerical and Confessional Identities in Early Modern Europe*, eds. Wim Jense, Barbara Pitkin (2005): 369–377; Joseph Bergin, "Between estate and profession: the catholic parish clergy of early modern western Europe," in *Social Orders and Social Classes in Europe since 1500*, ed. M. L. Bush (Hoboken: Routledge, 2014), 66–85; Frans Ciappara, "The Professionalization of the Clergy: Parish Priests in Early Modern Malta," *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* 49/1 (2023): 17–35; Stanisław Witecki, "Clerical Professionalisation and Catholic Enlightenment in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 76/1 (2024): 78–102.

4 I decided to coin the term referring to the Latin word *sacerdos* which means priests, but also bears the meaning of sanctity, and refers to the specificity of the group exercising function of intermediaries between man and the God and therefore having both special powers and obligations. In Polish I tentatively propose new word "sacerdotalizacja."

5 Robert Wiśniowski, *Chrześcijaństwo pierwszych wieków*. T. 1: *Wierni, biskupi, eremici* (Warszawa: Radio Naukowe, 2024).

6 An example from outside the Commonwealth, may be the synod of Trnava (1658) in the Kingdom of Hungary, and modern day Slovakia: Dávid Jablonský, "Selected Examples of Problematic Adoption of Regulations of Hungarian Catholic Synods in the 16th

for laymen compared to professional diligence, so sacerdotal standards were less frequently the cause of conflicts.⁷ In consequence, it was less frequently and less conclusively described and explained by historians. Only direct transgressions against the moral norms of clerical behaviour are an exception to the above rule. Such sins as greed, alcohol abuse, violence and, above all, breaches of celibacy, were noted by bishops' visitors, criticised by other priests during deanery congregations and punished by diocesan courts and deans. All of that left traces in written documents, which were investigated by historians.⁸

Analysis of these practices is important, but offers only selective, judicial portraits. Merely knowing if priests broke the rules does not reveal if their private lives differed from laymen. Hence, understanding Catholic reform requires attention to changes in clerical private lives interpreted as meaningful practices establishing social distinction or sacerdotal identity. To achieve this, I follow cultural studies of everyday life outlined by Erving Goffman, Andrzej Siciński, Pierre Bourdieu, Juri Lotman, and Michel de Certeau.⁹

The article provides a preliminary interpretation of the private life practices of Roman Catholic priests from the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth during its existence from 1569 to 1795.¹⁰ In an attempt to

and 17th Centuries in Religious Practice," *Konstantínove Listy/Constantine's Letters* 10/1 (2017): 222–232.

- 7 Celeste McNamara, „Conceptualizing the Priest: Lay and Episcopal Expectations of Clerical Reform in Late Seventeenth-Century Padua,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 104/1 (2013): 297–320.
- 8 Stanisław Kazimierz Olczak, *Duchowieństwo parafialne diecezji poznańskiej w końcu XVI i w pierwszej połowie XVII w.* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 1990); Andrzej Kopiczko, *Duchowieństwo katolickie diecezji warmińskiej w latach 1525–1821*, cz. 1 (Olsztyn: 2000); Stanisław Litak, *Parafie w Rzeczypospolitej w XVI – XVIII wieku. Struktura, funkcje społeczno-religijne i edukacyjne* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 2004); Ciappara, „Trent and the Clergy,” 1–25; Frans Ciappara, „The Roman Inquisition Revisited: The Maltese Tribunal in the Eighteenth Century,” *The Catholic Historical Review* 103/3 (2017): 437–464; *Prawie wielebni* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Petrus, 2011); Halina Dudała, *Clerus Decanatus Plesnensis. W świetle protokołów kongregacji dekanalnych pszczyńskich z lat 1691–1757. Edycja źródłowa* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Infortedititions, 2015).
- 9 Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life* (New York: Anchor Books, 1959); Andrzej Siciński, „Styl życia – problemy pojęciowe i teoretyczne,” in *Styl życia: koncepcje i propozycje*, ed. Andrzej Siciński (Warszawa: PWN, 1976), 15–32; Juri Lotman, *Rosja i znaki. Kultura szlachecka w wieku XVIII i na początku XIX* (Gdańsk: słowo/obraz terytoria, 2010); Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2010); Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, transl. Steven Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011).
- 10 I purposefully omit the Greek Catholic clergy, as their private lives was fundamentally different due to lack of celibacy. Everyday life of this group has been recently

create an anthropological portrait, the study focused on egodocuments, with special attention given to the writings of Kazimierz Dziuliński, a parish priest in moderately affluent Słaboszów within the diocese of Kraków from 1676 to 1701. His remarkably detailed personal diary¹¹ and parish baptism records enabled a deep qualitative and quantitative analysis of his everyday life.¹² This approach is akin in scope and purpose to the methodologies employed in the three significant anthropological studies of priests' lives, authored by Alan McFarlane and Giovanni Levi and Krzysztof Zamorski.¹³

This article argues that, by the final decades of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, the private lives of priests had come to play a unifying rather than dividing role. Clergy were hierarchically divided and maintained close relationships with laymen according to their rank as well as shared with relative groups many everyday practices, especially feasting and trading. However, the belief in the power of ordination, seminary education, social influence and peer control fostered enough commonality for priests to feel and be perceived as members of a distinguished and relatively elevated group. Generally, at the end of the eighteenth century, priests kept celibacy, exhibited specific nonverbal communication, prayed the breviary, celebrated Mass, wore clerical garb and read religious literature.

Social background and relations

In Poland and Lithuania, as in other places, the clergy formed a highly hierarchical group. Only noblemen were eligible to become canons and bishops, making the position of a parish priest the highest step in the religious career accessible to the sons of peasants and townspeople.

described, Witold Bobryk, *Duchowieństwo unickiej diecezji chełmskiej w XVIII wieku* (Lublin: Towarzystwo Instytutu Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 2005).

11 All information about Dziuliński in this article is referring to his diary: Kazimierz Jan Kanty Dziuliński, „Dziennik potocznych rzeczy i wydatków na różne domowe potrzeby,” Jagiellonian Library in Kraków (JL): Rkps, 2433, 1–73.

12 „Akta urodzonych 1664–1707 i małżeństw 1669–1695,” Archives of Diocese of Kielce (ADK): Słaboszów Parish Documents: sygn. 3.

13 Alan MacFarlane, *The Family Life of Ralph Josselin, a Seventeenth-Century Clergyman. An Essay in Historical Anthropology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970); Giovanni Levi, *Inheriting Power: The Story of an Exorcist* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985); Krzysztof Zamorski, *Pleban i wieś. Historia życia proboszcza teneczyńskiego z początków XVIII wieku. Studium mikrohistoryczne* (Kraków: Universitas, 2025).

The social hierarchy was deepened in seminaries. Affluent students who could finance their education were treated differently by professors, enjoyed significantly better living conditions and meals, and could be certain of having a different career path compared to their financially disadvantaged colleagues.¹⁴

The benefice and patronage system played a crucial role in further restricting the career opportunities for priests of peasant origin.¹⁵ The wealthiest benefices, which allowed for the delegation of duties to assistants, were typically reserved for the nobility. Priests from towns usually began as assistant parish priests (vicars) but had a reasonable chance to advance to the position of parish priests in parishes with moderate and poor benefices. Peasants seldom received any benefices and remained in the positions of vicars, carrying out the tasks assigned by parish priests, who were often of noble origins.¹⁶

There is evidence to suggest that the social origin of priests, and consequently the positions they held, influenced their closest social relations. In general, it can be said, with some risk of oversimplification, that canons and employees of diocesan administration (often the same individuals) maintained close ties with noble courts and urban elites. For instance, Wilhelm Kaliński, a Lazarist and professor of moral theology at the University of Vilnius and cooperator of Bishop Ignacy Massalski of Vilnius, described in the diary his close relations with nobility residing in town, as well as educated burghers, including physicians. Similarly, Józef Kossakowski, a canon of Vilnius Cathedral Chapter and later the bishop of Livonia, recounted in his memoir that his social background enabled him to associate with individuals of high rank and effectively leverage these connections to advance his career.¹⁷

14 Hugo Kołłątaj, „Pamiętnik o stanie Kościoła polskiego katolickiego i o wszystkich innych wyznaniach w Polsce,” in *Stan oświecenia w Polsce w ostatnich latach panowania Augusta III (1750–1764)* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 2003), 207–208; Józef Kossakowski, *Pamiętniki Józefa Kossakowskiego biskupa inflanckiego. 1738–1788*, ed. Adam Darowski (Warszawa: Księgarnia Gebethnera i Wolffa, 1891), 36–37; Jan Kossakowski, „Pamiętnik ks. Jana Nepomucena Kossakowskiego, biskupa wileńskiego,” *Biblioteka Warszawska* 2 (1895): 228–229.

15 Jan Kracik, „Potrydencki system rekrutacji duchowieństwa w diecezji krakowskiej XVI–XVIII wieku,” *Analecta Cracoviensia* 10 (1978): 471–493.

16 Olczak, *Duchowieństwo*, 97–106; Kopiczko, *Duchowieństwo*, 38–44; Litak, *Parafie w Rzeczypospolitej*, 181–86; Jan Szczepaniak, *Duchowieństwo diecezji krakowskiej w XVIII wieku. Studium prozopograficzne* (Kraków: Antykwa, 2010), 165–168; Kracik, *Prawie wielebni*, 47–56; Dudała, *Clerus*, 90–91.

17 Wilhelm Kaliński, *Dziennik 1787–1788*, T. 4. *Archiwum Dziejów Oświaty*, ed. Michał Kurdybacha (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1968); Kossakowski, *Pamiętniki Józefa Kossakowskiego*.

Parish priests typically maintained relations with either the local nobility or the municipal middle class, depending on their place of residence. Ignacy Krasicki, in his novel *Pan Podstoli* [Mr Deputy Pantler], and Józef Kossakowski, in his novel *Ksiądz Pleban* [The Parish Priest], as well as in his memoir, depicted the priests and the local gentry visiting each other during dinners and engaging in leisure activities such as political and cultural discussions and playing cards. In the memoir, an anonymous priest Jan even described having a relationship with his noble patron, which could be called an uneven friendship.¹⁸

The diary of Dziuliński offers an especially detailed account of the social relations of parish priests. Although he did not explicitly disclose his family's social status, it is highly probable that his parents were burghers from one of the small towns in Małopolska. Based on the number and quality of his contacts, his closest friend was Rozalia Omańska, a member of the burgher elite in Kraków. It is possible that they became friends while he was studying at the University of Kraków.¹⁹ Despite the significant distance of around fifty-three kilometres between Ślaboszów parish and Kraków, Dziuliński and Omańska visited each other regularly and sometimes stayed for extended periods. They engaged in trade, exchanged gifts, and, above all, provided assistance to one another during times of trouble. For instance, Omańska took care of Dziuliński when he was sick, and Dziuliński helped arrange a new marriage for Omańska's daughter after her first son-in-law passed away. Their bond was so strong that Omańska's sons even spent their vacations at the parsonage with Dziuliński.

Despite his burgher origins Dziuliński found his place within the community of local gentry. He was regularly chosen to be a godfather at their children's baptisms and officiated at their weddings. One notable instance was when Krzysztof Wielopolski, a nobleman who had recently moved to a nearby village, invited Dziuliński and three other priests for an official dinner. Dziuliński also formed special clientelistic relations with the families of his patron, Stanisław Pieglowski and his brother Jan. They invited him annually for courteous dinners during carnival, and

18 Ignacy Krasicki, *Pan Podstoli*, ed. Krystyna Stasiewicz (Olsztyn: Wyższa Szkoła Pedagogiczna, 1994); Kossakowski, *Pamiętniki Józefa Kossakowskiego*, 45; „Wspomnienia księdza Jana. Urywek ze starego pamiętnika,” *Niwa* 34/335, ed. Bronisław Komierowski (1888): 801–816; *Idem*, „Wspomnienia księdza Jana. Urywek ze starego pamiętnika,” *Niwa* 34/336 (1888): 883–900.

19 Kazimierz Jan Dziuliński (Id: 2003405), in *Corpus Academicum Cracoviense (CAC)*, http://cac.historia.uj.edu.pl/osoba/2003405_Kazimierz_Jan_Dziuli%C5%84ski (access: 2.11.2021).

they also dined with the priest at his parsonage. Additionally, Dziuliński hunted with Jan at least once, and he corresponded privately with Józef, the son of Jan.

The documents written by assistant priests have not survived, and the available data primarily comes from court registers and second-hand accounts. Nevertheless, it seems that unlike parish priests, assistant priests maintained relationships with peasant parishioners who shared similar economic statuses. These relationships were significant as the payment for sacramental services directly impacted the vicars' income. A case illustrating such relations can be found in the protocols of the court of the diocese of Chełm, where a conflict between two assistant priests is described when they participated in a feast at a local peasant's house.²⁰

Priests typically maintained relations with laypeople of similar social rank, but they also forged a sense of community with other priests, regardless of their social position. Mandatory participation in deanery congregations and spiritual retreats served as the primary, though not exclusive, venues for clerical integration. Józef Kossakowski described that after deciding to become a priest, he formed alliances within the clerical order. Jan Kossakowski, who later became the bishop of Vilnius (unrelated to Józef), faced challenges in finding an ecclesiastical position suitable for his social standing, and there was a delay in receiving Holy Orders for several years. Nevertheless, during this time, he already felt a part of the clergy, attempted to give sermons, and primarily associated with other priests, especially those in high offices.²¹

Dziuliński maintained contacts with clergymen from the local area and from Kraków, especially with those who, like him, had graduated from the University of Kraków. What is more, his diary provides valuable insight into the relationships between parish priests and their assistants. On one hand, he employed vicars for specific periods (2–6 years), and entrusted them with the majority of pastoral duties. On the other hand, Dziuliński appointed two of his first cousins, Wojciech Rudzki and Jan Moskalski, to the position of vicars. While relying on their work, he also actively supported their career development and cared about their personal relations. For instance, he travelled to Kraków to participate in the first service of Moskalski and another cousin, Aleksy, whom he also visited to listen to the defence of a master's thesis. Dziuliński also

20 Jan Kracik, *Prawie wielebni*, 148–189; Archives of Archdiocese of Lublin (AAL): Acta Curiae Episcopalis Chelmensis (ACEpC): sygn. rep 60 A 137.

21 Kossakowski, *Pamiętniki Józefa Kossakowskiego*; Kossakowski, „Pamiętnik ks. Jana Nepomucena Kossakowskiego.”

attended the first service of vicar Kazimierz Kręgielski from a nearby parish in Mały Książ, who was related to the parish priest Jan Maruchowicz.

In the novel *Ksiądz Pleban*, Józef Kossakowski illustrated a gulf between parish and assistant priests, by making one priest satirically described in his novel, call his vicar a “spiritual servant.”²² However, based on the diary of Dziuliński, the cultural and social gap between parish and assistant priests may not have been as extreme as the novelist satirically described

Sexuality

Sexuality played a crucial role in distinguishing Catholic priests from other social groups, including clergy of other Christian denominations. While Protestant churches abandoned celibacy, and the Orthodox and Greek-Catholic churches never fully adopted it, the Council of Trent reinforced the longstanding requirement of celibacy. In the Commonwealth, the provincial synod of Piotrków in 1577, reaffirmed this norm, and diocesan synods in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries consistently prohibited the practice of keeping concubines.²³ Celibacy has already been the subject of much research, so here only the general picture will be presented without providing detailed evidence.

At the dawn of the post-Tridentine reforms in the Commonwealth, concubinage, although not in line with the priestly ideal, was socially accepted and did not create significant scandal.²⁴ However, it is important to stress that it was primarily practiced by parish priests and rarely by vicars. Parish priests, with stable income and proper housing, were more able to support families, while vicars relied on modest salaries and uncertain sacramental fees (*iura stolae*). Thus, having concubines was often a matter of possibility rather than conviction. This situation deepened the division between beneficed and non-beneficed clergy at the beginning of the post-Tridentine reform, making the private lives of parish priests more similar to those of their parishioners.

22 AAL, ACEpC: sygn. rep 60 A 137. k. 60–62; Kossakowski, *Ksiądz pleban*, 26.

23 Kopiczko, *Duchowieństwo*, 132–134; Olczak, *Duchowieństwo*, 169–170; Litak, *Parafie w Rzeczypospolitej*, 207–210.

24 The case of Jerzy Anabat, a parish priest of Długobórz in the diocese of Warmia, serves as a compelling illustration, Kopiczko, *Duchowieństwo*, 137–138, 142. Statistical evidence can be found in, Kracik, *Prawie wielebni*, 169–172; Olczak, *Duchowieństwo*, 170–174; Litak, *Parafie w Rzeczypospolitej*, 208–210.

The Church in the Commonwealth took active measures to impose celibacy, going beyond merely reminding priests of the expected ideal. For example, in the diocese of Kraków in 1601, severe penalties were imposed on priests, including suspension, orders to expel concubines and children, compulsory re-education during spiritual retreats, and imprisonment. Although these penalties may not have resulted in immediate changes in the behaviour of convicted priests, they effectively discouraged their successors from following the same path in life.

Decades of pressure exercised by supervisors during visitations and peers during the deanery congregations, as well as the development of seminary education clearly made a difference. Before the end of the eighteenth century, celibacy in the Commonwealth became a fully accepted and practiced social norm.²⁵ This does not imply that there were no instances of sexual misconduct among priests, but rather that revealed violations were treated as serious scandals.²⁶ The success of this reform not only distinguished priests from anybody else but also eliminated one of the most important differences in lifestyles of parish and assistant priests, existing before the post-Tridentine reform.

Feasting

Although the church desired priests to exemplify temperance, the social practice of alcohol consumption undoubtedly tested the boundaries of post-Tridentine sacerdotalisation, as priests' feasting was no different from that of other social groups. In the Commonwealth, as early as 1326, the provincial synod of Archbishop Janisław in Uniejów had already prohibited drunkenness and gluttony among the clergy, especially during feasts, and directly forbade frequenting taverns and inviting others to indulge in drinking. In 1523, the synod of Archbishop Jan Łaski even banned the clergy from making toasts. After the Council of Trent, the prohibition of excessive drinking and visiting taverns was reiterated

25 Very similar tendency is observable in Hungary: Mihalik Béla, „Mérfoldkövek az egri egyházmegye megújulásában. Az 1635. évi jászói és az 1734. évi egri zsinatok,” in *Katolikus zsinatok és nagygyűlések Magyarországon a 16–20. sz. században*, eds. Balogh Margit, Varga Szabolcs and Vértési Lázár (Budapest–Pécs: Pécsi Püspöki Hittudományi Főiskola, Pécsi Egyháztörténeti Intézet és a Magyar Tudományos Akadémia Bölcsészettudományi Kutatóközpontja, 2014), 155–156; Jablonský, „Selected Examples,” 227.

26 Jan Kracik, „Duszpasterstwo parafialne w dekanacie Nowa Góra w pierwszej połowie XVIII wieku,” in *Studia Kościelno-historyczne*, T. II (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Towarzystwa Naukowego Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1977), 216–217; Kopiczko, *Duchowieństwo*, 144; Dudała, *Clerus*, 183–184.

by the provincial synod in 1577, as well as subsequent diocesan synods and pastoral letters.²⁷

Only the prohibition of attending taverns was a norm that was easily evident and straightforward to check, while the call for moderation in alcohol consumption posed questions about what constituted excessiveness. As a result of this ambiguity, along with pressure from the general culture, the effectiveness of the reforms concerning sobriety was much weaker than the reforms related to sexual behaviour. Until the end of the eighteenth century, feasting was not only tolerated but, in numerous cases, expected from priests.

Consumption of alcohol was an integral part of even those events in the lives of priests that were designed to impose special religious standards of behaviour. For example, annual deanery congregations were always accompanied by banquets. Furthermore, deans who did not organize receptions lavish enough were seen as stingy and subjected to strict judgment by their colleagues. The deans of Pszczyna attempted to limit drinking during congregations but without success.²⁸

Feasting was indeed a regular element of pastoral visits. In 1786, Bishops Józef Olechowski, the suffragan bishop of Kraków, and Michał Poniatowski, the archbishop of Gniezno and administrator of the diocese of Kraków, attempted to prohibit this practice, arguing that it caused scandal among the laity. However, how it could be considered scandalous when, as noted by Dziuliński, the priests themselves were invited to feasts by the parishioners. In 1722, when the dean of Pszczyna prohibited drinking during pastoral visits, one of the parish priests replied that nobody could forbid such customary practices.²⁹

Alcohol consumption began to be treated as a social problem only when it led to other unacceptable behaviours. In the documents of episcopal courts, there are descriptions of priests who, under the influence of alcohol, committed blasphemy, theft, assaults, and even murder. However, to be clear, such cases were an exception. Information gathered by visitors, who noted not socially unacceptable misconduct, but alcohol

27 Olczak, *Duchowieństwo*, 167–168.

28 Jan Kracik, „Najstarsze akta kongregacji dekanalnych w archiwum Kurii Metropolitalnej w Krakowie,” *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne* 29 (1974): 261–272; Jędrzej Kitowicz, *Opis obyczajów za panowania Augusta III*, ed. Marek Adamiec, <https://literat.ug.edu.pl/kitowicz/> (access: 30.06.2025); Dudała, *Clerus*, 188.

29 Józef Olechowski, „Zarządzenie odnośnie zachowania duchowieństwa w czasie kolędy,” in Archives of Archdiocese of Kraków (AAK): *Książąt biskupów krakowskich pisma*, k. 681; Michał Poniatowski, *Zalecenie spisania dusz po parafiach i przypomnienie przy tej okoliczności niektórych dawnych przepisów* (Warszawa: 1786); Dudała, *Clerus*, 189.

abuse according to the stricter standards of post-Tridentine reformers, illustrates the real, albeit less severe, extent of the problem.

For instance, during a visitation of the Nowa Góra deanery in 1728, the visiting suffragan, Kunicki, reprimanded four out of twenty-eight priests, accounting for 14 percent of them. In 1748, alcohol abuse was observed among six out of forty-eight priests (thirty-six residing), constituting 16.7 percent. Between 1751 and 1755, usually only one out of the thirty-four priests present in the parishes was reprimanded each year.³⁰

Doing business

The processes of professionalisation and sacerdotalisation often overlapped, but when it came to the requirements regarding earning money, they conflicted with each other. The post-Tridentine Church required priests to refrain from engaging in direct economic activities, particularly physical labour, and admonished them to be modest and generous, while condemning legal wrangling and excessive fees for sacraments. On the other hand, the Church expected benefice holders to professionally take care of church property. In the Commonwealth, if priests were criticized by visitors, it was usually because they neglected parish buildings or did not collect tithes diligently enough. If they were praised, it was often due to church renovations, redecoration, successful court disputes over property, or increased income through investments in agriculture.³¹

Parish priests with significant benefices theoretically could have leased them or hired administrators to free their time and focus on ministry. However, the visitation of the diocese of Płock conducted between 1774 and 1781 shows that significant number of priests did exactly the opposite. They used their surplus earnings to employ assistant priests, directing their own attention towards the proper management of the parish benefice. Interestingly, for numerous priests, engaging in agriculture was not seen as a burdensome obligation but rather as a desirable way of life

30 Kracik, *Prawie wielebni*, 166–67; Olczak, *Duchowieństwo*, 166–168; Kracik, „Duszpasterstwo,” 216.

31 Dariusz Główna, „Akta wizytacji kościelnych z wieków XVI–XVIII jako źródło do historii kultury materialnej: gospodarstwo wiejskie w dobrach parafialnych w archidiecezji warszawskiej,” in *Szkice z dziejów materialnego bytowania społeczeństwa polskiego*, ed. M. Dembińska (Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź–Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1989), 233–254; Tomasz Moskal, „Duchowieństwo dekanatu koprzywnickiego w świetle wizytacji z 1782 r.,” *Archiwa, Biblioteki i Muzea Kościelne* 89 (2008): 321–231.

that provided a great deal of satisfaction. Some known parish chronicles from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries exclusively focused on the collection of tithes, investments in parish folwarks (farms), and the renovations of churches and other buildings.³²

The life of Dziuliński serves as a good illustration of these tendencies. Despite his burgher origin, higher education, and lack of necessity, he actively engaged in various economic activities such as trading oxen, grain, wool, and especially horses. Additionally, Dziuliński invested surplus income in the parish economy by constructing a new bread oven or initiating the production of vodka. He also took it upon himself to renovate the bell tower. He also diligently collected the appropriate tithes.

Clearly, for the majority of parish priests whose benefices did not allow them to employ vicars or land managers, both ministerial and managerial activities were a necessity. This lifestyle, which combined ministry with agricultural responsibilities, was also praised as an ideal by Józef Kossakowski and Ignacy Krasicki. However, while they envisioned harmonious cooperation between priests and parishioners, they also depicted a bitter reality. Laymen often fought with priests over the right to land, refused to pay tithes, and avoided helping with church renovations. In such situations, priests not only had an interest but also an obligation to fight for the church's rights, which inevitably led to conflicts and court trials.³³

In the benefice system based on agriculture, assistant priests led lives least resembling those of landowners. However, their usually modest salaries turned their attention to customary *iura stolae* fees for administering sacraments like baptisms, weddings, and funerals. When impoverished vicars encountered particularly poor parishioners trying to organize these crucial rites of passage, scandalous conflicts erupted. By the end of the eighteenth century, these conflicts became so problematic that bishops established diocesan fee schedules for sacraments. While these

32 Nowa Góra Parish Archives: Monumenta Ecclesiae Novimontis seu Regestra; Niegowić Parish Archives: Liber iurium ecclesiae Niegowicensis; Górką Kościelnicką Parish Archives: Kronika parafii w Górcie Kościelnickiej; Waldemar Kowalski, „ks. Mateusz Sowicki pleban - gospodarz w Niekrasowie drugiej połowy XVIII w.,” *Nasza Przyszłość* 93 (2000): 279–399; Krzysztof Benyskiewicz, „Małachiasz Kramski komendant kościoła w Nowym Kramsku (przel. XVII i XVIII w.),” *Studia Zachodnie* 20 (2018).

33 Kossakowski, *Ksiądz pleban*; Krasicki, *Pan Podstoli*; Wacław Urban, „Wieś a plebania, czyli notatnik plebana z Gdowa z lat 1597–1604,” *Przegląd Historyczny* 83/1 (1992): 93–104; Waldemar Kowalski, „Środowiska parafialne dekanatu jędrzejowskiego doby recepcji ustaw trydenckich,” in *Kościół katolicki w Małopolsce w średniowieczu i we wczesnym okresie nowożytnym*, eds. Waldemar Kowalski, Jadwiga Muszyńska (Kielce, Gdańsk: KTN, Officina Ferberiana, 2001), 237–257.

schedules were designed to prevent scandals, they had further commercialized the relationship between parishioners and priests, undermining the effectiveness of sacerdotalisation.³⁴

Although Frans Ciappara was mistaken in suggesting that priests' preoccupation with earning money contradicted the post-Tridentine requirements of professionalisation, he would be correct in stating that it went against the sacerdotal ideal. The nature of the benefice system inevitably led to conflicts with parishioners over money, which undermined their status as sanctified intermediaries between people and God.³⁵

Piety

The distinction between professionalisation and sacerdotalisation is crucial when discussing the piety of clergy. While priests may have been responsible for organizing worship and had a monopoly on certain religious practices, this alone does not necessarily indicate their level of religiosity. The mere performance of liturgy does not provide a complete picture of their faith.

If we were to judge clerical piety solely based on their engagement in ministerial duties, it might lead to the conclusion that many parish priests with sufficient benefices to employ vicars had a lukewarm faith. However, it is important to consider that delegating duties to assistants was a socially and legally accepted norm for parish priests. Those who did so might have genuinely believed that they were fulfilling their professional duties of parish management and supervision.

An example of this attitude is seen in the case of Dziuliński, who delegated the majority of ministerial duties to his vicars. He personally administered sacraments only to distinguished parishioners or in the absence of vicars, and did not celebrate Mass very often. However, it is evident that he cared deeply about the quality of religious service in his parish. He purchased liturgical garments and equipment and invited renowned preachers to celebrate the feast day of the patron saint, St. Nicholas.³⁶

34 Henryk Karbownik, *Ofiary iura stolae na ziemiach polskich w latach 1285–1918: Studium historycznoprawne* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1995).

35 Ciappara, „The Professionalization of the Clergy,” 22–23.

36 ADK, SPD, sygn. 3.

In his private life, Dziuliński held a special devotion to the cult of saints. He showed reverence to his personal patrons, St. John and St. Casimir, by acquiring their images from an artist in Krakow. However, his strongest devotion was directed towards Wincenty Kadłubek. Dziuliński prayed to him not only during his frequent and severe illnesses but even when his horse fell sick. After experiencing recoveries, he had been undertaking thankful pilgrimages to the sanctuary in Jędrzejów, where the relics of Kadłubek were kept. It is noteworthy that Wincenty Kadłubek was not officially beatified until 1764, however, at the time of Dziuliński, his cult was nevertheless very popular among all social classes.³⁷

Dziuliński was not the only priest who participated in the not-yet-officially approved cult, and priests' belief in the healing power of saints is just one example of how they shared lived religion with the Catholic laity. Until the second half of the eighteenth century, priests, along with other groups, believed in the ubiquity of harmful spells, despite theologians proposing that witchcraft was possible only as a consequence of idolatry and was extremely rare. Moreover, both parish and religious clergy participated in, and even organized, non-liturgical rituals such as nativity and passion play. In the Commonwealth, the banning of such practices was limited to only a few dioceses and occurred at the end of the eighteenth century. Even intellectualist Kaliński described his participation in the traditional visiting of the Tomb of Christ on Good Friday and Holy Saturday.³⁸

If professional diligence says nothing about piety, and lived religion was generally shared with laity, the practice of praying canonical hours was the one that distinguished clergy and therefore contributed to their sacerdotalization. In 1568, Pope Pius V published the Roman Breviary, making it obligatory for all secular priests to pray it daily. This decree was soon embraced by local churches, including those of Poland and

37 Maciej Zdanek, „Kult Wincentego Kadłubka w świetle procesu kanonicznego ‘super cultu immemorabili seu casu excepto’ z lat 1687–1691,” *Cistercium Mater Nostra* 2/2 (2008): 273–300.

38 Tomasz Wiślicz, „Miraculous Sites’ in the Early Modern Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth,” in *Religion und Magie in Ostmitteleuropa. Spielräume theologischer Normierungsprozesse in Spätmittelalter und Früher Neuzeit*, ed. Thomas Wünsch (Berlin: LIT, 2006), 287–299; Jacek Wijaczka, *Wijaczka, Jacek. Kościół wobec czarów w Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku (na tle europejskim)* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton, 2016); Kaliński, *Dziennik 1787–1788*, 22.

Lithuania, which reiterated the call for priests to pray the breviary, under the threat of ecclesiastical punishment.³⁹

It is reasonable to assume that praying canonical hours was a common social practice or, at the very least, a fully accepted norm, violations of which were to be concealed. By the end of the eighteenth century, the breviary had become the most common book in parish libraries in dioceses such as Płock, Kraków, Chełm, and Vilnius. While some priests may have encountered copies left by their predecessors, evidence from last wills indicates that buying a breviary was also a common practice. In the diocese of Płock alone, nineteen priests bequeathed twenty-seven copies of the breviary by the end of the eighteenth century.⁴⁰

The presence of the Roman Breviary, along with other religious texts, in the parsonage of Regulice in the diocese of Kraków, as well as the absence of other books that were clearly not in use, can be considered indirect evidence of the usage of the breviary by the parish priest. Additionally, in the diocese of Poznań at the beginning of the sixteenth century, visitors only found one parish priest who did not possess a copy of the breviary.⁴¹

Cultural consumption

Cultural consumption of the clergy in the Commonwealth resulted in three faceted socio-cultural distinctions. Firstly, it was distinguishing all priests from laymen, secondly it was marking the hierarchical divisions within the clerical order and finally it was communicating their beliefs, especially their attitudes to the new fashions and political ideas. Although clerical income did not determine the cultural consumption, it was certainly affecting it by limiting available choices, and presenting priests with opportunities resembling those of different groups of laity.

Among other consumption practices dressing was clearly dependent on earnings, and in the post-Tridentine Church of the Commonwealth,

39 Ignacy Subera, *Synody prowincjonalne arcybiskupów gnieźnieńskich. Wybór tekstów ze zbioru Jana Wężyka z roku 1761* (Warszawa: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1981), 113.

40 Witecki S. The base of the parochial book collections of the Catholic church in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth during the Stanislaus era: <https://ksiegozbioryparafialne.omnino.com.pl/> (access: 15.07.2023) Dariusz Główka, „Księgozbiory duchowieństwa płockiego w XVIII wieku,” *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 102/2 (1995): 24–25.

41 Jan Kracik, „Biblioteka parafialna a prywatne księgozbiory duchowieństwa. Dekanat Nowa Góra w XVII – XVIII wieku,” *Archiwa, Biblioteki, i Muzea Kościelne* 32 (1976): 268; Olczak, *Duchowieństwo*, 165.

priests were not only accepted but even expected to emphasize their ecclesiastical rank with their clothing. Despite their disposable income, priests also used fashion choices to accentuate personal taste and beliefs. However, on the other hand, the clergy generally adhered to the post-Tridentine regulations of clerical garb, and clothes served as the most obvious signs of clerical identity, contributing significantly to sacerdotalisation.

Unlike some French or Italian reformers who mandated priests to wear cassocks, synods and bishops in the Commonwealth did not specifically encourage clergy to adopt any particular type of clothes. Polish and Lithuanian reformers, however, did order priests to dress modestly, neatly, and tidily in black attire. They also forbade the clergy from wearing short dresses, flowery patterns, and colours such as red, violet, and blue. In certain dioceses, luxury fabrics like silk and clothes such as mantles and rochets were reserved for higher-ranking priests, such as prelates and cathedral canons.⁴²

In the novel *Ksiądz pleban*, Józef Kossakowski satirically described a few types of priests, two of whom did not adhere to the recommended clerical dressing guidelines. The first priest deliberately concealed his ecclesiastical status under the traditional national Polish costume, including clothes like kontusz and żupan. Kossakowski associated such fashion choices with republican ideology, suggesting that this satirized priest signaled his disagreement with the centralized and hierarchical structure of the Church, desiring the clergy to have the same rights as noblemen in the Commonwealth.

The second satirized priest who did not wear clerical garb was a young dean aspiring for the position of a cathedral canon and hoping for a career at the bishop's court. He opted for a modern Western costume, including a vest, frock coat, and wig. Kossakowski associated such clothes not only with careerism but also with a general interest in new economic and political ideas, as well as being up to date with the latest fashions.⁴³ These observations by Kossakowski were in line with the general patterns of Polish literature, which extensively explored the significance conveyed by the opposition of *kontusz* and frock coat.⁴⁴

42 For example it was required by Charles Borromeo the archbishop of Milan and the synod of Bourges in 1608, Dariusz Główna, *Majątek osobisty duchowieństwa katolickiego w Koronie w XVII i XVIII wieku* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Archeologii i Etnologii PAN, 2004), 57–58.

43 Kossakowski, *Ksiądz pleban*, 18–29, 49–57; Główna, *Majątek*, 12, 76–77.

44 Agata Roćko, *Kontusz i frak. O symbolice stroju w XVIII-wiecznej literaturze polskiej* (Warszawa: Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie, 2015).

Last wills prove that there were priests who dressed in Polish traditional costume, but they were an insignificant minority. Out of 342 documents analysed by Dariusz Główka, the *żupan* was mentioned only three times, and the *kontusz* twice. Furthermore, Dziuliński's diary described a few occasions of buying such costumes for his servants, raising the possibility that the traditional secular Polish dresses mentioned in clerical wills might not have been worn by priests. Westernisation of clerical garb was noticed and banned by Feliks Turski, the bishop of Kraków,⁴⁵ however, the real scale of the problem was not significant. Frock coats appeared only in the second half of the eighteenth century, and only one-tenth of priests had chosen them. Wigs were present in just two wills.⁴⁶ Although it seems that neither priests wearing westernized nor traditional secular clothes were irreligious, their fashion choices were communicating their unorthodox views about the church from within the church, and if more popular, would certainly undermine the sacerdotalisation.

According to last wills and the recollections of Kitowicz, the majority of priests were dressing in black and in a way that clearly communicated their clerical position. Additionally, priests were generally wearing cassocks, even though there was no precise requirement to do so. The definition of moderation in dresses was evidently ambiguous, leading to debates and conflicts. Priests attempted to present and elevate their status with the quality of fabric, craftsmanship of canes, and the presence of jewelry. They played a subtle game, not explicitly breaking the ideal of hierarchical moderation. The safest way to legally communicate their social position was to wear clothes or accessories allowed only for certain offices. Kitowicz described that from the reign of August III, canons were receiving orders in the shape of a star with the national coat of arms on one side and the image of the patron of the cathedral church on the other. This decoration was so desirable that priests sought even purely nominal affiliation with the chapter in order to gain the right to wear them.⁴⁷

Other socially distinctive, cultural practice was reading. Most of the parish priests and vicars in the Commonwealth primarily read books that were useful in performing their professional duties, which set them apart from the laity and contributed to sacerdotalisation. However, similar to clothing, there were social and ideological differences within the broader context of professional priestly libraries.

45 Feliks Turski, *Edictum de veste talari ab universo Clero Seculari Diaecesis Cracoviensis semper in publico ferenda* (Kraków, 1791).

46 Główka, *Majątek*, 12, 76–77, 88, 99.

47 *Ibidem*, 55–110; Kitowicz, *Opis obyczajów*.

During synods and in pastoral letters, Polish and Lithuanian reformers recommended priests to acquire books necessary for their ministerial duties, such as the Bible, catechisms, sermon collections, hagiographic books, and moral theology handbooks. Liturgical books, on the other hand, were meant to be bought for the parishes and not for personal reading by the priests.

From the sixteenth century onward, the presence of liturgical books in the possession of priests was not a significant issue, and they generally had volumes that were useful for teaching faith and hearing confessions. This professional characteristic of parish libraries is not surprising. However, the last wills demonstrate that private libraries were not much different in terms of their content, consisting mostly of volumes practical for performing ministerial duties.⁴⁸

In the novel *Ksiądz pleban*, Kossakowski associated certain books with aspirations or affiliation with the court elite or local gentry society. The ambitious dean mentioned in the novel, possessed works by contemporary authors like Voltaire, Franciszek Bohomolec, and Jean Baptiste Massillon. Interestingly, he did not actually read these books but kept them as visible evidence of erudition, using them to enhance his image.

Books on history, philosophy, and natural sciences were linked by Kossakowski to a former member of a scholarly religious order, most likely a Jesuit. This individual read these books for personal satisfaction, aiming to combat ignorance and superstition. Additionally, reading such works helped to maintain a good reputation and build friendships with neighbouring nobles, as priests generally shared their education in the Jesuit and Piarist colleges with these elite individuals.⁴⁹

Both types of book culture certainly existed among the parish clergy, yet they attracted the minority of clergy. Among the twenty priests whose wills were examined by Główna, only seven had any books on secular

48 Hieronim Wyczawski, „Biblioteki parafialne w diecezji krakowskiej u schyłku XVI wieku,” *Polonia Sacra* 6–7 (1953–154): 114–142; Kracik, „Biblioteka”; Główna, „Księgozbiory”; Joanna Szady, *Księgozbiory parafialne w prepozyturze wiślickiej w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku* (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego Jana Pawła II, Katolicki Uniwersytet Lubelski Jana Pawła II, 2008); Tomasz Moskal, *Biblioteki parafialne w archidiakonacie sandomierskim w XVIII w.* (Sandomierz: Wydawnictwo Diecezjalne, 2005); Stanisław Witecki, „Oświecony katolicyzm trydencki. Księgozbiory duchowieństwa parafialnego diecezji płockiej w okresie pontyfikatu bp Michała Jerzego Poniatowskiego,” *Wiek Oświecenia* 33 (2017): 149–186; Stanisław Witecki, *Przekaz kulturowy w parafiach katolickich Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów czasów stanisławowskich* (Kraków: Towarzystwo Naukowe Societas Vistulana, 2018), 167–196, 217–230, 245–257, 272–276.

49 Kossakowski, *Ksiądz pleban*, 10–29.

topics, accounting for a mere 7.6 percent of all copies. Moreover, among them, primarily rhetoric textbooks and dictionaries were found, with historical books being less frequent, and only one book each on geography and medicine. These compositions were significantly different from the book collections of the nobility, which were rich in history, socio-political writings, belle-lettres, along with pious books.⁵⁰

Customs concerning dwelling and eating where among the factors that undermined the process of sacerdotalisation. Not only was there nothing like the special priestly house architecture, furniture, or cuisine, but all of these things also contributed to the distinctions within the clerical estate. The consequences of the dynamic changes of customs in the eighteenth century were picturesquely described by Kitowicz. His rich body of detailed observations can be boiled down to a few more general changes, as described by historians of private life.⁵¹

In the latter half of the eighteenth century, houses, furniture, and food choices remained crucial for communicating social status. However, the focus shifted from merely displaying the quantity, size, and cost of goods to making an impression through refined taste and staying up to date with ever-changing fashion. Wealthy and fashionable individuals distinguished themselves by replacing old tapestries with delicate wallpapers and trading gold and silver chalices for porcelain cups. Additionally, they supplemented traditional alcoholic beverages like spirits, wine, and beer with caffeinated drinks such as coffee, tea, and chocolate.

Observations made by Kitowicz concerned mainly the nobility, but the analysis of goods described in the last wills and posthumous inventories conducted by Główska confirms that these changes also occurred among more affluent parish priests. Józef Kossakowski, in the novel *Ksiądz Pleban*, noticed that such consumption patterns depended not only on the affluence of the parish priests but also on their ambitions to

50 Helena Bogdanow, „Literatura społeczno-polityczna jako wyraz zainteresowań szlachty krakowskiej w XVIII wieku,” *Studia o książce* 3 (1973): 345–374; Helena Bogdanow, „Literatura piękna jako wyraz zainteresowań szlachty krakowskiej w XVIII wieku,” *Studia o książce* 5 (1975): 129–159; Helena Bogdanow, „Piśmiennictwo religijne w księgozbiorach szlachty krakowskiej w XVIII wieku jako wyraz jej zainteresowań czytelniczych,” in *Problemy kultury literackiej polskiego Oświecenia*, ed. Teresa Kostkiewiczowa (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1978), 83–118; Helena Bogdanow, „Piśmiennictwo historyczne w księgozbiorach szlachty krakowskiej w XVIII wieku jako wyraz jej zainteresowań czytelniczych,” *Roczniki Biblioteczne* 27 (1984): 117–58; Główska, „Księgozbiory.”

51 Kitowicz, *Opis obyczajów*; Phillippe Ariès, Georges Duby, *A History of Private Life, Volume III, Passions of the Renaissance*, ed. Roger Chartier, transl. Arthur Goldhammer (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 1989); Witold Rybczyński, *Dom. Krótka historia idei* (Gdańsk–Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Marabut, Oficyna Wydawnicza Volumen, 1996).

serve in worldly bishop courts and stay up to date with the latest fashion. It was the dean and wannabe canon who was depicted as treating guests with tea, coffee, and chocolate. From the physiocratic point of view, Kossakowski criticized this consumption of imported goods and praised the idealized priest for producing food or buying locally from markets.⁵²

An unequivocally negative assessment of the consumption of imported goods was given by priest Jan. In his memoir written after 1794, he described a visit by Canon Konstanty Kuszel, who was dissatisfied with the provincial cuisine, drinks, and accommodation. Priest Jan condemned his customs as vain, excessively extravagant, and offensive to God – a reflection of the mores typical of the capital city of Warsaw. Similar sentiments can be found in popular novels written by Ignacy Krasicki, such as *Pan Podstoli*. Clearly, the customs of dwelling and eating were creating social distinctions within the clerical estate, but they were also seen as indicative of the tension between a pious, conservative province and a modernized and secularized centre.⁵³

Nonverbal communication

Manner of speaking, posture, gestures, and facial expressions, often leave little trace in written accounts, and as a result, historians tend to overlook them. However, these culturally relative and learned methods of nonverbal communication played a significant role in shaping a distinctive clerical identity. Hugo Kołłątaj, in his memoirs, highlighted that nonverbal communication was cultivated in seminaries and played a pivotal role in setting priests apart from the wider society. Alumni from schools run by different religious orders displayed distinct countenances, enabling them to be identified. For instance, students from Lazarist schools were characterised by modesty in speech and “a superficial outward bearing as meticulously arranged and prescribed (...) as military tactics.”⁵⁴

Józef Kossakowski's memoirs further exemplify the impact of seminary education on nonverbal communication. Upon graduating from the Lazarist seminary in Warsaw, he adopted a clerical manner of behaviour. However, this unintended consequence of his education became evident to Kossakowski when he returned to court politics and was taken aback

52 Główna, *Majątek*, 111–196; Kossakowski, *Ksiądz pleban*, 18–29.

53 Komierowski, „Wspomnienia”; Krasicki, *Pan Podstoli*.

54 „układność powierzchowna tak dobrze ułożona i przepisana (...) jak taktyka dla żołnierzy.” Kołłątaj, „Pamiętnik,” 205–206.

by the perception that such mannerisms were viewed as mere hypocrisy by the elite. The mockery he faced led him to reluctantly abandon this style of being.⁵⁵ Later, in his novel, Kossakowski praised the idealised priest who “did not artificially lower his gaze, fold his hands in a pretentious manner, or engage in elaborate and self-indulgent displays of piety, his modesty, politeness, prudence, and priestly spirit seemed most pleasant in their inherent simplicity.”⁵⁶

Both Kossakowski and Kołłątaj described the clerical way of being, more or less critically. However, judging by their recollections, priests functioning in the parish environment did not have a reason to abandon the clerical manner, as it suited their public image of the good priest. This indicates that seminaries had succeeded in implementing the program of post-Tridentine sacerdotalization through the means of indirect enculturation.

Conclusion

Despite some tendencies holding back sacerdotalisation, in general the changes in clerical private lives were more profound than those in professional activities. Surely, they had affected all priests, while the requirement to work, until the end of the eighteenth century omitted a significant minority consisting of higher clergy and affluent parish priests. Although priests were hierarchically divided, on the whole their lifestyle was sufficiently distinguished to create the commonality which overcame internal distinction.

The benefice and patronage system, along with post-Tridentine legislation, which was similar across Catholic states, suggests that changing private lives of priests were likely successful not only in the Commonwealth. However, this hypothesis needs proper testing, enabled by the distinction between professionalisation and sacerdotalisation. Enriching the picture of the latter could be achieved by analysing other source materials. Notably, last wills are particularly promising, not only for understanding cultural consumption. The size of assets left to ecclesiastical institutions and the poor has been shown to be crucial for analysing

55 Kossakowski, *Pamiętniki Józefa Kossakowskiego*, 71.

56 Kossakowski, *Ksiądz pleban*, 63.

beliefs about the afterlife in dioceses like Lyon and Malta, and similar research should be replicated in other locations.⁵⁷

To comprehend the evolving forms of clerical piety, it would also be beneficial to examine the popularity of various saints and religious orders to which priests bequeathed their possessions. Additionally, purposeful choices made by individuals to whom priests left their money and goods would enable statistical analysis of the clerical social networks. This analysis would reveal with whom they traded, befriended, and the importance of their family relations. Such investigations can provide valuable insights into the changing dynamics of clerical life and piety during that period.

Finally, the concept of sacerdotalisation can and should be applied to the study of the clergy beyond the post-Tridentine period. An especially interesting area of inquiry would be the examination of changes in their private lives following the abolishment of the benefice and patronage system. It not only played a significant role in professionalising clergy but also resulted in more equal clerical incomes and reduced the direct influence of social background on ecclesiastical rank, which likely influenced the shape of clerical private lives.

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Constructing a Hybrid Memoryscape. Hungarian Topography of Memory in Habsburg Galicia During the First World War

**Konstruowanie hybrydowego pejzażu pamięci.
Węgierska topografia pamięci w habsburskiej
Galicji podczas I wojny światowej**

Abstract

This article examines the cultural and spatial practices of commemorating Hungarian soldiers in Galicia during the First World War, focusing on the Battle of Łapanów–Limanowa (2–12 December 1914) and two competing models of remembrance within the Habsburg Monarchy: national and imperial ones. The battle, a rare military success on the Eastern Front, was quickly appropriated by Hungarian propaganda and turned into a symbol of heroism, sacrifice, and national identity. Commemoration began during the war itself, unfolding in two parallel frameworks: the Hungarian national narrative, glorifying and heroizing the soldiers, and the imperial narrative, which sought to sacralize the fallen within a supranational vision of dynastic unity. The first part analyzes Hungarian wartime narratives produced by correspondents and a military physician, showing how their accounts framed the battle as an act of sacrifice and brotherhood,

transforming trauma into national myth. The second part focuses on imperial commemorative practices, particularly the construction of the war cemetery on Jabłoniec Hill near Limanowa, designed under Habsburg administration. Although an imperial initiative, the cemetery emphasized the role of Hungarian soldiers, symbolically highlighting their contribution to defending the monarchy. These practices aimed to strengthen imperial cohesion by honoring all constituent peoples and reinforcing loyalty to Vienna. Former battlefields thus became contested memoryscapes where imperial and national narratives intersected.

Keywords: First World War, Hungary, Galicia, remembrance, wartime narratives, war cemeteries.

Abstrakt

Artykuł analizuje kulturowe i przestrzenne praktyki upamiętniania węgierskich żołnierzy w Galicji podczas I wojny światowej, koncentrując się na bitwie pod Łapanowem–Limanową (2–12 grudnia 1914) i dwóch konkurujących modelach pamięci w monarchii habsburskiej: narodowym i imperialnym. Bitwa, będąca jednym z nielicznych sukcesów militarnych na froncie wschodnim, została szybko zawłaszczona przez węgierską propagandę i przekształcona w symbol bohaterstwa, ofiary i tożsamości narodowej. Proces upamiętniania rozpoczął się już w trakcie wojny i rozwijał się równolegle w dwóch narracjach: węgierskiej, gloryfikującej żołnierzy, oraz imperialnej, sakralizującej poległych w duchu ponadnarodowej jedności dynastii. Pierwsza część omawia węgierskie relacje wojenne autorstwa korespondentów i lekarza wojskowego, ukazujące bitwę jako akt poświęcenia i braterstwa, przekształcający traumę w mit narodowy. Druga część skupia się na praktykach imperialnych, zwłaszcza budowie cmentarza wojennego na wzgórzu Jabłoniec koło Limanowej, zaprojektowanego przez administrację habsburską. Choć była to inicjatywa imperialna, mocno podkreślano w niej rolę Węgrów, symbolicznie akcentując ich wkład w obronę monarchii. Praktyki te miały wzmacniać spójność imperium i lojalność wobec Wiednia. Dawne pola bitew stały się przestrzeniami pamięci, gdzie krzyżowały się narracje narodowe i imperialne.

Słowa kluczowe: pierwsza wojna światowa, Węgry, Galicja, upamiętnienie, narracje wojenne, cmentarze wojenne.

Introduction

During the First World War, the battlefields of East-Central Europe witnessed the clash of multiethnic imperial armies. On the Eastern Front,

soldiers of the Austro–Hungarian Empire and the German Reich stood against the forces of the Russian Empire. These confrontations were not only military operations but also moments of symbolic significance, where the deaths of soldiers – especially in the early stages of the war – became instrumental in shaping emerging cultures of mourning and public memory. The commemoration of the fallen served dual purposes: it emphasized imperial humanitarianism and military sacrifice, while also cultivating patriotic loyalty among the empire’s diverse citizenry. This dynamic was clearly visible in Galicia, a key theatre of operations on the Eastern Front, where multiethnic imperial units clashed with Russian forces. In the opening months of the war, Russian troops occupied Lemberg (Lwów), besieged the fortress of Przemyśl, which, surrounded by enemies, fell in March 1915,¹ and advanced towards Kraków, which, as a fortress, had a defensive role in protecting Vienna. At the beginning of December 1914, the Austro–Hungarian Army launched the Łapanów–Limanowa operation (2–12 December), which successfully repelled the Russian threat from the approaches to Kraków. Hungarian military units played a significant role in this victory, and their actions were quickly appropriated into Hungarian national propaganda and the mythologization of heroic sacrifice.

This article investigates the construction of memory surrounding the Battle of Limanowa during the First World War and does so through two different commemorative frameworks: the Hungarian nationalizing narrative and the Austrian imperial model. The first part analyzes textual sources, mainly wartime accounts, that reinterpreted the battlefield experience from the perspective of Hungarian heroism. Although the battle was fought by multiethnic Habsburg forces, Hungarian narratives reframed it as a national myth, emphasizing the sacrifice of Hungarian units and appropriating Limanowa as a symbolic site of national identity. Since these texts were published during the war, they are saturated with propaganda and present only those narratives that were permitted for public distribution – an aspect that will also be addressed in this analysis. The second part examines the Austrian state’s efforts to institutionalize commemoration through mechanisms such as the War Graves Office by constructing military cemeteries and monuments. These aimed to transform the battlefield into a network of orderly, sacralized cemeteries that served as a supranational space of mourning and instrument of

1 Cf. Alexander Watson, *The Fortress: The Great Siege of Przemyśl* (London: Allen Lane, 2023); John E. Fahe, *Przemyśl, Poland: A Multiethnic City During and After a Fortress, 1867–1939* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2023).

loyalty and belonging, according to pre-war traditions, in which ceremonies (including funerary rites, commemorative events, and monument unveilings) were carefully choreographed and served an integrative function, offering a narrative of shared loyalty to the monarchy. They created spaces of political community among the empire's diverse nationalities and functioned as public performances of imperial belonging.² The juxtaposition of national and imperial modes highlights the fragmentation of wartime memory within the Habsburg realm and reveals the varied ways multinational soldiers perceived their contribution to the war. While the Viennese authorities aimed to centralize symbolic meaning, Hungarian actors promoted a narrative of heroic distinctiveness focused on defending Hungary. The case of Limanowa illustrates how both cultural and spatial practices of commemoration were shaped by broader struggles over identity and sovereignty within a crumbling imperial framework. The former battlefield was transformed into a site of memory intended to serve both a national narrative and an imperial one, particularly through commemorative architecture. This example enables an analysis of how sites of memory, as theorized by Jay Winter, became arenas of narrative contestation, where multiethnic battlefields were reimagined as unambiguously national commemorative spaces.³ Limanowa was also deliberately chosen as an example, as considerable attention in the memory landscape has been devoted to Przemyśl, while significantly less has been given to the cultural references surrounding the commemoration and heroization of those who fell during the Łapanów–Limanowa operation in December 1914.

This article argues that, in the context of intensifying nationalism before the Great War, the aim of memory-making was no longer solely the integration of remembrance under the banner of imperial unity. Instead, there was an increasingly explicit articulation of national distinctiveness in the construction of wartime narratives and commemorations of the dead. A crucial role was played here by peripheral actors – war correspondents, soldiers, and the families of the fallen – whose agency actively shaped the landscapes of memory, often independently of central political projects, and who were not merely passive recipients of top-down imperial commemorative practices. As Pieter M. Judson has

2 In this matter cf. research by: Daniel L. Unowsky, *The Pomp and Politics of Patriotism: Imperial Celebrations in Habsburg Austria, 1848–1916* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2005); see also: *Staging the Past: The Politics of Commemoration in Habsburg Central Europe, 1848 to the Present*, eds. Maria Bucur, Nancy M. Wingfield (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2001).

3 Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning* (Cambridge University Press, 1995).

shown, the empire's cohesion was sustained not through uniformity but through negotiated pluralism, which nonetheless left space for competing national agendas, especially in moments of crisis.⁴ While István Deák demonstrated that the imperial military system functioned as a tool of integration, fostering a shared imperial identity, he also acknowledged that the experience of war and the process of mobilization frequently reinforced national solidarity and a sense of ethnic belonging, with loyalty to the empire remaining fundamentally conditional.⁵ These studies help contextualize the memory conflicts examined in this article, particularly the tension between Viennese attempts at imperial commemoration and the Hungarian appropriation of battle narratives as national myth. Mark Cornwall likewise demonstrates that the Habsburg Monarchy's efforts to maintain cohesion through wartime propaganda and symbolic politics were systematically undermined by emerging national narratives, which redefined loyalty and sacrifice in ethnic rather than imperial terms. In a time of imperial erosion during the war, grassroots narrators (though still monitored by censorship) reframed acts of combat as national rather than necessarily imperial deeds.⁶

From profane to sacred: Miklós Lázár and Hungarian heroization

Before acts of combat could attain the status of heroic deeds inscribed in national mythology, an interpretative and transmissive mechanism was required – one that functioned as a catalyst in the formation of collective memory. The actual events on the battlefield, recorded in staff reports and accessible only to a narrow circle of military decision-makers, had to be transformed into messages comprehensible and persuasive to the broader public. In this process, war correspondents played a pivotal role – not only in reporting from the front but also in actively co-constructing the official wartime narrative. Although their work was subject to strict censorship, this selective mode of communication fostered the emergence of a unified, heroic image of war that aligned with the expectations of state

4 Cf. Pieter M. Judson, *Habsburg Empire. A new History* (Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2016).

5 Cf. István Deák, *Beyond Nationalism: A Social and Political History of the Habsburg Officer Corps, 1848–1918* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

6 Mark Cornwall, *The Undermining of Austria–Hungary: The Battle for Hearts and Minds* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000).

propaganda.⁷ Narratives of this kind left no room for a comprehensive depiction of the war; they did not address the actions committed by soldiers of their own army against civilian populations – acts that are well documented in numerous wartime sources and have been thoroughly analysed by contemporary historians.⁸ The war was therefore not only a military conflict, but also a great war of lies and a struggle over the interpretation of reality, in which disinformation and the solemn narrative of soldiers' sacrifice served to mobilize society and legitimize the state order, which remained under a state of exception (*Ausnahmezustand*). The heroization of soldiers' actions was the result of carefully orchestrated messaging, in which the war correspondent became one of the key agents, publishing observations in the press or as monographs.⁹ Beyond shaping loyal and disciplined military attitudes within the monarchy's forces, such narratives played a vital role in the construction of national stories. Within the Habsburgs' multiethnic armies, the bravery of soldiers from particular national groups was highlighted in selected acts of courage – an effort not only to legitimize their participation in the war, but also to reinforce national pride and mobilize the national community on the home front. These narratives thus served an integrative and identity-building function within a multiethnic empire and in the context of a total war, which demanded mass participation and emotional identification with the military effort – producing, in effect, a hybrid form. In this part of the article, we examine the work of selected war correspondents who, during their stay in Galicia, described the heroic deeds of Hungarian soldiers fighting in the Austro-Hungarian army, focusing primarily on the Battle of Limanowa–Łapanów, fought between 2 and 12 December 1914.

7 This is, moreover, a ubiquitous process, observable regardless of whether one refers to the First World War or other conflicts of the twentieth century. On this topic, see for example: Phillip Knightley, *The First Casualty: The War Correspondent as Hero and Myth-Maker from the Crimea to Kosovo*, 1975, Revised edition, 2000.

8 Cf. Tomasz Pudłocki, "Honwedzi czy Hunowie? Obraz Węgrów w społeczeństwie galicyjskim 1914–1918 – pamięć a rzeczywistość," *Rocznik Przemyski. Historia* 54/1 (21) (2018): 59–70; Piotr Szlanta, "Najgorsze bestie to są Hondy. Ewolucja stosunku polskich mieszkańców Galicji do monarchii habsburskiej podczas I wojny światowej," in *Galicyjskie Spotkania 2011*, ed. Urszula Jakubowska (Zabrze: 2011), 161–179.

9 In this matter see more, eg.: *War, Journalism and History. War Correspondents in the Two World Wars*, eds. Yvonne T. McEwen, Fiona A. Fiskien (Oxford–Berlin–New York: Peter Lang, 2012); Tim Luckhurst, "War Correspondents", in 1914–1918-online. *International Encyclopedia of the First World War*, eds. Ute Daniel, Peter Gatrell, Oliver Janz, Heather Jones, Jennifer Keene, Alan Kramer and Bill Nasson (Berlin: Freie Universität Berlin, 2016).

Miklós Lázár, a 28-year-old war correspondent during the war, also devoted some attention to the cult of Limanowa in his narrative.¹⁰ His narrative begins virtually with his departure for the front, where, already during the journey, he shares his reflections with the reader – making it clear that he is not a tabula rasa and that, despite his role as a reporter, he will not always be able to maintain full objectivity in his account. This is exemplified by his remark:

The journalist swears to be honest and straightforward. Yet if, at times, a beating heart reveals itself in his words, and if tears of joy or sorrow overcome his strict impartiality, let that serve as his excuse – for never before has he felt so deeply and with such love that he is a Hungarian (...) Let us be proud of our Hungarian spirit. I saw Austrian officers, blushing and with misty eyes, expressing their admiration for us. It took a world war for them to realize that we are the backbone of the monarchy. This journey has helped me understand the freedom struggles of Rákóczi and Kossuth – now rewritten anew. The Hungarian people go to war as if to a wedding. The soldiers wear the jewels of national identity – they are wise, sober, determined, with small bouquets in their caps, and the echoes of their songs resound even in the damp tunnels.¹¹

While travelling through Hungary and then across various towns in western Galicia from late August 1914 onward, Lázár constructed a narrative grounded in his observation of landscapes, processes, and, above all, the people he encountered along the way. He commented on their physiognomy, mental states, and emotions. He reflected on the economic condition of Galicia, described Russian prisoners of war, and included dialogues held with them. In doing so, the author attempted to present to his readers every observable aspect of the war and the individuals entangled in it. However, his narrative was shaped by the methodological limitation mentioned earlier – he was unable to portray the full brutality of war. His account omits references to the losses of his own units or the setbacks experienced by the Austro-Hungarian army, which were present from the very outset of the war. There is no space for stories of mass expulsions of civilians; instead, he merely notes deserted towns. Although the correspondent drew on his own observations and censored newspapers, he does not depict the suffering of his fellow soldiers, their sorrow, or homesickness. On the contrary, by describing *Kriegsbegeisterung*, he propagandistically portrays war as joy – a joyful and unifying

10 Cf. Miklós Lázár, *Fronton* (Budapest: 1915).

11 *Ibidem*, 5–6.

experience for the empire's subjects. In this respect, his account aligns with the canonical narrative of war permitted by state authorities.

The tone of the narrative shifts when Lázár turns to his account of Limanowa, which he later described as "the bloodiest battle of the war." In this section of his war correspondence, he constructs a notably heroic representation of this segment of the front, likely informed by national sentiment – a dimension that will be addressed in more detail below. The chapter opens with a sombre and enigmatic depiction of war. As he observes:

This is not a peace-time train, vanishing into the night like a golden ribbon. Its path is clear – there is no train ahead or behind – yet it moves cautiously, groping its way forward like a man not yet accustomed to the dark. This uncertain train is heading toward Nowy Sącz. We are its passengers – war correspondents. No one knows how long we will travel like this. Some say as far as Chabówka or Marcinkowice. Twilight falls, stars appear in the sky, yet the surroundings feel terrifying and full of secrets. Children are not playing near the ditches; wandering journeymen and cart drivers on their way to market no longer wave their caps or handkerchiefs at us. The railway line feels like an abandoned child, exiled by a stepmother into the night. The railway posts – those lanterns that flickered half-asleep – have gone dark, now resembling charred wicks, burned to the end (...) It may already be midnight. Frost and mist draw fantastic shapes on the windowpanes. Just six months ago – or even less – a passenger with a cigar in his mouth, stretched out on a comfortable seat, could interpret these white riddles however he pleased: one saw the outline of a woman's face, another thought of sleeping children, yet another frightened himself with the image of a beloved lying in repose on a catafalque. Today, millions of weary eyes see only battlefields, meadows steaming with blood, charging lancers, white puffs of shrapnel, a soldier clutching his chest, releasing his rifle, and falling face-first into the trench. Even the landscapes – once enchanting – have lost their innocent charm. On the slopes of hills, where the setting sun moves like a bloody tongue, we spot concealed artillery. Between the bare branches of winter forests, machine guns lie in wait.¹²

In this way, the correspondent stationed in Galicia serves not only as a source of information for his readers but, more importantly, as a medium of cultural memory and affective representation of the war. The narrator contrasts the memory of peace – still vivid just a few months earlier – with the vision of a dehumanized, militarized world, in which the railway, once a symbol of modernity and comfortable travel, becomes

12 *Ibidem*, 59–60.

a metaphor for exile, disorientation, and fear. The landscape, previously perceived as aesthetic and secure, loses its innocence, becoming a space contaminated by violence. The transformation of the “fantastic shapes” appearing on the frosted windows – from outlines of female faces to visions of death and battlefield horror – reveals how profoundly war alters the perception of everyday reality. This reflects not so much direct trauma as its aesthetic prefiguration: an emotional condition of a society immersed in the realities of total war, in which even ordinary sensory experiences are dominated by fear, violence, and imagery of death. This omnipresent death is further emphasized through descriptions of scattered unburied bodies, exhumations, and the search for soldiers’ corpses, as well as the prevalence of graves of the fallen. To stimulate the readers’ imagination, Lázár includes the description of a mass grave located near the railway station in Limanowa, marked by the inscription: “Here rests János Szabó, corporal of the 20th Infantry Regiment, with three comrades.”¹³ The narrative of the former battlefield permeates every page of Lázár’s war correspondence:

I cross a ditch and walk uphill to view the field of the Limanowa slaughter from above. But how to proceed, when the path is blocked by three soldiers’ bodies – one hussar, two old Austrian reservists? They lie on their backs, faces to the sky, cold and aloof. What could possibly concern them now? They have passed through everything – agony and death. Their faces are smooth – not serene, but calm, at peace. There is no need to look far – hundreds of dead Russians lie along the trenches. The December night has frozen their uniforms; they have not changed since death.¹⁴

Miklós Lázár describes a “Totenlandschaft,” a motif that would later become ubiquitous in other narratives. This serves to further emphasize the soldiers’ sacrifice.¹⁵ At the same time, he offers modes of aestheticizing death and simultaneously nationalizing suffering, in which fallen compatriots are depicted as noble and serene – often named – while the enemy remains an anonymous mass. The post-battle landscape becomes a site of memory, where violence is muted and death is inscribed into a framework of contemplation and sacrifice. Rather than deconstructing the horror of war, the author domesticates it – through metaphor, the softening of corporeal imagery, and a silence surrounding brutality. This mode of

¹³ *Ibidem*, 62.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*.

¹⁵ About this term in the context of WW1 cf.: Sabina Tanović, *Designing Memory. The Architecture of Commemoration in Europe, 1914 to the Present* (Cambridge: 2019), 21.

representation reinforces a shared national emotional community and transforms trauma into a component of collective memory. This function is also evident in the next chapter of his Galician war correspondence, titled tellingly: "How a Hungarian Hussar Dies at Limanowa." The entry, dated 18 December 1914, offers another emotionally charged battlefield scene, presenting the apotheosis of the death of the 28-year-old hussar József T. (notably the same age as the correspondent himself):

I sit at the edge of a trench on the battlefield near Limanowa. The blue of the clear sky smiles down on me between the dry branches of two old birch trees, and in front of me, on the bare ground, lies a dead Hungarian hussar. For two days and nights now, his bed has been the clay soil of Galicia, and a molehill his pillow. He is a hussar of the Nádasdy regiment, a brave soldier of the Royal 9th Regiment, Corporal József T... Can you hear me? Far from your homeland, a Hungarian son bids you farewell (...) That's how I ended up here, at the edge of this trench. I met József T. early in the morning, and now the sun is at its zenith. He lies exactly as before – dead, motionless by his own will. I shook him – I thought he had fallen asleep, tired, lying on his back. I looked around – there are four of us: on either side of the hussar lie two Russian soldiers, face down. The corporal lies on his back, head raised proudly, arms placed along the red stripes of his trousers, legs straight in attention. I bend over his face – his small brown moustache charmingly curled, his hair neatly combed and pomaded, freshly shaved – a handsome Hungarian lad, as if crafted by the good Lord at the bottom of a fragrant, soft sheaf. If only his eyes were open – perhaps I could read from them what he thought, what hurt most in that final moment when the Russian bullet pierced his chest. His face is yellowish, lips parted, white teeth gleaming – his last breath has escaped – where is it now? Perhaps it turned into a white dove, pecking at grain... His sabre and rifle were taken, but his fur coat still rests on his shoulders, his blue uniform is clean and fitted, and over his heart a small burn – no larger than a wedding ring – marks the spot where death sealed him as its bridegroom. His comrades unbuttoned his coat – under two shirts and a woollen sweater, his darkening blood has congealed. His white csákó, with its black band, rolled into the trench – I pick it up, wipe it clean, and place it by his head. On the plume, a narrow ribbon in national colours and a gilded medallion bearing the images of our king and Emperor Wilhelm.¹⁶

Lázár proceeds to interpret the circumstances of the hussar's death based on gathered testimonies. He recounts the beginning of the attack and the first casualties – a captain and a lieutenant – before focusing on a single hussar who engaged in a brutal hand-to-hand struggle with two

16 Lázár, *Fronton*, 64 et seq.

Russian soldiers who had charged at him with bayonets. Despite losing his weapon and being forced into a fight for his life, he managed to kill both opponents, only to be fatally shot moments later. A fellow soldier rushed to his aid, unbuttoning his uniform in an attempt to dress the wound, but the hussar “died firmly, with dignity, as befits a Hungarian hussar. You in the middle, the two Russians beside you – thus the three of you appeared before the Lord’s throne,” the correspondent wrote in a pathos-laden tone. He continues with anatomically and visually detailed descriptions of the dead Russian soldiers lying next to the Hungarian hussar. One is portrayed as a young blond volunteer with delicate hands and narrow feet; the other, an older reservist with greying hair, is described as a simple dockworker from the Volga. According to the correspondent’s interpretation, the latter probably did not understand the meaning of the war and was merely an anonymous cog in the machinery of the Russian mass mobilization. While Lázár does not demonize the Russian soldiers, he removes the brutality and realism of death through aestheticization and ceremonial narration, emphasizing their passive role as participants in the conflict. This symbolic rendering turns death into an object of contemplation and defuses its horror.

The chapter further personalizes the experience of the fallen hussar. Lázár notes that he found a crumpled letter in József’s trouser pocket, sent by his wife Zsuzsi and dated 10 November 1914. Its content – emotionally charged and reflecting a strong bond between husband and wife – contains a plea for news from the front. She reassures him that things are well at home, but implores him to write back, as she has no idea what has happened to him. The correspondent includes the letter to symbolically connect the Hungarian “home front” with the battlefield and to convey the tragedy of war from the perspective of those left behind. This narrative choice serves to complicate the one-sided heroic account of male martial valor. The woman’s letter – full of sorrow, faith, and longing – stands in stark contrast to the elevated descriptions of battlefield deeds. In doing so, the author reminds readers that war is not only about heroic sacrifice, but also about shattered domestic lives, loneliness, and the suffering of women. This confrontation invites reflection on the cost of heroization, highlighting that every glorious death on the battlefield constitutes a personal tragedy for someone at home, caught in the limbo between hope and despair.

Lázár describes the hussar’s burial, writing that his body was placed in a mass grave alongside twenty-three comrades, marked by a commemorative plaque: “Here died a heroic death, 24 hussars of the Nádasdy

Regiment, 16 December 1914.” He then links this image to the letter he had found on the body, writing:

But will Zsuzsi find you, when she puts on her black shawl, boards the train, and comes here to Galicia to search for her beloved? Your name is not on the cross – only: Heldentod (heroic death). She will bend over the grave, watering it with tears: ‘Beloved husband, Józsi – so you are the Hungarian Heldentod!’ Rise, good woman, return to your small family, for your beloved is a true Hungarian Heldentod. And now farewell, hussar of Nádasdy – I bid farewell to your mortal body, your national ribbon, your rakish moustache, your boots with spurs – forever.¹⁷

In this way, the imagined scene of a woman mourning and searching for her husband introduces the perspective of the war’s domestic hinterland, reflecting the fate of families during these turbulent times. Through the narrative assignment of the status of a “Hungarian Heldentod” to the fallen soldier, private loss and personal grief are subsumed into national mythology, and individual death is no longer framed as tragedy, but as honor. As this illustrates, Lázár interweaves battlefield descriptions with the heroization of the fallen, national identity and pride, as well as a cult of masculinity. As Joanna Bourke has emphasized, death on the battlefield played a central role in the construction of modern models of masculinity. Heroic death was perceived as the ultimate culmination of a soldier’s life, affirming values such as honor, duty, and loyalty to the nation.¹⁸ Thus, the battlefield is transformed from a profane space into a sacred one, and the mass grave in which the hussars were buried no longer signifies an anonymous collection of conscripts, but rather a symbolic altar of national sacrifice, where the boundaries between individual and collective are blurred.

Between individual experience and collective national myth: Ferenc Molnár’s war narrative

Ferenc Molnár, who was 36 years old at the outbreak of the war and experienced the Galician front as a war correspondent, also visited the battlefield near Limanowa shortly after the fighting in December 1914.

17 *Ibidem*, 78–79.

18 Joanna Bourke, *Dismembering the Male: Men’s Bodies, Britain and the Great War* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).

The original edition of his work was published in Budapest in 1916.¹⁹ Prior to that, extended excerpts from his account had appeared in the press.²⁰ This facilitated the relatively rapid dissemination of information about Limanowa, while also contributing to the heroization of Hungarian actions. The landscape Molnár encountered and described reveals to the reader the scale of losses sustained during the fighting. He writes:

Limanowa, December 1914. Since four in the morning we have been moving among wounded prisoners, resting hussars, and listening to stories of the Battle of Limanowa. But we Hungarians, with our questions, keep returning to the night charge of the Nádasdy Regiment. In the Battle of Limanowa, which constituted the epicenter of our victory in Galicia, the night engagement of the Nádasdy hussars deserves the highest – and most painful – admiration. These Hungarian boys, in a night black as pitch, received the order to leave their horses in the village, reach a trench running up a steep hillside to the ridge, and relieve the troops fighting there. The hussars, led by their officers, cautiously advanced on all fours toward the trench. The enemy held the advantage on that hill, so by the time the hussars reached the position, the Russians had already captured it. In the pitch-dark night, they lay in wait with machine guns aimed at our boys. As soon as the Russian volley rang out, the officers immediately understood the situation and led the hussars in an assault. These young Hungarians, armed only with rifle butts, went against the Russian army equipped with bayonets and machine guns. They were under fire from midnight until eleven in the morning, continuously fighting against enemy bayonets and machine guns.²¹

In the subsequent part of his account, Ferenc Molnár continues to develop the narrative of the heroic struggle of the Hungarian hussars, focusing both on the brutal nature of the fighting and on the valorous conduct of the officers. When describing the fallen Russian soldiers, he emphasizes that most did not die from gunfire but from the brutal blows delivered with rifle butts and shovels – tools of improvised hand-to-hand combat. He devotes particular attention to the commanding officers, who – according to the soldiers' testimonies – did not lead from behind but remained at the front of the charge throughout the engagement. Molnár recounts how two hussars proudly led him to the site where

19 Ferenc Molnár, *Egy Haditudósító Emlékei: 1914 November - 1915 November* (Budapest: 1916).

20 Cf.: *Der Sieg bei Limanowa*, "Tagespost", 20 December 1914, 1 (Linz).

21 Quotation after Polish edition: Ferenc Molnár, *Galicia 1914–1915* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Most, 2012), 43.

Colonel Othmar Muhr had fallen, where a makeshift memorial plaque had been erected and decorated with fir branches. They pleaded with him to publicize their message: that the world should know Hungarian officers fought side by side with their men, with courage and honor. This type of account – highly emotional and imbued with patriotic sentiment – fits squarely within Molnár's characteristic heroic narrative, in which the battlefield becomes a space of national exaltation, and the direct experience of violence is transfigured into a myth of bravery and sacrifice.²² Molnár goes on to describe the battlefield after the fighting had ended: around eleven o'clock, the infantry arrived to relieve the hussars and delivered the decisive blow to the Russian forces. The direction of the Russians' panicked retreat, he notes, could be read from the positioning of bodies strewn along the slope. At the edge of the forest, burials of the fallen were already underway, while Hungarian territorial soldiers were clearing the battlefield, removing remains and captured equipment by wagon. Yet within this same space, contrasting scenes emerge: on the hillside, hussars swing playfully in a garden, half-naked, laughing, warmed by the sun. A calm midday atmosphere prevails. Through his binoculars, Molnár sees individual hussars praying at graves, others strolling across the field hand in hand. From a distance, a soft song can be heard – Hungarians, it is said, always sing, even in the trenches of northern Poland, even at night. In this way, the author paints a mood-laden, almost lyrical portrait of the post-battle landscape – a space marked at once by horror, silence, and memory.²³ The correspondent concludes his report with a note of elevated heroism:

This victorious battlefield is a heart-wrenching mixture – a tragic landscape that brings tears to the eyes: the joyful calm of laughing hussars swinging, pain, cheerful singing, prayer, Russian corpses gazing up at the sky, creaking carts carrying bloodied remains, poor Hungarian hussars fallen to the ground – perhaps not even knowing that here, on the hills of Limanowa, by pushing the Russians northward, they had secured peace for the frightened towns of Hungary. Over this landscape, a veritable divine miracle – here in the north, just before Christmas – the sun shines warmly and brightly.”²⁴

Molnár then records a vivid and personal account of his first encounter with death on the battlefield. As he walks among the fallen, he initially

22 *Ibidem*, 44.

23 *Ibidem*.

24 *Ibidem*.

regards the sight of Russian soldiers' corpses with detachment – they are strangers to him, their faces and uniforms evoke no emotional response. At a certain moment, however, he experiences a turning point: the gaze of a dead Russian soldier profoundly unsettles him, confronting him with the stark reality of death. The literary imaginings of war give way to brutal truth – a moment that paralyzes him, until he is aided by the Viennese painter Karl Hollitzer. Molnár is forced to walk between the bodies of two fallen hussars, through a pool of blood; he closes his eyes and crosses this symbolic threshold “like a narrow footbridge over an abyss.” The correspondent thus dismantles the romantic image of war – not as a glorious pursuit of the enemy, but as a mundane, laborious aftermath: the cleaning of the battlefield, the collection of remains, the burial of the dead, and the erection of wooden crosses. He observes all this as “a guest lingering in the banquet hall after everyone has left.” This description reveals not only the material but also the psychological weight of war, exposing its hidden dimension – the dirt, the blood, the refuse, the silence, and the anonymous labor of those who did not fight, but who were tasked with restoring order in the wake of death. Molnár continues, noting that around three in the afternoon, after descending from the battlefield, the group reached the train station where a train awaited them. In an atmosphere of relaxation and under the warmth of the sun, soldiers, officers, and journalists ate their meal from field mess kits. Yet in this seemingly peaceful moment, the author experiences a sudden shock – he notices a dried bloodstain on the toe of his boot. Although he had taken great care not to touch the fallen on the hillside, blood – most likely from the hussar he passed with closed eyes – had nonetheless settled on his shoe. This discovery triggers a deep sense of guilt and revulsion at his own role; he feels wretched, worse than “a stray dog being chased away.” Confronted with this trauma, he is unable to eat, withdraws from the group, and walks toward the locomotive. There, discreetly and in solitude, he attempts to wash off the blood, pretending in front of the engine driver that he is merely cleaning off mud.²⁵ This scene reveals the tension between the everyday reality of war and its deeply personal and moral weight. The experience left a lasting impression on Molnár; the sight of the post-battle landscape was the first of its kind in his life. As he himself reflected: “If I want to pursue this profession, I will have to get used to many more things.”²⁶

25 *Ibidem*, 48.

26 *Ibidem*.

Ferenc Molnár's narrative of the battlefield at Limanowa clearly aligns with a pattern typical of Hungarian war correspondents: the heroization of the fallen and the sacralization of the battlefield. However, it also contains elements of personal reflection and emotional ambivalence that distinguish it and render it more complex. Molnár constructs a narrative consistent with the dominant national discourse: he glorifies the charge of the Nádasdy Regiment, portrays the officers as leading from the front, and emphasizes the bravery of the "Hungarian boys" who risked their lives in close combat. The battle scenes are mythologized, and anonymous violence is transformed into a story of sacrifice, loyalty, and masculinity in the service not necessarily of the empire, but of the Hungarian nation. At the same time, Molnár offers readers an emotionally charged account of his visit to the former battlefield, thus connecting the collective myth and communal memory of the Hungarian people – which he helped to construct through his narrative – with his own individual, traumatic experience of confronting death and witnessing the war.

Béla Landauer – a Hungarian Catholic war correspondent on the Eastern Front

Among the many war correspondents, particular attention should be given to the lesser-known figure of Béla Landauer, who to this day has not been the subject of a full biography. He served as a war correspondent on the Eastern Front, reporting for the Catholic newspaper "Alkotmány".²⁷ He first published his wartime observations in this newspaper.²⁸ He later published several books based on his experiences during the First World War. These include "A nagy esztendő. Egy haditudósító naplójából. 1914–15" (The Great Year. From the Diary of a War Correspondent. 1914–15),²⁹ followed by "Gloria",³⁰ and "Népek csatája: a nagy háború húszhónapos históriája" (Battle of Nations: A Twenty-Month History of the Great

27 Information about his work can be found, for example: *Élet*, Year 7, No. 18, 2nd May 1915, 435.

28 Report from Limanowa, December 1914, *Alkotmány*, Year 19, No. 323, 21 December 1914, 1.

29 Cf. Béla Landauer, *A nagy esztendő. Egy haditudósító naplójából. 1914–15* [The Great Year: From the Diary of a War Correspondent, 1914–15] (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1915).

30 Béla Landauer, *Gloria* (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1916). Review see: *Világ*, Year 7, No. 322, 19 November 1916, 24.

War).³¹ It is not possible here to offer a detailed analysis of Landauer's work; however, it is worth emphasizing that his writings remained within the boundaries of officially sanctioned representations of the war. They conformed to a pompous national narrative, fulfilled propagandistic functions, and reflected a vision of wartime reality that could be made accessible to the reader. Only a few remarks are warranted in this context concerning his portrayal of the events at Limanowa in December 1914.

In his account, the battle is presented as the culmination of a long-prepared military plan executed by the allied Austrians and Germans: "It was a fine plan, the successful execution of which was eagerly awaited... at both main headquarters." The German general staff manoeuvre to encircle the Russian forces failed due to reinforcements sent from Warsaw, but the southern front – Gorlice, Grybów, Nowy Sącz – became the arena of a decisive engagement. At its centre stood Limanowa, and as he noted: "On the field of Limanowa, brothers avenged the blood of brothers." A particularly vivid place is given to the dramatic scene of the night assault by the hussars of the Nádasdy Regiment. Then, the description of the battlefield is filled with brutal detail: "I walk a few dozen steps further and stumble over a corpse." He continues, recounting how he encountered a Russian private, bearded, dead, with arms raised toward the sky. Beside him lay four young soldiers, lined up in a row, face-down in the mud. As he emphasizes for the reader: the uniform rows of muddy boots and grey coats conceal the tragedy of four mothers and four wives. Some of the Russian bodies were torn apart. In the mud, the reporter finds rosaries, letters, notes, and papers – Russian and Hungarian – the last words from family members. The post-battle landscape is transformed into a cemetery, though for the time being, one without crosses. Landauer admitted: "I am ashamed to confess it, but I had the heart to anxiously look around to see if any of our own were among them. And may God forgive me – I was relieved to see Russian eagles, Cyrillic script." In the final scene, a "yellowish hand" protrudes from the mud, raised toward the sky, as if pointing to something above. The reporter instinctively follows its gesture: in the distance, doves fly over the Limanowa hills – white, blue, pink. "The doves fly over the corpses in Limanowa".³² Nor does he refrain from employing national heroization, which fits within the broader narrative under examination – one

31 Béla Landauer, *Népek csatája: a nagy háború húszhónapos históriája* [Battle of Nations: A Twenty-Month History of the Great War] (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1916).

32 *Alkotmány*, Year 19, No. 323, 21 December 1914, 1–2.

centred on the protective mission of defending the homeland and the ideal of fraternal solidarity in arms:

Brothers avenged the blood of brothers, and the result, which had been ripening for weeks, was wrenched forth by Hungarians, Austrians, and Germans. It was an extremely difficult battle, and the stakes were truly immense. In the far West, we held the enemy by the throat, the one who threatened us from beyond the Carpathians. Had we not defeated him, had he caught his breath – his far-reaching foot would have trampled Hungarian soil.³³

In closing, the author shares a reflection with his readers – one that also carries a civic function:

And those who died? Well – such is war. Can this really be? Is this truly a war of the twentieth century – a hypermodern, jaded, and cynical century? How is it possible that in this century – a century of scientific discovery, the collapse of ideals, and the betrayal of international justice – people, with superhuman devotion and the fervour of crusaders, are offering up their most precious possession, their lives, on the altar of the Fatherland?³⁴

The author's reflection deepens and reinforces the myth of sacrifice. By portraying the soldiers' deaths as both tragic and exalted, he imbues their loss with a near-sacred dimension. It also carries a mobilizing message for citizens, suggesting that in the harsh reality of war, selfless sacrifice for the national community is of utmost importance, and that wartime violence is rendered acceptable under the pretext of a defensive mission to protect the homeland.

Beyond the frontline reports: collective narrative of heroism in soldiers' memoirs

Beyond the accounts of war correspondents, valuable observations were also recorded by various military personnel who experienced the Galician front firsthand, including participants in the Łapanów–Limanowa operation. Of particular interest is the wartime narrative written by the honvéd staff physician, Dr. Miklós Berend, who in his

33 *Ibidem.*

34 *Ibidem.*

„Frontline Diary”³⁵ devoted significant attention to Limanowa – the main focus of the present analysis. In this account, in which he emphasizes that he actively participated in the events, he opens with a militarized language of Austro-Hungarian and Russian troop deployments and combat maneuvers. He reports that during the intense fighting along the Tymbark–Jabłoniec–Limanowa line, a dramatic positional battle occurred, with the opposing lines situated at a distance of only fifty paces. Following a full day of artillery bombardment, the Russians launched a night assault, mistakenly believing that the opposing trenches were held by a poorly armed and sparsely manned unit. The accidental flanking of the Russian position by a detachment from the 13th Hussar Regiment triggered an immediate counterattack, reinforced by units of the 9th and 10th Hussars and Honvéd troops from the 3rd and 9th Regiments. The assault was led by a young lieutenant, Bauer, and conducted in close quarters – without sabres, which had been left with the horses. Soldiers advanced using pistols and entrenching tools, underscoring the improvised nature of the hand-to-hand combat and the intensity of the close quarters fighting along this section of the front. The narrative also highlights a key characteristic of hussar formations: their reluctance to engage in long-range combat and preference for swift, physical strikes. The account then transitions to a description in which human experience, rather than unit designations or ammunition, takes centre stage:

It was a fight of man against man – or rather, a hussar against four or five Russians; a battle in monstrous darkness, of which those who survived still speak today in pale voices and trembling tones. One after another, the officers fell, but Russian bayonets were countered with small spades and pocketknives; the hussars pursued the retreating enemy until dawn. The Russian attack collapsed, and the enemy began their withdrawal that very night (...) It is true that during this ‘adventure’ – to name only a few – we lost Colonel Muhr, Bernolák, Baron Fiáth, and Baron Karg. Near Tymbark alone, we buried twenty hussar officers in a single day – for dying, we are remarkably skilled! How many were wounded, I do not know, but I heard it was two-thirds of the officers. My friend, Dodó Diószeghy, was also shot – two bullets passed through his arm. We also lost the pride and ornament of our fencing guard, my dear friend Jenő Szántay – he is the third Hungarian fencing champion to die in a short time: Szarvassy, Zulavszky, Szántay. Among our fencing guard, those still with us are Prince Lajos Windischgrätz, Filótás, Békéssy B., Ujfalussy, and me – one of the older ones. How much longer? And in what order will our turn come? Lately, we have even

35 Miklós Berend, *Harctéri naplója. Adatok a magyar honvédség, főképp az 5. h. huszárezred történetéből* (Budapest: 1916), 141–142.

started placing bets. We hussars are not used to dying *en masse* as we did in this ‘Limanowa ball.’ Ours is a different fate than that of the infantry. Among us, it is the patrols that take losses – but they do so every day.³⁶

This narrative is not a military report in the strict sense, despite the presence of specific data on units and commanders. It is, above all, a cultural text – one that represents a mythology of war and a nationalist rhetoric of sacrifice. Violence is euphemized, referred to as the “Limanowa ball,” and death is portrayed as a ritual of passage, elevation, and sanctification. Moreover, in this passage, the narrator offers an example of masculinized war memory, in which war is depicted as a stage for the enactment of national ideals of masculinity, heroism, and self-sacrifice. The deaths of soldiers – particularly of hussar officers – are not presented as brutal consequences of conflict, but rather as symbolic acts of sacrifice embedded in a rhetoric of national heroism. The author individualizes the experience of death by naming the fallen – barons, fencing champions, personal friends – thus contributing to the elitization of sacrifice and imbuing it with a special significance in communal memory. Commemorating the names of fallen or participating soldiers was just as important as inscribing them on commemorative plaques – serving as individualized sites of memory.³⁷ This elitization is further reinforced by the contrast drawn by the military physician between the hussars and the infantrymen, emphasizing the superiority of the cavalry ethos: the hussar’s death is not only more spectacular, but also more dignified.

Miklós Berend, continuing his service as a military physician, remained active on the Eastern Front. However, in the spring of 1915, following the Battle of Gorlice and the victorious Austro–Hungarian and German offensive of 2–5 May, he once again passed through Limanowa on his way to Kraków. At that time, he recorded the following reflection in his diary:

From the train station in Limanowa, one sees a gentle hill – yet the last time I saw it, it was a frozen hell. Crows and ravens hopped through the hollow eye sockets of Russians stiff in death beneath the bare skeletons of birch trees. And now, these fresh, green, May meadows are so vibrant and unbelievably delicate in their green, like the landscapes of a young Corot. The birch trees have leaves again, the apple blossoms are even pinkier, and

36 *Ibidem*.

37 Cf. Thomas W. Laqueur, “Memory and Naming in the Great War”, in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. John R. Gillis (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 150–167.

from the valley rises the scent of countless blooming lilacs. Only one thing reminds me of what once was: a tall, slender cross visible on the hilltop, bathed in the glory of the sun's rays – a poetic silhouette; and lower down, at the foot of the hill, small crosses entwined with flowers. From this snowy, icy, blood-soaked land, unnoticed, your grain has grown, your death has taken root – and the Battle of Limanowa was the cradle of the triumph at Gorlice. What you died for has now matured into full grain – your blood was not shed in vain, you may sleep in peace, dream peacefully, my comrade Szántay! I recall that terribly distressing journey in November, when I passed through here on my way to my regiment – the road then was filled with panic and the agony of retreat. How much the world has changed since then!³⁸

In this way, the narrator confronts his own experience of being at the epicenter of the Łapanów–Limanowa operation. His altered perception of the landscape and its surroundings reveals a kind of “afterimage of memory,” in which he revisits a past, deeply unsettling encounter with death as part of everyday reality. This demonstrates how Limanowa became inscribed into the topography of trauma for many Hungarian soldiers – a place associated primarily with the sight of fallen comrades and the ubiquity of death on the battlefield.

Miklós Berend's narrative, much like the previously analysed accounts of war correspondents, participates in the process of ennobling the deaths of hussar officers. It does not present them as anonymous casualties of war but elevates them to the status of national heroes. The mention of names, ranks, and personal relationships serves to individualize the experience of loss, which simultaneously becomes a vehicle of collective memory. These accounts are not merely documentary in character – they serve a narrative and cultural function, co-constructing the foundational myth of the national community through the story of heroism and sacrifice. The mythologization and heroization of the Battle of Limanowa were not the result of top-down memory policies imposed by the state or the empire. Rather, they emerged from the actions of numerous parallel actors – officers, military physicians, and correspondents – who, through their agency and testimonies, constructed a coherent and emotionally charged narrative. Their texts became a key channel of memory transmission between the front and the home front, shaping an image of the war aligned with national ideals of masculinity, loyalty, and sacrifice, while entirely omitting the broader, imperial framework of allegiance to the Habsburg monarchy.

38 *Ibidem*, 275–276.

Beyond nationalism: war cemeteries as imperial arena of commemoration

As has already been demonstrated, the wartime narratives portraying the heroic deeds of Hungarians functioned as monuments in themselves – discursive constructs endowed with agency, intended to foster a deeper sense of national identification, often leaving little room for imperial frameworks. To further explore the duality and complexity of these issues, this section of the article examines how physical monuments to military glory were erected on former battlefields, focusing on the case of Limanowa, which serves as the central focus of this study. These monuments, as will be shown, embodied hybrid sites of memory: imperial – insofar as they commemorated the sacrifice of a multinational army in the service of the state and the emperor – and national, by creating a symbolic sanctuary for Hungarians on the soil of former Galicia.

As part of the imperial project of transforming former battlefields in Galicia into a landscape of memory and commemoration for the fallen, the area of 2–12 December 1914 battles – namely, the Łapanów–Limanowa operation – was also incorporated into these efforts.³⁹ This area, under the jurisdiction of the Military Command in Kraków – specifically the War Graves Unit (*Kriegsgräber-Abteilung Krakau*) – was incorporated into District X: Limanowa, where the cemetery architecture was designed by the architect Gustav Josef Ludwig.⁴⁰ His versatility also allowed him to adapt during the war, when he joined the War Graves Unit in Kraków and took on the task of designing military graves and cemeteries. He was also the author of the main monument at the war cemetery in Gorlice, constructed as a result of a design competition aimed at suitably honoring the soldiers who had fallen during the breakthrough Gorlice–Tarnów offensive in May 1915. Among the sites related to the Łapanów–Limanowa

39 Cf. Kamil Ruszała, “Conceptualizing the Post-Battle Landscape: the First World War Military Cemeteries and Monuments in Galicia”, in *The Great War and the Anthropocene. Empire and Environment, Soldiers and Civilians on the Eastern Front*, ed. Kerstin S. Jobst, Oksana Nagornaia and Kerstin von Lingen (Brill, 2025), 292–329.

40 About architect Gustav Ludwig cf.: Agnieszka Partridge, “Artystyczna działalność Gustava Ludwiga w Kriegsgräber Abteilung Krakau i projekty cmentarzy wojennych w X Okręgu Cmentarnym ‘Limanowa’ na tle jego twórczości architektonicznej,” *Ochrona Zabytków* 1 (2023): 163–192; *Sztuka w mundurze. Krakowski Oddział Grobów Wojennych 1915–1918*, ed. Agnieszka Partridge, Beata Nykiel and Kamil Ruszała (Kraków: Międzynarodowe Centrum Kultury, 2022); Paweł Pencakowski, “Sztuka w hołdzie bohaterom. Austriacko-węgierskie cmentarze wojenne z lat 1914–1918 w Galicji Zachodniej,” *Rocznik Historii Sztuki* 40 (2015): 129–162; Jan Schubert, *Cmentarze żołnierskie bitwy pod Limanową i Łapanowem (2–12 grudnia 1914): analiza form i prze-strzeni* (Kraków: Oficyna Wydawnicza KAAFM, 2020).

operation, Ludwig's most important work is War Cemetery No. 368 on Jabłowiec Hill above Limanowa. The cemetery is the burial site of 140 Austro-Hungarian soldiers from the 34th Landwehr Infantry Regiment, the 10th Honvéd Infantry Regiment, the 11th Dragoons, the 4th, 9th, 10th, and 13th Hussar Regiments, the 45th Landwehr Field Artillery Regiment, and the 212th, 215th, and 216th Ersatz Landsturm Battalions; one German soldier from the 219th Prussian Reserve Infantry Regiment; and 297 Russian soldiers from General Abram Dragomirov's Caucasian Division and General Fyodor Keller's 10th Cavalry Division.⁴¹

The imperial authorities were well aware that the military events near Limanowa had influenced the situation on the front, saving Kraków from sharing the fate of the Przemyśl fortress. They also recognized the crucial role played by Hungarian units in this sector of the front. This created an ideal foundation for an imperial project of celebration: instead of a traditional war cemetery, a memorial park was planned – spread across the entire hill, dominating the surrounding landscape and serving as a visible landmark. The location was not accidental. Efforts were made to incorporate the area where the original burials of scattered soldiers' bodies had taken place, emphasizing the site's authenticity and significance. Gustav Ludwig prepared the design for this project, though it was never fully realized due to financial constraints. The concept is known both from architectural plans and from a model, an image of which was published in the 1918 Vienna edition of *“Die westgalizischen Heldengräber aus den Jahren des Weltkrieges 1914–1915”*.⁴² This model was also exhibited at propaganda displays that toured throughout the monarchy, showcasing the work of the KGA-Krakau.⁴³ The envisioned memorial park featured, as its central element, a chapel containing the remains of Otmar Muhr⁴⁴ surrounded by a massive stone colonnade. In front of the chapel was to stretch an arterial pathway, doubling as a viewing terrace. Symmetrically positioned to the left and right were two lower, circular terraces. Behind the colonnade and a line of trees,

41 Jerzy J. P. Drogomir, *Polegli w Galicji Zachodniej 1914–1915(1918): wykazy poległych i zmarłych pochowanych na 400 cmentarzach wojskowych w Galicji Zachodniej*, vol. 3 (Tarnów: Muzeum Okręgowe, 2005), 304–307.

42 Rudolf Broch, Hans Hauptmann, *Die westgalizischen Heldengräber aus den Jahren des Weltkrieges 1914–1915* (Wien: Militär Kommando Krakau, 1918), 433.

43 Photography from exhibition with the model of the Limanowa-Jabłowiec memorial at the centre see: Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie (hereafter ANK), Wojskowy Urząd Opieki nad Grobami Wojennymi (hereafter WUOnGW), GW 62, Photos: 672, 677, 679.

44 Chapel-memorial design dated on 15 February 1916 and signed by Gustav Ludwiga zob. ANK, WUOnGW, GW 46, 311.

the soldiers' graves were to be located. Although this memorial park concept was later somewhat modified, Gustav Ludwig still made full use of the site's advantageous position at the summit of Jabłoniec Hill. The central artery divides the cemetery into two parts: the lower terrace, serving as a vantage point and marked by a 9.6-meter-high stone memorial cross as its main architectural accent;⁴⁵ and the upper section, enclosed by a stone wall, which constitutes the actual cemetery. This upper area includes a commemorative octagonal chapel-mausoleum with a planned crypt (slightly altered from the original plan), where Otmar Muhr was buried, as well as a monument marking the spot where he was believed (but this remains unlikely) to have fallen with a plaque in German and Hungarian.⁴⁶ This site was intended to serve as a vantage point over the former battlefield and was thus designed to embody the concept of a "speaking battlefield".⁴⁷ It was inscribed into the topography of memory related to the defense of the empire, with the space also meant to host imperial celebrations. While the lower terrace was conceived as a place for contemplating the battles themselves, the function of the upper terrace was to facilitate the contemplation of heroism. As can be seen, visual contemplation played a crucial role here.

An integral part of this architectural complex is a monument situated outside the cemetery grounds, in a meadow on the south-western side: a tall granite column commemorating Leonhard von Thun und Hohenstein, a captain of the 9th Hussar Regiment —the unit that fought to capture Jabłoniec Hill. The monument was erected at the very spot where the captain fell, and was funded by his family, who retrieved his remains from the cemetery in Tymbark. That cemetery had originally held the bodies of other notable figures as well, including Colonel Otmar Muhr, Captain Eugen von Szántay, Captain Josef Bernolák, Lieutenant Erwin Hartmann, Ensign (reserve) Baron Josef Kazy, and Ensign (reserve) Heinrich Baron. The monument, designed by Gustav Ludwig, is made of granite and bears an inscription along with the family coat

45 ANK, WUOnGW, GW 46, 265.

46 ANK, WUOnGW, GW 46, 309.

47 Cf. for military cemeteries in former battlefield: Kamil Ruszała, "Conceptualizing the Post-Battle Landscape"; followed by ideas of: Anthony Alofsin, *When Buildings Speak: Architecture As Language in the Habsburg Empire and Its Aftermath, 1867–1933* (Chicago–London: University of Chicago Press, 2006).

of arms. It was funded by the soldier's family, although his remains were later exhumed and reinterred in the family chapel in Milovice, Bohemia.⁴⁸

As part of the construction of the war cemetery on Jabłowiec Hill near Limanowa – executed according to the design of Gustav Ludwig and under the auspices of the Imperial-Royal Garrison Command in Kraków (KGA-Krakau) – a parallel, bottom-up initiative emerged to commemorate not only the fallen Count Thun-Hohenstein but also all officers and soldiers who perished in the December 1914 battles for Limanowa. The Imperial and Royal 10th Hussar Regiment submitted a proposal to erect a larger, independent monument on the battlefield as an expression of regimental remembrance and tribute. The design for the monument was created by the Budapest-based artist Ede Kallós and submitted, along with visual documentation and a description, to the War Graves Department of the Ministry of War in Vienna for evaluation. Concerned about potential stylistic inconsistencies between the proposed monument and the architectural language developed by Ludwig's team, the KGA-Krakau formally inquired whether the project could be approved, noting in their own assessment that its execution would not be feasible due to its divergence from the simple, restrained architectural style characteristic of the cemetery's existing structures. In October 1916, Gustav Ludwig prepared an alternative monument in the form of a cube approximately 2.2 meters in height, dedicated to the memory of the fallen soldiers of the 10th Hungarian Hussar Regiment.⁴⁹ The monument, however, was never realized and remained only on paper. Ultimately, the Ministry of War rejected the proposal, citing the need to “preserve the harmony of such commemorative designs,” which reflects a desire for visual and symbolic cohesion within the memorial landscape. At the same time, the hussars were invited to submit a new, “appropriately adapted” design, indicating a willingness to compromise and an acknowledgment of the regiment's commemorative initiative.⁵⁰ This case illustrates the tension between centralized memory politics and grassroots initiatives of commemoration.

As it was anticipated that the cemetery would be visited by numerous families of fallen soldiers, Ludwig also designed a special signpost.⁵¹ It bore the inscription “Zum Heldenfriedhofe” (To the Heroes' Cemetery),

48 Correspondence regarding monument dedicated to Thun-Hohenstein in the area of Limanowa-Jabłowiec cemetery see: ANK, WUOnGW, GW 2, 621 – 622; GW 5, 983; GW 7, 161; GW 17, 688.

49 ANK, WUOnGW, GW 6, 1081.

50 Correspondence regarding this matter see: *Ibidem*, 1085–1091.

51 ANK, WUOnGW, GW 46, 329.

further emphasizing the significance of the site as a place of heroic burial – a notion that aligned with broader commemorative trends in German-speaking countries.⁵² The architect Ludwig designed cast-iron crosses that were widely used in Galician war cemeteries, not only within his own district. These crosses feature Austrian and German symbols, or the double-barred Russian cross. For Limanowa, he intended to create a separate Hungarian version by adding the Crown of St. Stephen, as shown in archival drawings, but this plan was never realized. Although the Habsburg Monarchy presented itself as a supranational polity embracing the cultural and national diversity of its peoples, its commemorative architecture relied on a standardized visual language. The use of uniform cross types with Austrian, German, or Russian symbols indicated military affiliation rather than national identity, reflecting the imperial ambition to project cohesion and dynastic unity across war cemetery landscape. Introducing a Hungarian cross with the Crown of St. Stephen would have foregrounded a national symbol within an imperial space and risked setting a precedent for other groups to demand their own emblems. Fearing that this could fragment the carefully constructed visual and ideological unity and marginalize other nationalities, the administration chose uniformity to maintain a coherent commemorative language and symbolically hold together an increasingly fragile empire.

The war cemetery on Jabłowiec Hill above Limanowa served not only as a burial site for soldiers who died during the Łapanów–Limanowa operation in December 1914 but also as a key component of the Habsburg wartime commemorative strategy and propaganda through architecture. Its construction formed part of a broader imperial initiative to transform battlefields into landscapes of memory designed to give meaning to wartime sacrifice, create symbolic spaces of imperial unity, and reinforce loyalty to the dynasty. Although commemorative practices at Jabłowiec were multiethnic – honoring both various units of the Austro-Hungarian army and their adversaries – a particularly prominent place was accorded to the heroism of Hungarian soldiers. The creation of a separate mausoleum and monumental architectural elements dedicated to Hungarian troops reflected an intention to foreground their role in defending the empire. This emphasis also served to mitigate political tensions within the Dual Monarchy by reinforcing Hungarian loyalty at a time of military and political crisis.

52 ANK, WUOnGW, GW 46, 329. On the heroization of the war dead through references to heroic and medieval warrior figures, see the discourse as analysed by Stefan Goebel, *The Great War and Medieval Memory: War, Remembrance and Medievalism in Britain and Germany* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

Unlike Hungarian nationalist commemorations, which often emphasized national martyrdom and exclusivist narratives of sacrifice, the Jabłowiec cemetery was conceived as a supranational imperial site. It embodied the monarchy's integrative vision of a shared military legacy and collective mourning, presenting war as a unifying trauma that bound the empire's diverse populations through the memory of heroism and loss. The cemetery also functioned as a propagandistic tool, promoting the image of the empire as a benevolent and just authority – one that cared for all its soldiers, regardless of origin, and upheld values of humanitarianism, dignified death, and proper commemoration. Such sites were envisioned not only as wartime memorials but also as lasting commemorative landmarks beyond the conflict, forming a symbolic route of imperial military glory. They were intended to mobilize society to visit former battlefields, reflect on past sacrifices, and engage in rituals of remembrance at soldiers' graves, and it was precisely the rituals that shaped political spaces, following the theory of Sandra Petermann.⁵³ In this case, it creates arena of political meaning, serving as a performative dispositifs of power, projecting a vision of unity, sacrifice, and dynastic legitimacy across multiethnic imperial territories.

The initiative of the 10th Hussar Regiment to erect an independent memorial – and its subsequent rejection by the military authorities – demonstrates the degree to which the centralized imperial apparatus sought to control the narrative and visual language of memory. This top-down decision reveals the state's commitment to maintaining symbolic and stylistic coherence across commemorative landscapes, while simultaneously asserting dominance over competing, potentially nationalistic, memorial agendas.

Conclusion

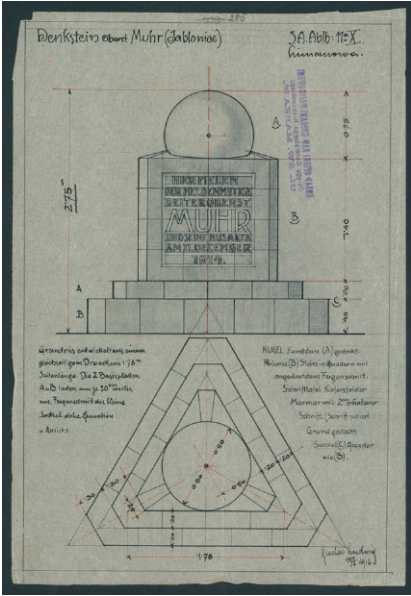
The case of Limanowa reveals the dual-track nature of First World War commemorative practices within the Habsburg Monarchy. This article has demonstrated that war memory was not solely a postwar phenomenon, but rather a dynamic process initiated already during the conflict itself, shaped through parallel narratives of sacrifice, loyalty, and heroism. This study has approached commemoration as a phenomenon embedded both in material space (landscape, monuments, cemeteries) and in narrative practices (texts, rituals, and cultural performances).

53 Cf. research regarding western front: Sandra Petermann, *Rituale machen Räume. Zum kollektiven Gedenken der Schlacht von Verdun und der Landung in der Normandie* (Wiesbaden: Lehmanns Media, 2007).

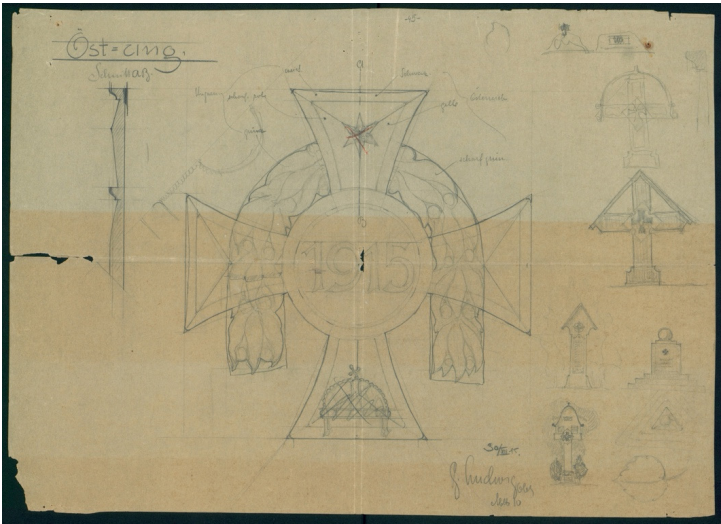
The Łapanów–Limanowa operation and the culmination of fighting near Limanowa in December 1914 became a site of hybrid memory, where imperial architectural forms intersected with national narratives—highlighting the fluid and ambiguous boundaries between “state” and “national” memory. The imperial administration sought to create a supra-national, harmonized, sacralized space of remembrance, one loyal to the monarchy. War cemeteries were to serve as instruments for cultivating imperial unity and a humanitarian image of the state.

At the same time, already during the war, Hungarian war correspondents, writers, and military figures began to nationalize the memory of Limanowa, presenting it as a symbolic altar of Hungarian sacrifice and bravery. The analysis of Limanowa decentralizes the study of war memory, shifting focus from decision-making centers to peripheral actors who actively shaped and often instrumentalized memory for national purposes.

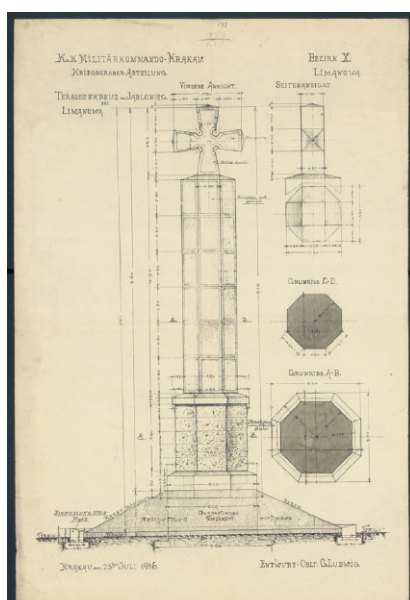
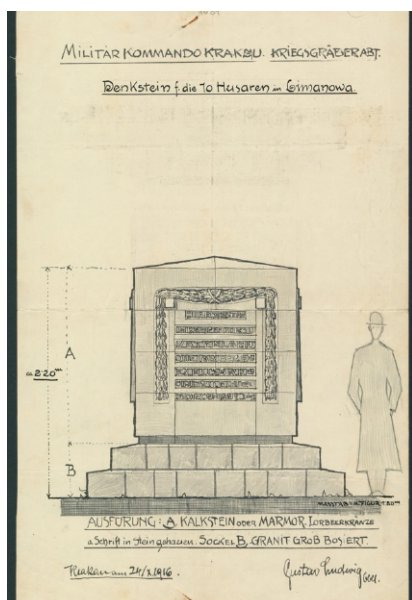
The apogee of this nationalizing process would only come in the post-war period—during Hungary’s post-imperial and post-Trianon era – but that lies beyond the scope of this article. In broader terms, this case study shows the First World War not only as a military turning point, but also as a critical moment in the spatial politics of memory – a politics that arguably continues to this day, visible in the pilgrimages of Hungarians to Limanowa, Przemyśl, or the Italian Front, in search of symbolic connection to a national past.



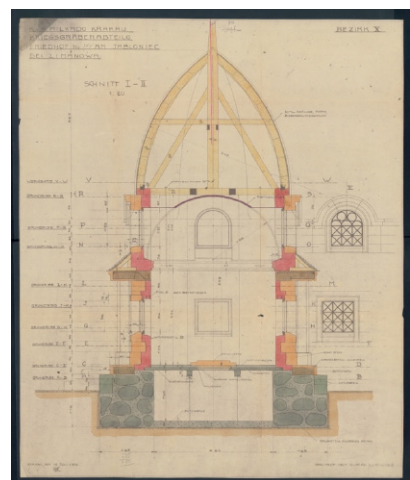
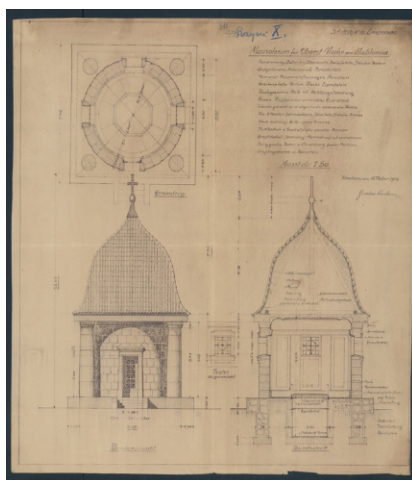
Left: Temporary grave of Otmar Muhr (National Archives in Kraków). Right: Monument dedicated to Otmar Muhr and the fallen soldiers of his regiment, erected in War Cemetery No. 368 on Jabłowiec Hill in Limanowa, designed by Gustav Ludwig, 15 February 1916 (National Archives in Kraków).



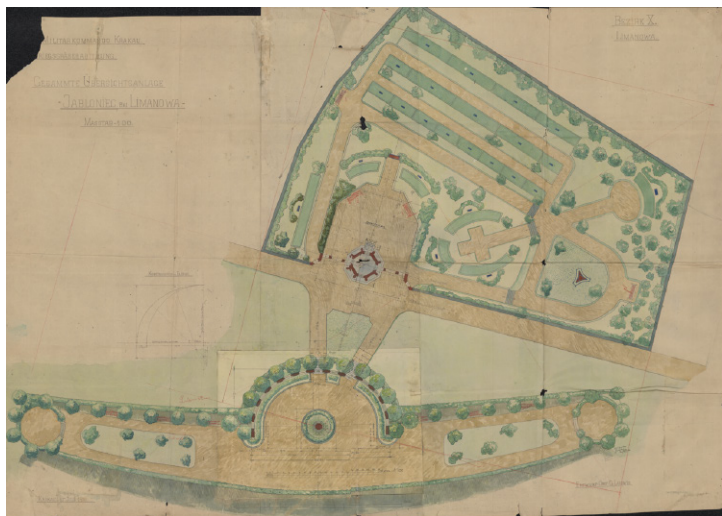
Archival drawings depict the proposed Hungarian cross as a cast-iron structure topped with the Crown of St. Stephen, by Gustav Ludwig, 30 Dec. 1915. (National Archives in Kraków).



Right: Design of the monumental cross, realized and placed on the lower viewing terrace of War Cemetery No. 368 on Jabłowiec Hill in Limanowa, by Gustav Ludwig, 25 July 1916 (National Archives in Kraków). Left: Unrealized monument to the 9th Hussar Regiment in Limanowa, designed by Gustav Ludwig, 24 October 1916 (National Archives in Kraków).



Left: Unrealized design of the chapel-mausoleum for Otmar Muhr, designed by Gustav Ludwig, 15 February 1916 (National Archives in Kraków). Right: Realized chapel-mausoleum, the burial site of Otmar Muhr, 19 July 1916, by Gustav Ludwig (National Archives in Kraków).



Comprehensive design of the cemetery complex on Limanowa–Jabloniec Hill, by Gustav Ludwig, 10 July 1916 (National Archives in Kraków).



War Cemetery. No. 368 on Jabloniec Hill in Limanowa – general view, 1917 (National Archives in Kraków).

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Jak prezentować wzornictwo? Ekspozycje polskich mebli w latach 1945–1970

**How to Showcase Design? Exhibitions
of Polish Furniture in the Years 1945–1970**

Abstrakt

Przegląd ekspozycji został ujęty w porządku chronologicznym, co umożliwia uchwycenie przemian w sposobach prezentacji mebli oraz zmieniających się koncepcji estetycznych i funkcjonalnych. Przeprowadzona kwerenda pozwoliła zidentyfikować kilka modeli wystawienniczych. Pierwszy z nich ma charakter tradycyjny – polegał on na aranżowaniu wnętrz w przestrzeniach muzealnych przypominających fragmenty mieszkań lub pokoje o standardowych wymiarach. Często eksponowano także pojedyncze meble, zestawiając je z makietami, rysunkami projektowymi i planszami technologicznymi, co umożliwiało publiczności lepsze zrozumienie procesu ich powstawania. Drugi sposób prezentacji, wywodzący się jeszcze z lat 30. XX wieku, polegał na urządzaniu rzeczywistych wnętrz mieszkalnych w nowo wzniesionych budynkach. Tego rodzaju ekspozycje miały ukazać praktyczne zastosowanie nowoczesnych mebli i zasad racjonalnego projektowania w życiu codziennym. Nowym zjawiskiem, wyraźnie zarysowującym się po 1945 roku, było wykorzystanie wystaw jako narzędzia edukacyjnego i propagandowego. Ich organizatorzy starali się kształtować

gusta społeczne, promować funkcjonalne i estetyczne urządzenie niewielkich przestrzeni oraz przekonywać do użycia mebli stanowiących symbol postępu i nowoczesności. Z przeprowadzonych analiz wynika jednak, że mimo ambitnych założeń ideowych i projektowych realizacja tych koncepcji napotykała poważne ograniczenia. W warunkach chronicznego niedoboru towarów oraz problemów z produkcją przemysłową mebli postulaty nowoczesnego, funkcjonalnego wyposażenia wnętrz często pozostawały jedynie w sferze planów i wystawowych wizji.

Słowa kluczowe: wystawy mebli, wzornictwo, wystawiennictwo, polski dizajn powojenny, Instytut Wzornictwa Przemysłowego, spółdzielnia „Ład”.

Abstract

The aim of the article is to analyse and present post-war furniture exhibitions organized between 1945 and 1970. This overview makes it possible to identify and discuss several key exhibition trends that developed during the period of Poland's post-war reconstruction and modernization. The primary sources for this research include press articles published both in professional journals and popular magazines, as well as catalogues and documentation accompanying the exhibitions. The survey of exhibitions is arranged chronologically, which allows for tracing the evolution of furniture presentation methods and the changing aesthetic and functional concepts. The conducted research enabled the identification of several exhibition models. The first model can be described as traditional—it involved arranging interior displays within museum spaces that resembled fragments of apartments or rooms of standard dimensions. Individual pieces of furniture were also frequently exhibited, supplemented with mock-ups, design drawings, and technical boards, allowing visitors to better understand the process of their creation. The second model, rooted in the 1930s, consisted of furnishing real residential interiors in newly constructed buildings. Such exhibitions aimed to demonstrate the practical application of modern furniture and the principles of rational design in everyday life. A new phenomenon that emerged after 1945 was the use of exhibitions as both educational and propagandistic tools. Organizers sought to shape public taste, promote functional and aesthetically coherent arrangements for small living spaces, and encourage the use of furniture that symbolized progress and modernity. However, the analysis shows that despite ambitious ideological and design assumptions, the realization of these concepts faced significant limitations. In the context of chronic shortages of goods and difficulties in industrial furniture production, the ideals of modern and functional interior furnishing often remained confined to the realm of exhibition visions rather than everyday reality.

Keywords: furniture exhibitions, design, exhibition, polish post-war design, Institute of Industrial Design, Ład cooperative.

Wystawiennictwo architektury wnętrz okresu powojennego w Polsce nie było jak dotąd przedmiotem głębszej analizy, toteż interesujące wydaje się przesłedzenie, jak w nowej sytuacji politycznej realizowano ekspozycje, które miały nieść bardzo konkretne treści¹.

Wzornictwo było dziedziną szczególną, bowiem zawarcie w nim jakiegokolwiek ideologii nastroczało pewnych trudności. Niemniej jednak zarówno potrzeby związane z „edukacją społeczeństwa”, jak i – nieco później – stworzenia iluzji luksusu i nadążania za nowoczesnością wymuszały prezentowanie dokonań tej branży. Zapoznanie się ze sposobami prezentacji mebli w latach 1945–1970 pokaże, jak realizowano wymienione postulaty². W artykule zostaną zaprezentowane chronologicznie wystawy organizowane nie w celach handlowych, lecz ekspozycyjnych, co umożliwi spojrzenie na nie z punktu widzenia muzealnika.

Pierwszą powojenną ekspozycją obejmującą analizowane zagadnienie był pokaz wnętrz zorganizowany w 1947 roku w związku z dwudziestopięcioleciem istnienia Warszawskiej Spółdzielni Mieszkaniowej na Żoliborzu. W odbudowanym budynku wnętrza wyposażyły spółdzielnie „Ład” i „Arkady”³ oraz Państwowa Centrala Przemysłu Drzewnego⁴.

- 1 Obszerny artykuł Krystyny Łuczak-Surówki omawia szczegółowo jedną z wystaw krakowskich. Krystyna Łuczak-Surówka, „Niezapomniana wystawa. Meble na Ogólnopolskim Salonie Architektury Wnętrz, Kraków 1958”, *Krzysztofory. Zeszyty Naukowe Muzeum Historycznego Miasta Krakowa* 31(2013): 211–231. Nieco szerszą analizę wystaw związanych z meblarstwem podjęła Julia Błaszczyńska – niestety dotyczy ona jedynie czterech wybranych ekspozycji, pozostałe są tylko wymienione. Przegląd rozpoczyna dopiero od 1957 roku „Ogólnopolską Wystawą Architektury Wnętrz”, następnie omawia ekspozycję „Polskie dzieło plastyczne w XV-leciu PRL” z 1962 roku, poznańską wystawę „Polska Sztuka Użytkowa w 25-lecie PRL”, by zakończyć rozważania bardzo ważnym wydarzeniem, lecz czasowo wychodzącym poza materiał niniejszego artykułu: „I Międzynarodowym Triennale Mebla” na Targach Poznańskich z 1980 roku. Za: Julia Błaszczyńska, „Wystawy meblarskie w Polsce 1945–1989. Systematyka, rekonstrukcja założeń, analiza realizacji”, *Techne. Seria Nowa* 8 (2021): 202–206.
- 2 Przyjęte cezury czasowe wyznaczają wydarzenia historyczne: koniec II wojny światowej oraz objęcie stanowiska I sekretarza PZPR przez Edwarda Gierka, rozpoczynające czas większego otwarcia na kulturę Europy Zachodniej.
- 3 Spółdzielnia „Ład” powstała w 1926 roku. Jej działalność została reaktywowana po wojnie. Natomiast spółdzielnia „Arkady”, powstała w latach 40., kontynuowała idee działającego w latach 30. XX wieku Studium Wnętrz i Sprzętu i zrzeszała artystów związanych z Wydziałem Architektury Politechniki Warszawskiej.
- 4 „Państwowa Centrala Przemysłu Drzewnego” – taka nazwa użyta jest w opisie wystawy: „Wystawa Małe mieszkanie w Warszawskiej Spółdzielni Mieszkaniowej”, *Stolica* 7 (1947): 12. Właściwa nazwa to Centrala Handlowa Przemysłu Drzewnego, którą

Wystawa powojenna została urządzona pod hasłem „Jak ma prawo dziś mieszkać każdy obywatel”⁵. Taki sposób pokazywania racjonalnego urządzania mieszkania w nowo wybudowanych domach wielorodzinnych ma w Polsce swoje źródła w okresie międzywojennym. Wyraźne są tu analogie do zorganizowanej przez WSM wystawy „Mieszkanie Najmniejsze” z 1 marca 1930 roku, podczas której szukano najlepszych rozwiązań mieszkań dla robotnika, oraz późniejszej – z 1935 roku – „Wystawy Budowlano-Mieszkaniowej” zorganizowanej dzięki finansowaniu Banku Gospodarstwa Krajowego⁶. Kontynuowanie misji uświadamiania „szerokich sfer społeczeństwa”, przede wszystkim robotników, mieściło się w założeniach ideologicznych PRL. Dodatkowym argumentem do takiego zaprezentowania nowych form wyposażenia wnętrz była zbliżona sytuacja mieszkaniowa. Brak mieszkań dotyczył zarówno dynamicznie rozwijającej się stolicy nowo powstałego państwa, jak i zniszczonej powojennej Warszawy.

Powołując się na te przedwojenne tradycje, związane ściśle z lewicującym środowiskiem architektów, zaczęto poszukiwać nowych form wielofunkcyjnych mebli, które umożliwiłyby racjonalne wyposażenie małych mieszkań.

Na przełomie 1947 i 1948 roku Biuro Nadzoru Estetyki Produkcji zorganizowało w Muzeum Narodowym ekspozycję zatytułowaną „II Wystawa Przemysłu Artystycznego”. Pokazywano na niej aranżacje wnętrz przedzielonych niskimi ściankami, szafkami bądź tkaninami (fot. 1). Ten sposób ekspozycji w polskim wystawiennictwie był również znany w okresie międzywojennym, nie wnosił niczego nowego. Na wystawie zaprezentowano także pojedyncze typy mebli, które w sposób zasadniczy różniły się „od natchnionych duchem mieszczańskim wielkich kompletów”⁷. Były to składane tapczany, fotele, a nawet krzesła, których elementy po odkręceniu śrub można było włożyć do szafki⁸.

założono na skutek zarządzenia Ministra Przemysłu i Handlu z dnia 14 sierpnia 1945 r., <https://www.prawo.pl/akty/m-p-1948-a-63-435,16831206.html> (dostęp: 21.07.2023).

5 „Wystawa Małe mieszkanie w Warszawskiej Spółdzielni Mieszkaniowej”: 12; „Tak mieszkać każdy ma prawo”, *Stolica* 10 (1947): 4.

6 *Wystawa Budowlano-Mieszkaniowa Banku Gospodarstwa Krajowego w Warszawie na Kole, maj-sierpień 1935*, [ramowy prospekt wystawy]; Anna Kostrzyńska-Miłosz, *Polskie meble 1918–1939. Forma, funkcja, technika* (Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 2005), 82–97; Anna Hanaka, „Wystawa Budowlano-Mieszkaniowa Banku Gospodarstwa Krajowego na Kole w Warszawie w 1935 r. – ku poprawie budownictwa mieszkaniowego”, *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki* 3 (2012): 93–128.

7 Jerzy Hryniewicz, „Na drodze do nowego mebla”, *Architektura* 1 (1948): 20.

8 Kostrzyńska-Miłosz, *Polskie meble 1945–1970. Idee i rzeczywistość* (Warszawa: IS PAN, 2021), 171.

Swego rodzaju nowością na tej wystawie było pokazanie prototypowego projektu kącika dla dziecka (fot. 2). Zwrócenie uwagi na wychowanie młodego obywatela stanowiło istotne zagadnienie, choć w mieszkaniach Zakładowych Osiedli Robotniczych⁹ nie przewidywano osobnych pomieszczeń dla dzieci, niemniej jednak postulowano wydzielenie dla nich choć części pokoju.

Według komentatorów obie wystawy, WSM i BNEP, mimo że w różny sposób pokazywały projekty funkcjonalnego urządzenia wnętrz, spełniały wymogi chwili, ponieważ odpowiadały na pytanie: „czym jest nasza epoka. A znając i rozumiejąc nasze czasy, będziemy patrzeć na mebel, zadając mu pytanie, czy rzeczywiście idzie z nami, czy służy tylko jako symbol czasów minionych”¹⁰.

Kolejną znaczącą ekspozycją prezentującą meble była zorganizowana w 1952 roku „I Ogólnopolska Wystawa Architektury Wnętrz i Sztuki Dekoracyjnej”. Obiekty na niej pokazane to przede wszystkim wyposażenie wnętrz reprezentacyjnych, biur i urzędów i użyteczności publicznej, pałaców młodzieży, domów kultury, muzeów. Ciekawym uzupełnieniem wystawy były projekty scenografii teatralnej i filmowej oraz dekoracji okolicznościowych. Dominowały plansze i makiety. Jeśli chodzi o meble przeznaczone dla przeciętnego użytkownika, było ich niewiele. Jako nowość po raz pierwszy w wystawiennictwie polskim pojawił się typ mebli segmentowych, umożliwiających dowolne tworzenie różnych form¹¹. We wstępie do katalogu ekspozycji podkreślano jej rolę wychowawczą kształtowania gustów społecznych – być może stąd tak duża rola rysunków i makiet, dzięki którym można było pokazać szerszy przegląd tego rodzaju mebli. Janusz Bogucki we wstępie do katalogu przyznawał, że: „Rozwój gustu i mody jest więc sprawą o dużym znaczeniu

9 Zakładowe Osiedla Robotnicze powstały na mocy dekretu z 26 kwietnia 1948 r. Ich zadaniem było spełnianie wszelkich czynności związanych z budownictwem społecznych osiedli i mieszkań pracowniczych, a w szczególności prowadzenie akcji budownictwa pracowniczego finansowanego ze środków przeznaczonych na ten cel w państwowym planie inwestycyjnym. Za: Dekret z dnia 26 kwietnia 1948 r. o Zakładzie Osiedli Robotniczych, <https://sip.lex.pl/akty-prawne/dzu-dziennik-ustaw/zaklad-osiedli-robotniczych-16779952> (dostęp: 12.03.2023).

10 Hryniewicz, „Na drodze do nowego mebla”: 23

11 Projekty mebli segmentowych autorstwa Mieczysława Puchały opracowano w Zakładzie Projektowania Konstrukcji Wyrobów Centralnego Laboratorium Przemysłu Drzewnego. Hest., „Estetyczne meble jak łamigłówkę każdy wedle gustu będzie mógł zestawiać w swym mieszkaniu”, *Express Wieczorny* 143(1952): 3; *Ogólnopolska Wystawa Architektury Wnętrz i Sztuki Dekoracyjnej* (Warszawa: CBWA, 1952), 58; Zygmunt Grzybowski, „Wnętrza Nowych Domów Warszawy”, *Stolica* 13 (1952): 6–7.

dla formowania się kultury i obyczajowości społeczeństwa ludowego”¹². W komentarzach prasowych chwalono ekspozycję, ale zauważano brak nowoczesnych rozwiązań dla mieszkań prywatnych, które to rozwiązania mogłyby być produkowane przemysłowo, oraz umiejętnej ich prezentacji. Tak pisał na ten temat Mieczysław Puchała:

Byłoby więc wskazane zorganizowanie wystawy, poświęconej głównie wnętrzu mieszkania, z udziałem odpowiednich placówek projektodawczych. Wystawa taka powinna być zorganizowana na tle nowych mieszkań, a nie na tle sztucznych i bardzo kosztownych makiet¹³.

Zdecydowany przełom w prezentowaniu społeczeństwu sprzętów codziennego użytku przeznaczonych do prywatnych mieszkań nastąpił w połowie lat 50. Początkowo w ramach tzw. „odwilży” zaczęto organizować szereg wystaw okręgowych, gdzie meble były tylko jedną z pokazywanych dziedzin sztuki, często towarzyszących malarstwu, grafice czy rzeźbie¹⁴. Później pojawiają się wystawy poświęcone wyłącznie architekturze wnętrz¹⁵.

W sierpniu 1954 roku zorganizowano wystawę w Salach Redutowych Teatru Wielkiego. Centralny Zarząd Przemysłu Meblarskiego pokazał 245 modeli mebli, z których część była sprzętami segmentowymi¹⁶. Jedynie około 100 projektów przyjęto do produkcji. Ekspozycję tę zaaranżowano tradycyjnie – meble pokazano jako „kąciki zestawów”. Zwróciła ona jednak uwagę na potrzeby indywidualnych odbiorców.

Dla przeglądu powojennych wystaw prezentujących meble niewątpliwie istotna była ekspozycja zorganizowana na przełomie 1956 i 1957 roku

12 Janusz Bogucki, *Wstęp. I Ogólnopolska Wystawa Architektury Wnętrz i Sztuki Dekoracyjnej* (Warszawa: CBWA, 1952): 11.

13 Mieczysław Puchała, „Nowe formy mebli przemysłowych”, *Stolica* 15 (1953): 5.

14 Przykładami mogą być ekspozycje z 1953 roku: „Doroczna 1-szo Majowa Okręgowa Wystawa Plastyki w Muzeum Śląskim we Wrocławiu” (maj–czerwiec); „Doroczna Wystawa Okręgowa Malarstwa, Rzeźby i Sztuki Użytkowej” w CBWA Stalinogród (obecnie Katowice) (maj–lipiec); „VII Doroczna Wystawa Okręgowa Malarstwa, Rzeźby, Grafiki, Architektury Wnętrz i Sztuki Dekoracyjnej” w ramach VI Festiwalu Sztuk Plastycznych w CBWA Sopot (sierpień–wrzesień); „Doroczna Wystawa Krakowskiego Okręgu ZPAP” w Pałacu Sztuki (październik).

15 Przykładami mogą być ekspozycje: „Wystawa Architektury Wnętrz i Sztuki Dekoracyjnej” w Pałacu Sztuki w Krakowie (styczeń 1955); „Wystawa Okręgowa Architektury Wnętrz i Sztuki Dekoracyjnej «Zamek»” we Wrocławiu (styczeń–luty 1955) czy „XXX-lecie Ładu” (grudzień 1956).

16 Por. Jadwigą Ginett-Wojnarowiczowa, „Z pokazu mebli w Warszawie”, *Architektura* 11 (1954): 282–285; M.P., „Jeszcze o pokazie mebli”, *Stolica* 42 (1954): 4–5.

z okazji trzydziestolecia spółdzielni „Ład”¹⁷. Pokazywała ona dorobek artystyczny we wszystkich dziedzinach rzemiosła artystycznego. Meble prezentowano w zestawach, np. stół z krzesłkami, obok stojące łóżko, ale przestrzeń wystawiennicza była potraktowana swobodnie, przenikała się, tworząc, jak się wydaje, niezamierzony efekt braku przemyślanej koncepcji za sprawą ustawionych przypadkowo sprzętów (fot. 3, 4). Czesław Knothe, komisarz wystawy, zgadzał się z tym twierdzeniem, pisząc, że aranżacja wystawy nie została oparta na rzutach realnych¹⁸.

To zainteresowanie potrzebami przeciętnego obywatela nawet w dziedzinie urządzania wnętrz wzbudzało niekiedy kontrowersje. Leon Kruczkowski obawiał się komercjalizacji kultury i wpływów burżuazyjnych nawet w tej dziedzinie¹⁹. Były to jednak poglądy odosobnione. Zaczęto myśleć o realiach życia i wyposażeniu typowego mieszkania w nowoczesne meble.

Już 1957 roku na „II Ogólnopolskiej Wystawie Architektury Wnętrz” w Zachęcie i Salach Redutowych Teatru Narodowego pokazano próby polskich projektantów recepcji nowej, panującej już powszechnie w Europie Zachodniej stylistyki. Ekspozycja powinna być „środkiem kontaktu między artystą a społeczeństwem”, jak pisano we wstępie do katalogu wystawy²⁰. Podzielono ją na dwie części. Pierwszą tworzyły dwie sale analizy i syntez, w której prezentowano zagadnienia dotyczące kształtowania przestrzeni (fot. 5). To całkowicie nowe dla polskiej publiczności podejście do urządzania wnętrz – pokazanie teorii przestrzeni. By lepiej ją zaprezentować, użyto głównie makiet wnętrz – w Zachęcie było ich dziewięć w skali 1:1. Problemowi wnętrz ZOR (Zakładowych Osiedli Robotniczych) – mieszkań o małym metrażu – poświęcono drugą część ekspozycji o nazwie „Wnętrza problemowe”. Starano się odpowiedzieć na pytanie: „Czy przestrzeń mieszkania ZOR jest źle zaprojektowana, czy źle urządzona?”²¹. Tu też ekspozycjami były makiety – wolnostojące sześciany z płótna imitujące przestrzeń dwóch typów mieszkań pokoju z kuchnią i dwóch pokoi z kuchnią. Zwiedzający krytykowali ten sposób prezentacji, zwracano uwagę na niemożliwość naturalnego ich

17 *Wystawa Spółdzielni Artystów Plastyków Ład XXX*, kat. wystawy (Warszawa: CBWA, 1956), 31–35.

18 Cz.K. [Czesław Knothe], „Kronika krajowa”, w *Wnętrze. Projekty mebli 1959* (Warszawa: IWP, 1959), 95.

19 Leon Kruczkowski, „Sprzymierzeniec trudny i niezbędny”, *Trybuna Ludu* 151 (1957): 3.

20 Józef Grabowski, *Ogólnopolska Wystawa Architektury Wnętrz kwiecień 1957*, kat. wystawy (Warszawa: CBWA, 1957), 7.

21 Barbara Sowińska, „Skok w nowoczesność. Ogólnopolska Wystawa Architektury Wnętrz”, *Stolica* 17 (1957): 6.

doświetlenia oraz konieczność oglądania przez imitację okien i drzwi. Pokazane na wystawie projekty Instytutu Wzornictwa Przemysłowego również były umieszczone w dużych makietach wydzielonych płótnem imitujących przestrzeń mieszkań, jednak w tym przypadku można było wejść do środka. Ten sposób ekspozycji bardziej odpowiadał widzom, ponieważ umożliwiał przyjrzenie się realizacjom z bliska. Podkreślano, że jedynymi elementami ruchomymi w nich były krzesła. Pozostałe sprzęty nieruchome kształtowały przestrzeń i stanowiły trwałą kompozycję – ich położenie w konkretnych miejscach było ściśle „zaprogramowane”. Dzięki takiemu sposobowi prezentacji można było docenić na przykład projekt łączący kuchnię z pokojem autorstwa Zofii i Oskara Hansenów czy projekt Czesława Łączki, które pokazywały, jak kosztem kuchni i korytarza powiększyć pokój.

Jedynym projektem z wystawy 1957 roku, w którym kładziono nacisk na estetykę, a nie na oszczędność przestrzeni oraz wielofunkcyjność sprzętów, były wnętrza dla domu szeregowego autorstwa Zbigniewa Ihnatowicza, Jerzego Sołtana, Włodzimierza Witteka (fot. 6). Sprzęty z tego wnętrza były już wcześniej prezentowane na jubileuszowej wystawie spółdzielni ŁAD, jednak w tym razem zakomponowano spójne stylistycznie wnętrze.

Na ekspozycji znalazły się także kąciaki dziecięce, na co również zwracano uwagę w drugiej połowie lat 50., i w zasadzie można powiedzieć, że na każdej wystawie dotyczącej architektury wnętrz obowiązkowo pokazywano meble przeznaczone dla dzieci.

W Salach Redutowych Teatru Narodowego, niejako aneksu do wystawy w Zachęcie, pokazano pojedyncze meble – tu były jedynie elementem wyjętym z kontekstu, ale zwrócono uwagę na ich formę i stosowanie w nowatorski sposób sklejek, wikliny, metalu. Takie zaprezentowanie sprzętów pozwalało się skupić na problemach konstrukcyjnych i materiałowych sprzętów. W opracowaniu ekspozycji wystawy wydanym już po jej zakończeniu Józef Grabowski trafnie podsumował jej scenariusz: „Charakteryzując ogólnie ekspozycję, trzeba powiedzieć, że o ile sale «Zachęty» były ekspozycją syntez, o tyle w salach Redutowych starano się wprowadzić syntezę przez ekspozycję»²².

„II Ogólnopolska Wystawa Architektury Wnętrz” prezentowała dokonania głównie projektantów środowiska warszawskiego. Spoza stolicy

22 Grabowski, „Ogólnopolska wystawa architektury wnętrz 1957”, 12.

meble wystawiali jedynie Roman Modzelewski²³ i Lesław Kiernicki²⁴, toteż rok później Sekcja Architektury Wnętrz Krakowskiego Okręgu ZPAP przy współudziale CBWA i Krajowego Związku Spółdzielni Przemysłu Ludowego i Artystycznego zorganizowała „Ogólnopolski Salon Architektury Wnętrz”, gdzie wystawiali swoje projekty artyści krakowscy²⁵.

Na wystawie zaprezentowano pięć wnętrz, rozmiarami dostosowanych do wówczas budowanych przeciętnych mieszkań. Wyciągnięto wnioski z błędów popełnionych w scenografii wystawy warszawskiej. Wnętrza, w których prezentowano meble, również oddzielono ściankami, ale by umożliwić lepsze ich doświetlenie, sufit wykonano z pasków płótna lub z gumowanego muslinu, tzw. merli.

Na wystawie krakowskiej skupiono się bardziej na pokazaniu możliwości wykorzystania nowych materiałów. To tu można było obejrzeć po raz pierwszy zaprojektowany w Polsce fotel wykonany z winiduru złączeniem z boku projektu Haliny Cieślickiej. Zaprezentowano również wiele konstrukcji z prętów metalowych z opłotem z barwnej linki igielitowej²⁶.

W scenografii ekspozycji krakowskiej kolor odgrywał istotną rolę, podkreślano kontrastowe zestawienia barwne. Projekt wnętrza Danuty Kowalskiej i Romana Lisowskiego nawiązywał do barw neoplastycyzmu – czerwień i żółć obicia foteli zestawione z błękitem tapicerki łóżka uzupełniono czernią nog i podłokietników na tle białych ścian (fot. 7)²⁷.

W omawianym okresie organizacją wystaw architektury wnętrz zajmowały się okręgowe oddziały ZPAP często we współpracy z BWA. Problemy wystawiennicze rozwiązywano we własnym gronie. Niejednokrotnie łączono różne dziedziny sztuk użytkowych. Przykładem może być wystawa Oddziału Wrocławskiego „Meble, Ceramika, Szkło” z 1958 roku, gdzie członkami komisji i komisarzami byli profesorowie lub absolwenci Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego Tadeusz Ciałowicz, Krystyna Cybińska, Stanisław Dawski, Tadeusz Forowicz, Rudolf Krzywiec, Jerzy Orkus²⁸.

23 Krystyna Łuczak-Surówka, „Abstrakcyjne myślenie”, w *Roman Modzelewski Spektrum*, kat. wystawy (Łódź: Miejska Galeria Sztuki, 2012), 24.

24 Lesław Kiernicki – w latach 1951–1964 asystent na Wydziale Architektury Wnętrz PWSSP w Gdańsku.

25 Łuczak-Surówka, „Niezapomniana wystawa”, 211–231.

26 Tego typu meble zaprezentowali Witold Popławski, Jan Szczurek. Za: Kostrzyńska-Miłosz, *Polskie meble 1945–1970*, 262.

27 *Ibidem*, 258.

28 *Wystawa Meble, Ceramika, Szkło*, kat. wystawy (Wrocław: BWA, 1958).

W tym samym roku we Wrocławiu zorganizowano ekspozycję „Architektury Wnętrz i Grafiki”²⁹.

W centrum polskiego meblarstwa, Poznaniu, organizowano cyklicznie, od 1953 roku co trzy lata, wystawy architektury wnętrz³⁰. Ekspozycje te odegrały istotną rolę w kształtowaniu gustu społeczeństwa, stopniowemu oswojeniu się z nowoczesnymi funkcjonalnymi formami sprzętów. Nie miały charakteru merkantylnego, takie zadanie spełniały bowiem Targi Poznańskie organizowane przez Zjednoczenie Przemysłu Meblarskiego, które prezentowały wyroby największych fabryk³¹. W większym stopniu pokazywano na nich techniczne i materiałowe zagadnienia związane z wytwarzaniem sprzętów, dlatego sposoby prezentacji nieco się różniły, częściej pokazywano pojedyncze meble. Obydwa nurty w wystawiennictwie, które można nazwać „indywidualnym” i „przemysłowym”, próbowano połączyć, pokazując wyniki konkursów organizowanych przez Zjednoczenie Przemysłu Meblarskiego i Związek Polskich Artystów Plastyków na Targach Krajowych, jednak przemysł rzadko był zainteresowany wdrażaniem nowatorskich projektów do produkcji.

Wystawy końca lat 50. to powrót do idei przedwojennych prezentacji mebli we wnętrzach mieszkań nowo budowanych domów. Najbardziej znane to ekspozycje zorganizowane w Warszawskiej Spółdzielni Mieszkaniowej na Osiedlu Kasprzaka i Robotniczej Spółdzielni Mieszkaniowej na Osiedlu Młodych na Grochowie w 1959 roku. Wyrażały one dążenie do dostosowania urządzania wnętrz do konkretnych metraży. Organizatorzy oczekiwali dużego oddźwięku społecznego i z takim się spotkali. „Projektanci mówili: pójść z wystawą do ludzi, bezpośrednio do osiedli. Niech pokaz wywoła dyskusję, wniesie jakieś zarzewie – może pomoże jednemu, zaciekać innych”³². Na wystawie WSM prezentowano jedynie dwa wnętrza mieszkań 36 m² przeznaczonego dla dwóch osób i 53 m² dla pięciu. Chciano pokazać, jak można urządzić funkcjonalnie mieszkania, nie stosując tradycyjnych kompletów – tak by nie były „zagrazone ciężkim sprzętem o ujednoliconym wyglądzie”³³. Wystawa na Osiedlu Młodych prezentowała pięć w pełni wyposażonych wnętrz o metrażach standardowych (36 m² i 53 m²). Tu zastosowano możli-

29 *Okręgowa Wystawa Architektury Wnętrz i Grafiki*, kat. wystawy (Wrocław: BWA, 1958).

30 *III Wystawa Sekcji Architektury Wnętrz ZPAP Okręgu Poznańskiego*, kat. wystawy (Poznań: BWA, 1958).

31 Kostrzyńska-Miłosz, *Polskie meble 1945–1970*, 267–269.

32 Inicjatorką wystawy była Halina Jastrzębowska. Prezentowano meble IWP, spółdzielni „Ład”, „Kolor”, CHPD. Danuta Wróblewska, „Mieszkamy nowocześnie”, *Stolica* 23 (1959): 13–14.

33 *Ibidem*, 14.

wość swobodnego kształtowania przestrzeni mieszkalnej według kilku ustalonych wariantów, co było uznane za eksperyment pozwalający zindywidualizować wnętrza³⁴. Taki zabieg umożliwiały meblościanki, które łatwo było zdemontować. „Stosując meblościanki, zyskuje się co najmniej 25 procent powierzchni w porównaniu do mieszkania tradycyjnie umeblowanego”³⁵. Były to pierwsze głosy proponujące tworzenie modułów tworzących meble segmentowe. Ekspozowanie mebli w realnej przestrzeni mieszkań miało przekonywać do nowego wzornictwa i cieszyło się dużym rezonansem społecznym³⁶. Później ten sposób ekspozowania mebli powtórzono w 1965 roku na Osiedlu Batory i w 1968 roku, urządzając wnętrza na Osiedlu Spółdzielni Budowlano-Mieszkaniowej Politechnika w Warszawie.

Pierwsza połowa lat 60. obfituje w wystawy targowe lub pokazy mebli współcześnie produkowanych o charakterze sprzedażowym³⁷. Niekiedy przez użycie nazwy „Wystawa-Targi” próbowano łączyć funkcje sprzedaży i oferty kierowanej do odbiorcy. Można przyjąć, że jedynie ekspozycje organizowane przez ZPAP i CBWA miały charakter pokazu poszukiwań nowych kierunków we wzornictwie mebli, które na ogół prezentowano tradycyjnie na podestach, pojedynczo bądź aranżując niewielkie zestawy. Już w styczniu 1960 oddział poznański zaprezentował wystawę „Wnętrze i Grafika”. Rok później we wrocławskim CBWA pokazano sztukę użytkową tworzoną przez artystów okręgu wrocławskiego, łódzkiego i gdańskiego, w roku następnym zorganizowano wystawę objazdową „Współczesna Sztuka Użytkowa”, która odwiedziła Bydgoszcz, Lublin, Olsztyn, Toruń, Wrocław. Poznańskie BWA i ZPAP w 1962 roku zorganizowały kolejną Okręgową Wystawę Architektury Wnętrz³⁸. W tym samym roku w Zachęcie prezentowano między innymi meble na ekspozycji „Polska Sztuka

34 Pokaz wnętrz w „Osiedlu Młodych”, *Projekt 4* (1959): 32.

35 Danuta Wróblewska, „Osiedle Młodych. Wystawa wnętrz”, *Stolica* 33 (1959): 12–13.

36 W styczniu 1963 zorganizowano wystawę nowych systemów urządzania wnętrz w pawilonie meblowym przy ul. Przeskok.

37 Obok wznowionych od 1955 roku Targów w Poznaniu były to: „Wystawa Zjednoczenia Przemysłu Meblarskiego w PKiN”, Warszawa (kwiecień 1960), „III Wystawa-Targi Stołecznego Przemysłu Terenowego”, PKiN, Warszawa (listopad–grudzień 1960), „I Wystawa-Targi Wzornictwa Przemysłowego”, PKiN, Warszawa (styczeń 1961), „II Wystawa-Targi Stołecznego Przemysłu Terenowego”, Wiosenne Targi Krajowe, Poznań oraz Dom Chłopa, Warszawa (marzec–kwiecień 1962); Andrzej Piszczola, „Meblarstwo na Targach Krajowych Jesień 1962”, *Przemysł Drzewny* 12 (1962): 17–20; Andrzej Piszczola, „Meblarskie propozycje Anno Domini 1965”, *Przemysł Drzewny* 1 (1966): 21.

38 Julia Błaszczynska jedynie wymienia tytuł tej ekspozycji za: Błaszczynska, *Wystawy meblarskie w Polsce 1945–1989*, 210.

Użytkowa” zorganizowanej w ramach serii wystaw z okazji XV-lecia PRL. Prezentowano na niej obiekty unikatowe i tu także meble

nie stanowiły dominanty ani ich aranżacje nie pretendowały do stworzenia oryginalnych układów organizacji przestrzennej. Grały rolę jedynie komponentów w zespole przedmiotów artystycznych z włókna, ceramiki, szkła, metalu i drewna dążących do syntezy elementów współczesnego wnętrza³⁹.

Najistotniejszymi ekspozycjami drugiej połowy lat 60., na których prezentowano nowe wzornictwo meblarskie, były „Wzornictwo Społeczeństwu” (1966), „40-lecia Ładu” (1967) oraz wystawa w ramach cyklu „Polska Sztuka Użytkowa w 25-lecie PRL” (1969).

Chronologicznie pierwsza z nich, zatytułowana „Wzornictwo Społeczeństwu”, została zorganizowana w listopadzie i grudniu 1966 w PKiN w Warszawie⁴⁰. Towarzyszył jej pokaz metod badania funkcjonalnego wyposażenia wnętrz w Instytucie Wzornictwa Przemysłowego, by określić potrzeby użytkowników, co stanowiło nowość. Szczególnym zainteresowaniem cieszyły się coraz popularniejsze meblościanki, kierujące uwagę na modułowość przedmiotów. Kierunek w prezentowaniu sprzętów składających się z powtarzalnych elementów był wyraźniej zauważalny na ekspozycji kolejnej przełomowej wystawy drugiej połowy lat 60. – „40-lecia Ładu”⁴¹. Scenografię zakomponowano dość tradycyjnie, wystawiając w kompletach bądź pojedynczo 161 modeli mebli na podestach czasami przedzielonych ściankami działowymi. Nowością było pokazywanie elementów składowych sprzętów eksponowane przy złożonym obiekcie. Przykładem może być fotel z zestawu „Relaks”, którego boki, składające się z dwóch nóg i podłokietnika, zawieszono na ścianie, a połączone elementy siedziska i zaplecka położono obok na podeście, by widz mógł zobaczyć, jak są zbudowane (fot. 8).

39 Irena Huml, *Polska sztuka stosowana* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Artystyczne i Filmowe, 1978), 198.

40 Wystawa trwała od 12 listopada do 4 grudnia 1966. Katalog wystawy na stronie tytułowej podaje nazwę ekspozycji w zmienionej nieco formie: „Wzornictwo w służbie społeczeństwa”. Inicjatorami pokazu były Komitet Nauki i Techniki, Ośrodek Postępu Technicznego w Katowicach oraz Rada Wzornictwa i Estetyki Produkcji Przemysłowej przy Prezesie Rady Ministrów, sekretarzem Rady była Zofia Szydłowska. Za: *Wzornictwo w służbie społeczeństwa*, kat. wystawy (Łódź: CUJiM, 1966), s. nlb.

41 Wystawa trwała od 12 kwietnia do 2 maja 1967 r., zorganizowano ją w Zachęcie. Za: *40 lat Ładu. Kwiecień 1967*, kat. wystawy (Warszawa-Zachęta: Związek Polskich Artystów Plastyków. Centralne Biuro Wystaw Artystycznych, 1967), <https://zacheta.art.pl/public/upload/mediateka/pdf/57fe55c4a7b39.pdf> (dostęp: 24.07.2023).

Ostatnia z omawianych wystaw to „Polska Sztuka Użytkowa w 25-lecie PRL”. Na ów cykl składało się z kilka ekspozycji dotyczących wielu dziedzin wzornictwa i organizowanych w różnych miastach. W Gdańsku pokazano projektowanie wnętrz, w Lublinie form przemysłowych, w Łodzi tkanin, w Poznaniu mebli i wnętrz mieszkalnych, w Warszawie wystawiennictwa i imprez masowych, a we Wrocławiu szkła i ceramiki⁴². Założeniem było zaprezentowanie szerokiego spektrum dorobku polskich projektantów i jednocześnie podkreślenie specyfiki dziedzin projektowych – na przykład spośród 260 eksponowanych w Poznaniu mebli część była produkowana, ale pokazano także prototypy siedzisk skorupowych wykonanych z żywicy poliestrowej. Te ostatnie znalazły się również na planszach ilustrujących fazy projektowania. Pojawiły się także sprzęty unikatowe lub wytwarzane tradycyjnie w krótkich seriach. Był to zatem przegląd obejmujący zarówno wiele technik wytwarzania mebli, różnorodność materiałów i trendów stylistycznych.

Podsumowując syntetyczny przegląd wystaw polskich mebli w latach 1945–1970, można zauważyć kilka tendencji wystawienniczych. Sposób ekspozycji sięgał korzeniami lat 30. XX wieku, kiedy zaczęto organizować wystawy, urządzać wnętrza mieszkań w nowo zbudowanych domach. Był on tradycyjny i polegał na aranżacji we wnętrzu muzealnym namiastek pokoi o standardowych wymiarach, przedzielaniu przestrzeni w bardziej lub mniej przemyślany sposób ściankami, by pokazać zestawy mebli. Często decydowano się również na wydzielanie pojedynczych eksponatów w celu pokazania techniki ich wytworzenia. Uzupełniano je makietami i rysunkami projektowymi.

To, co można nazwać nowym sposobem podejścia do prezentacji mebli, wynika raczej z idei, chęci przekonania społeczeństwa do funkcjonalnego urządzania małych wnętrz, do użycia mebli, które stały się synonimem postępu i nowoczesności. Założenia te niestety w dobie stałych braków towarów nie mogły być realizowane. Można zatem przyjąć, że stanowiły one próbę pokazania nowych tendencji we wzornictwie, które prezentowano w tradycyjny sposób.

42 Wystawy otwierano w kwietniu i maju 1969 r. Ekspozycję „Projektowanie mebli i wnętrza mieszkalnego” w Poznaniu otwarto 11 kwietnia 1969; „Artyści tkacze w Polsce Ludowej” w Łodzi 19 kwietnia 1969; „Projektowanie form przemysłowych” w Lublinie 21 kwietnia 1969; „Projektowanie wnętrza” w Gdańsku 22 kwietnia 1969; „Projektowanie wystawiennictwa i imprez masowych” w Warszawie 12 maja 1969; „Projektowanie ceramiki i szkła” we Wrocławiu 6 kwietnia 1969. Za: *Polska sztuka użytkowa w 25-lecie PRL*, red. Aleksandra Janota (Warszawa: Związek Polskich Artystów Plastyków, 1972).

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40 lat Ładu. Kwiecień 1967, kat. wystawy (Warszawa-Zachęta: Związek Polskich Artystów Plastyków. Centralne Biuro Wystaw Artystycznych, 1967), <https://zacheta.art.pl/public/upload/mediateka/pdf/57fe55c4a7b39.pdf> (dostęp: 24.07.2023).

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Fot. 1. II Wystawa Przemysłu Artystycznego, Biura Nadzoru Estetyki Produkcji, 1947/1948, archiwum IS PAN



Fot. 2. Kącik dziecka, II Wystawa Przemysłu Artystycznego, Wystawa Biura Nadzoru Estetyki Produkcji 1947/1948, archiwum IS PAN



Fot. 3. Ekspozycja wystawy XXX-lecia Ładu 1956/57, archiwum IS PAN



Fot. 4. Ekspozycja wystawy XXX-lecia Ładu 1956/57, archiwum IS PAN



Fot. 5. Oskar Hansen, Wojciech Zamecznik, Sala analizy, II Ogólnopolska Wystawa Architektury Wnętrz w Warszawie 1957, archiwum IS PAN



Fot. 6. Zbigniew Ihnatowicz, Jerzy Sołtan Włodzimierz Wittek, wnętrze zaprezentowane na II Ogólnopolskiej Wystawie Architektury Wnętrz w Warszawie 1957, repr. za: *Architektura* 4 (1958): 133



Fot. 7. Danuta Kowalska, Roman Lisowski, wnętrze zaprezentowane na Ogólnopolskim Salonie Architektury Wnętrz w Krakowie 1958, repr. za: Jadwiga Putowska, *Jak urządzić mieszkanie*, Warszawa 1969, il. 3



Fot. 8. Czesław Knothe, fotel z zestawu Relaks, Wystawa 40 lat Ładu, 1967, archiwum IS PAN

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Design jako zdywersyfikowany komunikat niewerbalny we współczesnych filmach i serialach

Design as a Diversified Non-Verbal Message in Contemporary Films and TV Series

Abstrakt

Artykuł analizuje system komunikatów wizualno-kulturowych, których nośnikiem jest design we współczesnych filmach i serialach. Poszczególne elementy scenografii stanowią źródło znaczeń subtekstualnych dla odbiorcy obrazu, które konotują treści głęboko osadzone w historii i kulturze popularnej. Design, będący barometrem zmian społeczno-kulturowych, uzupełnia fabułę, precyzując ramy lokatywne i temporalne akcji oraz tożsamość kulturową i status społeczny bohaterów. Jest również przekątnikiem treści zakorzenionych w pamięci kolektywnej, związanych z kulturą czasu i miejsca, w których powstawał. W artykule wykorzystano przykłady filmów i seriali powstałych po roku dwutysięcznym, które ilustrują szerokie spektrum zjawiska, pozwalając na stworzenie typologii treści, jakie design konotuje we współczesnej kinematografii.

Słowa kluczowe: design, film, serial, komunikat niewerbalny, kultura wizualna, semiotyka filmu, *mise-en-scène*.

Abstract

The paper provides an introductory overview to explain and structure the system of visual and cultural messages conveyed by design in contemporary films and television series. The various elements of set design constitute a source of subliminal information for the viewer of the picture, which connotes contents deeply rooted in history and pop culture. Design, historically a sensitive barometer of socio-cultural change, is an excellent carrier of content that non-verbally supplements the plot with locative and temporal messages as well as the cultural belonging and status of the characters. It is also a carrier of values deeply rooted in collective memory, closely linked to the culture of the time and place in which the design pieces were created. The paper uses examples of films and series made after the 2000s to illustrate the widely diversified spectrum of the phenomenon, allowing for a typologisation of the content that design connotes in cinematography.

Keywords: design, film, TV series, visual culture, set design, non-verbal communication, film semiotics, *mise-en-scène*.

Projektowanie scenografii w filmach i serialach stanowi integralną część każdej produkcji fabularnej. Będąc tłem dla scenariusza, plan filmowy i jego dekoracja mają za zadanie przekazać odbiorcy szereg informacji kluczowych dla narracji, począwszy od ukazania czasu i miejsca akcji, poprzez status społeczny bohaterów, aż po wykreowanie obrazu otaczającego ich społeczeństwa. Choć warstwa wizualna jest najczęściej traktowana jako wtórna wobec narracji werbalnej, to właśnie ona dzięki kodom kulturowym przekazuje podprogowo informacje decydujące o holistycznej percepcji dzieła. Celem artykułu jest stworzenie typologii najważniejszych komunikatów niewerbalnych, których nośnikiem jest design w scenografii współczesnych filmów i seriali.

Zakres materiału i metoda badawcza

Z uwagi na obszerny zakres zjawiska przyjęta metodologia opiera się na analizie wybranych studiów przypadku (*case studies*), które zilustrują wiodące kody kulturowe komunikowane przez wzornictwo. Ramy czasowe analizy wyznacza wiek XXI, a selekcja obejmuje produkcje powstałe w kręgu kultury zachodniej. Wybór ten jest celowy – zbiega się z globalną popularyzacją produkcji serialowych, które dzięki rozbudowanej fabule pozwalają na znacznie szersze ukazanie kontekstów niewerbalnych. Takie ograniczenie pozwoliło również wyodrębnić zróżnicowane przykłady,

odpowiadające objętości artykułu. Geograficzno-kulturowe ramy tekstu podyktowane zostały chęcią dokładnej analizy konotacji na osi przedmiot – kultura – społeczeństwo, osadzonych w kulturze Zachodu.

Scenografia i sposób jej interpretacji

Materialne otoczenie postaci filmowych i serialowych stanowi istotny element opowieści, wzbogacający narrację i współtworzący historię bohaterów. Odpowiednio zaaranżowana przestrzeń pozwala na identyfikację ich profesji, statusu społecznego, miejsca zamieszkania oraz ram temporalnych, w którym rozgrywa się akcja. Elementy takie jak architektura wnętrz, kształty, kolory, faktury uczestniczą w narracji i wspomagają budowanie postaci¹. Scenograf (*production designer*) kieruje zespołem artystycznym (*art department*) i jest odpowiedzialny za całościowy wygląd przestrzeni w filmie (*set design*). Scenografia jest przygotowana przez rozpoczęciem zdjęć z udziałem aktorów. Stanowi więc element niezwykle istotny dla całości przedsięwzięcia, determinując również pewne działania aktorskie w przestrzeni. Jak zauważył Colin Winslow, kontekst wizualny otaczający ludzi odgrywał istotną rolę od czasów prehistorycznych, o czym mają świadczyć malowidła naścienne. Wzrost zainteresowania tą kwestią zaobserwować można już w teatrze antycznym. Teatr doby renesansu i baroku przyniósł rozwój scenografii, a jej apogeum przypada na wiek XIX, kiedy na znaczeniu zyskały tendencje realistyczne².

We współczesnej kinematografii narracyjna rola warstwy wizualnej nie ogranicza się jedynie do tradycyjnie rozumianej scenografii, a kształtowana jest przez szereg czynników takich jak architektura, wystrój wnętrz, zastosowane kolory, oświetlenie, a także dzieła sztuki czy produkty codziennego użytku. Komponenty te tworzą całość zwaną w anglosaskiej teorii filmu *production design*, co nieco redukcjonistycznie w języku polskim określane jest mianem scenografii³.

Istotną kwestią metodologiczną jest ustalenie perspektywy analizy scenografii. Można odwoływać się do intencjonalnych zabiegów projektantów planów filmowych, co stanowi podstawę prac m.in. Jane Barnwell.

1 Vincet LoBrutto, *The Filmmaker's Guide to Production Design* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2002), 13–14.

2 Colin Winslow, *Handbook of Set Design* (Ramsbury: The Crowood Press, 2006), 13–26.

3 Zob. American Film Institute, *What is Production Design and What Does a Production Designer Do?*, <https://www.afi.com/news/what-is-production-design-and-what-does-a-production-designer-do/#whatis> (dostęp: 21.03.2024).

Odmienne podejście polega na analizie materiału wizualnego z poziomu recepcji i próbie zdefiniowania dominującego komunikatu danego projektu filmowego lub telewizyjnego. Biorąc pod uwagę cel, jakim jest zbadanie kulturowych konotacji designu oraz jego roli w narracji niewerbalnej, skuteczniejszy wydaje się drugi z modeli, który reprezentuje metodologia zaproponowana m.in. przez Gerainta D'Arcy'ego. Analizując połączenie werbalnej i niewerbalnej narracji filmowej, można zauważyć sieć powiązań pomiędzy fabułą a komunikatami przekazywanymi przez otoczenie. Jest to szczególnie istotne, gdy weźmie się pod uwagę, jak precyzyjnym barometrem zmian społecznych, kulturowych, a nawet politycznych design był już od początku wieku XX. D'Arcy w swojej pracy pt. *Critical Approaches to TV and Film Set Design* zaznacza, że najczęściej prace filmoznawcze poświęcone sferze wizualnej traktują ją jako służebną wobec scenariusza oraz dialogów. On sam przyjmuje inną perspektywę badawczą. Postrzega plan filmowy oraz scenografię jako integralną (a często nawet wiodącą) część fabuły, patrząc z perspektywy widza, który jest zanurzany w prezentowany kontekst kulturowy⁴. Bazując na tym modelu metodologicznym, niniejszy tekst omawia poszczególne komunikaty niewerbalne designu z pozycji odbiorcy, który kontekstualizuje je na poziomie tzw. szeroko pojętej kultury zachodniej.

Upowszechnienie designu we współczesnych scenografiach filmowych i serialowych potwierdza, że jego kulturowe konotacje są wciąż głęboko zakorzenione w świadomości społecznej. Komunikaty te można podzielić na wiele kategorii, które wymagają dalszych, pogłębionych badań kulturoznawczych, analizujących historyczne, kulturowe i społeczne konteksty designu, wciąż utrwalone w wyobraźni odbiorców. Należy przy tym podkreślić, że język przedmiotów może być znacznie bardziej złożony, gdy analizuje się go w odniesieniu do kontekstu epoki oraz ich pierwotnych konotacji kulturowych danego obiektu. Jak zauważa D'Arcy, choć scenografia najczęściej traktowana bywa jako element podrzędny wobec reżyserii, gry aktorskiej czy dialogów, to jednak jej brak uniemożliwiłby przekazanie kluczowych treści niezbędnych dla zbudowania spójnej narracji. Dlatego tak istotne staje się włączenie do dyskursu analitycznego pojęcia visual story-tellingu, który w środowisku filmowym jest tworzony przez precyzyjnie dobrane przedmioty, będące nośnikami określonych komunikatów.

4 Geraint D'Arcy, *Critical Approaches to TV and Film Set Design* (New York: Routledge, 2018), 5–30.

Rafał Koschany, omawiając film pt. *Parasite*⁵, podnosi kwestię wzajemnych oddziaływań architektury i filmu, ukazując ich dwutorowość. Badacz pisze:

w nurcie intersemiotycznej refleksji nad związkami filmu i architektury najczęściej pojawiają się propozycje porządkowania tego zagadnienia w dwóch kierunkach, zgodnie z nadrzędnymi pytaniami: w jaki sposób film (konkretny, ale także sztuka filmowa w ogóle) oddziałuje na architekturę oraz w jaki sposób architektura (poszczególne realizacje, ale także szerzej: rodzaj wyobraźni architektonicznej) jest wykorzystywana w sztuce filmowej?⁶

Podobne refleksje nasuwa myśl dotycząca wykorzystania wzornictwa oraz wnętrz w kinematografii. Powstaje pytanie, czy konkretny rodzaj konotacji wzornictwa wykorzystany w filmie został zapożyczony z życia codziennego, czy może wniknął on do popkultury dzięki powielaniu motywu w rozmaitych produkcjach. Postawienie tego problemu wydaje się istotne z perspektywy badań nad genezą zjawisk i powinno stać się w przyszłości tematem dogłębnej analizy kulturoznawczej.

Funkcje lokatywne

Podstawową rolę, jaką należy przypisać niewerbalnej narracji scenografii, stanowi przekazanie informacji lokatywnych i temporalnych. O ile czas w przypadku produkcji historycznych ukazać można w sposób sugestywny poprzez wykorzystanie charakterystycznych dla danej epoki mebli, dodatków i innych elementów wyposażenia wnętrza oraz kolorystyki, o tyle w dobie globalizacji współczesne filmy i seriale mierzą się z wyzwaniem, jakim jest wykreowanie wnętrza, które odnosiłoby się jednoznacznie do konkretnego kraju lub regionu. Projektanci usiłują wykorzystać powszechnie rozpoznawalne kody kulturowe za pomocą klasyków wzornictwa poszczególnych państw oraz rozwiązań wnętrzarskich, które występują w danym regionie. Warto w tym miejscu zaakcentować fakt, iż zabieg ten jest najbardziej skuteczny, gdy bierze się pod uwagę design cieszący się międzynarodową popularnością, na tyle dystynktywny, by mógł być elementem narracji niewerbalnej. Doskonałym przykładem ukazania miejsca akcji poprzez wzornictwo

5 *Parasite*, reż. Bong Joon-ho, Barunson E&A, 2019.

6 Rafał Koschany, „Architektura jako fabuła. O «Parasite» Bong Joon-ho”, *Kwartalnik Filmowy* 109 (2020): 23–34.

jest duński serial pt. *Borgen* [Rzqd]⁷. Produkcja o tematyce politycznej ukazuje kulisy fikcyjnych wyborów i powołania nowej premier. Ważną rolę w prezentacji miejsca akcji stanowią klasyki duńskiego wzornictwa, zaakcentowane na wszystkich poziomach akcji – począwszy od przestrzeni publicznych, aż po wnętrza domów głównych bohaterów⁸. Scenografia obfituje w meble i dodatki duńskich firm sektora designu, które dostosowane są do miejsca akcji. Wnętrza prywatne ukazują eklektyczną, bardzo charakterystyczną dla ogółu wnętrz nordyckich, mieszaną elementów klasycznych oraz współczesnego wzornictwa. Na uwagę zasługują meble duńskich marek takich jak Muuto, HAY czy Normann Copenhagen, symbiotycznie współistniejące z klasykami firm Republic of Fritz Hansen, Carl Hansen & Søn, Louis Poulsen czy Georg Jensen (il. 1). Jednocześnie wnętrza reprezentacyjne i przestrzenie publiczne pełne są wyrafinowanych, nieco ostentacyjnych prac, które zaprojektowano z myślą o przestrzeniach komercyjnych, jak np. lampa Artichoke Poula Henningsena. Dzięki immersyjnemu charakterowi scenografii widz nieustannie pozostaje wizualnie zanurzony w estetyce Północy, co potęguje wrażenie unikatowego charakteru serialu. Szeroka rozpoznawalność duńskiego wzornictwa pozwoliła na opracowanie niezwykle spójnej scenografii, która w koherentny sposób przypominała widzom o tym, gdzie toczy się akcja, szczególnie biorąc pod uwagę popularność serialu poza granicami Danii⁹. Międzynarodowa renoma i rozpoznawalność designu *made in Denmark* są zasługą szeroko zakrojonych kampanii promocyjnych zarówno na poziomie ogólnokrajowym, jak i działań marketingowych poszczególnych firm. Wzornictwo stanowi element identyfikacji narodowej, będący częścią tak zwanego duńskiego DNA, o którym piszą zarówno kulturoznawcy, jak i historycy designu, a zjawisko to ma głębokie korzenie sięgające połowy XX wieku¹⁰.

Duński design stał się nierozzerwalnie związany z globalną percepcją kultury narodowej, o czym świadczy choćby film reklamowy marki Carlsberg z 2017 roku, prezentowany w ramach kampanii *The Danish*

7 *Borgen* [Rzqd], prod. wyk. Adam Price, DRI, Netflix, 2010–2022.

8 Eva Redvall, Iben Albinus Sabroe, "Production design as a storytelling tool in the writing of the Danish TV drama series *The Legacy*", *Journal of Screenwriting* 7/3 (2016): 299–317.

9 Maggie Brown, *Why Britain loves Borgen: powerful women and politics with a human face*, "The Guardian", 10.11.2013, <https://www.theguardian.com/tv-and-radio/2013/nov/10/borgen-new-series-returns-british-tv> (dostęp: 03.02.2024).

10 Niels Peter Skou, Anders V. Munch, "New Nordic and Scandinavian Retro: reassessment of values and aesthetics in contemporary Nordic design", *Journal of Aesthetics & Culture* 8/1 (2016): bez paginacji.

Way, w którym Mads Mikkelsen, jadąc rowerem przez uliczki Kopenhagi, rozprawia o tym, co jest prawdziwie duńskie. Wśród stereotypów i ikon „duńskości” poczesne miejsce zajmuje design, co świadczy o ugruntowaniu się bezpośredniej konotacji: Dania – wzornictwo¹¹. W przypadku serialu *Borgen* autentyczności przekazowi nadaje fakt, iż jest to produkcja duńska, odnosząca się do rodzimych wzorców estetycznych, będących częścią kultury dnia codziennego, które jednocześnie cieszą się rozpoznawalnością i estymą międzynarodową.

Poza narracją *stricte* lokatywną wzornictwo może być również wykorzystane, obok innych elementów wizualnych takich jak kostiumy czy charakteryzacja, jako wyznacznik pochodzenia postaci. Taki zabieg bardzo dobrze obrazuje film pt. *Maggie's Plan* [*Plan Maggie*]¹², w którym ekscentryczna Georgette, bohaterka grana przez Julianne Moore, jest z pochodzenia Dunką. „Europejskość” postaci i będące jej następstwem dziwactwa są zaakcentowane nie tylko poprzez fantazyjny strój, ale również wnętrze jej domu – minimalistyczne i urządzone w duchu skandynawskim. Podczas sceny dialogu w salonie Georgette siedzi na jednym z najbardziej rozpoznawalnych projektów Arnego Jacobsena – fotelu Egg (il. 2). Również stonowana kolorystyka, będąca reminiscencją skandynawskiego rodowodu postaci, stała się punktem wyjścia dla narracji i uzupełniała ją na poziomie estetycznym, o czym wspominała reżyserka:

ponieważ wcześniej studiowałam malarstwo, kolor w moich filmach zawsze był bardzo ważny, ale myślę, że w tym filmie był szczególnie istotny ze względu na ogromną liczbę dialogów. Chciałam, by każda scena przemawiała z równą siłą przez słowa i emocje, jak i przez kolory. Wraz z operatorem Samem Levy, scenografką Alexandrą Schaller i projektantką kostiumów Małgosią Turzańską spędziłam wiele godzin i dni na opracowywaniu palety barw dla każdej sceny i lokalizacji. Sposób, w jaki różowy sweter Georgette rozbrzmiewa na tle szarej ściany, gdy wyrzuca ona Maggie z domu, kontrast jasnoniebieskiej koszuli nocnej Maggie z czerwienią jej ścian – te szczegóły były dopracowywane i zmieniane wiele razy. Musieliśmy stworzyć fizyczny świat, w którym spotęgowane działania bohaterów byłyby możliwe i uznane za naturalne¹³.

11 Ellen Kythor, „Stereotypes in and of Scandinavia”, w *Introduction to Nordic Cultures*, red. Annika Lindskog, Jakob Stougaard-Nielsen (London: UCL Press, 2020), 210–224.

12 *Maggie's Plan* [*Plan Maggie*], reż. Rebecca Miller, Sony Pictures Classics, 2015.

13 Rebecca Miller, *Maggie's Plan* (New York: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2016), VI–VII. Wszystkie cytaty w tłumaczeniu własnym.

Poza budowaniem warstwy ematywnej za pomocą kolorów, co stanowi istotny element współczesnej kinematografii¹⁴, również dystynktywna scenografia pozwala uzupełnić przekaz na poziomie niewerbalnym, czego przykładem jest omówiona wyżej scena.

Nieco inaczej rola wzornictwa kształtuje się w przypadku serii filmów produkcji amerykańskiej opartych na trylogii Stiega Larssona. Ich akcja rozgrywa się w Szwecji, lecz atmosfera wnętrza Północy zbudowana została w sposób znacznie mniej ortodoksyjny, odnoszący się bowiem do całokształtu designu skandynawskiego. Wykorzystano szereg elementów, które w globalnej kulturze wizualnej stały się synonimem wnętrza nordyckich. Pomieszczenia są proste, urządzone minimalistycznie, z przewagą bieli i jasnych, stonowanych barw, na tle których ukazano meble i dodatki cieszące się dużą popularnością. Zróżnicowanie scenografii dzięki zastosowaniu marek wybieranych przez różne grupy odbiorców, począwszy od popularnej sieci IKEA, kończąc na rzemieślniczych realizacjach marki Carl Hansen & Søn, pozwala na zbudowanie atmosfery bezpretensjonalnych wnętrza Północy, które będą rezonować na poziomie podświadomym z bardzo szerokim gronem odbiorców, budząc bezpośrednio skojarzenia z miejscem akcji.

W amerykańskiej adaptacji *The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo* [Dziewczyna z tatuażem]¹⁵ pojawia się także inna wizja wnętrza skandynawskiego, zbudowana na podstawie nowoczesnej willi Överby¹⁶, której minimalistyczne i surowe wnętrza cechują swego rodzaju anonimowość i chłód, charakterystyczne dla reprezentacyjnych domów doby modernizmu. Willę zamieszkuje antagonistą Martin Vanger grany przez Stellana Skarsgård. Choć we wnętrzach odnaleźć można klasyki skandynawskiego wzornictwa, to jednak są one na wskroś surowe, niemal sterylne, nie ujawniają też żadnych informacji o ich mieszkańcu, jego pasjach i stylu życia. Jest to bardzo ciekawy zabieg, wykorzystywany w wielu filmach, gdzie antybohaterowie o wysokim statusie materialnym zamieszkują modernistyczne domy. Ma to związek ze zmianą w portretowaniu filmowych złoczyńców, którzy pierwotnie identyfikowani byli poprzez szaleństwo i chaos. Od czasów popularyzacji modernizmu w Stanach Zjednoczonych ukazywano ich jednak zupełnie inaczej, skupiając się na niedopowiedzeniach i aurze tajemniczości. Nurt ten zapoczątkował

14 Por. Paul Coates, *Cinema and Colour: The Saturated Image* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing: 2010).

15 *The Girl with the Dragon Tattoo* [Dziewczyna z tatuażem], reż. David Fincher, Sony Pictures Releasing, 2011.

16 Zob. Wywiad z Johnem Robertem Nilssonem, <https://200-percent.com/dragon-tattoo-bonus-villa-overby/> (dostęp: 12.02.2024).

Alfred Hitchcock w filmie pt. *Północ, północny zachód*, gdzie wizerunek złoczyńców uległ drastycznej zmianie na rzecz opanowanych, wręcz wyrachowanych postaci, skrzętnie kalkulujących każdy ruch¹⁷. Od lat 60. trend wykorzystujący najpierw modernizm, a następnie ultranowoczesne realizacje architektoniczne, stworzył w powszechnej świadomości symbiotyczne połączenie prostoty architektury oraz wnętrza z postacią filmowego antybohatera¹⁸. Dodać należy, iż mowa tu tylko o tzw. wysoko funkcjonujących postaciach negatywnych.

Modernizm – dystopia – antybohater

Łączenie nowoczesnej architektury i wyposażenia wnętrza z nowym typem antybohatera wiązało się pierwotnie również z początkowo ograniczoną popularnością awangardowej architektury i designu *mid-century modern* w Stanach Zjednoczonych. Projekty typu Case Study Houses¹⁹, mające na celu popularyzację nowoczesnych tendencji mieszkaniowych, były odpowiedzialne za narrację skupioną wokół prezentacji klasie średniej modelu, do którego może aspirować. Należy jednak dodać, że wzrost popularności nowoczesnych projektów nie był wprost proporcjonalny do ich realnej powszechności²⁰. Stały się zatem szeroko rozpowszechnionym symbolem postępu, utożsamianym z ukazywanym w prasie i telewizji modelem życia, który, choć kuszący, nie mógł zostać potraktowany jako standard. Modernistyczna doktryna już od czasów manifestu grupy de Stijl stawiała uniwersalizm ponad indywidualizmem, a odejście od ornamentyki głoszone przez Adolfa Loosa oraz koncept „maszyny do mieszkania” Le Corbusiera bardzo mocno odcisnęły piętno na sposobie postrzegania nowoczesnych budynków. Architektura modernizmu kojarzona jest więc często z bezosobową, chłodną, zracjonalizowaną formą²¹, która nie uwzględnia trywialnych kwestii jak odzwierciedlenie stylu życia

17 Valery Augustin, *Architect Breaks Down Why Movie Villains Live In Ultra-Modern Houses*, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=y9Ceu9BOljo&ab_channel=ArchitecturalDigest (dostęp: 12.02.2024).

18 Jacqui Palumbo, *Why movie villains love modern architecture*, „CNN Style”, 31.03.2020, <https://www.cnn.com/style/article/movie-villains-modern-architecture/index.html> (dostęp: 12.02.2024).

19 Zob. Elizabeth Smith, *Case Study Houses: The Complete CSH Program 1945–1966* (London–New York: Taschen, 2021).

20 Victoria Rosner, *Modernism and the Architecture of Private Life* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2004), 8–11.

21 Alan Colquhoun, *Modern Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 109–111.

jej mieszkańców. Dominacja funkcji zaowocowała formą, która w przypadku architektury i wnętrz rezydencjonalnych charakteryzowała się innowacyjną skalą horyzontalnie rozbudowanych wnętrz oraz licznymi przeszkleniami, które świadczyły o możliwościach technologicznych epoki. Co więcej, wiele budynków, które stało się ikonami architektury nowoczesnej, okazało się zbyt utopijnych w swych założeniach, by odpowiadać na potrzeby dnia codziennego, o czym świadczy choćby słynny dom letni dla Edith Farnsworth w Plano w stanie Illinois, zaprojektowany przez Miesa van der Rohe²². Wszystko to składa się na obraz architektury zasiedlanej przez postacie, którym obca jest prozaiczna idea idyllicznego domu na przedmieściach. Doskonale zobrazowano to w filmie *Batman v Superman: Dawn of Justice* [*Batman v Superman: Świt sprawiedliwości*]²³. Dom bohatera, wybudowany na potrzeby produkcji, wyglądem przypomina hybrydę najważniejszych projektów rezydencjonalnych Miesa van der Rohe, a jego wnętrza wyposażono w modernistyczne meble z kręgu Bauhausu (il. 3).

Biuro – nowoczesność – retrofuturyzm

Analiza swoistej bezosobowości modernizmu nasuwa jeszcze jeden aspekt narracji niewerbalnej, do którego warto się odnieść – mianowicie łączenie projektów modernistycznych ze środowiskiem profesjonalnym. Od czasów ekspansji designu modernistycznego na gruncie amerykańskim, co w dużej mierze było zasługą działalności marki Knoll oraz jej dyrektorki Florence Knoll, projekty Miesa van der Rohe, Anni Albers czy Eero Saarinen stały się integralną częścią wyposażenia domów i biur²⁴. Szczególnie te drugie chętnie wykorzystywały proste, nienarzucające się formy, które dzięki swojemu uniwersalizmowi szybko urosły do rangi standardu wyposażenia miejsc pracy, co obrazuje omówiony wcześniej serial *Mad Men*²⁵ (il. 4), w którym wnętrza agencji reklamowej urządzone są zgodnie z pryncypiami głoszonymi przez Florence Knoll.

Z czasem sfera ta rozszerzyła się o ikoniczne dziś projekty powstałe pod egidą marki Hermann Miller, których geneza wiąże się z rozwojem

22 Zob. Alex Beam, *Broken Glass: Mies van der Rohe, Edith Farnsworth, and the Fight Over a Modernist Masterpiece* (New York: Random House Publishing, 2020).

23 *Batman v Superman: Dawn of Justice* [*Batman v Superman: Świt sprawiedliwości*], reż. Zack Snyder, Warner Bros. Pictures, 2016.

24 Zob. Lucinda Kaukas Havenhand, *Mid-Century Modern Interiors: The Ideas that Shaped Interior Design in America* (London: Bloomsbury Visual Arts, 2019), 105–120.

25 *Mad Men*, prod. wyk. Matthew Weiner, ob. Amazon Prime, 2007–2015.

zasad ergonomii, a w szerszym kontekście z działaniami propagandowymi okresu zimnej wojny²⁶. Marki będące na przestrzeni lat wciąż silnie obecne na arenie projektowania przestrzeni biurowych²⁷ oraz innowacyjnych rozwiązań z dziedziny ergonomii i wzrostu produktywności w miejscu pracy stały się integralną częścią wizualnej narracji związanej z globalnym postrzeganiem wnętrz zajmowanych przez tzw. białe kołnierzyki. Na bazie wiodących schematów, kojarzonych jednoznacznie z miejscem pracy, powstały wnętrza kancelarii w serialu *Suits* [*W garniturach*]²⁸. Pokoje prawników wyposażono w klasyki designu doby modernizmu zgodnie z konwencją dobrze prosperujących firm nowojorskiego Midtown Manhattan, znanego również jako Central Business District. Zobrazowano tym samym status bohaterów oraz ich miejsca pracy, gdzie forma i klasyczne kształty mebli nadawały elegancji, nie wychodząc przy tym poza ustaloną konwencję. Nie wykorzystano typowo ergonomicznych rozwiązań, gdyż nadają one wnętrzom charakteru korporacyjnego, pozbawionego jednak elementów luksusu i tzw. cichej elegancji, z którą na ekranie utożsamiane są firmy prawnicze. W podobnym tonie utrzymano m.in. tymczasowy gabinet M w filmie *Quantum of Solace*²⁹, akcentując przy tym rangę postaci. Wnętrze o nieco bardziej utylitarnym charakterze pojawiło się w filmie *Justice League* [*Liga Sprawiedliwości*]³⁰. W obu przypadkach posłużono się jednak projektami, które jednoznacznie przywodzą na myśl środowisko profesjonalne. Należy jednak podkreślić, że ciężar konotacji, jakie niesie za sobą modernizm europejski oraz wywodzące się od niego projekty marki Knoll, zwykle kojarzy się z czymś ekskluzywnym, droгим, niedostępnym. Popularyzacja tych projektów w Stanach Zjednoczonych od początku lat 60. XX wieku spowodowała, że cieszyły się rozpoznawalnością, nigdy jednak nie weszły do tzw. wnętrzarskiego mainstreamu, co sprawiło, że kojarzone są zwykle z miejscami pracy; co więcej – z takimi, które nie są i nie były dostępne dla mas.

Nieco inaczej wygląda kwestia projektów marki Herman Miller, których stylistyka podporządkowana pryncypiom ergonomii częściej

26 Greg Castillo, *Cold War on the Home Front: The Soft Power of Midcentury Design* (Minneapolis–London: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 31–58.

27 Por. Christopher Budd, "The Office: 1950 to the Present", w *Work spheres: Design and Contemporary Work Styles*, red. Paola Antonelli (New York: The Museum of Modern Art, 2001), 26–35.

28 *Suits* [*W garniturach*], prod. wyk. Aaron Korsh, USA Network, ob. Netflix, 2011–2019.

29 *Quantum of Solace* [*007 Quantum of Solace*], reż. Marc Forster, Sony Pictures Releasing, 2008.

30 *Justice League* [*Liga Sprawiedliwości*], reż. Zack Snyder, Warner Bros. Pictures, 2017.

znajdowała miejsce w biurach, stając się synonimem amerykańskiego środowiska pracy, w którym jednak wrażenie prestiżu nie jest kluczowe. Badania nad ergonomią i nowoczesnymi rozwiązaniami biurowymi w laboratoriach projektowych marki prowadzone były we współpracy z amerykańskim rządem, a ich rezultat wykorzystywano w działaniach propagandowych w czasie zimnej wojny. Opracowane wówczas systemy modułowe, by wspomnieć tylko Action Office Roberta Propsta, stały się podwaliną nowoczesnych standardów biurowych. Choć obecnie uważane są za relikty przeszłości, ich wówczas innowacyjny charakter oraz jednoznaczne skojarzenia z futurystycznym designem omawianego okresu sprawiają, że bardzo często wykorzystywane są jako reprezentacja retrofuturystycznych wizji przyszłości. Samo zjawisko retrofuturyzmu jako takie wymaga dogłębnych badań, szczególnie na gruncie estetyki scenografii, jednak warto przytoczyć tu dwa bardzo reprezentatywne przykłady seriali – *Severance* [Rozdzielenie]³¹ oraz *Loki*³². Korporacyjna dystopia, choć bardzo różna, korzysta z wizualnego repertuaru amerykańskiego *mid-century modern*. Biura korporacji Lumon w *Severance* czerpią inspirację z projektów Propsta (il. 5), ukazując potencjalne niebezpieczeństwo, które niosą za sobą rozwój technologiczny³³ i manipulacja biologiczna. W serialu *Loki* tzw. Agencja Ochrony Chronostruktury (il. 6), choć można domniemywać, iż funkcjonuje w fikcyjnej przyszłości, ukazana jest w stylistyce amerykańskich wnętrz lat 50. i 60. XX wieku, które połączone są z europejskim modernizmem i brutalizmem³⁴. Wykorzystanie estetycznego modelu *mid-century modern* jako wizji przyszłości jest bardzo częste i nie ogranicza się tylko do produkcji science fiction z tego okresu. Ogromna większość współczesnych filmów i seriali kultury zachodniej, których akcja dzieje się w przyszłości, wykorzystuje ten zasób środków wizualnych, co, jak wspomniano, wymaga odrębnych badań, angażujących ówczesne teorie futurystyczne i komparatystykę z projektami doby Atomic Age.

31 *Severance* [Rozdzielenie], prod. wyk. Caroline Baron, Apple TV, 2022.

32 *Loki*, prod. wyk. Michael Waldron, Disney+, 2021.

33 O źródłach inspiracji dla scenografii w serialu wypowiadał się główny projektant Jeremy Hindle, zob. Wilson Chapman, *How 'Severance' Turned the Workplace Into a Demented Playground*, <https://variety.com/2022/artisans/news/severance-production-design-apple-1235220628/> (dostęp: 02.04.2024).

34 Ksra Farahani na temat wyborów estetycznych przy projektowaniu scenografii serialu *Loki*, zob. <https://www.theartnewspaper.com/2021/07/10/lokis-production-designer-on-the-modernist-inspiration-behind-the-shows-stunning-visuals> (dostęp: 02.04.2024).

Funkcje temporalne

Drugą kategorią, stawianą na równi z miejscem akcji, jest czas. Sztywne ramy czasowe bądź akcja tocząca się w różnych epokach historycznych lub dekadach konkretnego stulecia mogą być zaakcentowane poprzez szereg czynników – architekturę, wnętrze, samochody, stroje i makijaż. Ukazanie przestrzeni historycznie adekwatnej do czasu akcji stanowi bardzo istotną składową niewerbalnych komunikatów temporalnych. Wybór reprezentatywnych dla epoki budynków oraz ich wnętrz sprawia, że produkcja staje się przekonująca i daje widzowi możliwość zanurzenia w wizualności danej epoki. Bardzo istotną rolę odgrywają tu kolory, wykorzystane materiały oraz charakterystyczne dla epoki meble i dodatki. Koronnym przykładem dopracowanego w najdrobniejszych szczegółach serialu, którego akcja dzieje się w latach 60. XX wieku w Stanach Zjednoczonych, jest przywołany wcześniej serial *Mad Men*. Ukazuje losy pracowników nowojorskiej agencji reklamowej na tle przełomowych wydarzeń kulturowych, które miały miejsce w omawianym okresie. W serialu ukazano bardzo dokładnie zmieniające się trendy w aranżacji wnętrz zarówno biurowych, jak i mieszkalnych³⁵. Wykorzystano modne wówczas tendencje wnętrzarskie, które w bardzo jasny sposób różnicują wnętrza klasy średniej oraz wnętrza należące do elity finansowej. Za przykład może posłużyć choćby bar i tzw. *sunken living room*³⁶ (obniżony poziom części wnętrza, dający wrażenie intymności. Z czasem stał się bardzo popularny choćby za sprawą wykorzystania tego rozwiązania na lotnisku JFK w Nowym Jorku, w tzw. terminalu Saarinena) w mieszkaniu Dona Drapera, które znacząco różni się od urządzonego skromnie wnętrza mieszkania jego sekretarki. Dzięki dopracowaniu szczegółów widz ma wrażenie immersji, zanurzenia w stylistyce lat 60. XX wieku lat 60. XX wieku, gdzie najdrobniejsze nawet detale zgodne są z realiami historycznymi³⁷. Ponadto poza wystrojem wnętrz w serialu zadbane również o to, by warstwa wizualna dawała wrażenie serialu rodem z lat 60. za sprawą odpowiedniego oświetlenia, kolorystyki oraz kontrastów. W podobnym stylu utrzymano wiele innych produkcji, które pojawiły się na fali eksploracji historii życia prywatnego w wieku XX, za przykład posłużyć może chociażby luźno oparty na życiu doktora Williama Mastersa serial

35 *Mad Men era: Interior design inspiration*, <https://www.nda.ac.uk/blog/looking-back-on-the-mad-men-era-interior-design-inspiration/> (dostęp: 02.04.2024).

36 Deborah Dietsch, *Classic Modern: Midcentury Modern at Home* (New York–London: An Archetype Press Book, 2000), 89–99.

37 M. Kieth Booker, Bob Batchelor, *Mad Men: A Cultural History* (London–New York: Rowman Littlefield, 2016), XV.

*Masters of Sex*³⁸. Również serial *WandaVision*³⁹ z 2021 roku wykorzystał design amerykański (il. 7), by ukazać losy bohaterów na tle zmieniających się dekad XX wieku. Każdy z odcinków osadzony był w innych ramach czasowych – od lat 50. XX wieku do początku wieku XXI. Serial czerpał inspirację z kultowych sitcomów amerykańskich, które cieszyły się popularnością w omawianych okresach⁴⁰, adaptując ówczesny sposób kadrowania i oświetlania scenografii. Serial, którego akcja toczy się głównie w domu, pozwala – dzięki wykorzystaniu tej samej przestrzeni – prześledzić ewolucję tendencji w wystroju wnętrza amerykańskiej klasy średniej w kolejnych dekadach. Ulegają one zmianom począwszy od pastelowych kuchni lat 50., będących synonimem nowoczesności w powojennej Ameryce, poprzez nasycone estetyką *mid-century modern* wnętrza lat 60., które kojarzone są z okresem zmian i rozwoju, aż po kolorowe, nieco kiczowate i eklektyczne wnętrza lat 90. Serial ten, w którym nie ma werbalnych odwołań do czasu akcji, unaocznia rolę wnętrza i ich wyposażenia w opowiadaniu historii i ukazaniu wpływu czasu.

Kolor – humor – postmodernizm

Przyglądając się roli wzornictwa w filmach i serialach, warto wspomnieć również o designie pop (silnie powiązany z prądami *space age* i *mid-century modern*) oraz postmodernizmie. Oba te nurty przyniosły radykalne zmiany w estetyce projektowej, stawiając na nieskrępowane kształty, feerię barw oraz odejście od modernistycznej doktryny formy podążającej za funkcją. Wzornictwo tego okresu jest często wykorzystywane do przywołania skojarzeń z dzieciństwem i młodością, co znajduje odzwierciedlenie w aranżacji scenografii filmów skierowanych do dzieci i młodzieży, ale także w produkcjach, które chcą podkreślić wrażenie bez troski, najczęściej utożsamiane z młodością i optymizmem.

Design lat 60., który wyrósł na fundamentach zmian społecznych i rewolucji seksualnej, konotuje również idee buntu, nowoczesności i wolności formalnej. Kolor i nowatorskie, organiczne formy w połączeniu z nowoczesnymi materiałami składają się na obraz designu, którego grupą docelową jest młode społeczeństwo, niekierujące się tylko pobudkami pragmatycznymi, ale pragnące wprowadzić do swoich

38 *Masters of Sex*, prod. wyk. Michelle Ashford, Showtime, 2013–2016.

39 *WandaVision*, prod. wyk. Jac Schaeffer, Disney+, 2021.

40 Nadja Sayej, *WandaVision: Inside the Retro Sets*, Architectural Digest, <https://www.architecturaldigest.com/story/wandavision-inside-the-retro-sets> (dostęp: 02.04.2024).

domów nowoczesne wzornictwo. Wypadkową zmian społecznych są projekty skierowane do pierwszego pokolenia, które nie jest obciążone traumą wojny, stojącego w opozycji do sztywnych ram kulturowych wypracowanych przez ich rodziców. Stąd też wszechobecne tendencje twórczych poszukiwań uwidaczniają się w designie Ameryki i większości krajów Europy⁴¹. Charlotte i Peter Fiell, opisując ten okres, podkreślają, że panował wówczas

klimat społecznego i politycznego rozedrgania, charakteryzujący się nowym młodzieńczym duchem, kwestionującym *status quo* establishmentu i dążącym do zreformowania wszystkich aspektów życia. Był to okres rozkwitu konsumpcjonizmu ze stale rosnącą liczbą chętnych do nabycia „kolejnej nowości”. Był to również czas, w którym powojenny wyż demograficzny zapoczątkował kluczowe przemieszczenie akcentów na masowym rynku w kierunku młodszej grupy demograficznej, co zaowocowało znacznie większym pluralizmem gustów niż w przypadku wcześniejszych pokoleń⁴².

Wolność formalna posunięta została jeszcze dalej przez postmodernistów, których projekty cechowały się odważnymi połączeniami kolorów, odwołaniami popkulturowymi i brakiem ograniczeń formalnych stawianych przez pryncypialne traktowanie funkcji.

Nie jest też przypadkiem, że design *space age* oraz wczesny postmodernizm budzą skojarzenia z dzieciństwem. Jest to bowiem okres, kiedy na szeroką skalę zaczęto projektować meble, akcesoria i zabawki, które dedykowane były dzieciom. Zbiegło się to w czasie z rozwojem psychologii dziecięcej, pedagogiki oraz początkiem nowoczesnych metod wychowania. W czerwcu 1954 roku magazyn LIFE opublikował artykuł zatytułowany *The Luckiest Generation* [*Najszczęśliwsze pokolenie*], w którym podkreślano ogromne zmiany, jakie zaszły w życiu młodych ludzi w porównaniu do pokolenia ich rodziców⁴³. Omawiany okres wiązał się również z popularyzacją wzornictwa, skierowanego do najmłodszej grupy odbiorców i utrzymanego w konwencji estetyki nowego designu amerykańskiego⁴⁴. Zaczęto eksplorować zagadnienia związane

41 Zob. Frederic Jameson, „Postmodernism and Consumer Society”, w *Modernism/Postmodernism*, red. Peter Brooker (London: Routledge, 2014), 163–179.

42 Charlotte Fiell, Peter Fiell, *Masterpieces of Italian Design* (London: Goodman Fiell, 2013), 17.

43 Nina Leen, „The Luckiest Generation”, *LIFE magazine* 04/01 (1954): 27–30.

44 Juliet Kinchin, Aidan O'Connor, *Century of the Child – Growing by Design 1900–2000* [katalog wystawy] (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2012), 28–57.

z kreatywnością zarówno dorosłych, jak i dzieci⁴⁵, co przyczyniło się do powstania projektów, które w połączeniu z estetyką *mid-century modern* stały się ponadczasowymi klasykami designu dziecięcego. Również pojawienie się nowych materiałów miało ogromny wpływ na wzornictwo, także w sferze projektowania dla dzieci, dając nowe możliwości uzyskania wyszukanych form, a syntetyczne barwniki przyniosły dużo jaskrawszą paletę barwną. Estetyka, której korzenie są bardzo rozległe, związane z designem *atomic age*, *mid-century*, a także projektami dla dzieci oraz pop-artem, uległa transformacji w okresie postmodernizmu. Ówczesny design, hołdujący zasadzie „więcej znaczy więcej”, przyniósł radykalne projekty, których przeskalowane formy i kontrastowe barwy przypominały ogromnych rozmiarów zabawki dla dzieci, by przywołać choćby prace mediolańskiej grupy Memphis czy późniejsze projekty marki Kartell. Przykładem mariażu tendencji *mid-century* oraz postmodernizmu, które ewokują dziecięcą radość i beztroskę, jest kuchnia rodziny Brownów w filmie *Paddington*⁴⁶. Produkcja typu *live action* ukazuje dom, do którego trafił miś Paddington, jako eklektyczne, barwne wnętrze, pełne nostalgii i idyllicznego uroku. Projekty marek takich jak Kartell, Smeg, Le Creuset czy Louis Poulsen, znanych z zamiłowania do kolorów i odważnych kształtów, w połączeniu z kontrastowymi kolorami ścian i mebli złożyły się na obraz, który bezsprzecznie kojarzy się z przestrzenią zaprojektowaną z myślą o najmłodszych (il. 8). W kontynuacji filmu o przygodach peruwiańskiego misia w Londynie zastosowano nieco inną stylistykę do zaprezentowania więzienia, do którego trafia tytułowy bohater. Pomieszczenia, utrzymane w pastelowej konwencji bajki dla dzieci, w kontekście visual storytellingu przeanalizowała dokładnie Jane Barnwell⁴⁷. Drugim przykładem filmu, którego scenografia wykorzystuje motywy zaczerpnięte z dziecięcego widzenia świata, jest *Barbie*⁴⁸. Choć tytułowa bohaterka należy w powszechnej świadomości do świata zabawek, to sama produkcja porusza „dorosłe” tematy związane z ustalonymi kulturowo rolami społecznymi oraz stereotypowym postrzeganiem kobiet i mężczyzn. Barbieland – zabawkowy świat, gdzie żyją Barbie, Ken oraz inni członkowie i członkinie „społeczeństwa” stworzonego przez markę

45 Amy F. Ogata, *Designing the Creative Child: Playthings and Places in Midcentury America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), IX–XXI.

46 *Paddington*, reż. Paul King, StudioCanal, 2014.

47 Jane Barnwell, „How Does the Design of the Prison in *Paddington 2* (2017) Convey Character, Story and Visual Concept?”, w *The Palgrave Handbook of Incarceration in Popular Culture*, red. Marcus Harmes, Meredith Harmes, Barbara Harmes (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2017), 223–242.

48 *Barbie*, reż. Greta Gerwig, Warner Bros. Pictures, 2023.

Mattel, utrzymano w konwencji domku dla lalek (il. 9). Przeważa w nim różowy kolor, który od początku sukcesu popularności kultowej dziś lalki nierozzerwalnie kojarzony jest ze słodyczą i subtelnością, które przypisuje się dziewczętom. Choć kolor różowy należy do najstarszych stosowanych przez człowieka barw, to jego szeroka popularność i skojarzenie z płcią żeńską utrwaliły się dopiero w drugiej połowie XX wieku, zwłaszcza w latach 60. i 70., kiedy przemysł mody i reklamy zaczął konsekwentnie łączyć tę barwę z dziewczęcością⁴⁹. Scenografia Barbielandu wykorzystuje schemat całkowitego zanurzenia w „kampowej” estetyce plastikowych zabawek. W wykreowanym świecie wszystko jest różowe, plastikowe lub puchate, a pojawiające się przedmioty to w przeważającej większości projekty *mid-century modern*, *space age* i włoski postmodernizm, by wspomnieć tylko krzesła Saarinen dla marki Knoll czy różowe sprzęty marki Smeg, które uzupełniają nowe projekty o zmienionym na potrzeby filmu kolorze⁵⁰. Baśniowego charakteru w duchu *Barbiecore* nadaje w filmie również skala przedmiotów, które są za duże (szczotki, szczoteczki do zębów) lub za małe (samochody, meble), by przywołać wspomnienia każdego dziecięcego posiadacza akcesoriów dla lalek. Warto również zwrócić uwagę na bardzo szczególny sposób użycia różu w scenografii, a mianowicie na różowe auta. Ten konkretny element odnosi się nie tylko do wszechobecnych konotacji na linii różowy – kobiety, ale historycznie również do przedmiotowego traktowania kobiet i utrwalania tego wzorku. Jak zauważa badacz różu w popkulturze, Kévin Bideaux,

kobiety są kojarzone z samochodem, to zawsze w perspektywie czyniącej je dostępnymi dla mężczyzn jako obiekty pożądania, czego przykładem jest amerykański magazyn erotyczny dla mężczyzn Playboy i seria zdjęć przedstawiających „playmate” pozującą z samochodem pomalowanym na kolor „Playmate Pink”⁵¹.

Architektura, choć przypominająca domki dla Barbie spopularyzowane w latach 80. i 90., czerpie również z modernistycznych wzorów

49 Kase Winkman, *It Was the Year of Barbie Pink, But Whose Color Is It Anyway?*, <https://www.vanityfair.com/style/2023/11/the-year-of-barbie-pink> (dostęp: 04.04.2024).

50 Zob. Paula, *Creating Barbie Land: The decor details of Barbie's Dreamhouse*, <https://filmandfurniture.com/2023/09/creating-barbie-land-the-decor-details-of-barbies-dreamhouse/> (dostęp: 04.04.2024).

51 Kevin Bideaux, Guillaume Lebègue, *Pink, gender, and automobile: Marketing and political uses in the automobile*, Belgium Colour Symposium 2019, May 2019, Gand (KU Leuven Ghent Technology Campus), Belgium, <https://hal.science/hal-02140987> (dostęp: 04.04.2024).

amerykańskich, co jest niewątpliwym nawiązaniem do początków Barbie, która zadebiutowała na rynku pod koniec lat 50. Dzięki odpowiednio wyselekcjonowanemu wzornictwu możliwe było ukazanie szeregu odwołań popkulturowych, które wzbogaciły fabułę oraz w subtelny sposób odnosiły się zarówno do długiej historii lalki Barbie, jak i kwestii feministycznych i równościowych, które film poruszał.

Konkluzja

Przedstawione w artykule przykłady jednoznacznie wskazują, że obiekty wzornictwa o globalnej rozpoznawalności są nośnikami określonych treści, które w znacznym stopniu wspomagają u widzów percepcję filmów i seriali na poziomie subtekstualnym. Architektura i wypełniające ją obiekty stają się nośnikami informacji na temat bohaterów bądź też, przeciwnie, potęgują wrażenie ich anonimowości i tajemniczości. Niniejszy tekst miał na celu ukazanie zróżnicowania przekazów, których nośnikiem jest wzornictwo na ekranie. Niniejsza, z konieczności ograniczona objętościowo, analiza nie wyczerpuje tematu, wskazuje jednak na znaczący potencjał badawczy, oscylujący na styku nauk o kulturze, historii designu i filmoznawstwa. Każde z naszkicowanych studiów przypadku może zostać rozwinięte w ramach odrębnych, pogłębionych badań, co bez wątpienia przyczyni się do wypełnienia istniejącej luki badawczej w obszarze niewerbalnej komunikacji wizualnej, związanej z kulturowymi konotacjami wzornictwa i jego globalną percepcją społeczną.

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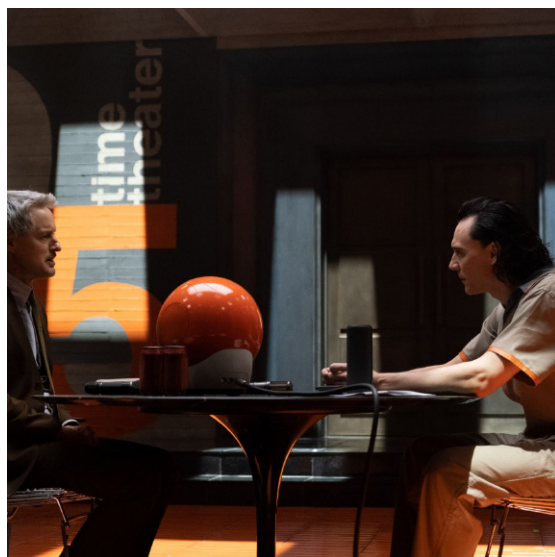
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Unikat w produkcji masowej. Badania nad tzw. spółdzielnią biżuterią okresu PRL i jej wystawy z kolekcji prywatnych

**A Unique Object in Mass Production: Research
on So-Called Cooperative Jewelry of the Polish
People's Republic and Its Exhibitions from
Private Collections**

Abstrakt

Od około 2000 roku wyraźnie zauważalne jest zainteresowanie wzornictwem oraz produkcją polskiej biżuterii po 1945 roku, zwanej popularnie biżuterią PRL i traktowanej jako obiekty zabytkowe i kolekcjonerskie. Ten obszar badawczy wciąż jest eksplorowany w kontekście sztuki polskiej, czego dowodzą coraz liczniejsze publikacje naukowe – monografie, artykuły, katalogi wystaw. Katalogi wystaw organizowanych po 2000 roku, towarzyszące ekspozycjom artefaktów, można uznać za swoistego rodzaju podsumowania etapów badań nad biżuterią PRL, ale także za otwarcie nowych dróg interpretacji i analiz. Trzeba jednak przyznać, że to ciągle etap początkowy, a badania mają charakter wielowątkowy, począwszy od ustaleń dotyczących skali produkcji, poprzez ustalenia twórców modeli biżuterii, a skończywszy na próbach syntez dotyczących kierunków

rozwoju wzornictwa biżuterii okresu PRL. W przygotowaniu tekstu zastosowano metodę krytycznej analizy tekstów naukowych oraz analizy danych faktograficznych.

Słowa klucze: biżuteria polska po 1945, wzornictwo polskie po 1945, wystawy biżuterii polskiej po 1945

Abstract

Since around 2000, there has been a clearly noticeable interest in the design and production of Polish jewelry after 1945, popularly called jewelry of the Polish People's Republic and treated as historic and collector's items. This "research area" is still being explored in the context of Polish art, as evidenced by the growing number of publications – articles, monographs and exhibition catalogues. The catalogues of exhibitions organised after 2000, accompanying the exhibitions of artefacts, can be considered a kind of summary of the stages of research on jewellery of the Polish People's Republic, but also as opening new paths of interpretation and analysis. It must be acknowledged, however, that this is still an early stage, and the research is multi-layered, beginning with findings regarding the scale of production, continuing through the findings of jewelry designers, and concluding with attempted syntheses regarding the development of jewelry design in the communist era. The text was prepared using critical analysis of scientific texts and analysis of factual data.

Keywords: Polish jewelry after 1945, Polish design after 1945, exhibitions of Polish jewelry after 1945

Kwerenda w archiwach okręgowych urzędów probierczych w Polsce, dotycząca zarejestrowanych spółdzielni i wytwórni produkujących biżuterię w okresie funkcjonowania Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej (dalej: PRL), pozwala wysnuć nieco zaskakujący wniosek – choć produkcja ta powszechnie kojarzy się z zaledwie kilkoma dużymi spółdzielniami podległymi Cepelii (ORNO, Imago Artis, Rytosztuka, Metaloplastyka, Bursztyny, Juwelia) oraz zakładami państwowymi zrzeszonymi w kombinatach Warmet i Polsrebro, to tak naprawdę podejmowały ją również inne spółdzielnie cepeliowskie, jak i bardzo liczne mniejsze zakłady i warsztaty, należące do struktur Rzemieślniczych Spółdzielni Zaopatrzenia i Zbytu. Wiele z nich, parających się realizacją szeroko rozumianej tzw. metaloplastyki lub np. galanterii stołowej i galanterii ubioru, rejestrowano w okręgowych urzędach probierczych jako wytwórców biżuterii realizowanej wg kupowanych wzorów lub jedynie dystrybutorów biżuterii kupowanej od rzemieślników oraz plastyków pracujących

indywidualnie¹. W rzeczywistości zatem produkcję biżuterii w PRL prowadziło co najmniej kilka tysięcy podmiotów gospodarczych, tj. spółdzielnie cepeliowskie, wytwórnie państwowe, rzemieślnicze zakłady prywatne oraz spółdzielcze².

Zwracając jednak szczególną uwagę na spółdzielnie cepeliowskie, podkreślić należy, że rozpoczęły one działalność już na przełomie lat 40./50. XX wieku, a ich kres przyszedł w latach 90. XX wieku, gdy rozpoczął się proces ich masowej likwidacji³. Choć jeszcze wówczas pracownicy próbowali przedłużyć ich działanie, zmieniając stan prawny lub zakładając nowe, nieobarczone długami spółdzielnie (często ich nazwy nawiązywały do nazw poprzednich), to proces upadku spółdzielni specjalizujących się w produkcji biżuterii biegł nieubłaganie do ok. 2000 roku,

- 1 W niniejszym omówieniu pomijam organizowane już od 2. połowy lat 50. XX wieku wystawy i ekspozycje w sklepach, galeriach, biurach wystaw artystycznych oraz w ośrodkach zagranicznych, których celem była bieżąca prezentacja dokonań spółdzielni i przedsiębiorstw państwowych i tym samym podniesienie sprzedaży ich wyrobów.
- 2 Prowadzone w ciągu ostatnich kilkunastu lat badania nad wzornictwem i produkcją biżuterii w Polsce po 1945 roku, mimo iż wciąż mają charakter wybiórczy, istotnie wzbogaciły stan wiedzy o tych zagadnieniach; nie odwołując się zatem do wszystkich publikacji z tego zakresu, wspomnieć można najistotniejsze: Henryk Dukaczewski, Maria Gonetowa, *Przemysł jubilerski w Polsce. Monografia i założenia rozwojowe* (Warszawa: Centrala Jubilerska „Jubiler”, Zjednoczenie Wiodące Przemysłu Jubilerskiego w Polsce, 1967); Teresa Kuczyńska, *Sztuka jubilerska Cepelii* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Spółdzielcze, 1984); Anna Kwiecień, *Polska biżuteria srebrna w latach 1945–1980 z kolekcji w Muzeum w Gliwicach* (Legnica: Biuro Wystaw Artystycznych, Okręgowe Muzeum Miedzi w Legnicy, Muzeum w Gliwicach, 1990); Agnieszka Kasprzak Miler, Anna Frąckiewicz, *Polska biżuteria artystyczna z lat 1945–1950 ze zbiorów Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 1999); Agnieszka Kasprzak Miler, „Wpływ Biura Nadzoru Estetyki Produkcji na kształt polskiej biżuterii artystycznej” w *W kręgu sztuki przedmiotu. Studia ofiarowane Profesor Irenie Huml przez przyjaciół, kolegów i uczniów*, red. Maria Dłutek, Anna Kostrzyńska-Miłosz (Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 2011); Irena Huml, *Ars Argenti. Srebro-artysty-biżuteria. Legnicki Festiwal SREBRO* (Legnica: Galeria Sztuki Legnicki Festiwal SREBRO, 2014); Roman Gmurczyk, *Organizacja cepeliowska w latach 1949–2014. Fakty i ludzie* (Warszawa: Fundacja „CEPELIA” Polska Sztuka i Rękodzieło, 2014); Anna Wiszniewska, „Dzieje Wytwórni Wyrobów Jubilerskich Warmet w świetle badań archiwalnych”, w *Rzemiosło artystyczne i wzornictwo w Polsce. Od klejnotów królewskich po biżuterię ubogą. O biżuterii w Polsce*, red. Katarzyna Kluczwajd (Toruń: Stowarzyszenie Historyków Sztuki Oddział Toruń, 2015), 111–116; Michał Myśliński, *Rozbite Zwierciadło. Biżuteria i galanteria Spółdzielni Przemysłu Artystycznego „Imago Artis”* (Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 2015); Michał Myśliński, *Srebro z Poznania. Biżuteria i galanteria Spółdzielni Pracy Rękodzieła Artystycznego „Rytosztuka”* (Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 2017); Michał Myśliński, *Sztuka małych form. Studia nad produkcją i wzornictwem polskiej biżuterii w latach 1945–1989* (Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 2021); Michał Myśliński, *Pamiętka znad morza. Wytwórnia Wyrobów Bursztynowych w Gdańsku. Historia i produkcja* (Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 2024).
- 3 Gmurczyk, *Organizacja cepeliowska*.

który tym samym można uznać za bardzo umowną datę zamknięcia tej sfery wzornictwa PRL. Upadek spółdzielni przyniósł niepowetowaną stratę w zakresie dzisiejszych badań nad wzornictwem sztuki użytkowej PRL, ponieważ zniszczeniu uległy dokumenty wzorcowni, na podstawie których dziś możliwe byłoby dokładne i bezsprzeczne przypisanie określonych wzorów ich autorom, ustalenie wielkości i czasu produkcji konkretnych modeli itp. Te niekorzystne uwarunkowania z pewnością znane są badaczom szkła, ceramiki lub sprzętów użytkowych doby PRL, warto więc przy tym podkreślić, że konieczność rozpoczęcia badań nad wzornictwem biżuterii polskiej wskazywała już w latach 70. XX wieku prof. Irena Huml, a opinię tę powtórzyła kilkakrotnie po 2000 roku⁴. Nie miało to jednak żadnego wpływu na decyzje syndyków masy upadłościowej i likwidatorów spółdzielni, a tym bardziej pracowników, którzy tracąc pracę w wyniku likwidacji lub restrukturyzacji wytwórni, nie przejawiali szczególnego sentymentu do dawnego miejsca pracy i tym bardziej nie byli zainteresowani ochroną jej dobytku oraz dorobku. Niemniej w kilku przypadkach, często wskutek szczęśliwego zbiegu okoliczności, zachowała się część dokumentacji, głównie księgi wzorów i karty technologiczne, co w konfrontacji z nielicznymi, drukowanymi katalogami polskiej biżuterii z 1957 i 1966 roku pozwala na przedstawienie wniosków dotyczących ogólnej liczby wzorów przedstawionych przez spółdzielnie w ich całym, 50-letnim okresie istnienia⁵. W przypadku Imago Artis, ORNO, Rytosztuki każda ze spółdzielni przedstawiła ok. 5000 wzorów biżuterii srebrnej i złotej, Bursztyny, Juwelia i Metaloplastyka po ok. 2000 wzorów (zastrzec od razu należy, że w przypadku Juwelii, Bursztynów i Metaloplastyki to liczby orientacyjne). Mimo to przyjąć można, że dorobek tych kilku najbardziej znanych spółdzielni cepeliowskich to ok. 21 000 wzorów pierścionków, bransolet, kolczyków i klipsów, broszek, naszyjników, zawieszek, puderniczek, lusterek, spinek mankietowych i spinek do krawata itp. Hipotetyczne zatem odtworzenie i przedstawienie dokonań projektowych wskazanych spółdzielni wymagałoby skompletowania takiej właśnie liczby obiektów. Podane tu liczby

4 Irena Huml, „Imago Artis – krakowskie zwierciadło sztuki. Spółdzielnia Pracy Rękodzieła Artystycznego 1947–1998”, w *Rzemiosło artystyczne i wzornictwo w Polsce. Biżuteria w Polsce. Amulet. Znak. Klejnot*, red. Katarzyna Kluczwajd (Toruń: Stowarzyszenie Historyków Sztuki Oddział Toruń, 2003), 102–108.

5 (s.a.) *Katalog wyrobów jubilerskich 1957* (Warszawa: Ministerstwo Handlu Wewnętrznego Centralny Zarząd Przemysłu i Handlu Jubilerskiego w Warszawie, 1957); Władysław Malicki, *Wzornik wyrobów jubilerskich* (Warszawa: Zjednoczenie Wiodącego Przemysłu Jubilerskiego w Polsce, 1966); (s.a.) *Katalog wyrobów złotych i srebrnych* (Warszawa: 1975); (s.a.) *Wyroby ze srebra, posrebrzane i inne. Katalog* (Warszawa: 1987); (s.a.) *Katalog wyrobów – Polsrebro Agat* (Warszawa: 1990).

pomijają produkcję wspomnianych kilkuset rzemieślniczych spółdzielni zaopatrzenia i zbytu, produkcję państwowych wytwórni oraz zakładów prywatnych. Ich uwzględnienie z pewnością znacznie zwiększyłoby liczbę wzorów biżuterii (wedle dość ostrożnych wyliczeń zapewne do ok. 35–40 tysięcy), a ta z kolei zwiększyłaby się po wliczeniu w nią wzorów dzieł plastyków i twórców biżuterii pracujących indywidualnie.

System produkcji biżuterii w spółdzielniach cepeliowskich zasadniczo wyróżniał trzy typy wzorów:

1. wytwarzane masowo, bez ograniczeń – zazwyczaj popularny model produkowano w nie mniej niż 1–5 tysięcy egzemplarzy;
2. ograniczane czasowo (np. 2 lata produkcji) lub ilościowo do kilkudziesięciu lub kilkuset egzemplarzy, co głównie powodowane było trudnością i pracochłonnością wytworzenia pojedynczego dzieła, rzutującymi na jego wysoką cenę detaliczną i istotne kłopoty związane ze sprzedażą; ograniczenia spowodowane były również okolicznościowym nawiązaniem do szybko dezaktualizujących się wydarzeń historycznych (Rok Kopernikański, XXX-lecie PRL itp.)⁶;
3. serie artystyczne i autorskie – ograniczane jakoby do kilkudziesięciu egzemplarzy, jak i serie rzekomo unikatowe, w ramach których powstawało kilka tzw. powieleń. Znamienna jest ta ostatnia kategoria, której nazwa sugeruje realizację pojedynczego dzieła, w rzeczywistości zaś z góry zakładano produkcję kilku egzemplarzy tak określonego wzoru. Charakter produkcji w spółdzielniach oraz stała praktyka wzorcowni pozwalają jednoznacznie stwierdzić, że żaden z realizowanych wzorów nie powstał w liczbie mniejszej niż kilka egzemplarzy, a co więcej – lektura np. książki wzorów *Imago Artis* dowodzi, że niektóre wzory unikatowe lub wzory krótkich serii artystycznych po kilku latach trafiały do produkcji masowej, bez ograniczeń ilościowych i czasowych.

Liczba przedstawianych wzorów oraz nadawany im charakter realizacyjny pozwala domyślać się skali produkcji biżuterii w Polsce – tej jednak nie można obecnie dokładnie odtworzyć ze względu na zniszczenie części materiałów archiwalnych odnoszących się do miesięcznych, kwartalnych i rocznych planów produkcyjnych, skorelowanych z rzeczywistym wolumenem produkcji. O wielkości produkcji w latach 40.–50. XX wieku świadczą wyrwykowe dane archiwalne, w tym także z książek wzorów wielkości spółdzielni (wówczas było to ok. 50–100 powieleń jednego wzoru, co spowodowane było przede wszystkim trudnym dostępem do srebra),

6 Myśliński, *Sztuka małych form*, 144–152.

z kolei w odniesieniu do lat 70. i 80. XX wieku świadczą o tym informacje dotyczące ilości przerabianego srebra – np. wg danych na 1 stycznia 1975 roku spółdzielnie przerobiły w 1974 roku łącznie 4490 kg srebra (Imago Artis – 1000 kg, Orno – 850 kg, Rytosztuka – 2200 kg, Plastyka – brak danych, Metaloplastyka – 150 kg, Bursztyny – 190 kg)⁷. Zapewne ilości te utrzymywały się na w miarę stałym poziomie, bo w 1984 roku w poznańskiej Rytosztuce przerobiono ok. 2 t srebra, co daje średnio ok. 170 kg miesięcznie⁸. Pozostałe spółdzielnie przerabiały mniejsze ilości srebra ze względu na charakter oferowanych wzorów (milgryf w Imago Artis) lub praktykę produkcyjną (tzw. krótkie serie w ORNO, nieprzekraczające 100–200 egzemplarzy jednego modelu); przyjąć zatem można, że już w latach 70. i 80. XX wieku w cepeliowskich spółdzielniach przerabiano zapewne nie mniej niż ok. 5 t srebra w ciągu jednego roku. Tak olbrzymia produkcja biżuterii jest zrozumiała w kontekście nadrzędnego celu istnienia spółdzielni – miały one przede wszystkim dawać zatrudnienie, generować zysk finansowy oraz odprowadzać do skarbu państwa podatki. Do mitów należy zaliczyć przeświadczenie, jakoby jednym z priorytetów polskich władz było zapewnienie Polkom biżuterii pięknej i nowoczesnej, bo jej produkcja w Polsce była jedną z wielu gałęzi przemysłu hutniczego i metalurgicznego, a srebro właściwie pozostawało kłopotliwym odpadem przy produkcji miedzi.

Po upadku spółdzielni oraz innych wytwórców biżuteria produkowana w 2. połowie XX wieku w PRL dość powszechnie uważana była za niemodną, nieco przestarzałą i nieciekawą; efektem tego był prowadzony przez jubilerów i złotników jej skup, a następnie przetop i rafinacja na granulat srebra o próbie 0,950 (również tym można tłumaczyć fakt, że na obecnym rynku antykwarycznym biżuterii z okresu PRL nie jest aż tak dużo, jak można by się spodziewać wobec jej tak intensywnej produkcji). Wyraźna zmiana stosunku do biżuterii PRL nastąpiła jednak już ok. 2005–2010 roku, gdy pierścionki, broszki, bransoletki, wisiory i naszyjniki z polskich spółdzielni i wytwórni były coraz intensywniej poszukiwane i kupowane, choć to rosnące zainteresowanie dało się wówczas zauważyć przede wszystkim w sferze internetowej i na giełdach staroci, a nie w galeriach sztuki i sklepach antykwarycznych. Wówczas też zorganizowana została w 2011 roku pierwsza wystawa biżuterii PRL, traktowanej już jako wyroby o walorach zabytkowych; ideą ekspozycji zatytułowanej „Granice srebrnych przestrzeni” i skomponowanej z prywatnych

7 Józef Spiszak, *Organizacja branży złotniczo-jubilerskiej w ramach Cepelii* (Kraków: [druk wewnętrzny], 1975), 23.

8 Myśliński, *Srebro z Poznania*, 141.

zbiorów prof. Ireny Huml była prezentacja obiektów dokumentujących *en bloc* wzornictwo już minione, a tym samym posiadających pewien walor muzealno-kolekcyjny, choć dla właścicielki były to przede wszystkim piękne, użytkowe przedmioty. Zawierająca ponad 300 obiektów wystawa prezentowana była w trzech miastach, gdzie odniosła znaczny sukces frekwencyjny, a towarzyszący jej katalog bardzo szybko stał się niejako „podręcznikiem” do identyfikacji wzorów (szybko okazało się, że niezbędne było wykonanie dodruku katalogu)⁹. Zawarte w nim zdjęcia często przywoływano na portalach sprzedażowych w celu podniesienia ceny wyrobu jako autentycznego i katalogowanego, a podział ekspozycji i katalogu wg wytwórni i spółdzielni spowodował, że miłośniczki biżuterii zaczęły uważniej interesować się oznaczeniami widniejącymi na biżuterii i rozróżniać poszczególne wytwórnie.

Wystawę kolekcji Ireny Huml określić można jako pionierską z wielu powodów. Przede wszystkim wyraźnie przełamała ona fałszywe przesvědzenie, że uznanie artystycznej klasy biżuterii PRL oznacza pełną afirmację ówczesnego ustroju politycznego, a ponadto udowodniła, jak wielkim zainteresowaniem cieszą się przedmioty o rodowodzie co najwyżej 70-letnim, bardzo często przechowywane jeszcze w polskich domach, a nawet wciąż używane, czyli noszone. Co więcej – przedmiotami ekspozycyjnymi stały się dzieła zazwyczaj przez historyków sztuki traktowane jako wyroby masowe pozbawione jakichkolwiek wartości artystycznych, a przez muzealników uznawane za trudne w ekspozycji przedmioty drobne, w większości płaskie i monochromatyczne. Wystawa ta stała się poniekąd „praprzyczyną” otwartej w 2019 roku w Muzeum Warszawy monograficznej wystawy „Spółdzielnia ORNO. Biżuteria” (warto dodać, że profesor Huml była miłośniczką tej właśnie biżuterii). Zgromadzone dzieła (ok. 1200 obiektów sztuki złotniczej), w dużej części udostępnione przez prywatnych kolekcjonerów, obrazowały całość prawie 50-letnich dokonań spółdzielni, ukazanej także jako środowisko ludzi tworzących specyficzną mikrospołeczność. Wystawa bardzo wyraźnie ujawniła przy tym obecne mankamenty badań nad wzornictwem biżuterii, odnoszące się do identyfikacji autorów wzorów, czasu ich zgłoszenia, wielkości produkcji itp. Datowanie obiektów widniejących na wystawie dokonane zostało przede wszystkim na podstawie polskich znaków probierczych, a ustalenie twórców wzorów – w zdecydowanie mniejszym już zakresie – na podstawie wpisów na metkach handlowych lub ustnych relacji

9 Irena Huml, *Granice srebrnych przestrzeni. Polska biżuteria II połowy XX wieku*, katalog wystawy, Muzeum Miedzi w Legnicy, 20 maja – 12 czerwca 2011 (Legnica: Galeria Sztuki Legnica, 2011).

dawnych pracowników ORNO, identyfikujących poszczególne wyroby. Z drugiej jednak strony podkreślić należy, że projektanci biżuterii ORNO produkowanej po 1962 roku nie byli w żaden sposób uwieczniani na samych wyrobach – np. imiennikami lub znakami autorskimi – choć tego rodzaju dane wpisywano do niezachowanych już dziś ksiąg wzorów oraz na metki handlowe. Zatem brak informacji o autorze wzoru w podpisach pod eksponowanymi dziełami całkowicie odpowiada praktyce spółdzielni, gdzie warstwa informacyjna ograniczana była do znaku firmowego oraz probierczego. Trzeba niestety dodać, że bardzo istotnym mankamentem tak ważnej i wręcz monumentalnej wystawy jest brak katalogu, a jedynym wydawnictwem jest niewielki folder¹⁰; z tego powodu pełną, publicznie dostępną dokumentację wizualną tworzą wyłącznie zdjęcia wykonywane przez zwiedzających, zamieszczone w kilku grupach na portalu społecznościowym Facebook.

Trzecia wystawa „Od pomysłu do przemysłu. Biżuteria PRL z kolekcji Marii Magdaleny Kwiatkiewicz”, zorganizowana w 2023 roku w poznańskiej Galerii YES również zbudowana została na kanwie kolekcji prywatnej, tworzonej od ponad 25 lat przez Marię Magdalenę Kwiatkiewicz, założycielkę firmy i marki jubilerskiej YES. Na wystawie zaprezentowano 200 obiektów, wybranych spośród ok. 500 tworzących tę część kolekcji, której całość liczy ok. 2000 dzieł złotniczych¹¹. Już na etapie prac przygotowawczych odrzucono pomysł pokazu wszystkich obiektów tworzących kolekcję biżuterii PRL, jak i ich grupowania ze względu na realizację w poszczególnych spółdzielniach. Wyróżniono za to kilka wątków tematycznych, które pozwoliły – w zamyśle organizatorów – zaprezentować przemiany i najważniejsze nurty polskiego wzornictwa biżuterii od czasów tużpowojennych, aż do przełomu politycznego z 1989 roku i późniejszego upadku polskich spółdzielni jubilerskich.

Przywołane wystawy traktować można – i należy – jako podsumowania etapów oraz nurtów badań nad wzornictwem biżuterii PRL, które dają obecnie asumpt do kilku wniosków. Pierwsza konstatacja dotyczy zasadniczego „nieistnienia” tego rodzaju kolekcji w zbiorach publicznych, choć wskazać można nieliczne wyjątki, jak np. Muzeum w Gliwicach, Muzeum Miedzi w Legnicy, Muzeum w Koninie. Zapewne jest to wynik dwóch uwarunkowań. Pierwsze to efekt tego, że jeszcze

10 Agnieszka Dąbrowska, Monika Siwińska, Anna Wiszniewska, *Spółdzielnia ORNO. Biżuteria*, przewodnik po wystawie, Muzeum Warszawy, 17 maja – 18 sierpnia 2019 (Warszawa: Muzeum Warszawy, 2019).

11 Magdalena Maria Kwiatkiewicz, Michał Myśliński, *Od pomysłu do przemysłu. Biżuteria PRL z kolekcji Marii Magdaleny Kwiatkiewicz 14 kwietnia – 09 czerwca 2023 r.* (Poznań: Galeria YES, 2023).

kilkanaście lat temu przedmiotom tym odmawiano wartości muzealiów, a zatem nie gromadzono ich w sposób celowy, drugie zaś to trudności w zakupie takich obiektów, bo muzea funkcjonują w określonym reżimie prawno-finansowym, a transakcje na rynku biżuterii w grupach społecznościowych oraz portalach sprzedażowych odbywają się bardzo szybko i zazwyczaj bez wystawiania faktur VAT, bez oczekiwania na opinie komisji zakupów i efekty starań o dotacje celowe itp. Z tego powodu gromadzenie biżuterii PRL to wciąż w znacznej mierze domena sfery prywatnej, gdzie niekiedy budowanie kolekcji powodowane jest prawdziwym zainteresowaniem polskim wzornictwem, a niekiedy jest wynikiem jedynie chwilowego kaprysu; w obu przypadkach chroni to jednak przedmioty przed bezpowrotnym zniszczeniem, bo każda transakcja poniekąd podnosi wartość tego rodzaju przedmiotów jako obiektów handlu. Cechą charakterystyczną znacznej większości zbiorów jest jednak ich zmienność ilościowa i jakościowa, bo okazjnie kupowane dzieła bardzo często stanowią przedmiot zyskowej „szybkiej sprzedaży”, choć w zbiorach znajdują się również obiekty naprawdę rzadko spotykane i nadzwyczaj cenne, zazwyczaj traktowane jako dobra, długoterminowa lokata finansowa. Porównanie zbiorów tego rodzaju – niezależnie od tego, jak są one traktowane przez ich właścicieli – prowadzi do jeszcze jednego, istotnego wniosku, dotyczącego dokonującej się powoli konwergencji kolekcji. Zamknięta liczba wzorów powielanej biżuterii PRL, wśród których za najcenniejsze uchodzą przede wszystkim projekty i realizacje Henryka Grunwalda, Mamerta Celmińskiego, Józefa Fajngolda, Jadwigi i Jerzego Zaremskich, Danuty i Szczęsnego Kobielskich, wyroby sprzed 1963 roku oraz np. okazałe dzieła ORNO, Rytosztuki itp., sprawia, że kolekcje stają się w pewien sposób do siebie podobne – w niemal każdym zbiorze znajdują się takie właśnie najcenniejsze i najbardziej poszukiwane dzieła, jak i przedmioty łatwiej dostępne na obecnym rynku ze względu na ich onegdaj masową produkcję.

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„Prima del Machiavelli”. Refleksje Benedetto Crocego nad systemem władzy renesansowego Królestwa Neapolu

**“Prima del Machiavelli”: Benedetto Croce’s
Reflections on the System of Power in the
Renaissance Kingdom of Naples**

Abstrakt

Cel niniejszego artykułu to dokonanie oceny – w szerszym kontekście historii państw włoskich epoki odrodzenia – znaczenia, jakie myśli historycznej i politycznej Machiavellego nadawał Benedetto Croce, biorąc pod uwagę jego refleksję historyczną w odniesieniu do historii państw włoskich w okresie renesansu, koncentrującą się na relacjach między tymi państwami a ówczesną monarchią hiszpańską. W świetle powyższych założeń niezbędne jest porównanie tez Crocego z opiniami wyrażanymi przez sekretarza florenckiego (zaczerpniętymi z *Księcia* i *Historii florenckich*), jak również Francesca Guicciardiniego, XVI-wiecznego autora *La Historia d’Italia*. Na potrzeby artykułu wykorzystana została polska i włoska literatura przedmiotu odnosząca się do dziejów Włoch na przełomie XV/XVI w. ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem historii Królestwa Neapolu, a także myśli historycznej i politycznej Niccolò Machiavellego, nawiązującej do tych

zagadnień. Niniejsza analiza, wykorzystująca metody badawcze z zakresu włoskiej historii historiografii oraz historii myśli politycznej wczesnej epoki nowożytnej, obejmuje charakterystykę dziejów Królestwa Neapolu epoki aragońskiej w systemie państw włoskich XV wieku, a także koncepcji premakiawelizmu króla Ferrante w refleksji Benedetta Crocego.

Odnosząc się do głównych tez badawczych, należy podkreślić ich istotne znaczenie nie tylko w kontekście eseju *Prima del Machiavelli* (będącego komentarzem do publikacji źródłowej *Una difesa di Re Ferrante I di Napoli per il violato trattato di pace del 1486 col Papa* (Bari, 1944), ale także dzieła Crocego poświęconego dziejom Królestwa Neapolu *Storia del Regno di Napoli* (Bari, 1925). We wnioskach można zatem stwierdzić, iż cele, jakie stawiał sobie Benedetto Croce w badaniach nad historią Południa Włoch, zwłaszcza Królestwa Neapolu, również w odniesieniu do eseju *Prima del Machiavelli* istotnego dla zrozumienia epoki kluczowych dla tych dziejów przemian w okresie przełomu XV/XV wieku, zostały przezeń zrealizowane. Postrzegać je należy, jak chciał sam Croce, we włoskiej perspektywie historycznej, zarazem jednak w szerszym kontekście zarówno z punktu widzenia historii politycznej, jak i literackiej, artystycznej czy społecznej. A także zgodnie z kluczową dla tytułowego włoskiego filozofa tezą, iż „historia jest zawsze współczesna”.

Słowa klucze: historia Włoch epoki wczesnonowożytnej, Królestwo Neapolu w epoce dynastii aragońskiej, historia historiografii włoskiej, koncepcje historyczne Niccolò Machiavellego, myśl historyczna Benedetto Crocego.

Abstract

The aim of this article is to assess, in the broader context of the history of Italian states during the Renaissance, the significance that Benedetto Croce attached to Machiavelli's historical and political thought in the context of his historical reflections on the history of Italian states during the Renaissance, focusing on the relations between these states and the Spanish monarchy of the time. In this context, it is necessary to compare Croce's theses with the opinions expressed by the Florentine Secretary (taken from *The Prince* and *The History of Florence*), as well as those of Francesco Guicciardini, the 16th-century author *The History of Italy*. For the purposes of this article, Polish and Italian literature on the subject relating to the history of Italy at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries has been used, with particular emphasis on the history of the Kingdom of Naples and, in this context, the historical and political thought of Niccolò Machiavelli. Using research methods from the field of Italian historiography and the history of political thought in the early modern era, the analysis covers the characteristics of the history of the Kingdom of Naples during the Aragonese era in the system of Italian states in the 15th century, as well as the concept of pre-Machiavellianism in the reign of King

Ferrante in the reflections of Benedetto Croce. Referring to these main research theses, it is important to emphasise their significance not only in the context of the essay *Prima del Machiavelli* (which is a commentary on the source publication *Una difesa di Re Ferrante I di Napoli per il violato trattato di pace del 1486 col Papa* (Bari, 1944), but also Croce's work on the history of the Kingdom of Naples, *Storia del Regno di Napoli* (Bari, 1925). In conclusion, it can therefore be said that Benedetto Croce achieved the goals he set himself in his research on the history of Southern Italy, especially the Kingdom of Naples, including his essay *Prima del Machiavelli*, which is important for understanding the era of key changes in this history at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries. They should also be viewed, as Croce himself wanted, from an Italian historical perspective, but at the same time in a broader context, both from the point of view of political history and literary, artistic and social history. And also in accordance with his key thesis that *History is always Contemporary*.

Keywords: history of Italy in the early modern period, Kingdom of Naples during the Aragonese dynasty, history of Italian historiography, Niccolò Machiavelli's historical concepts, Benedetto Croce's historical thought.

Założenia wstępne

Punktem wyjścia dla rozważań nad myślą historyczną Benedetta Crocego są poświęcone temu zagadnieniu włoskie badania, poczynsz od klasycznej pozycji Adriano Bausoli z 1965 r. zatytułowanej *Filosofia e storia nel pensiero crociano*¹, ale też prace opublikowane w okresie późniejszym, także w wieku XXI, przez takich autorów jak Andrea Bienati, Raffaele Colapietra, Roberta Angelica Ruotolo². W polskiej literaturze przedmiotu odnotować należy tłumaczenie na język polski dzieła Crocego *Storia d'Europa nel secolo decimono*³ oraz tłumaczeń mniej znanych tekstów Crocego, autorstwa Łukasza Jana Berezowskiego

1 Adriano Bausola, *Filosofia e storia nel pensiero crociano* (Milano: Società Editrice Vita e Pensiero, 1965).

2 Andrea Bienati, „Le vie di libertà nell'Europa mediterranea. Il pensiero di Benedetto Croce”, *Portolana* 4 (2009): 317–341; Raffaele Colapietra, „Riflessioni sul pensiero politico di Benedetto Croce a margine di un recente libro di Salvatore Cingari”, *Storia e Politica* XIII/2 (2021): 325–340; Roberta Angelica Ruotolo, „Il catalogo muliebre nella Napoli del XVI secolo: un contributo di Benedetto Croce”, *Quaderns de Filologia: Estudis Literaris* (2017): 90–112.

3 Benedetto Croce, *Historia Europy w XIX wieku*, przeł. Joanna Ugniewska, wstęp Bronisław Geremek, posłowie Gustaw Herling-Grudziński (Warszawa: Czytelnik, 1998).

i Katarzyny Muszyńskiej⁴, a także publikację autorstwa Anny Fligel⁵. Szereg zagadnień o charakterze interdyscyplinarnym stało się inspiracją do refleksji, ale też propozycji interpretacyjnych zawartych w referatach zaprezentowanych w 2025 r. na polsko-włoskiej konferencji w Rzymie poświęconej postaciom i twórczości Benedetto Crocego i Gustawa Herlinga-Grudzińskiego⁶.

Odnosząc się do tez zawartych w niniejszym tekście, można natomiast stwierdzić, iż analiza refleksji historycznej Benedetto Crocego w odniesieniu do historii państw włoskich w okresie renesansu koncentrować się musi na relacjach między tymi państwami a ówczesną monarchią hiszpańską⁷, a także na ważnej publikacji źródłowej w opracowaniu Crocego, sporządzonej w języku hiszpańskim, która była próbą obrony decyzji króla Neapolu Ferrante I dotyczącej zerwania traktatu pokojowego z papieżem w roku 1486⁸. Publikację materiału źródłowego poprzedzał obszerny komentarz neapolitańskiego filozofa idei, dotyczący myśli historycznej i politycznej Niccolò Machiavellego. W tym kontekście niezbędne jest porównanie tez Crocego z opiniami wyrażanymi przez

4 Ze świata idei Benedetto Crocego: o kulturze, religii i przekładzie, przeł. Łukasz Jan Berezowski, Katarzyna Muszyńska (Łódź–Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2022). Zob. zwłaszcza: Łukasz Jan Berezowski, *Znamiona obecności Benedetto Crocego w piśmiennictwie polskim: studium źródłoznawcze*, w *Ze świata idei Benedetto Crocego*, 74.

5 Anna Fligel-Piotrowska, *Benedetto Croce, historyzm absolutny: studium ze współczesnej filozofii włoskiej* (Łódź: Wyższa Szkoła Studiów Międzynarodowych, 2011). Na temat stanowiska Benedetto Crocego wobec marksizmu zob.: Sław Krzemień-Ojak, *Benedetto Croce i marksizm* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1975).

6 Inspiracją dla autora niniejszego artykułu był wygłoszony na konferencji referat zatytułowany: *La storia degli stati italiani a cavallo tra il '400 e il '500 nell'interpretazione storiografica di Benedetto Croce*. Wśród referatów przedstawionych na tej konferencji, a odnoszących się przede wszystkim do myśli Benedetto Crocego zob.: Łukasz Jan Berezowski, *Benedetto Croce e la questione della lingua: una polemica con Edmondo De Amicis intorno al libro „L'idioma gentile”*; Anna Fligel, *Il tema della pace nel pensiero filosofico e politico di Benedetto Croce (nel contesto della filosofia della pace globale)*; Maria Kiwior-Filo, *La dottrina della libertà di Benedetto Croce nella storiografia polacca*; Olga Płaszczewska, *Contro le distorsioni dell'umanistica: la letteratura comparata di Benedetto Croce e degli studiosi polacchi del primo Novecento*, w „Benedetto Croce e Gustaw Herling-Grudziński: tra letteratura, storia, filosofia e linguistica. Convegno interdisciplinare. Benedetto Croce and Gustaw Herling-Grudziński: Between Literature, History, Philosophy and Linguistics. Interdisciplinary Conference. Libro degli abstracts. Book of abstracts” (Roma: Accademia Polacca delle Scienze, 27–28 III 2025).

7 Benedetto Croce, *La Spagna nella vita italiana durante la Rinascenza* (Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 1949).

8 Benedetto Croce, *Una difesa di Re Ferrante I di Napoli per il violato trattato di pace del 1486 col Papa* (Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 1944).

sekretarza florenckiego (zaczepniętymi z *Księcia* i *Historii florenckich*)⁹, jak i z równie ważnymi, choć niewspomnianymi przez Crocego, ocenami Francesca Guicciardiniego, XVI-wiecznego autora *La Historia d'Italia*¹⁰.

Celem niniejszego artykułu jest zatem dokonanie oceny – w szerszym kontekście historii państw włoskich epoki odrodzenia – znaczenia, jakie myśli historycznej i politycznej Machiavellego nadawał Benedetto Croce, tym bardziej iż jak sam pisał, odrzucając powszechną w jego epoce (ale powtarzaną do dziś dnia) „czarną legendę” autora *Księcia*, Machiavelli ukazywał jedynie prawdę w relacji

z wielkimi problemami życia publicznego, a przede wszystkim z problemem niepodległości i jedności swojej ojczyzny, którą w swoich czasach widział słabą i podzieloną, podlegającą obcej władzy, podczas gdy inne części Europy, znacznie słabsze od Włoch pod względem cywilizacyjnym, formowały się i umacniały jako wielkie państwa narodowe¹¹.

Królestwo Neapolu epoki aragońskiej w systemie państw włoskich XV wieku

Proces kształtowania się tzw. włoskich „państw regionalnych”, które przecież przez wiele stuleci były państwami w pełnym tego słowa znaczeniu, miał swój istotny moment w epoce odrodzenia¹², gdy signorie, sięgające tradycjami epoki komunalnej państw-miast, przekształcały się w niezależne księstwa lub królestwa. W ten sposób, między XIV a XV stuleciem, pojawił się na Półwyspie Apenińskim szereg organizmów państwowych, wśród których istotną politycznie rolę, także w skali

9 Mikołaj Machiavelli, *Księżę*, przeł. Wincenty Rzymowski, oprac. Konstanty Grzybowski (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich – Wydawnictwo, 1979); Niccolò Machiavelli, *Historie florenckie*, przeł. Karol Estreicher, krytyczne opracowanie przekładu Stanisław Widłak, Bogumiła Bielańska, wstęp Stefan Bielański (Warszawa–Kraków: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1990).

10 Francesco Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*. Edizione di riferimento, red. Silvana Seidel Menchi (Torino: Einaudi, 1971). Zob.: *Z dziejów włoskiej historiografii epoki nowożytnej. Początek wojen włoskich (1494–1495) w świetle I i II księgi „La Historia d'Italia” Francesco Guicciardiniego. Materiały źródłowe*, oprac. Stefan Bielański, przeł. Bogumiła Bielańska (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UP, 2022).

11 Benedetto Croce, *Prima del Machiavelli*, w *idem, Una difesa di Re Ferrante I di Napoli*, 5–37.

12 W szerszym ujęciu, aczkolwiek w odniesieniu do włoskiej myśli politycznej czasów renesansu, traktował to zagadnienie John Greville Agard Pocock, *Moment Machiawela. Florencka myśl polityczna i atlantycka tradycja republikańska*, przeł. Arkadiusz Górniśiewicz (Kraków: Ośrodek Myśli Politycznej, 2023). Zob. *Wprowadzenie*, 7–9.

europiejskiej, odgrywały Królestwa Neapolu i Sycylii (Regni di Napoli e di Sicilia), ale także Florencja (Firenze, która na przełomie XV i XVI wieku przeszła od Signorii Medyceuszy do Republiki, by w ciągu XVI wieku z Księstwa Florencji stać się Wielkim Księstwem Toskanii – Granducato di Toscana) czy Księstwo Mediolanu (Ducato di Milano) oraz Najjaśniejsza Republika Wenecka (Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia). Szczególną rolę odgrywał w swej podwójnej roli papieski Rzym: Stolicą Apostolską (Santa Sede) jako punktu odniesienia dla religii chrześcijańskiej na całym świecie oraz świeckiej, czyli Państwa Kościelnego (Stato della Chiesa), usytuowanego w środkowej części Włoch. Renesansową panoramę państw włoskich uzupełniały republiki Genui, Lukki i San Marino oraz księstwa Modeny, Parmy, Mantui i Ferrary. Przez dłuższy czas nie do końca zdefiniowana była rola Księstwa Sabaudzkiego (Ducato di Savoia), którego najważniejszą częścią był Piemont, także ze względu na jego ułożenie – nie tylko z geopolitycznego, ale i kulturowego punktu widzenia – między monarchią francuską a systemem państw włoskich. Jak podkreśla Józef Andrzej Gierowski, Piemont – obok Wenecji – był tym państwem, które „mogło sobie pozwolić na względnie niezależną od Madrytu politykę” i podobnie jak Wenecja „wykorzystywał swe pograniczne położenie, by zapewnić sobie oparcie zdolne wyrównać naciski hiszpańskie”¹³. W XVI wieku było to zatem – jak to określiła Blythe Alice Raviola w ostatnio wydanej publikacji obejmującej dzieje Piemontu Sabaudzkiego (od państwa transalpejskiego do zjednoczenia Włoch) – „księstwo graniczne”, które dopiero od połowy XVI stulecia oraz na przełomie XVI i XVII wieku (w czasach władzy Emanuela Filiberta oraz Karola Emanuela I) weszło na drogę prowadzącą do tego, iż polityka władców i elit sabaudzkiego Piemontu stała się w dużej mierze decydująca dla całej historii Włoch w epoce nowożytnej i współczesnej¹⁴. Autorka tego opracowania w odniesieniu do roli Piemontu i dynastii sabaudzkiej w XVI i na początku XVII wieku odwołuje się do opinii Giovanniego Botera, autora fundamentalnych dzieł zarówno z zakresu myśli politycznej – *Della ragion di Stato* (Wenecja 1589, polska edycja krytyczna – *O racji stanu*, Kraków 2019), jak i nowożytnej geografii – *Relationi Universali* (Wenecja 1596; polskie tłumaczenie z początku XVII w. – *Relatiae Powszechne*, Kraków 1609, 1613), ale też *Relazione*

13 Józef Andrzej Gierowski, *Historia Włoch* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich – Wydawnictwo, 1985, 1999), 229.

14 Blythe Alice Raviola, *Il Piemonte Sabauda. Dal ducato transalpino all'Unità* (Bologna: Il Mulino, 2025).

di Piemonte (1607)¹⁵. Traktat ten – jak twierdził jego wydawca, Luigi Firpo, wybitny włoski historyk i znawca myśli i dzieł Botera – był też „najstarszą relacją o Piemoncie napisaną przez Piemontczyka”¹⁶.

Włoska geografia polityczna epoki między średniowieczem a odrodzeniem miała zatem wyjątkowo złożony charakter, wynikający z różnych typów systemów politycznych, a także odmiennych faz rozwoju społeczno-ekonomicznego. Nie negując owych różnic i odmienności, Francesco Somaini zauważa jednak, iż:

nowy ład geopolityczny, który został ustanowiony w połowie XV wieku, sprawiał, iż na obszarze całego Półwyspu można było mówić o pewnych cechach wspólnych: o przestrzeni połączonej przez głębokie współzależności, a przede wszystkim, mimo rywalizacji i napięć (...) geografia polityczna „trzech Italii” (okresu komunalnego, signorii i królestw) przekształcała się w to, co najczęściej jest określane jako „system państw włoskich”¹⁷.

I właśnie w tym powyżej zarysowanym kontekście historycznym i geopolitycznym można analizować pisma Benedetta Crocego odnoszące się do dziejów Królestwa Neapolu w okresie rządów dynastii aragońskiej, a w ujęciu szerszym do zagadnienia określanego jako *preponderanza spagnola*. Epoka hegemonii Hiszpanii, zwłaszcza na Południu Italii (choć nie tylko, także w Lombardii) zaznaczyła się w szczególności w epoce baroku, ale jej źródła przypadają niewątpliwie na czas renesansu. W historiografii włoskiej i europejskiej epoka ta ukazywana jest jako przejaw regresu kulturowego, cywilizacyjnego i politycznego Włoch. I tak J.A. Gierowski, dokonując bilansu włoskiej zależności od Hiszpanii, zwłaszcza w odniesieniu do dominiów hiszpańskich na Południu Włoch (Neapol, Sycylia, Sardynia), wskazuje, że:

Pozytywne skutki związku z Hiszpanią nie przetrwały w ekonomice dłużej niż do początków XVII w. W końcu związek ten doprowadził do stagnacji i regresu. Administracja hiszpańska okazała się niezdolna do rozwiązania problemów swych włoskich dominiów. Jedynie powiązania kulturalne owocowały z korzyścią tak dla Hiszpanów, jak Włochów¹⁸.

15 *Ibidem*, 9.

16 Luigi Firpo, *Gente di Piemonte* (Milano: Mursia, 1983), 87. Zob. Stefan Bielański, *Giovanni Botero. Historyk i pisarz polityczny epoki Kontrreformacji* (Kraków: Universitas, 1995), 92.

17 Francesco Somaini, *Geografie politiche italiane tra Medo Evo e Rinascimento* (Milano: Officina Libraria, 2012), 10.

18 Gierowski, 220–221. Z kolei Ch. Duggan podkreśla to, że w XVII wieku Włochy pod dominacją hiszpańską „cieszyły się okresem relatywnego spokoju”, z drugiej strony obecność Hiszpanów „przyczyniła się do odizolowania Włoch od wielu osiągnięć

W istocie interpretacja okresu dominacji hiszpańskiej we Włoszech, choć ukazująca więcej jej aspektów pozytywnych, nie była u Crocego aż tak bardzo odległa od ugruntowanego we współczesnej historiografii ujęcia tego zagadnienia. Była wręcz kwestią zasadniczą, podjętą przez neapolitańskiego filozofa i historyka w dziele poświęconym roli Hiszpanii w życiu włoskim epoki renesansu (według jednego z terminów używanych w tym zakresie przez Benedetta Crocego – w okresie włoskiej *Rinascenza*)¹⁹. Przypominał zatem o ścisłych związkach Hiszpanii z Neapolem i Sycylią, a przede wszystkim o codziennej obecności Hiszpanów, sprowadzających do tych państw włoskich całe rodziny, natomiast włoscy *nobili i popolani* wypełniali szeregi wojsk królów katolickich, zaś politycy i sędziowie włoscy zostawali członkami hiszpańskich rad królewskich. Zarazem mieszały się ze sobą języki, literatura i obyczaje, a nawet w polityce dochodziło do wzajemnego naśladowania sposobów i form sprawowania władzy²⁰.

Szczególne zainteresowanie budziły u Crocego dzieje Królestwa Neapolu: od jego „złotego wieku” do upadku, czyli końca panowania dynastii aragońskiej i włączenia Królestwa do dominiów hiszpańskich, a równocześnie początku okresu wspomnianej *preponderanza spagnola*. Neapolitański „wiek złoty” utożsamiamy był natomiast z okresem panowania Alfonsa Wspaniałego (1396–1458; króla Aragonii, Sardynii i Korsyki w l. 1416–1458 jako Alfonsa V oraz króla Neapolu w l. 1442–1458 jako Alfonsa I). Croce podkreśla też, że choć z postacią tego właśnie władcy wiążą się „kultura renesansu” oraz „aspekty włoskie i humanistyczne”, to równocześnie dzięki jego wieloletnim rządom i napływowi Hiszpanów pojawiła się w narracji włoskiej inna figura: „Hiszpana-barbarzyńcy”²¹.

społecznych, gospodarczych i kulturalnych Europy Północnej”. Już jednak na początku XVIII stulecia „dni Hiszpanii jako światowej potęgi były policzone, ponieważ jej gospodarka nie mogła unieść ciężaru imperium”, zaś po śmierci ostatniego z hiszpańskich Habsburgów – Karola II (w 1700 r.): „Europę ogarnęła wojna, mająca na celu ustanowienie nowego porządku międzynarodowego”, Christopher Duggan, *Historia Włoch* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Astrum, 2009), 66.

19 Croce, *La Spagna nella vita italiana* (Bari: Laterza, 1949). Publikacja jest efektem badań Crocego przeprowadzonych w okresie 1892–1894. Zawiera wprowadzenie odnoszące się do relacji Hiszpanii i Italii w okresie średniowiecza, a w kolejnych pięciu rozdziałach analizuje stosunki katalońsko-włoskie, dwory hiszpańskie władców Neapolu – Alfonsa Aragońskiego i Ferrante’go, a także rolę Hiszpanów w papieskim Rzymie i w innych częściach Włoch w końcu XV wieku. Pozostałe sześć rozdziałów to szeroka charakterystyka hiszpańskiego udziału i wzajemnych wpływów w odniesieniu do literatury, a także życia dworskiego, spraw militarnych i kwestii religijnych. W zakończeniu Croce pisze o wspólnej dekadencji hiszpańsko-włoskiej, *ibidem*, 257–270.

20 *Ibidem*, 1.

21 *Ibidem*, 34.

Nie bez znaczenia była daleko posunięta „feudalizacja królestwa”, która doprowadziła – już w okresie rządów naturalnego syna Alfonsa – Ferrante’go – do buntów baronów, a te dopomogły obcym najazdom, zwłaszcza króla Francji, Karola VIII w 1494 r.²².

Premakiawelizm rządów króla Ferrante w refleksji Benedetta Croce.

Ferdynand I zwany Ferrante (1423–1494) był władcą Królestwa Neapolu (ale bez Sardynii i Sycylii) w latach 1458–1494. Nie oponował on przeciwko procesom italianizacji na obszarach podległych dynastii aragońskiej na Półwyspie Apenińskim, niemniej jako urodzony w Hiszpanii i wychowany wśród Hiszpanów „nie mógł całkowicie odrzucić ich obyczajów”²³. Z drugiej strony dla Francesca Guicciardiniego, klasyka włoskiej historiografii epoki nowożytnej, był Ferrante w pełnym tego słowa znaczeniu *il principe italiano*; starał się przeciwstawić przewadze Wenecji dzięki sojuszowi z Florencją i Mediolanem, aczkolwiek ostatecznie uległ inwazji francuskiej²⁴. I zarówno Guicciardini, jak i Niccolò Machiavelli traktowali jako kluczowe dla wczesnonowożytnej historii Włoch wydarzenia, do których doszło w okresie między śmiercią Wawrzyńca Wspaniałego (*Lorenzo il Magnifico*) w 1492 r. a wojskową

22 *Ibidem*, 43–44. O epoce panowania Alfonsa Wspaniałego zob.: Ernesto Pontieri, *Alfonso il Magnanimo re di Napoli (1435–1458)* (Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1975); *La Corona de Aragón y el Mediterráneo. Aspecti e problemi comuni da Alfonso el Magnanimo a Fernando el Católico (1416–1516)*, Volume Primo Relazioni. Comisión Permanente de los Congresos de Historia de la Corona d'Aragón en Barcelona. X Congreso de Historia de la Corona de Aragón (Napoli: Società Napoletana di Storia Patria, 1978); Alan Ryder, *Alfonso the Magnanimous. King of Aragon, Naples and Sicily (1396–1458)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); Fulvio Delle Donne, *Alfonso il Magnanimo e l'invenzione dell'Umanesimo monarchico. Ideologia e strategie di legittimazione alla corte aragonese di Napoli* (Roma: Istituto storico italiano per medio evo, 2015).

23 Croce, *La Spagna nella vita italiana*, 60. Na temat panowania króla Ferrante’go, jego dyplomacji, działań politycznych i prowadzonych wojen zob. Paul M. Dover, „Royal Diplomacy in Renaissance Italy: Ferrante d'Aragona (1458–1494) and his Ambassadors”, *Mediterranean Studies* 14 (2005): 57–94; Francesco Senatore, Francesco Storti, *Spazi e tempi della guerra nel Mezzogiorno aragonese. L'itinerario militare di re Ferrante (1458–1465)* (Salerno: Carlon Editore, 2022); *Poteri, relazioni, guerra nel regno di Ferrante d'Aragona. Studi sulle corrispondenze diplomatiche*, red. Francesco Senatore, Francesco Storti (Napoli: Clio Press, 2011); Francesco Storti, „El buen marinero”. *Psicologia politica e ideologia monarchica al tempo di Ferdinando I d'Aragona re di Napoli* (Roma: Viella, 2014).

24 Francesco Guicciardini, *Storia d'Italia*, red. Silvana Seidel Menchi (Torino: Einaudi, 1971), libro 1, cap. 1, 3–4.

ekspedycją Karola VIII, króla Francji, w 1494 r. Miał tego świadomość Machiavelli, który – odnosząc się do znaczenia śmierci władcy Florencji – notował w *Historiach florenckich*, iż:

Nie było nikogo nie tylko we Florencji, ale i w całych Włoszech, kto by zmarł otoczony taką sławą roztropności, ani też kogo, by ojczyzna tak bardzo żałowała. (...) Zgon jego opłakiwali wszyscy współobywatele i wszyscy panujący we Włoszech (...). Że istotnie mieli słuszną przyczynę do ubolewania pokazały wypadki, jakie zaszły niedługo potem²⁵.

A o tym, co stało się „niedługo potem”, pisał Guicciardini, ukazując kulisy i przebieg inwazji francuskiej z 1494 r. w kategoriach końca epoki, prawdziwą *finis Italiae*, przypominając zarazem „złoty wiek” czasów renesansu, gdy to

Italia nie zaznała nigdy takiej pomyślności i tak upragnionego rozkwitu, jakich doświadczyła w Roku Pańskim 1490 oraz w latach bezpośrednio go poprzedzających i po nim następujących. Utrzymująca porządek i spokój we wszystkich prowincjach, w miejscach górzystych i niedostępnych, na równinach i regionach najbardziej żyznych, nigdy nie podporządkowana obcej dominacji, mająca zawsze własnych władców, posiadała wielką liczbę mieszkańców, towarów i bogactw. Wyróżniała się wspaniałością swoich książy, splendorem miast pełnych szlachetnego piękna, majestatem religii mającej tam swoją siedzibę, obfitowała w niezwykle sprawnych zarządców spraw publicznych, w ludzi szlachetnych, wielkiego umysłu, znamienitych w każdej dziedzinie wiedzy i sztuki. Otoczona, zgodnie z ówczesną tradycją, blaskiem chwały wojennej, posiadała wiele zalet i u wielu narodów zasłużenie cieszyła się wielką sławą²⁶.

Wszystko to popadło – zdaniem Guicciardiniego – w ruinę, ale nie tylko z powodu „barbarzyńców” (jakimi mieć byli dla Guicciardiniego i Machiavellego francuscy najeźdźcy), ale i postępowania samych władców włoskich. Oskarżenia wobec nich były poważne, gdyż – wskazywał Guicciardini – wojska francuskie „wezwane przez naszych własnych książy, zaczęły z wielkim impetem niepokoić jej ziemie. Materia ta godna jest pamięci ze względu na wielkość i różnorodność zdarzeń, pełnych tragicznych wypadków, jakie przez wiele lat spadały na Italię (...)”²⁷.

25 Niccolò Machiavelli, *Historie florenckie*, przeł. Karol Estreicher, krytyczne opracowanie przekładu Stanisław Widłak, Bogumiła Bielańska, wstęp Stefan Bielański (Warszawa–Kraków: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1990), 496.

26 *Z dziejów włoskiej historiografii epoki nowożytnej*, 64.

27 *Ibidem*, 61–62. O upadku dynastii aragońskiej zob. Bruno Figliuolo, „La caduta della dinastia aragonesa di Napoli nel 1495”, w *El Reino de Nápoles y la monarquía de España*:

I do tego właśnie obrazu Włoch z przełomu XV/XVI wieku autorstwa obu wybitnych włoskich myślicieli politycznych, ale w szczególności do koncepcji Machiavellego, odwołuje się także Benedetto Croce w publikacji poświęconej tym zjawiskom, do których doszło w Neapolu „przed Machiavellim”, zarazem jednak ze świadomością, że owe tezy i koncepcje nie odnosiły się wyłącznie do historii Włoch. Należy też podkreślić, iż tekst poświęcony Machiavellemu był formalnie wstępem do publikacji źródłowej w języku hiszpańskim, noszącej jednak tytuł włoski *Una difesa di Re Ferrante I di Napoli per il violato trattato di pace del 1486 col Papa*²⁸. Od strony ściśle historycznej rzecz dotyczyła naruszenia przez Ferrantego układu pokojowego zawartego z papieżem Innocentym VIII w dniu 11 sierpnia 1486 r. (po konflikcie zbrojnym z 1485 r. w którym papież poparł wystąpienie przeciwników króla Ferrantego), a mianowicie uwięzienia w lochach zamku Castelnuovo w lipcu 1487 r. grupy najbardziej znaczących baronów neapolitańskich. Czyn Ferrantego wzbudził oburzenie nie tylko w państwach włoskich (ale także w szczególnie zainteresowanej Neapolem Francji), tym bardziej iż istotą kompromisu Ferrantego z Innocentym VIII była obietnica amnestii dla zbuntowanych baronów. Tymczasem Ferrante obietnicy nie dotrzymał, natomiast, jak opisuje ten epizod J.A. Gierowski,

[p]odstępnie zaproszeni na bankiet przywódcy zostali uwięzieni i straceni. Ciała ich kazał Ferrante zabalsamować i złożyć w kościele św. Barbary w Neapolu, by służyły za przestrożę wszelkim buntownikom. Zbytecznie dodawać, że ta okrutna zemsta tylko pogłębiła niechęć do Aragończyka²⁹.

Oburzenie z zewnątrz spowodowało próbę reakcji ze strony Ferrantego, który w latach 1487–1488 dawał instrukcje swoim dyplomatom, jak w dokumentach i memoriałach przedstawiać te wydarzenia, ale też

entre agregación y conquista (1485–1535), koord. C.J. Hernando Sánchez (Madrid: Sociedad Estatal de Commemoraciones Culturales, 2001), 149–167.

28 Croce, *Prima del Machiavelli. Una difesa di Re Ferrante I di Napoli per il violato trattato di pace del 1486 col Papa* (Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli, 1944). Publikacja ta zawiera wstęp zatytułowany *Prima del Machiavelli*, 5–37; tekst źródłowy w języku hiszpańskim: *Difesa del re Ferrante I di Napoli per il violato trattato di pace del 1486 col papa. Testo spagnuolo* z dedykacją *A La S. M. Del R. Don F. De Sicilia Hierusalem etc.*, 39–79 oraz *Nota sul codice che la contiene* [Biblioteca Antoniana, n. 602], 81.

29 Gierowski, 160. Na temat buntu baronów przeciw królowi Ferrantemu zob. Elisabetta Scarton, „La congiura dei baroni del 1485–87 e la sorte dei ribelli”, w *Poteri, relazioni, guerra nel Regno di Ferrante d'Aragona. Studi sulle corrispondenze diplomatiche*, red. Francesco Senatore, Francesco Storti (Napoli: Clio Press, 2011), 213–290; Luciana Petracca, *Le terre dei baronii ribelli. Poteri feudali e rendita signorile nel Mezzogiorno aragonese* (Roma: Viella, 2022).

nakazywał drukować je i rozpowszechniać. Celem tych działań – twierdzi Croce – było wybielenie władcy Neapolu i ukazanie słuszności jego postępowania wobec buntowników³⁰. Tekst anonimowego autora, opublikowany przez Benedetta Crocego, mieścił się w ramach wspomnianych wyżej działań uzasadniających politykę i surowość poczynań króla Neapolu, niemniej jego autor raczej nie działał na rozkaz władcy, ale czynił to całkowicie spontanicznie, wręcz odrzucając wszelkie oskarżenia o naruszenie pokoju z papieżem³¹.

W tym kontekście warto mieć na uwadze fakt, iż w pismach historycznych Benedetta Crocego odniesienia do przeszłości, nawet tej najdawniejszej, były ukazywane w kontekście zjawisk występujących w XX wieku. Fakt, że esej *Prima del Machiavelli* został napisany w Sorrento w 1943 r. i opublikowany w Neapolu w 1944 r., nie był bez znaczenia. Sam Croce pisał bowiem, iż nie tylko traktat między Innocentym VIII a Ferrantem z 1486 r., lecz także „wszystkie traktaty kończące wojny, ale też mające wojnom zapobiegać, w istocie uważane były za nieważne, ponieważ stanowiły efekt wzajemnych obaw i grózb”, i to niezależnie, czy warunki zakończenia wojen były „bardziej dotkliwe dla jednej strony, niż drugiej, czy też niemal wyrównane”³².

Istotą myśli historycznej Benedetta Crocego pozostaje jednak refleksja nad mechanizmami władzy, która w XVI wieku (a konkretnie w 1589 r. dzięki Giovanniemu Botero) zyska nazwę *ragion di Stato* – „racji stanu”³³, a która jeszcze niezdefiniowana w ten sposób odnosiła się w XV wieku do władzy papieża, w czasach, gdy przestał istnieć autorytet „papieża średniowiecznego”, podobnie jak jego rywala „średniowiecznego cesarza”³⁴. Pod koniec XV wieku, wraz z ambicjami świeckich władców państw włoskich, sytuacja zaczęła ulegać znaczącej zmianie. Zatem złamanie traktatu pokojowego z 1486 r. – wbrew teozom obrońcy czystości intencji króla Neapolu – „było uważane przez ówczesnych polityków za próbę siły Ferrantego (i zarazem słabości papieża)”³⁵. Croce odwołuje się tutaj także do opinii Machiavellego wyrażonej w *Historiach florenckich*, który oceniając rezultaty wojny z królem Neapolu, pisał, iż w 1486 r. papież

30 Croce, *Prima del Machiavelli*, 7.

31 *Ibidem*, 8.

32 *Ibidem*, 15.

33 Stefan Bielański, „Wstęp”, w Giovanni Botero, *O racji stanu*, wstęp, komentarz i przypisy Stefan Bielański, przeł. Bogumiła Bielańska (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2019), 5–26. Zob. także: Arkady Rzegocki, *Racja stanu a polska tradycja myślenia o polityce* (Kraków: Ośrodek Myśli Politycznej, 2008).

34 Croce, *Prima del Machiavelli*, 18.

35 *Ibidem*, 21–22.

„był srodze w tej wojnie przez los doświadczony, i nie chciał więcej ryzykować (...)”³⁶.

Nie ma wątpliwości, co zresztą podkreślał sam Benedetto Croce, iż w jego pismach historycznych dzieje Południa Włoch ukazywane były odmiennie niż w ugruntowanej tradycji włoskiej historiografii – i to „tradycyjne” stanowisko traktował bardzo krytycznie. Dotyczyło to także postaci i działań Ferrante d’Aragona, który stał się symbolem władcy wyłącznej okrutnego, bez uwzględniania celów jego działalności politycznej³⁷, jak też znaczącej roli w ówczesnym systemie geopolitycznym państw włoskich, zwłaszcza w kontekście ścisłej współpracy z władcą Florencji – Wawrzyńcem Wspaniałym³⁸.

I to w tym właśnie kontekście w tekście Benedetta Crocego pojawia się odniesienie do tez Niccolò Machiavellego (dla Crocego był on *un filosofo geniale*), choć odnoszących się do realiów włoskich, to *de facto* mających charakter uniwersalny³⁹. Croce ostro piętnuje krytyków Machiavellego, uważając za „hipokrytów” także tych, którzy pragnęli sekretarza florenckiego „oczyścić, ugrzecznic, umoralnić, wręcz traktować jako człowieka pobożnego” i porównując ich z owym „anonimowym jurystą” neapolitańskim, próbującym w ten właśnie sposób „bronić polityki króla Ferrante”⁴⁰. Tymczasem, twierdził Croce, „ocena polityka musi być techniczna, odnosić się do jego umiejętności politycznych, tak jak to sam Machiavelli ujmował w swych pismach, poczynawszy od sławnego Cesarego Borgii”⁴¹. Odniesienie do *Księcia* jest tu oczywiste, równocześnie jednak odrzuca Croce traktowanie Machiavellego jako tego, który miał uczyć władców „podstępów i złych czynów”, a tymczasem „ukazywał wyłącznie prawdę, która pozostawała – lub chciało, by pozostawała – w cieniu, a która jest niezbędna dla zrozumienia rzeczywistości ludzkiej, i przez to świadomości i działań moralnych”⁴². Dla Benedetta Crocego istotą myśli historycznej Machiavellego było ukazywanie opisywanych i ocenianych przez autora *Księcia* zjawisk „w ich relacjach z wielkimi problemami życia publicznego”, w odniesieniu do epoki, w której przyszło mu żyć i działać

36 Machiavelli, *Historie florenckie*, 487.

37 Croce, *Prima del Machiavelli*, 24–25.

38 *Ibidem*, 28.

39 *Ibidem*, 31.

40 *Ibidem*, 32.

41 *Ibidem*, 35–36.

42 *Ibidem*, 33.

na przełomie XV i XVI wieku, czyli wtedy, gdy – jak wspomniano wcześniej – „formowały się i umacniały wielkie państwa narodowe”⁴³.

Nie ma wątpliwości, że wspomniane wyżej przez Crocego zagadnienie jedności Włoch, a raczej analiza przyczyn braku działań na rzecz tej jedności, stała się rzeczywiście wielkim problemem dla Italii w epoce powstawania nowożytnych państw narodowych. Tak bywa też tłumaczona fascynacja Machiavellego postacią Borgii, którego rzeczywiste cele raczej współczesna historiografia traktuje jako bardziej wyraz realizacji ambicji osobistych niż chęć stworzenia choćby załążków zjednoczonego państwa włoskiego⁴⁴. Sam zaś Machiavelli w okresie swej misji dyplomatycznej na dworze Borgii w Romanii tak charakteryzował „księcia Valentino” w liście do florenckiej Rady Dziesięciu z dnia 8 stycznia 1503 r.:

z jednej strony wydaje się, że posiada on niezwykle szczęście, silny charakter i najgłębsze przekonania, że może wprowadzić w czyn wszystkie swoje pragnienia, z drugiej widać człowieka nadzwyczaj ostrożnego w prowadzeniu spraw swojego Państwa, który nie ma znaczących wrogów, tak w jego granicach, jak poza nimi, gdyż albo ich zabił, albo doszedł z nimi do ugody⁴⁵.

Nie bez powodu też charakterystyka Borgii, pochodząca z dyplomatycznych raportów sekretarza florenckiego, znalazła swe miejsce w publikacji Alessandra Campiego o roli spisków w ujęciu Machiavellego. W konkluzji swych rozważań włoski uczyony podkreśla, iż u autora *Księcia*: „Brak moralności nie polega na stosowaniu przemocy, ale na jej użyciu bez określonego celu”⁴⁶. Takie ujęcie przypomina też oceny wyrażone przez Benedetta Crocego we eseju *Prima del Machiavelli*, jak i znaną opinię o „paradoksach doktryny” Machiavellego, sformułowaną przez Konstantego Grzybowskiego, a odnoszącą się wprost do *Księcia* – do traktatu, który był równocześnie

głęboko moralnym i amoralnym, proabsolutystycznym i demokratycznym, aktualnym pamfletem politycznym i ponadczasowym o cechach rządzących i rządzonych, wyrazem skrajnego realizmu i irracjonalnej,

43 *Ibidem*, 34.

44 Gierowski, 191.

45 Alessandro Campi, *Niccolò Machiavelli o spiskach. Walka o władzę we Włoszech epoki Odrodzenia*, oprac. Stefan Bielański, przeł. Bogumiła Bielańska (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego, 2022), 42.

46 *Ibidem*, 63.

w epoce, w której był pisany, tęsknoty do zjednoczenia narodowego. Pełen wewnętrznych sprzeczności, tak jak cała epoka odrodzenia⁴⁷.

Zakończenie

Dzieła Benedetta Crocego poświęcone wydarzeniom i zjawiskom historycznym epoki włoskiego odrodzenia oraz historii ówczesnych państw włoskich (ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem dziejów Królestwa Neapolu, jego upadku i początku czasów „dominacji hiszpańskiej”) nie uzyskały takiego rozgłosu jak jego najbardziej znane pisma historyczne: *Storia della età barocca in Italia*, *Storia d'Italia dal 1871 al 1915* czy też *Storia d'Europa nel secolo decimonono* (ta ostatnia opublikowana została także w języku polskim)⁴⁸. Pozostają jednak – nie tylko w kontekście eseju *Prima del Machiavelli*, ale także książki poświęconej dziejom Królestwa Neapolu⁴⁹ – świadectwem wszechstronności badań i wiedzy neapolitańskiego filozofa, myśliciela, ale też historyka, jak również ukazaniem (nie poprzez prostą rekonstrukcję wydarzeń z przeszłości) procesów o charakterze epokowym, istotnych dla dziejów kultury i cywilizacji włoskiej i europejskiej. Zwraca na to uwagę Giuseppe Patisso, podkreślając krytyczne spojrzenie Benedetta Crocego na tradycję historiografii pozytywistycznej, a zarazem na źródła inspiracji, jaką było *storicismo* – nowy wówczas nurt metodologiczny, którego najważniejszym reprezentantem był Friedrich Meinecke⁵⁰. Istotą rzeczy było z jednej strony rygorystyczne

47 Konstanty Grzybowski, „Wstęp”, w: Mikołaj Machiavelli, *Książe*, przeł. Wincenty Rzymowski, oprac. Konstanty Grzybowski (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich – Wydawnictwo, 1979), LXXIII.

48 Croce, *Historia Europy w XIX wieku*; *idem*, *Storia della età barocca in Italia. Pensiero-poesia e letteratura-vita morale. Scritti di storia letteraria e politica* (Bari: Gius. Laterza e Figli, 1929); *idem*, *Storia d'Italia dal 1871 al 1915* (Roma-Bari: Laterza, 1928). Zob. Alessandra Tarquini, „La fortuna della *Storia d'Italia* e della *Storia d'Europa* di Benedetto Croce nell'Italia fascista”, *Storica* 87 (2023): 53–79.

49 Benedetto Croce, *Storia del Regno di Napoli* (Bari: G. Laterza & figli, 1925). Zob. także: Giuseppe Patisso, „La *Storia del Regno di Napoli* di Benedetto Croce e il *Regno di Napoli* di Aurelio Musi: un continuum storiografico”, *Itinerari di ricerca storica* XXXI/2 (2017): 247–252; Aurelio Cernigliaro, *Sovranità e feudo nel Regno di Napoli, 1505–1557* (Napoli, Jovene, 1983); Giuseppe Galasso, *Alla periferia dell'Impero. Il Regno di Napoli nel periodo spagnolo* (Torino: Einaudi, 1994), a także prace cytowanego wyżej Aurelia Musiego, *Mezzogiorno spagnolo. La via napoletana allo Stato moderno* (Napoli: Guidi, 1991) oraz *Dimenticare Croce? Studi e orientamenti di storia del Mezzogiorno*, red. Aurelio Musi (Napoli: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1991).

50 Patisso, „La *Storia del Regno di Napoli*”, 249–250. Autor podkreśla znaczenie wpływów Meineckego na antypozytywistyczny nurt włoskiej historiografii, odwołując się do następujących publikacji: Francesco Lazzari, „Friedrich Meinecke storico delle

traktowanie materii badawczej, z drugiej świadomość, iż samo w sobie nie stanowi to celu badań, a zdaniem Patissa podejście to neapolitański filozof i historyk przedstawił we wspomnianej wyżej, opublikowanej w 1925 r. *Storia del Regno di Napoli*⁵¹, sam zaś Croce w *Storia dell'età barocca* pisał, iż: „Renesans i Kontrreformacja to były dwa wielkie nurty duchowe, które narodziły się we Włoszech, z tym iż ich znaczenie nie zostało ukazane przez historiografię włoską, ale przede wszystkim niemiecką”⁵².

Niewątpliwie cele, jakie stawiał sobie Benedetto Croce w badaniach nad historią Południa Włoch, zwłaszcza Królestwa Neapolu, w tym w eseju *Prima del Machiavelli*, tekście istotnym dla zrozumienia epoki kluczowych dla tych dziejów przemian w okresie przełomu XV/XV wieku, zostały przezeń zrealizowane. Postrzegać też je należy, jak chciał sam Croce, we włoskiej perspektywie historycznej, zarazem jednak w szerszym kontekście zarówno z punktu widzenia historii politycznej, jak i literackiej, artystycznej czy społecznej. A także zgodnie z kluczową dla niego tezą, iż „historia jest zawsze współczesna”⁵³.

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51 Patisso, *La Storia del Regno di Napoli di Benedetto Croce*, 250–251.

52 Croce, *Storia dell'età barocca*, 3.

53 Patisso, *La Storia del Regno di Napoli di Benedetto Croce*, 249; odwołuje się tu zwłaszcza do tekstu Benedetto Croce, „Fatti politici e interpretazioni politiche”, *La Critica/ Rivista di Letteratura, Storia e Filosofia*, diretta da B. Croce, 22 (1992⁴), 189–192.

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Józef Rogaliński TJ. Z dziejów metodologii oświeceniowego przyrodoznawstwa i filozofii przyrody

Józef Rogaliński, SI. Methodology of Natural Sciences and Natural Philosophy in the Enlightenment Period

Abstrakt

Artykuł ukazuje w szerszym kontekście filozoficznym i kulturowym dokonanie jezuitę Józefa Rogalińskiego (1728–1802), nauczyciela matematyki i fizyki eksperymentalnej w jezuickim kolegium w Poznaniu. Akcentując postawę asymilacji osiągnięć nowożytnego przyrodoznawstwa charakterystyczną dla działalności Rogalińskiego, artykuł rozważa status epistemologiczny jego głównego dzieła *Doświadczenia skutków rzeczy pod zmysły podpadających*, które ze względu na preferencję fenomenalistycznego eksperymentalizmu może być uznane za przejaw nowożytnie pojętej *science*. Równocześnie, odpowiednio do idei *longue durée*, podkreśla się wykorzystanie przez polskiego jezuitę kategorii filozoficznych, które stara się on

uprawomocnić na drodze doświadczalnej. Tym samym można uznać to dokonanie za przejaw typowej dla szkolnictwa 2. połowy XVIII *philosophia recentiorum*, eklektycznie, acz krytycznie uczestniczącej we współczesnej sobie europejskiej kulturze filozoficznej i naukowej. Podejście to szanuje również ówczesne standardy religijne, co pozwala upatrywać w tej formie unowocześnienia nowożytnego arystotelizmu chrześcijańskiego przejaw oświecenia chrześcijańskiego.

Słowa klucze: Józef Rogaliński, *philosophia recentiorum*, nowożytny arystotelizm chrześcijański.

Abstract

This paper analyses – in a broader philosophical and cultural context – the achievements of the Jesuit Józef Rogaliński (1728–1802), a teacher of mathematics and experimental physics at the Jesuit college based in Poznań. For Rogaliński's activity the assimilation of the achievements of modern natural science is characteristic. Hence, the epistemological status of his main work, *Doświadczenia skutków rzeczy pod zmysły podpadających* [Experience of the effects of things falling under the senses], is analysed. As phenomenal experimentalism is favoured in Rogaliński's work, it can be considered a manifestation of modern natural science. In accordance with the concept of *longue durée*, it is emphasized that philosophical categories used by Rogaliński are validated with empirical evidence. Therefore, his achievement can be treated as a manifestation of *philosophia recentiorum*, a typical characteristic of education in the second half of the eighteenth century, eclectically yet critically participating in the philosophical and scientific (natural) culture of the time. Rogaliński's approach also respects the religious standards of that time, which allows us to see this form of improving modern Christian Aristotelianism as a manifestation of the Christian Enlightenment.

Keywords: Józef Rogaliński, *philosophia recentiorum*, modern Christian Aristotelianism.

Irena Stasiewicz-Jasiukowa, redaktor cennego tomu *Wkład jezuitów do nauki i kultury w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów i pod zaborami*¹, wskazując na zabiegi, by w opracowaniu tym „znaleźli [...] należne im miejsce najwybitniejsi uczeni z Towarzystwa Jezusowego”, musi skonstatować, że „udało się to zrealizować tylko częściowo”. Wynikać to ma z aspektywnego omawiania dorobku tych jezuitów, bowiem tylko

1 *Wkład jezuitów do nauki i kultury w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów i pod zaborami*, red. Irena Stasiewicz-Jasiukowa (Kraków: Wydawnictwo WAM, 2004).

z punktu widzenia dyscyplin bliskich autorom poszczególnych artykułów zamieszczonych w sygnalizowanej syntezie, „traktując bardziej powierzchownie inne dziedziny ich [jezuitów] wielostronnej najczęściej naukowej działalności”, czego „klasycznym przykładem” ma być dokonanie Józefa Rogalińskiego². Najszerzej omówiony jest wkład Rogalińskiego w dziedzinę „sztuki wojennej”³, gdy inne aspekty jego bogatej twórczości są tylko wzmiankowane, np. w przypadku architektury⁴. Dokonanie Rogalińskiego najobszerniej omawia – słusznie przedrukowany i nieco zaktualizowany, bowiem opatrzone komentarzem astronoma, fizyka i historyka – tom Franciszka Chłapowskiego *Józef Rogaliński. Uczony poznański czasów Oświecenia. Fizyk, astronom, pedagog*⁵, cenny przede wszystkim ze względu na aspekt historyczny, zwłaszcza w zakresie biografii i najbardziej szczegółowej dotąd prezentacji treści głównego dzieła Rogalińskiego. Najbliższy tytułowej tematyce niniejszego artykułu jest niewielki (ss. 96) tom Zdzisława Śmierzchalskiego *Fizyka doświadczalna jako dziedzina filozofii w okresie oświecenia w Polsce na przykładzie dzieł Józefa Rogalińskiego (1728–1802)*⁶. O ile lapidarnie za literaturą przedmiotu autor przedstawi kulturę filozoficzną we wczesnym okresie polskiego oświecenia i „wykłady fizyki w szkołach jezuickich tego okresu”, o tyle ograniczy się w gruncie rzeczy do zestawienia biografii tytułowego jezuitę. Nie podejmie natomiast tak fundamentalnych wydaje się dla rozprawy doktorskiej prezentowanej na Wydziale Filozoficznym Towarzystwa Jezusowego w Krakowie⁷ wątków, dotyczących „głównych zagadnień poruszonych przez Rogalińskiego w dziele *Doświadczenia skutków rzeczy pod zmysły podpadających*, a w szczególności tego, „jak jego [tego dzieła] autor wiązał konkretne doświadczenia i eksperymenty

2 Irena Stasiewicz-Jasiukowa, „Słowo od redaktora naukowego”, w *Wkład jezuitów do nauki i kultury*, 7.

3 Tadeusz Nowak, „«Prawidła całej sztuki wojennej» w ujęciu Józefa Rogalińskiego SJ z 1776 roku”, w *Wkład jezuitów do nauki i kultury*, 339–356.

4 Jerzy Paszenda, „Nauczanie architektury w szkołach jezuickich”, w *Wkład jezuitów do nauki i kultury*, 390.

5 Franciszek Chłapowski, *Józef Rogaliński. Uczony poznański czasów Oświecenia. Fizyk, astronom, pedagog* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Miejskie, 2007) [pierwotnie: Franciszek Chłapowski, „Życie i prace księdza Józefa Rogalińskiego. Cz. I”, *Rocznik Towarzystwa Nauk Poznańskiego* 28 (1902): 5–70; Franciszek Chłapowski, „Życie i prace księdza Józefa Rogalińskiego, cz. 2: Wykład odczytany w rocznicę stułtętnię śmierci jego 28-go listopada 1902”, *Rocznik Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk Poznańskiego* 31 (1905): 31–116].

6 Zdzisław Śmierzchalski, *Fizyka doświadczalna jako dziedzina filozofii w okresie oświecenia w Polsce na przykładzie dzieł Józefa Rogalińskiego (1728–1802)* (Kraków: Wydział Filozoficzny TJ, 1998).

7 *Ibidem*.

fizyczne z zagadnieniami filozoficznymi”, co sygnalizuje sam Śmierzchałski w „Przedmowie” do publikowanej książki⁸. Ciągłe cennych informacji w zakresie życia i dorobku Rogalińskiego dostarcza monografia jezuita Stanisława Bednarskiego *Upadek i odrodzenie szkół jezuickich. Studium z dziejów kultury i szkolnictwa polskiego*⁹. Interesujące, ale niewiele wnoszące do tytułowej tematyki, są najnowsze artykuły ukazujące miejsce Rogalińskiego w kulturze naukowej Poznania. Dotyczą one zwłaszcza stworzonych przez tego jezuitę gabinetu fizycznego i obserwatorium astronomicznego, a także przekształcenia kolegium jezuickiego i stale konkurującej z nim Akademii Lubrańskiego – jako kolonii Akademii Krakowskiej¹⁰ – w trzeci uniwersytet na ziemiach Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów, tworzono go po kasacji Towarzystwa Jezusowego i przejęciu nadzoru nad szkolnictwem przez Komisję Edukacji Narodowej¹¹, której

8 *Ibidem*, 8.

9 Stanisław Bednarski, *Upadek i odrodzenie szkół jezuickich. Studium z dziejów kultury i szkolnictwa polskiego* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Księży Jezuitów, 1933) [reprint: Kraków: Wyższa Szkoła Filozoficzno-Pedagogiczna Ignatianum, Wydawnictwo WAM, 2003].

10 Dorota Żołądz-Strzelczyk, „Academia Lubransiana (1519–1780). Dzieje szkoły od powstania do czasów Komisji Edukacji Narodowej”, *Kronika Miasta Poznania* 67 (1999), nr 2: *Jan Lubrański i jego dzieło*: 141–151; Józef Nowacki, *Archidiecezja poznańska w granicach historycznych i jej ustrój* [seria: *Dzieje Archidiecezji Poznańskiej*, red. Józef Nowacki, t. 2] (Poznań: Księgarnia św. Wojciecha, 1964), 678–702 [przedruk: Józef Nowacki, „Akademia Lubrańskiego”, *Kronika Miasta Poznania* (1999), nr 2: *Jan Lubrański i jego dzieło*: 152–180]; Michał Nowicki, *Akademia Lubrańskiego: organizacja szkoły i działalność wychowawcza* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo DiG, 2015). Por. Zygmunt Ruta, „Nauczyciele kolonii akademickich Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego w XVIII wieku”, *Rocznik Naukowo-Dydaktyczny* 32 (1968): 95–167; Wojciech Grzelecki, *Szkoły-kolonie Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego 1588–1773. Problematyka kształcenia i wychowania* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1986).

11 Ludwik Piechnik, „Działalność jezuitów na polu szkolnictwa w Poznaniu”, *Nasza Przyszłość* 30 (1969): 171–210; Ludwik Grzebień, „Poznańskie kolegium jezuickie na tle dziejów Towarzystwa Jezusowego na ziemiach Rzeczypospolitej”, w *Wokół jezuickiej fundacji uniwersytetu z 1611 roku*, red. Dorota Żołądz-Strzelczyk, Rafał Witkowski (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 2011), 61–81; Dorota Żołądz-Strzelczyk, „Powstanie i rozwój szkół jezuickich w Poznaniu w okresie do kasacji zakonu w 1773 roku”, *Kronika Miasta Poznania* (1997), nr 4: *Nasi dawni jezuita*: 7–16; Dorota Żołądz-Strzelczyk, Michał Nowicki, Justyna Gulczyńska, Krzysztof Ratajczyk, *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej 1773–1794. Szkoły w Wydziale Wielkopolskim* [seria: *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej Model Szkoły i Obywatela*, red. Kalina Bartnicka, t. 4] (Warszawa: Instytut Historii Nauki PAN – Oficyna Wydawnicza ASPRA-JR, 2018), 80–103; Dorota Żołądz-Strzelczyk, „Działalność szkół poznańskich w okresie reform Komisji Edukacji Narodowej – akademia wielkopolska i szkoła wydziałowa poznańska”, w *Wokół jezuickiej fundacji uniwersytetu*, 257–271. Por. Maciej Forycki, „Próby utworzenia uczelni o europejskiej renomie w XVIII-wiecznym Poznaniu”, w *Vivat Academia! 400 lat tradycji akademickich Poznania* (Poznań: Centrum Turystyki Kulturowej Trakt, 2012), 65–78; Marian Drozdowski, „Tradycje akademickie Poznania w XVIII wieku”, w *Alma*

zarządzenia jezuitów wsparli lepiej niż szkoła Lubrańskiego¹². Jeśli nawet Akademia Wielkopolska, kierowana przez Rogalińskiego jako jej rektora, praktycznie pozostała w sferze przygotowań do utworzenia czterowydziałowego uniwersytetu, nie wyszła bowiem poza działalność szkoły średniej¹³, to – jak podsumuje dokonania poznańskiego kolegium jezuickiego Dorota Żołądz-Strzelczyk – szkoła ta miała „wiernie i energicznie realizować plany Komisji Edukacji Narodowej”, stąd

stanowiła doskonałe zaplecze pedagogiczne dla szkoły wojewódzkiej [...] ponieważ zakon jezuicki już od kilkudziesięciu lat walczył o wprowadzenie istotnych zmian w szkolnictwie, dostosowanie go do poziomu europejskiego¹⁴.

Mater Posnaniensis. W 80. rocznicę utworzenia Uniwersytetu w Poznaniu, red. Przemysław Hausner, Tomasz Jasiński, Jerzy Topolski (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UAM, 1999), 77–84; Zygmunt Boras, „Jezuici w Poznaniu i starania o przekształcenie ich kolegium w uniwersytet”, w *Alma Mater Posnaniensis*, 45–76; Maciej Serwański, „Formy aktywności kolegium jezuickiego w Poznaniu w XVI–XVIII wieku”, *Mazowieckie Studia Humanistyczne* (2002), nr 2: 31–39.

- 12 „Gdy przyglądamy się jednak codziennej pracy szkolnej [Akademii Lubrańskiego – autorzy], nie widzimy żadnych starań dla zmiany programów nauczania, czy chociażby do przystosowania ich do wymogów opublikowanego *Przepisu na szkoły wojewódzkie*”. Wszakże „«wina» niepodporządkowania się zaleceniom programowym Komisji Edukacji Narodowej leżała po stronie Akademii Krakowskiej, która nadzorowała pracę Akademii Lubrańskiego” (Żołądz-Strzelczyk et al., *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej 1773–1794*, 91–92).
- 13 Sprawa powstania uniwersytetu ciągnęła się od roku 1774 do 1780, kiedy to ostatecznie rozwiązano kolegium jezuickie i Akademię Lubrańskiego, a cały jej majątek łącznie z biblioteką oraz uczniów przeniesiono do gmachu byłego kolegium jezuickiego, przekształcając je w szkołę wydziałową pozostającą pod nadzorem reformowanej Akademii Krakowskiej, jako Szkoły Głównej Koronnej (*ibidem*, 80–94).
- 14 *Ibidem*, 92–93. Jezuita Bronisław Natoński w artykule skromnie określonym jako „szkic o stosunku byłych jezuitów do KEN” (Bronisław Natoński, „Jezuici a Komisja Edukacji Narodowej”, *Roczniki Humanistyczne* 25 (1977), nr 2: 97), wbrew opinii historyków, którzy w duchu liberalno-lewicowym „przez generalizowanie szczegółów i przez brak życzliwości do byłych jezuitów [...] fałszowali jej [Komisji] obraz”, wskazuje, że „jezuici, którzy przystąpili do pracy na służbie KEN, uznawali zachodzące zmiany za słuszne. Wbrew temu, co przypisuje się jezuitom, jakoby dążąc do wskrzeszenia zakonu w Polsce chcieli obalić KEN, akcja ich miała na celu uratowanie Komisji za wszelką cenę. Widząc, że szlachta ze względów finansowych chce zlikwidować KEN, gotowi byli bez wynagrodzenia utrzymywać szkoły pod kierunkiem Komisji w przywróconym do życia zakonie. Dlatego żaden z pedagogów jezuitów nie atakował KEN, gdy zabiegał o wskrzeszenie zakonu (*ibidem*, 97–98). W odróżnieniu od Korony, w której nadzór nad szkolnictwem pełniła odnowiona Akademia Krakowska, kierująca się „wielowiekową niechęcią wobec jezuitów”, stąd wspierająca nauczycieli świeckich wykształconych w Krakowie, w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim, gdzie Akademią Wileńską rządził jezuita Marcin Poczubut, skądinąd znakomity astronom, a wizytatorami i rektorami byli sami eksjezuici (*ibidem*, 94–95), mogła ocenić Irena Szybiak: „Czynnikiem ułatwiającym reformę szkolnictwa w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim była

Nic dziwnego, że Rogaliński funkcjonował jako subdelegat Augusta Sułkowskiego, komisarza departamentu wielkopolskiego z ramienia KEN, wizytując szkolnictwo należące do tego departamentu¹⁵.

Józef Rogaliński w kręgu przemian szkolnictwa jezuickiego w dobie oświecenia

Józef Rogaliński (1728–1802) jest postacią tyleż do dzisiaj znaczącą w dziejach poznańskiej edukacji, ile też typową dla burzliwych dziejów swego zakonu¹⁶. Twórcze oddziaływanie Towarzystwa Jezusowego od duszpasterskiego po naukowe zakończyło się jednak – przynajmniej na pewien czas – dramatycznym aktem kasacji wymuszonej w całym Kościele katolickim w roku 1773 przez elitę polityczną i kulturową skrajnie nietolerancyjnych piewców oświeczonej tolerancji¹⁷, prowadząc niejednokrotnie do gwałtownego spadku oddziaływania kierowanego przez ten zakon szkolnictwa¹⁸. Rogaliński, oprócz studiów filozofii arystotelesowskiej

niewątpliwie dobrze rozwiązana współpraca Komisji z eks-jezuitami” (Irena Szybiak, *Szkolnictwo Komisji Edukacji Narodowej w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1973), 240–241). Por. Kazimierz Puchowski, „Rektor Marcin Poczubot wobec koncepcji konwiktów dla ubogiej szlachty w dobie Komisji Edukacji Narodowej”, *Senoji Lietuvos Literatūra* (2021), nr 51: 119–144; Jan Poplatek, *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej. Udział byłych jezuitów w pracach KEN*, oprac. Ludwik Grzebień, wyd. Jerzy Paszenda (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Apostolstwa Modlitwy, 1974).

15 Zob. raporty dotyczące działalności szkół w Łęczycy, Kaliszu, Lesznie, Zdunach, Piotrkowie [Trybunalskim] i Rawie [Mazowieckiej] sporządzone przez Rogalińskiego w *Raporty generalnych wizytorów z r. 1774*, wyd. Teodor Wierzbowski [seria: *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej i Jej Szkoły w Koronie: 1773–1794*, nr 24] (Warszawa: Druk K. Kowalewskiego, 1906), 1–17.

16 Zob. instruktywnie Bronisław Natoński, „Rogaliński Józef Feliks (1728–1802)”, w *Polski słownik biograficzny*, t. 31 (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1988), 401–404.

17 Zob. Pierre Chaunu, *Cywilizacja wieku Oświecenia*, tłum. Eligia Bąkowska (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1993), 162–164. Por. François Bluche, *Le despotisme éclairé* (Paris: Hachette, 2000).

18 W przededniu rewolucji (1789) w kolegiach francuskich liczba uczniów – przy populacji 18 mln – spadła z 65 tys. na tylko 45–48 tys., przy populacji obywateli szacowanej na 25 mln (Dominique Julia, „L'institution du citoyen – Die Erziehung des Staatsbürgers. Das öffentliche Unterrichtswesen und die Nationalerziehung in den Erziehungsprogrammen der Revolutionszeit (1789–1795)”, w *Französische Revolution und Pädagogik der Moderne. Aufklärung, Revolution und Menschenbildung im Übergang vom Ancien Régime zur bürgerlichen Gesellschaft*, red. Ulrich Herrmann, Jürgen Oelkers (Weinheim: Beltz, 1989), 63–103). Po rewolucji w szkołach średnich pozostało tylko 14 tys. uczniów. Dopiero na początku XIX wieku stopniowo przywracano stan sprzed 1789 r., albowiem z 65 tys. licealistów w szkołach jezuickich liczbę 50 tys. osiągnięto dopiero około 1820 r., znaczący zaś postęp w stosunku do szkolnictwa przedrewolucyjnego

i matematyki w Jarosławiu, studiował w latach 1754–1762 za granicą, najpierw teologię w Rzymie, gdzie spotkał się z twórcą oryginalnej fizyki Rudjerem Josipem Boškovićem¹⁹, a następnie – co zaowocowało kierunkiem przyszłych zainteresowań – przez dwa lata matematykę i przyrodoznawstwo w Paryżu. Tam największy wpływ wywarł na niego fizyk *l'abbé* Jean-Antoine Nollet²⁰, pierwszy profesor fizyki eksperymentalnej na uniwersytecie paryskim, członek Akademii Francuskiej, ceniony również przez *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*²¹, a z czasem – jak echo słów *Encyklopedii* – przez Komisję Edukacji Narodowej²². Zapewne pod wpływem tej francuskiej inspiracji

dokonał się paradoksalnie dopiero w epoce restauracji po 1816 r. (Hans-Christian Harten, „Pädagogische Eschatologie und Utopie in der Französischen Revolution”, w *Französische Revolution und Pädagogik*, 117–132). Nie można też zapomnieć, że w dobie reform KEN nigdy nie doszło w szkołach akademickich, czyli pojezuickich, do wyrównania liczby uczniów przed kasaty (ok. 10 tys.), przy czym liczba uczniów w szkołach zakonnych, zwłaszcza w Koronie, była niemal dwukrotnie wyższa niż w akademickich, np. w roku szkolnym 1781/1782 w 16 szkołach akademickich uczęszczało 4314 uczniów, gdy w 29 zakonnych aż 7086, a w roku 1792 odpowiednio 3556 i 5329 (Irena Szybiak, „Sieć szkół średnich Komisji Edukacji Narodowej”, w *Nowożytna myśl naukowa w szkołach Komisji Edukacji Narodowej*, red. Irena Stasiewicz-Jasiukowa (Warszawa: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1973), 259–268; Kamilla Mrozowska, *By Polaków zrobić obywatelami* (Kraków: Krajowa Agencja Wydawnicza, 1993), 73; Tadeusz Mizia, *Szkoły średnie Komisji Edukacji Narodowej na terenie Korony* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo UW, 1975), 46–48, 261–264; Kamilla Mrozowska, *Funkcjonowanie systemu szkolnego KEN na terenie Korony w latach 1783–1793* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1985), 111–112, 227).

- 19 Zob. Francis Brassard, „Ruder Bošković and the Structure of the Experience of Scientific Discovery”, *Cadmus* 2 (2016), nr 6: 137–148; *The Philosophy of Science of Ruder Boskovic: Proceedings of the Symposium of the Institute of Philosophy and Theology*, S.J. red. Valentin Požaić (Zagreb: Juma, 1987).
- 20 Jean-Antoine Nollet, *Leçons de physique expérimentale*, t. 1–6 (Paris: Hippolyte-Louis Guérin et Louis-François Delatour, 1764) (tom pierwszy ukazał się w roku 1743, a kolejne do 1764 r., przy czym tom pierwszy już po raz szósty).
- 21 Jean-Baptiste de La Chapelle, sygnowany jako „E”, francuski ksiądz i matematyk, członek Royal Society, uzupełniając hasło *Éléments des Sciences (Philosophie)*, napisane przez d'Alemberta (sygnowanego jako „O”), informował o użytecznych ujęciach z zakresu matematyki i fizyki: „Les meilleurs éléments de Physique sont l'essai de Physique de Musschenbroek [Pieter van Musschenbroek], les éléments de s'Gravesande [Willem Jacob's Gravesande], les leçons de Physique de M. l'abbé Nollet, & plusieurs autres” (*Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers, par une société de gens de lettres. Mis en ordre et publié par ... [Denis] Diderot et quant à la partie mathématique par ... [Jean le Rond] D'Alembert*, t. 1–35 (Paris: Briasson, David, le Breton, Durand, 1751–1780; reprint Stuttgart: F. Frommann Verlag, 1966–1995; wydanie elektroniczne – t. 5, Marsanne: Redon, 1999, 497).
- 22 „Do fizyki zaleca się fizyka Muschenbroek. Dzieło księdza Nolleta pod tytułem *Leçons de physique expérimentale*” (Przepis Komisji Edukacji Narodowej, cyt. za: *Ustawodawstwo szkolne za czasów Komisji Edukacji Narodowej*, wyd. Józef Lewicki (Kraków: M. Arct, 1925), 37, przyp. 1). Nie inaczej zaleci Kołłątaj dla zreformowanych przez siebie

oraz wsparciu królowej Marii Leszczyńskiej i środkiem z dziedzicznego majątku wzbogacił założony w 1759 r. przez współbrata zakonnego Ignacego Chmielewskiego gabinet matematyczno-fizyczny w kolegium poznańskim – podziwiany przez Leonharda Eulera podczas przejazdu przez Poznań w roku 1766 w drodze z Berlina do Petersburga, a następnie przez Jeana III Bernoulliego, odwiedzającego w 1778 r. jezuicki ośrodek poznański²³, który Rogaliński wykorzystywał przede wszystkim do celów dydaktycznych, jako profesor fizyki doświadczalnej, matematyki i architektury w kolegium poznańskim. Rogaliński jest także twórcą „najświeższego w Rzeczypospolitej obserwatorium astronomicznego”²⁴, dzięki któremu mógł prowadzić obserwacje, m.in. przy współpracy Francuza Antoine-Louis Sionesta i współbrata zakonnego Andrzeja Gawrońskiego, i już w 1763 r. wydać tablice wschodu i zachodu słońca dla Poznania²⁵, w roku kolejnym przeprowadzić obserwacje zaćmienia księżyca, a w 1771 r. obliczać długość i szerokość geograficzną Poznania. Zapewne więc za przejaw oświeceniowej niechęci do zakonów, a nawet antyklerykalizmu, wyrastające m.in. z ducha etatyzmu fundującego przejmowanie przez państwo instytucji należących do grup wyznaniowych²⁶, należy

krakowskich Szkół Nowodworskich, wskazując tylko ujęcie Nolleta (Hugo Kołłątaj, *Wyłożenie Nauk dla Szkół Nowodworskich Krakowskich: podług przepisu Przeswiętney Kommissyi nad Eukacyą Narodową w Tabelli (na Szkoły Woiewodzkie) ułożonego* (Kraków: s.n, 1777); toż w *Książka pamiątkowa ku uczczeniu jubileuszu trzechsetnej rocznicy założenia Gimnazjum św. Anny w Krakowie*, oprac. Jan Leniek (Kraków: Drukarnia Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 1888), 89).

- 23 Bernoulli, odnosząc się z respektem do kompetencji Rogalińskiego, skonstatował upadek jego dzieła życia, zauważył „ślady, że na dwóch filarach z czarnego marmuru stał dawniej w krytej galerii instrument astronomiczny”, w pracowni zaś już „nie ma żadnych instrumentów”, „w ozdobnej galerii przechowywane były w wielkich oszklonych szafach instrumenty fizyczne, a w mniejszych – przyrodnicze. Salę tę, która sama w sobie warta jest obejrzenia, znalazłem również opróżnioną” (w *Polska stanisławowska w oczach cudzoziemców*, t. 1, oprac. Wacław Zawadzki (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1963), 459–460).
- 24 Zob. Bednarski, *Upadek i odrodzenie szkół*, 359–360; współcześnie zob. Maciej Forycki, „Założenie obserwatorium astronomicznego w Poznaniu i jego międzynarodowe znaczenie”, *Mazowieckie Studia Humanistyczne* 8 (2002), nr 2: 41–49; Maciej Forycki, „Kontakty astronomii i fizyki poznańskiej z Francją w dobie Oświecenia”, *Kronika Miasta Poznania* 3 (1997): 207–224.
- 25 Józef Rogaliński, *Tablica na zawsze wyrachowana wschodu i zachodu słońca i miejsca przyległe* (Poznań: Drukiem SJ, 1763).
- 26 Józef Krętosz, „Józefiński proces budowy Kościoła państwowego na terenie monarchii habsburskiej w okresie rządów cesarza Józefa II (1780–1790)”, *Śląskie Studia Historyczno-Teologiczne* 29 (1996): 41–67; Borys Przedpełski, „Etatyzm na przykładzie austriackiego józefinizmu w epoce Oświecenia”, *Rocznik Teologiczny* 55 (2013), nr 1–2: 161–184; Marian Małecki, „Ideologiczne podstawy reform terezańsko-józefińskich”, *Krakowskie Studia z Historii Państwa i Prawa* 3 (2010): 111–119; Richard Butterwick-Pawlikowski,

uznać niesprawiedliwą ocenę poznańskiego instrumentarium astronomicznego (rozkradanego nawet przez dwór królewski, gdzie zawiózł je Gawroński) sformułowaną przez Jana Śniadeckiego, który przejmując je w 1783 roku dla obserwatorium astronomicznego w Krakowie – *nota bene*, którego budowa została rozpoczęta w roku 1787, a zostało otwarte dopiero w roku 1992 (!)²⁷ – pisał nonszalancko: „znalazłem ten gabinet nadto wysławiony i drogo oceniony [...], w niektórych mechanizm grubych i do stanu ówczesnej fizyki niedostosowany”²⁸. Rogaliński zaś – którego poznańskie wykłady cenił sobie w młodości Śniadecki, gdyż umożliwiły mu nie tylko zaznajomienie się z nową fizyką, ale i związaną z tym niechęć do nowożytnego arystotelizmu chrześcijańskiego²⁹ – ofiarował mu wówczas dziennik obserwacji astronomicznych, kontynuowany przez krakowskiego uczonego, co zresztą sam udokumentował³⁰.

Rogaliński zasłynął z wykładów publicznych z fizyki, dyscypliny wciąż nowej w ówczesnym systemie oświaty, zdominowanej nie tylko na ziemiach Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów przez szkoły wyznaniowe, śladem renesansowego humanizmu chrześcijańskiego preferujące kształcenie językowo-humanistyczne i filozoficzne z retoryką w roli głównej

„Kościół katolicki a Rzeczpospolita w dobie Sejmu Czteroletniego”, w *Stanisław August i jego Rzeczpospolita. Dramat państwa, odrodzenie narodu*, red. Angela Sołtys, Zofia Zielińska (Warszawa: Arx Regia, 2013), 213–234. Por. Richard Butterwick-Pawlikowski, *Polska rewolucja a Kościół katolicki 1788–1792* (Kraków: Arcana, Muzeum Historii Polski, 2012); Herbert Rieser, *Der Geist des Josephinismus und sein Fortleben. Der Kampf der Kirche um ihre Freiheit* (Wien: Herder, 1963); Ferdinand Maass, *Der Josephinismus. Quellen zu seiner Geschichte in Österreich*, t. 1–5 (Wien: Herold, 1951–1961).

27 Por. Jan Mietelski, „Tematyka prac astronomicznych w pierwszej siedzibie Obserwatorium Krakowskiego”, *Prace Komisji Historii Nauki Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności* 10 (2010): 191–192.

28 *Jana Śniadeckiego życie przez niego samego opisane, w Korespondencja Jana Śniadeckiego. Listy z Krakowa*, t. I: 1780–1787, oprac. Ludwik Kamykowski (Kraków: PAU, 1932), s. 3–30; cyt. w wyd. Jan Śniadecki, *Pisma pedagogiczne*, oprac. Jan Hulewicz (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1961), 20. Jak pisze Maciej Forycki: „Narzędzia astronomiczne pochodzące z Wielkopolski, wbrew temu co pisał Śniadecki i co powtarza za nim historiografia, były, przez długi czas, najcenniejszymi przyrządami zbudowanego przezeń przybytku Uranii w Krakowie” (Forycki, *Założenie obserwatorium*, 48–49).

29 Pisał Śniadecki: „Kończąc retorykę i dialektykę w szkołach Lubrańskiego, zabrałem znajomość ze studentami i profesorami szkół jezuickich poznańskich i tam czasem przez ciekawość chodziłem na lekcje fizyki eksperymentalnej [jezuity Józefa] Rogalińskiego, która mi się bardzo podobała, i gdzie nabyłem wstępu do sekty perypatetyków, których filozofia prawie powszechnie była uczona, wyjąwszy szkoły Lubrańskiego, gdzie naprzód Matawowski [właśc. ks. Franciszek Matawowski], a po nim [ks. Jerzy] Chudzicki wprowadzili eklektykę, to jest filozofię, która ze wszystkich sekt wybierała to, co było dobrego, do żadnej się nie przywiązując” (*Jana Śniadeckiego życie*, 4–5).

30 Franciszek Chłapowski, *Józef Rogaliński*, 139–140.

oraz ukierunkowane na wychowanie religijno-moralne odwołujące się do wzorów antycznych. Było ono charakterystyczne przede wszystkim dla szkół katolickich, zwłaszcza jezuickich³¹, ale również ukształtowanych często na ich wzór kolonii Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego³² i szkół protestanckich³³. Elementy nowej wiedzy przyrodniczej, traktowanej niechętnie przez zanurzony w antycznej i średniowiecznej filozofii nowożytny arystotelizm chrześcijański, pojawiły się w szkolnym curriculum na ziemiach Rzeczypospolitej oświaty protestanckiej na przełomie wieku XVII i XVIII³⁴, a w katolickiej w połowie wieku XVIII. Dotyczyło to zwłaszcza lepszych szkół, określanych często jako *collegia nobilia*, adresowanych zwykle do ówczesnej elity, jak pionierskie na ziemiach Rzeczypospolitej, a funkcjonujące w stołecznym mieście od roku 1737 kolegium teatyńskie, od 1740 kolegium pijarskie i od 1752 kolegium jezuickie³⁵. Choć współcześnie dobrze widać zgłaszana już przez jezuitę Stanisława

31 Zob. Stanisław Janeczek, „O stereotypie szkoły jezuickiej. Uwagi komparatystyczne”, w *In Christo Redemptore. Księga pamiątkowa ku czci Księdza Profesora Jerzego Misiurka*, red. Jarosław Popławski (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Archidiecezji Lubelskiej Gaudium, 2001), 363–384; przedruk w Stanisław Janeczek, *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej. Studia i szkice z dziejów polskiej kultury intelektualnej*, red. Anna Starościc (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 2018), 41–66. Por. Stanisław Janeczek, *Edukacja oświeceniowa a szkoła tradycyjna. Z dziejów kultury intelektualnej i filozoficznej* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2008), 57–71; Dorota Żołądź, *Ideaty edukacyjne doby staropolskiej. Stanowe modele i potrzeby edukacyjne szesnastego i siedemnastego wieku* (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1990); *Antyk oświeconych. Studia i rozprawy o miejscu starożytności w kulturze polskiej XVIII wieku*, red. Tomasz Chachulski (Warszawa: Instytut Badań Literackich PAN, 2013).

32 Michał Nowicki, wskazując na wychowawczy charakter kształcenia językowego korzystającego z literackich wzorów antycznych, pisze: „Charakterystyczne tutaj jest połączenie sfery religijnej i państwowej”, gdy „ukazano Akademię Lubrańskiego jako ostoję wiary katolickiej [...]. Przedstawiono to na tle walki Wiary z Pogaństwem” (Nowicki, *Akademia Lubrańskiego*, 154).

33 Stanisław Salmonowicz, „Szkoly jezuickie a gimnazja akademickie w Prusach Królewskich XVII–XVIII wieku. Próba porównania”, *Rocznik Gdański* 47 (1987), nr 1: 152–153.

34 Zob. np. Stanisław Salmonowicz, „Nauczanie filozofii w Toruńskim Gimnazjum Akademickim (1568–1793). (Organizacja, wykładowcy, podręczniki)”, w *Nauczanie filozofii w Polsce w XV–XVIII wieku*, red. Lech Szczucki (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1978), 137–197.

35 Ludwik Piechnik, „Jezuickie Collegium Nobilium w Warszawie (1752–1777)”, *Nasza Przyszłość* 35 (1971): 115–152. Jak zbiorczo pokazuje – w ciągle niezastąpionej monografii – jezuita Stanisław Bednarski, kolegia te, przeznaczone głównie dla młodzieży szlacheckiej, powstawały także na ziemiach Rzeczypospolitej lawinowo: „Wszystkie kolegia szlacheckie, z wyjątkiem warszawskiego, były najpierw tylko konwiktami, później zamieniano je na kolegia. Najstarsze jest lwowskie, otwarte w r. 1749, dwa lata później zamieniono konwikty szlacheckie w Wilnie i Ostrogu na kolegia, w r. 1752 otwarto kolegium warszawskie, w r. 1755/6 lubelskie i poznańskie, które zresztą nie miało nigdy nazwy kolegium” (Bednarski, *Upadek i odrodzenie szkół*, 442–443; por. Ludwik Grzebień, „Czy Stanisław Konarski SP był natchnieniem dla jezuitów w reformie

Bednarskiego zasadniczą równoległość przemian, które doprowadziły do ożywienia intelektualnego w ówczesnym szkolnictwie prowadzonym przez te zakony, to nie wyklucza to prostego ducha rywalizacji, który oprócz niewątpliwej wzajemnej inspiracji przekształcał się niekiedy – niechlubnie – w prawdziwy konflikt między szkołami tych zakonów³⁶, jak w przypadku najbardziej wyrazistego sporu jezuitów z pijarami w Wilnie, analogicznie jak między Akademią Krakowską i jej koloniami, zwłaszcza krakowskimi Szkołami Nowodworskimi, a szkołami jezuickimi³⁷. Asymilacja nowszych dokonań nie była łatwa z przyczyn systemowych, gdyż mogła naruszyć jednolitą interpretację rzeczywistości sformułowaną na gruncie nowożytnego arystotelizmu chrześcijańskiego³⁸, której nie mogły przewyciężyć tylko wycinkowe i fenomenalistyczne analizy przyrodników. Nadto ten dominujący podówczas typ filozofowania złączony był z równie systemową wykładnią doktryny chrześcijańskiej, tak katolickiej, jak i protestanckiej³⁹, stąd mógł prowadzić do podważenia

szkolnictwa XVIII wieku?”, *Analecta. Studia i materiały z dziejów nauki* 10 (2001), nr 2(20): 53–56).

- 36 Bednarski wskazuje na zróżnicowaną atmosferę między tymi szkołami, od propagandowej niechęci teatynów do szkół jezuickich odróżniali się warszawscy pijarzy, którzy obrali ostrożny, pozytywny model prognozowania swego szkolnictwa. Jednak do konfliktu między tymi szkolnymi zakonami doszło na terenie Wilna, gdzie jezuici bronili swego prawa do wyłączności wychowania młodzieży, w sposób analogiczny do niechęci, z jaką się spotkali ze strony Akademii Krakowskiej (Bednarski, *Upadek i odrodzenie szkół*, 48, 55–60, 253, 452). Por. Kazimierz Puchowski, „Kolegia szlacheckie teatynów, pijarów i jezuitów a reformy edukacyjne w Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów doby oświecenia”, *Nasza Przyszłość* 117 (2012): 301–313; Kazimierz Puchowski, „Pijarskie Collegium Nobilium w Wilnie. Korzenie i konteksty”, *XVIII Amžilaus Studijos* 5 (2020): 107–143; Ludwik Grzebień, „Starania jezuitów o otwarcie własnych akademii na terenie ziem polskich”, w *Philosophia rationis magistra vitae*, t. 2, red. Józef Bremer, Robert Janusz (Kraków: Wydawnictwo WAM, 2005), 103–115.
- 37 Zob. Bronisław Natoński, *Jezuici a Uniwersytet Krakowski w XVI wieku* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo WAM, 2002).
- 38 Zob. Stanisław Janeczek, „Geneza nowożytnego arystotelizmu chrześcijańskiego”, w *Oblicza filozofii XVII wieku*, red. Stanisław Janeczek (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2008), 477–512; przedruk jako: Stanisław Janeczek, „Nowożytny arystotelizm chrześcijański”, w *Historia filozofii*, cz. 3: *Meandry przemian*, red. Stanisław Janeczek, Anna Starościc [seria: *Dydaktyka Filozofii*, t. 10] (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2020), 97–141.
- 39 Po gwałtownej w początkach reformacji krytyce filozofii arystotelesowsko-scholastycznej szkolnictwo protestanckie poszerzało systematycznie, choć nie bez wywoływania oporu, studium filozofii, aż po ekspozycję metafizyki, sięgając przy tym do głębiej zakorzenionych w tradycji rozwiązań katolickich, m.in. – o zgrozo – nazywając Franciszka Suareza (Francisco Suárez), prominentną postać filozofii jezuickiej, „głową ówczesnych scholastyków” („caput huius saeculi in scholis”) czy „księciem i papieżem wszystkich metafizyków” („omnium metaphysicorum princeps ac papa”) (Siegfried Wollgast, *Philosophie in Deutschland zwischen Reformation und Aufklärung 1550–1650* (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1993), 180–187; Charles Lohr, „Die Rezeption der

racjonalnych podstaw wiary⁴⁰. Parcie dokonań nowożytnych, ukazywanych początkowo jako ciekawostki ubarwiające wykład, umożliwiło w końcu ich recepcję, ograniczaną tylko w aspekcie światopoglądowym, co doprowadziło np. w szkole jezuickiej do formalnej akceptacji w roku 1730 asymilacji nauk doświadczalnych (*philosophia amoenior*) tak dalece, iż pod koniec funkcjonowania tego typu szkolnictwa (kasata w roku 1773) przyrodoznawstwo wręcz rozsądzało studium filozofii⁴¹. Nie oznaczało to, że recepcja wyników nowej nauki była nieskrępowana. Odchodząc od wykładu filozofii przyrody nadbudowanego na strukturze pism Arystotelesa, z zachowywaniem charakterystycznych dla arystotelizmu kategorii oraz metod uzasadnienia⁴², jezuickie władze zakonne usankcjonowały w roku 1752 długotrwały proces wybiórczej (początkowo biernej bądź

aristotelischen Philosophie im lutherischen Deutschland”, w *Ecclesia militans. Studien zur Konzilien- und Reformationsgeschichte. Remigius Bäumer zum 70. Geburtstag gewidmet*, red. Walter Brandmüller (Paderborn: Schöningh, 1988), 179–192; Janeczek, *Edukacja oświeceniowa*, 80–85).

- 40 Nie może więc dziwić podjęta w aspekcie apologetycznym krytyka zwłaszcza epistemologii Kartezjusza formułującego wysokie, takie jak oczywistość, wymogi epistemologiczne dla wiedzy niepowątpiewalnej, nieosiągalne dla wiary religijnej. Stąd widziano w nich, jak pisał jezuita Jerzy Gengell, *Gradus ad atheismum* (Brunsbergae: Typis Collegij S. J., 1717). Zob. np. Franciszek Bargieł, „Problem ateizmu i nieśmiertelności duszy ludzkiej w pracach Jerzego Gengella SJ (1657–1727)”, *Rocznik Wydziału Filozoficznego TJ w Krakowie* (1989): 33–41; Franciszek Bargieł, „Geneza i przyczyny niewiary według Jerzego Gengella SJ (1657–1727)”, *Rocznik Wydziału Filozoficznego TJ w Krakowie* (1990): 101–127.
- 41 Np. Benedykt Dobszewicz w tezach z filozofii pochodzących z 1760 r. *Placita recentiorum philosophorum explanata* omawia łącznie logikę z metafizyką w 17 tezach, natomiast fizykę aż w 704. Z kolei w *Propositiones philosophicae* tego autora z 1763 r., choć proporcje zdają się być bardziej wyważone, to przecież i tu na 121 tez 72 przypada na fizykę. Chociaż Stanisław Szadurski nadaje na pozór skromne ramy wykładowi fizyki w *Positiones ex philosophia mentis et sensum explanandae* z 1758 r., gdzie stanowią one 26 tez wobec 7 z logiki i 19 z metafizyki, to przecież, idąc za tendencjami typowymi dla epoki, dodaje 3 „tezy-testy” z fizyki doświadczalnej oraz 25 „zasad-pewników” wprowadzonych na podstawie wyników doświadczeń z podręcznika Nolleta (Franciszek Bargieł, „Benedykt Dobszewicz SJ (1722–ok. 1794) a odnowa jezuickiej filozofii w Polsce w drugiej połowie XVII wieku”, w *Studia z historii filozofii. Księga pamiątkowa z okazji 50-lecia pracy naukowej ks. profesora Pawła Siwka SJ*, red. Roman Darowski (Kraków: Wydział Filozoficzny Towarzystwa Jezusowego w Krakowie, 1980), 166, 180, 188; Franciszek Bargieł, *Stanisław Szadurski SJ (1726–1789). Przedstawiciel uwspółcześnionej filozofii scholastycznej* (Kraków: Wydział Filozoficzny Towarzystwa Jezusowego w Krakowie, 1978), 22–23; Bednarski, *Upadek i odrodzenie szkół*, 285–289; Stanisław Janeczek, „Przyrodoznawstwo w polskim szkolnictwie kościelnym okresu oświecenia”, *Roczniki Filozoficzne* 41 (1993), nr 3: 87–109).
- 42 Roman Darowski, „Przepisy dotyczące nauczania filozofii w uczelniach jezuickich w Polsce w XVI wieku”, w *Studia z historii filozofii*, 56–68; Roman Darowski, *Filozofia w szkołach jezuickich w Polsce w XVI wieku* (Kraków: Wydział Filozoficzny Towarzystwa Jezusowego, 1994), 45–95; Bednarski, *Upadek i odrodzenie szkół*, 293–297.

krytycznej) asymilacji myśli nowożytnej, zachowując wszakże, z przyczyn światopoglądowych, koncepcję hylemorfizmu użyteczną np. w wyjaśnianiu natury Eucharystii i naturalnej aktywności ciał wbrew grożącemu determinizmem mechanicyzmowi. Dopiero w 1761 r. urzędowy katalog też przeznaczony dla prowincji wielkopolskiej zezwolił na nieskrępowaną recepcję nowej fizyki, przy czym jeszcze w 1767 r. generał zakonu musiał bronić swoim autorytetem prawomocności tych dokonań. Atrakcyjność nowej wiedzy, a także możliwość jej zastosowań w życiu gospodarczym przesądziła jednakże o zerwaniu z systemową interpretacją filozoficzną i stworzeniu podwalin pod tworzenie się autonomicznego względem filozofii przyrodoznawstwa jeszcze przed reformą KEN⁴³.

Nie można wszakże nie zauważyć, że wprowadzanie elementów przyrodoznawstwa do tradycyjnej szkoły było trudne nie tylko na ziemiach Rzeczypospolitej. Podobny proces obserwuje się przecież w sercu ówczesnej europejskiej kultury, jaką była oświeceniowa Francja⁴⁴. O ile już w początkach XVIII w. tamtejsza szkoła jezuicka rozszerzyła dydaktykę językową o przedmioty humanistyczne⁴⁵, to bardziej opornie wprowadzała ona matematykę i eksperymentalne przyrodoznawstwo, choć już co najmniej od początku drugiego ćwierćwiecza XVIII w. nie brak świadectw nauczania i tych dyscyplin⁴⁶, których znaczenie wcześniej jednak (już od końca XVII w.) doceniły szkoły oratorianów⁴⁷. Razem z kolegami zakonnymi zaczęły się reformować uniwersytety, ale dopiero

43 Bednarski, *Upadek i odrodzenie szkół*, 313–320; Roman Darowski, „Zarys filozofii jezuitów w Polsce od XVI do XIX wieku”, w Roman Darowski, *Studia z filozofii jezuitów w Polsce XVII i XVIII wieku* (Kraków: Wydział Filozoficzny Towarzystwa Jezusowego, 1998), 315–317.

44 Olivier Perru, „Teaching Sciences During the 18th Century: An Education in Experiment and Reasoning”, *Conexão Ciência* 2017, nr 12, 348–354.

45 Na znaczenie historii w kształceniu jezuickim wskazywał wpływowy podręcznik metodyczny Juwencjusza (Joseph de Jouvençy) *De ratione discendi et docendi* (1703), za którym poszła praktyka dydaktyczna w Rzeczypospolitej w latach 1565–1773 (Bednarski, *Upadek i odrodzenie szkół*, 103–114). Por. François de Dainville, *L'Éducation des Jésuites XVIe–XVIIIe siècles*, oprac. Marie-Madeleine Compère (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1978), 427–454; Kazimierz Puchowski, *Edukacja historyczna w jezuickich kolegiach Rzeczypospolitej 1565–1773* (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo UG, 1999).

46 Zob. François de Dainville, „L'Enseignement scientifique dans les collèges des jésuites”, w *Enseignement et diffusion des sciences en France au XVIIIe siècle*, red. René Taton (Paris: Éditions Hermann, 1964), 27–65; François de Dainville, „L'enseignement des mathématiques dans les Collèges Jésuites de France du XVIe au XVIIIe siècle”, *Revue d'Histoire des Sciences et de Leurs Applications* 7 (1954), nr 1: 6–21, 109–123. Por. Dainville, *L'Éducation des Jésuites*, 323–391.

47 Dominique Julia, Willem Frijhoff, „Les Oratoriens et l'espace éducatif français du règne de Louis XIV à la Révolution française”, w *Le collège de Riom et l'enseignement oratorien en France au XVIIIe siècle*, red. Jean Ehrard (Paris: CNRS Éditions, 1993),

po roku 1730⁴⁸. Charakterystycznym przykładem może być tu postawa francuskiego jezuity Claude'a Buffiera, którego dokonania wykorzystywano (anonimowo) w filozoficznych hasłach *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers*⁴⁹, ceniła je też KEN w zakresie nauczania logiki⁵⁰. Jego *Cours de sciences*⁵¹, zbierający publikacje z lat dwudziestych XVIII w., dbał nade wszystko o wzbogacenie tradycyjnej szkoły językowej o rozbudowane studium w zakresie historii i geografii. Buffier pozostawił także studium filozofii⁵² i choć doceniał rolę nauk matematyczno-przyrodniczych, to jednak zaznaczał, że o ile

11–27; Pierre Costabel, „L'Oratoire de France et ses collègues”, w *Enseignement et diffusion des sciences*, 67–100.

48 Marie Lacoarret, Taline Ter-Menassian, „Les Universités”, w *Enseignement et diffusion des sciences*, 125–168.

49 O tym, że wiele artykułów w *Encyclopédie ou dictionnaire raisonné des sciences, des arts et des métiers* było dosłownie kopiowanych bez zaznaczenia nazwiska Buffiera, świadczą opinie współczesnych tej edycji, np. Antoine'a Sabatiera de Castresa (*Les Trois siècles de notre littérature*, t. 1 (Amsterdam, 1772), 190; za John Lough, *Essays on the Encyclopédie of Diderot and d'Alembert* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), 304, 331, 373). Buffier, jak większość ówczesnych jezuitów, nie współpracował z *Encyklopedią* z przyczyn światopoglądowych, dbając o dochowanie wierności ideałom apostołskiemu swego zakonu, choć uczestniczył zarówno w naukowym, jak i kulturalnym życiu ówczesnych elit francuskich. Postawa ta jest typowa dla większości ówczesnych jezuitów francuskich, godzących wierność doktrynie Kościoła z otwarciem na ówczesne prądy intelektualne. Zob. zwłaszcza Catherine M. Northeast, *The Parisian Jesuits and the Enlightenment 1700–1762* (Oxford: The Voltaire Foundation, 1991).

50 *Przepis Komisji Edukacji Narodowej na szkoły wojewódzkie*, cyt. za: *Ustawodawstwo szkolne za czasów Komisji Edukacji Narodowej*, 34. Por. Stanisław Janeczek, „Z dziejów dydaktyki logiki w szkołach KEN. Claude Buffier SJ”, *Roczniki Filozoficzne* 56 (2008), nr 2: 83–99.

51 Claude Buffier, *Cours de sciences sur des principes nouveaux et simples, pour former la langue, l'esprit et le coeur dans l'usage ordinaire de la vie* (Paris, 1732); reprint: *Cours de sciences. Sur des principes nouveaux et simples pour former le langage, l'esprit et le coeur, dans l'usage ordinaire de la vie, suivi de Homère en arbitrage* (Genève: Slatkine, 1971).

52 W Buffierze widzi się jednego z prekursorów filozofii zdrowego rozsądku, rozwiniętej przez Thomasa Reida. Zob. Stefan Zabieglik, *Krzywe zwierciadło filozofii czyli dzieje pojęcia zdrowego rozsądku* (Warszawa: Książka i Wiedza, 1987), 102–105; Johano Strasser, „«Lumen naturale, Sens commun, Common sense». Zur Prinzipienlehre Descartes', Buffiers i Reids”, *Zeitschrift für Philosophie Forschung* 23 (1969), nr 2: 177–198; Stanisław Janeczek, „«Lumière naturelle» jako «bon sens» w ujęciu Kartezjusza. Między racjonalizmem a intuicjonizmem”, w *Mysli o języku, nauce i wartościach. Seria druga. Profesorowi Jackowi Jadackiemu w 70. rocznicę urodzin*, red. Anna Brożek, Alicja Chybińska, Mariusz Grygianiec, Marcin Tkaczyk (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, 2016), 395–408. Por. Louise Marcil-Lacoste, *Claude Buffier and Thomas Reid. Two Common-Sense Philosophers* (Kingston–Montreal: McGill–Queen's University Press, 1982); Kathleen Sonia Wilkins, *A Study of the Works of Claude Buffier* (Genève: Institut et Musée Voltaire, 1969); Juan A. Ventosa Águilar, *El Sentido común en las obras filosóficas del P. Claude Buffier, S. I. Contribución a la historia de la filosofía del sentido común* (Barcelona: el Seminario Conciliar, 1957).

fizyka na poziomie doświadczalnym – jako nauka faktualna, bazująca jak historia tylko na pamięci – ma być użyteczna i interesująca, o tyle przecież w warstwie eksplikacyjnej jest uboższa od klasycznej metafizyki, gdyż zdolna jest do wyjaśnienia jedynie zjawisk dostępnych w poznaniu zmysłowym, czyli tylko na gruncie mechaniki, nie ukazując jednak ich przyczyn (*causes*) wskazywanych na gruncie filozofii⁵³.

Polskie zakony przynajmniej od połowy wieku XVIII wysyłają więc przyszłych profesorów matematyki i filozofii na Zachód Europy, począwszy od Pragi i Wiednia, przez uczelnie włoskie, aż do centrum ówczesnej kultury intelektualnej, jakim był Paryż. Nic dziwnego, że dwa pierwsze polskie ujęcia fizyki – pijara Samuela Chróścikowskiego *Fizyka doświadczeniami potwierdzona albo doświadczenia fizyczne* z roku 1764⁵⁴ i właśnie Rogalińskiego, który w rok po podręczniku pijara rozpoczął edycję ogromnych, czterotomowych (ss. 2262) *Doświadczeń skutków rzeczy pod zmysły podpadających*, zakończoną już w dobie KEN, bo w roku 1776⁵⁵ – wykorzystując dzieło paryskiego *l'abbé* J.-A. Nolleta. Dzieło Rogalińskiego to pokłosie prowadzonego przez jedenaście lat – od września 1762 roku – cyklu publicznych prelekcji. Nie można nie dodać, że taka praktyka była typowa dla ówczesnych szkół zakonnych, znakomicie nawiązujących dialog ze społeczeństwem, stopniowo zjednujących dla ideałów nowej nauki i nowego systemu szkolnego szeroką publiczność, w tym rodziców aktualnych i przyszłych wychowanków tych szkół, zwłaszcza że w collegiach nobiliach uczyli się synowie najbogatszych rodów Rzeczypospolitej, nie mówiąc o wsparciu królewskim⁵⁶.

53 Claude Buffier, „Discours sur l'étude et sur la méthode des sciences”, w Claude Buffier, *Cours des sciences*, 1477–1494.

54 Samuel Chróścikowski, *Fizyka doświadczeniami potwierdzona albo doświadczenia fizyczne* (Warszawa: Drukarnia Scholarum Piarum J.K. Mci y Rzeczypospolitej, 1764).

55 Józef Rogaliński, *Doświadczenia Skutków Rzeczy pod zmysły podpadających na publicznych Posiedzeniach w Szkołach Poznańskich Societatis Jesu na widok wystawione y wykładane, Jego Królewskiej Mości Panu naszemu Miłościwemu ofiarowane [...]*, t. 1–4 (Poznań: Drukarnia Jego Królewskiej Mości i Rzeczypospolitej, 1765–1776); przedruk początku tomu pierwszego – poprzedzony dedykacją i obszernym wystąpieniem inauguracyjnym długą serię prezentacji doświadczeń, zatytułowany jako „Posiedzenie I. Wiadomości poprzedzające. O pierwszych rzeczy początkach” (1–23) – zatytułowany jako „O pierwszych rzeczy początkach”, w *Filozofia i myśl społeczna w latach 1700–1830*, t. 1: *Okres saski 1700–1763*, red. Marian Skrzypek [seria: 700 Lat Myśli Polskiej] (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Filozofii i Socjologii PAN, 2000), 379–388.

56 Bednarski, *Upadek i odrodzenie szkół*, 343, 354, 359.

Zawartość tematyczna i status epistemologiczny *Doświadczeń skutków rzeczy pod zmysły podpadających* Rogalińskiego

Zawartość głównego dzieła Rogalińskiego ujmuje lapidarnie Bednarski.

Tom I zawiera wykład o ogólnych własnościach ciał: podzielności, kształcie, porowatości, nieprzenikliwości, elastyczności. Tom II i III poświęcony machinom prostym i złożonym. Trzeci kończy rzecz o machinach i przedstawia zasady ruchu prostego i złożonego; czwarty, wydany po kasacie, ale napisany i wykładany za jezuickich czasów, mówi o ciężkości ciał, z której autor przechodzi do sztuki wojennej, poświęcając temu przedmiotowi większość tomu⁵⁷.

Rogaliński eksponuje więc ugruntowaną na znajomości matematyki problematykę mechaniki (matematyka stosowana), ukazując następnie możliwe jej zastosowania, np. w technikach wojskowych czy hydraulicznych⁵⁸, co ukazuje jej rys praktyczny. Jeśli zaś wyeksponuje wymiar empiryczny, to przecież nie wyrzeknie się problematyki teoretycznej – podkreślmy – faktycznie w dużej mierze zaczerpniętej z ówczesnej filozofii, skupionej na badaniu właściwości ciał, w czym oddaje *bonum commune*

57 *Ibidem*, 367. Najszerzej streszcza tematykę dzieła Rogalińskiego Chłapowski (Chłapowski, *Józef Rogaliński*, 41–66). W czwartym tomie poświęconym sztuce wojennej poznański jezuita omawiał przystępnie problematykę z zakresu artylerii i fortyfikacji, a nawet tak nowatorsko brzmiące zagadnienia jak „tajne listy”, czyli szyfry. Był to stały przedmiot jego zainteresowania, skoro już od roku 1765 w poznańskim kolegium dwa razy w roku odbywały się uroczyste popisy jego uczniów w sztuce wojennej (Nowak, „Prawidła całej sztuki wojennej”, 339–356).

58 Tematyka ta była przedmiotem poznańskich regularnych zajęć szkolnych, skoro prezentowali ją uczniowie, ukazując w 1764 roku „zastosowanie praw hydrauliki do wodociągu, w pompie wodnej i w sikawce”, zaś w kolejnym roku w problematyce wydobywczej (zwłaszcza w kwestii osuszania kopalni i to przy pomocy maszyny parowej). Podejmowano także – ekscytujące jeszcze w początkach wieku XIX – zjawisko elektryczności. Wojciech Szczesny Kaczmarek, „Działalność Józefa Rogalińskiego na rzecz rozwoju nauk przyrodniczych w Polsce. Uwagi na marginesie książki F. Chłapowskiego *Życie i praca księdza Józefa Rogalińskiego*”, w Franciszek Chłapowski, *Józef Rogaliński*, IV–V. Rogaliński jest także autorem dziełka *Sztuka budownicza*, wydane anonimowo w roku 1764 w Poznaniu, a następnie ze wskazaniem nazwiska autora w Warszawie nakładem Michała Groella w roku 1775.

ówczesnych podręczników europejskich⁵⁹, wykorzystuje bowiem nie tylko ujęcie Nolleta⁶⁰.

Sygnalizowany przez Bednarskiego spłot niejednorodnych zagadnień był zrozumiały u autora wychowanego na arystotelesowskiej filozofii przyrody, ale znającego matematykę, architekturę⁶¹ i astronomię, a przede wszystkim zafascynowanego naukami eksperymentalnymi, stąd też ujęcie Rogalińskiego, analogicznie jak Chróścikowskiego, może być ujmowane – co będzie podjęte niżej – jako wykład fizyki doświadczalnej, a nawet jako podręcznik do ćwiczeń z zakresu tej dyscypliny. Stąd też centralne miejsce zajmuje w nim opis przeprowadzanych doświadczeń. Są one przedstawione w sposób tyleż „przystępny, jasny, szeroki i obfity”, co i „nieco rozwlekły”. Tłumaczy się to nowością podejmowanej tematyki, nieprzygotowaniem słuchaczy do zrozumienia *stricte* fachowych zagadnień i terminologii, którą trzeba było w języku polskim dopiero wypracować, więc niezbędna była szkolna metoda opisowa, dokładny opis doświadczeń, zwłaszcza że dbałość o popularność ujęcia tłuma-

59 Nim ukazały się odnośne podręczniki KEN autorstwa Jana Michała Hubego *Wstęp do fizyki do szkół narodowych* (Kraków: Drukarnia Szkoły Głównej Koronnej, 1783) i *Fizyka dla szkół narodowych*, jako fizyka właściwa, w ramach której wydał tylko część pierwszą obejmującą *Mechanikę* (Kraków: Drukarnia Szkoły Głównej Koronnej, 1792), raporty wizytatorów KEN przedrukowane przez Teodora Wierzbowskiego dokumentują wykorzystanie w Koronie całego konglomeratu ówczesnych europejskich *recientes*, ale też dzieła Rogalińskiego czy *Fizyki doświadczeniami potwierdzonej*, promotora górnictwa i hutnictwa, pijara Józefa Hermana Osińskiego, zwanego pierwszym polskim elektrykiem (Warszawa: Drukarnia J.K. Mci i Rzplitej u XX. Schol. Piar., 1777). Por. z dokumentacją Zołądź-Strzelczyk et al., *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej 1773–1794*, 155–156.

60 Rogaliński korzystał także z eklektycznych dzieł jezuitów: Noël Regnaulta, u którego studiował w Paryżu, *Entretiens physiques d'Ariste & d'Eudoxe ou Physique nouvelle en dialogues. Qui renferme précisément ce qui s'est découvert de plus curieux, & de plus utile dans la nature* (t. 1–3, Paris 1729), dzieła, które było publikowane osiem razy w ciągu 25 lat, czy Bertholda Hausera, autora obszernych *Elementa Philosophiae ad Rationis et Experientiae ductum conscripta, Atque Usibus Scholasticis accomodata*, t. 18, Augustae Vindelicorum 1755–1764, t. 4: *Physica generalis* (1758), t. 5–8: *Physica particularis* (1760–1764), profesora matematyki na uniwersytecie w Dillingen. Zob. np. Marco Storni, „Descartes: Noël Regnault and Eighteenth-Century French Cartesianism”, *Perspectives on Science* 32 (2024), nr 2: 230–261; Miroslav Hanke, „Jesuit Probabilistic Logic between Scholastic and Academic Philosophy”, *History and Philosophy of Logic* 40 (2019), nr 4: 355–373; Bernhard Jansen, Michael Angelus Tamburinus, „Deutsche Jesuitenphilosophen des 18. Jahrhunderts in ihrer Stellung zur neuzeitlichen Naturauffassung”, *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 57 (1933), nr 3: 384–410.

61 Rogaliński opublikował anonimowo w 1764 r. tomik *O sztuce budowniczej na swoje porządki podzielonej. Zabawa ciekawa miana w szkołach poznańskich Soc. Jesu Roku 1764*, a rok później sygnowany już nazwiskiem *Sztuka budownicza na swoje porządki podzielona i wydana najprzód przez Xiędza Józefa Rogalińskiego S.J. w Szkołach Poznańskich, a teraz na nowo poprawiona, przedrukowana i przerysowana* (Warszawa: M. Groell, 1765), cenny w zakresie wprowadzania polskiej terminologii.

czy poniechanie stosowania formuł algebraicznych. Preferencja metody opisowej, pomagającej cierpliwie zaznajamiać słuchaczy i czytelników z nową problematyką, ale i wykorzystywanymi w doświadczeniach urzędzeniami, tłumaczy ćwiczeniowy charakter ujęcia Rogalińskiego, analogicznie zresztą jak śladem Nolleta robił to Chróścikowski. Nie można jednak zapomnieć, że presja swoistego eksperymentalizmu prowadziła do pewnego „osłabienia więzi między teoretycznym wykładem filozofii a praktycznymi pokazami”⁶². Doświadczenie zaczęło zastępować czysto racjonalne wyjaśnienie, stanie się ono nawet podstawowym typem uzasadnienia, stąd tak palącym wymogiem musiała być dbałość o jego wiarygodność. Postrzegana z perspektywy współczesnej szkolarskość czy wręcz banalność zapisów doświadczeń właściwych podręcznikowi Rogalińskiego – choć skądinąd rozumiała wobec dzisiejszych drobiazgowo sporządzonych ankiet psychologicznych czy socjologicznych – wzmacniana teatralnością publicznych przedstawień, traci jednak na wymowie wobec właściwej nowożytności „kultury faktów” i ich „świadków” (analogicznie jak wcześniej w prawie i historiografii), w miejsce racjonalnych, choć – nieznośnych już w schyłkowej kulturze autorytetu – jałowych, bo tylko ćwiczebnych sporów, sięgających wszakże starożytnego ideału *theoria*, artykułującego się w wyrosłej na rozbudowanej kulturze logicznej metodzie aporeteoretycznej⁶³. Tacy prominentni uczeni jak Robert Boyle wypracowywali techniki detalicznego opisu badań, protokołów przeprowadzanych przez nich doświadczeń, oddzielając część rejestrującą od objaśnień badacza, który dzięki tym procedurom zapewniał sobie i opisanym wiedzotwórczym doświadczeniom wiarygodność zapewniającą prawomocność nowej wiedzy⁶⁴.

62 Śmierzchalski, *Fizyka doświadczalna*, 6.

63 Aporetyczny styl uprawiania nauki Arystotelesa wynikał z podkreślenia roli dialektyki jako dialogowej argumentacji usprawiedliwiającej formułowane tezy przez obalenie ich zaprzeczeń w formie krytycznej oceny aporii, czyli kwestii spornych (nawet formułowanych metodycznie), gdy równie mocne racje zdają się przemawiać za określoną tezą, jak i za jej negacją, co wykorzystywały tak powszechne w średniowieczu i wczesnej nowożytności obowiązkowe dysputy (John D.G. Evans, *Aristotle's Concept of Dialectic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 31–41; Marcin Tkaczyk, „Logika w wiekach średnich”, w *Historia filozofii*, cz. 2: *Moc zakorzenienia*, red. Stanisław Janeczek, Anna Starościc [seria: *Dydaktyka Filozofii*, t. 10] (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2020), 465–524). W kwestii aporetycznego sposobu uprawiania filozofii zob. Piotr Duchliński, „Problemowa koncepcja systematycznego poznania filozoficznego”, *Logos i Ethos* 2015, nr 2(39): 7–57. Por. Andrzej Bronk, Stanisław Majdański, Monika Walczak, *Logos problemáticos, czyli problem z problemem* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Academicum, 2022).

64 „Istotę jego metody, jak relacjonują [Steven] Shapin i [Simon] Schaffer, stanowił pozbawiony figur retorycznych, «nagi styl» opisu przygotowania, okoliczności i kolejnych

Mimo wręcz nachalnej prezentacji doświadczeń podręcznik Rogalińskiego – zwłaszcza w jego początkowych partiach – na sposób dedukcyjny akcentuje jednak elementy najbardziej teoretyczne w nowej wizji fizyki, która – jak się wydaje – usiłowała uprawomocnić empirycznie rozwiązania zaczerpnięte z tradycji filozoficznej⁶⁵. W szczególności bowiem prezentuje spór między coraz bardziej fizykalistycznie pojętym arystotelesowskim hylemorfizmem a demokrytejskim i epikurejskim atomizmem schrystianizowanym przez Pierre’a Gassendiego⁶⁶. Najbardziej teoretycznie ugruntowana problematyka należąca do fizyki ogólnej ujawniała się w ówczesnych podręcznikach w formie filozoficznej przeciwieństwa kwestii dotyczącej istoty *corpus naturale*, wyrażanej dalej w kategoriach substancjalistycznych⁶⁷. Nie inaczej postulowało z czasem *Obwieszczenie od Komisji Edukacji Narodowej względem napisania książek elementarnych do szkół wojewódzkich*. O ile „fizyka eksperymentalna”

etapów konkretnego doświadczenia, który każdemu czytelnikowi powinien zapewnić obraz niczym przez „szklane oczy teleskopu», gwarantując pozycję wirtualnego świadka. Żeby wzmocnić niezbędną w tym celu przezroczystość stylu, Boyle wprowadził w sporządzanych raportach zasadę graficznego oddzielenia rzeczowego opisu od bardziej ogólnych uwag, przypuszczeń i hipotez. Dzięki temu, jak podkreślał, czytelnicy «nie muszą osobiście brać udziału w eksperymencie, żeby mieć wyraźny obraz jego przebiegu, gdyż dla ugruntowania ich uwag i przemyśleń wystarczy sama relacja» (Małgorzata Sugiera, „Badacz jako świadek. Między wiedzą uniwersalną a lokalną”, *Teksty Drugie* 2018, nr 3: 260). Szerzej zob. Steven Shapin, *Rewolucja naukowa*, tłum. Stefan Amsterdamski (Warszawa: Prószyński i S-ka, 2000); Steven Shapin, Simon Schaffer, *Leviathan and the Air-Pump: Hobbes, Boyle and the Experimental Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985).

65 Pisał Rogaliński: „Bo kiedy nas sam tylko rozum, przez wnoszenie jedno z drugiego przywiedzie do nowego jakiegoś wynalazku, do doświadczenia należy potwierdzić go ostatecznie” (Rogaliński, *Doświadczenia Skutków Rzeczy*, t. 4, 127). Zob. Stanisław Janeczek, „O trudnościach kategoryalizacyjnych w historii nowożytnej teorii nauki. Opozycja: racjonalizm – empiryzm”, w *Leibniz. Tradycja i idee nowoczesnej filozofii*, red. Bogusław Paż (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Aureus, 2010), 135–151; Stanisław Janeczek, „Kartezjanizm teorii nauki E. Condillaca”, w *Filozofia XVII wieku i jej kontynuacje*, red. Zbigniew Drozdowicz (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Fundacji Humaniora, 2008), 203–209; Stanisław Janeczek, „Teoria nauki w ujęciu J. le Ronda d’Alemberta. Między empiryzmem, racjonalizmem i intuicjonizmem”, w *Philosophia vitam alere. Prace dedykowane Profesorowi Romanowi Darowskiemu SJ*, red. Stanisław Ziemiański (Kraków: Ignatium, WAM, 2005), 199–212.

66 Rogaliński, *Doświadczenia Skutków Rzeczy*, t. 1, 3–9; toż w Józef Rogaliński, „O pierwszych rzeczy początkach”, w *Filozofia i myśl społeczna w latach 1700–1830*, t. 1, 380–382.

67 Także jezuita Benedykt Dobszewicz i Stanisław Szadurski łączą hylemorfizm (rozumiany zresztą asystemowo i fizykalistycznie) z atomizmem (co jest podstawą mechanistycznej wykładni zjawisk przyrody), a w kwestii pierwotnego substratu rzeczywistości – unifikują naukę o „elementach” z osiągnięciami rodzącej się chemii (Bargieł, *Benedykt Dobszewicz SJ*, 185–195; Bargieł, *Stanisław Szadurski SJ*, 241–283. Nie inna była praktyka polskich pijarów: Wiśniewskiego, Chróścikowskiego czy Narbutta (Janeczek, *Przyrodoznawstwo w polskim szkolnictwie*).

miała mieć charakter poglądowy, o tyle „fizyka ogólna” miała traktować o „własnościach materialnych” oraz o tradycyjnych „czterech elementach” stopniowo wzbogacanych o nowe quasi-pierwiastki, co miało być charakterystyczne także dla mechaniki, gdy najpierw należało mówić o „princypiach mechaniki i hydrauliki”, a dopiero następnie „aplikować [...] do machin”⁶⁸. Podejście to wyraziło się nawet pod koniec działalności Komisji w zaleceniu, by w ramach fizyki ogólnej, różnej od mechaniki, nauczać „własności pospolitych ciał, jako to: nieprzenikliwość, podzielność, ciężkość, spójność”, a nawet w formie

opisania czterech żywiołów, ich własności i działań w naturze, jako to światła, głosu, płynności, z tłumaczeniem własności temu akustycznych, optycznych, hydrostatycznych narzędzi, opisanie barometrów, termometrów, powietrzociągów, machin elektrycznych, wahadeł i.t.d. Tłumaczenie sfery ziemskiej, z ukazaniem systematów obrotów ciał niebieskich i innych własności fizycznych⁶⁹.

To fizykalistyczne podejście nie było w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku niczym nowym – jak wskazywano – ujawniło się ćwierć wieku wcześniej niż reformy KEN w reformach szkół zakonnych, pijarskich i jezuickich⁷⁰. Było też typowe dla podręczników europejskiej fizyki drugiej połowy wieku XVIII⁷¹.

Dopiero przy tak zarysowanym kontekście można zapytać o epistemologiczną postawę Rogalińskiego. Historycy w dokonaniu poznańskiego jezuitę akcentują nie tylko empiryzm, ale nawet „wyraźne deklaracje sensualistyczne” oraz „umiarkowany agnostycyzm” i „powściągliwość

68 Cyt. za: *Ustawodawstwo szkolne*, 88.

69 *Plan instrukcji i edukacji przepisany od Komisji dla szkół głównych i innych w krajach Rzeczypospolitej*, datowany po 1791 roku, cyt. za: *Ustawodawstwo szkolne*, 343.

70 Zob. przyp. 40.

71 Nie inne podejście można znaleźć w podręczniku przyrodoznawstwa używanym w szkołach monarchii habsburskiej, który prezentował *natürliche Dinge* wychodząc od omówienia filozoficznie ukierunkowanej *Naturlehre*, czyli od przedstawienia pierwszorzędnych (*allgemeine Eigenschaften*) i szczególnych (*besondere Eigenschaften*) właściwości ciał, a następnie ich podstawowych rodzajów. Obok ognia, powietrza, wody, podręcznik przedstawiał bowiem naturę światła, elektryczności i magnetyzmu, a następnie strukturę makrokosmosu w duchu systemu Mikołaja Kopernika, wraz ze zjawiskami atmosferycznymi. Korpus tego podręcznika stanowi dalej historia naturalna (*Kenntnisse von natürlichen Dingen zum Gebrauche der studierenden Jugend in den kaiserl. Staaten* (Wien: J. Th. Trattner, 1781), 3–186). Nie inne były realia w ówczesnej szkole francuskiej, zob. Laurence W.B. Brockliss, *French Higher Education in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. A Cultural History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1987).

w wypowiedzaniu się na temat zawilej kwestii «pierwszych początków»⁷². Choć rzeczywiście począwszy od pierwszego wykładu *Doświadczeń skutków rzeczy pod zmysły podpadających* można znaleźć szereg fragmentów wprost potwierdzających prawomocność tych kategoryzacji, to sformułowanie ostatecznej kwalifikacji zależy wszakże od tego, jak się potraktuje status epistemologiczny tego dzieła; czy uzna się je za wypowiedź filozoficzną czy też przejaw kultury naukowej w węższym, nowożytnym znaczeniu. Nawet jednak i w tym drugim przypadku nie da się uniknąć wątpliwości, bowiem ówczesna nauka – w sposób nieporównanie głębszy niż nauka współczesna, w której też dopatrujemy się przecież założeń filozoficznych⁷³, a nawet doszukujemy się wprost elementów filozoficznych⁷⁴ – była konglomeratem elementów filozoficznych i „naukowych”, co właściwe było nawet luminarzom tej kultury. O ile bowiem wypowiedź Galileusza można uznać za przejaw fenomenalistycznego przyrodoznawstwa, o tyle można się pytać czy fizyka Kartezjusza miała charakter naukowy czy też była dalej dziełem filozoficznym⁷⁵ mimo niewątpliwego korzystania z osiągnięć współczesnej mu nauki, a nawet osobistej fascynacji jej dokonaniem⁷⁶. Dotyczyło to nawet tak prominentnej postaci, jaką był Isaac Newton, twórca klasycznej mechaniki, który nazywał swe dokonanie zamiennie: „filozofia naturalna”, „filozofia eksperymentalna” lub „filozofia mechanistyczna”, ze względu na jej warstwę wyjaśniającą

72 Nota wstępna poprzedzająca przedruk fragmentu tomu pierwszego *Doświadczeń skutków rzeczy pod zmysły podpadających* zatytułowanego „O pierwszych rzeczy początkach” (w *Filozofia i myśl społeczna w latach 1700–1830*, t. 1, 378).

73 Zob. Agnieszka Lekka-Kowalik, „Filozoficzny kontekst nauki”, *Roczniki Filozoficzne* 60 (2012), nr 4: 261–281; Kazimierz Jodkowski, „Nienaukowy fundament nauki”, *Granice nauki. Lectiones & Acroases Philosophicae* 6 (2013), nr 1: 59–108; Krzysztof J. Kilian, „Epistemiczne układy odniesienia w nauce”, w *Metodologia nauk*, cz. 1: *Czym jest nauka?*, red. Stanisław Janeczek, Monika Walczak, Anna Starościc [seria: *Dydaktyka Filozofii*, t. 9] (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2019), 517–553. Por. Krzysztof J. Kilian, *Współczesne epistemiczne układy odniesienia w nauce* (Zielona Góra: Uniwersytet Zielonogórski, 2021).

74 Michał Heller, „Jak możliwa jest «filozofia w nauce»?”, *Studia Philosophiae Christianae* 22 (1986), nr 1: 7–19; Tadeusz Pabjan, „Filozofia w nauce”, w *Metodologia nauk*, cz. 2: *Typy nauk*, red. Stanisław Janeczek, Monika Walczak, Anna Starościc [seria: *Dydaktyka Filozofii*, t. 9] (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2019), 265–280.

75 Wojciech Sady, „Dlaczego «Rozmowy i dowodzenia matematyczne» Galileusza są naukowe, a «Świat» Kartezjusza nie?”, w *Pogranicza nauki. Protonauka – paranauka – pseudonauka*, red. Józef Zon (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2009), 87–100. Por. Stanisław Janeczek, „«Radykalny» racjonalizm Kartezjusza? Z rozważań nad historią teorii nauki”, w *In persona Christi. Księga na 80-lecie Księdza Profesora Czesława S. Bartnika*, t. 2, red. Krzysztof Góźdz (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2009), 7–17.

76 Ludwik Chmaj, *Rozwój filozoficzny Kartezjusza* (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1930), 160–162.

w zakresie dociekania sił występujących w przyrodzie⁷⁷. W ówczesnej nauce – jak uogólni jej specyfikę Wojciech Sady – występowały bowiem

terminy – nazwane później teoretycznymi – np. „siła”, „masa”, „pole elektromagnetyczne”, „pierwiastek chemiczny”, „atom” – a które ani nie oznaczają żadnych cech czy relacji danych nam we wrażeniach zmysłowych, ani w żaden sposób, mimo wytrwałych w tym kierunku wysiłków, nie udało się zredukować ich znaczenia do poziomu wrażeń. Taki był podstawowy powód, dla którego zarówno [George] Berkeley, jak i [David] Hume, odmówili fizyce klasycznej prawa do miana „wiedzy”⁷⁸.

Na szczęście Rogaliński był świadomy różnego poziomu swych wypowiedzi, nie tylko bowiem odróżniał fizykę od historii naturalnej, ale też fizykę od filozofii, choćby swej fizyce – jak filozofii – przypisywał ambicje wyjaśniające. Podejście to było właściwe także KEN, która u początku i schyłku swej działalności nakazywała traktować o fizyce i różnych formach matematyki stosowanej, począwszy od mechaniki, ale przecież zachowywała tradycyjną historię naturalną⁷⁹. Ta zaś, określana przez Rogalińskiego jako „dziejopismo w rzeczach przyrodzonych”, „opisuje nam tylko, jakie są rodzaje w rzeczach przyrodzonych”. Fizyka natomiast, badając „wszystkie rzeczy przyrodzone, uczy je poznawać przez ich własności, przez skutki i przez prawa, według których się sprawują”. Tak czy inaczej zakres tych rozważań ogranicza do tego „cokolwiek pod zmysły podpada”, a więc wyłączając to „co jest szczerym duchem, jako: Bóg, aniołowie, dusze ludzkie, [które] do tej nauki nie należą”⁸⁰. Naturalnie dla Rogalińskiego, wpisującego się w kulturę swoich czasów, było jasne, że są także inne nauki, choć wprost nie wskazuje, czy są to nauki filozoficzne czy teologiczne, jak w przypadku chociażby dokonania ks. Hugona Kołłątaja, stąd historycy dyskutują nie tylko, czy jego historiozofia należy do nauk historycznych czy filozoficznych, a nadto czy i na ile w ramach filozofii uprawnione są analizy metafizyczne z filozofią Boga

77 Zob. Michał Heller, Józef Życiński, *Wszelchświat – maszyna czy myśl?* (Kraków: Polskie Towarzystwo Teologiczne, 1988), 75–77. Por. Michał Heller, *Filozofia świata* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Znak, 1992), 62–79; Zygmunt Hajduk, „Filozofia przyrody Isaaca Newtona”, *Studia Philosophiae Christianae* 24 (1988), nr 2: 115–129; Zygmunt Hajduk, „Racjonalna rekonstrukcja filozofii przyrody Isaaca Newtona”, w *Oblicza filozofii XVII wieku*, 423–440.

78 Wojciech Sady, „Cztery wielkie nurty metodologii nauki XX wieku”, *Filozofia Nauki* 4 (1996), nr 2(14): 81.

79 *Przepis Komisji Edukacji Narodowej na szkoły wojewódzkie*, cyt. za: *Ustawodawstwo szkolne*, 36–39; *Plan instrukcji i edukacji*, cyt. za: *Ustawodawstwo szkolne*, 342–343.

80 Rogaliński, *Doświadczenia Skutków Rzeczy*, t. 1, 1–2; toż w Rogaliński, *O pierwszych rzeczach początkach*, 379.

i człowieka⁸¹. Podobną trudność interpretacyjną zgłasza się wobec metodologii Jeana de le Rond d'Alemberta, pytając, czy filozofowanie jest tylko mniej lub bardziej prostym uogólnieniem wyników nauk szczegółowych, czy ich najbardziej podstawowych tez, jako metafizyk poszczególnych nauk, w czym widzi się niekiedy przejaw prepozytywizmu, ale też czy jest miejsce na (choćby skromnie potraktowane) tezy ontologiczne⁸².

Podkreślmy – jak sygnalizowano wyżej – że z jednej strony Rogaliński nie lęka się analizować substancjalistycznie pojętych własności rzeczy materialnych w sposób wypracowany w dziejach filozofii i nauki. Ujawnia się to w przypadku poziomu *stricte* filozoficznego, jak np. hylemorfizmu czy atomizmu, zresztą fizykalizowanych przez Rogalińskiego, gdy mówi np. o stworzonej przez Boga z niczego materii pierwszej, a materią drugą ma być „kształt”, jak też pojętego jeszcze bardziej fizykalistycznie substratu przyrody w postaci stale poszerzanej palety pierwiastków, które okazywały się z czasem konglomeratami bardziej od nich podstawowych, jak w przypadku nie tylko tradycyjnych „żywiołów”, ale i soli czy rtęci („żywe srebro”)⁸³. Z drugiej jednak strony poznański jezuita „nie szuka nauki ciekawej”, „niepewnych pomysłów”, ale dochodzi „bliższych początków i przyczyn”. Nieprzypadkowo więc – sądzi – że

wszystkie szkoły, wszystkie rozумы tego wieku zaniechały cale dalszego szukania tych początków uznając, że wiadomość ta nie jest cale potrzebna do zrozumienia skutków przyrodzonych, bo chociaż pierwszych początków ich nie wiemy, możemy jednakowo przez doświadczenia dochodzić do bliższych początków i przyczyn, które pod zmysły nasze podpadają,

81 Stanisław Janeczek, „Historyczna czy filozoficzna koncepcja religii Hugona Kołłątaja?”, w *Mit – historia – kultura. Materiały z V Seminarium Historyków Filozofii Polski*, red. Jan Skoczyński (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2012), 23–32; Stanisław Janeczek, „Między naturą a kulturą? Hugona Kołłątaja koncepcja religii”, *Kultura i Wartości* 2012, nr 2: 5–18; Stanisław Janeczek, „Polska filozofia religii w dobie oświecenia a standardy filozofii wieku XVIII. Ks. Stanisław Konarski a ks. Hugo Kołłątaj”, w *Europejski wiek osiemnasty. Uniwersalizm myśli, różnorodność dróg*, red. Marek Dębowski, Anna Grześkowiak-Krwawicz, Michał Zwierzykowski (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Towarzystwa Naukowego Societas Vistulana, 2013), 331–338; Stanisław Janeczek, „O wytrwałym i trudnym odradzaniu się filozofii. Od ks. Hugona Kołłątaja do ks. Feliksa Jarońskiego”, w „*Rzucając wyzwanie ludzkiemu przemijaniu*”. *Zagadnienia literackie oświecenia postanislawowskiego i inne. Księga pamiątkowa w dziesięciolecie śmierci Profesora Piotra Żbikowskiego*, red. Jolanta Kowal, Marek Nalepa, Roman Magryś (Rzeszów: Wydawnictwo URz, 2021), 160–173.

82 Stanisław Janeczek, „Z dziejów kultury naukowej – koncepcja nauki Jeana le Rond d'Alemberta”, *Roczniki Kulturoznawcze* 4 (2013), nr 1: 59–92; Stanisław Janeczek, „Prepozytywizm filozofii Jean le Rond d'Alemberta?”, *Zeszyty Naukowe KUL* 55 (2012), nr 2: 3–24.

83 Rogaliński, *Doświadczenia Skutków Rzeczy*, 7–8; toż w Rogaliński, *O pierwszych rzeczy początkach*, 382.

tym bardziej iż te ostatnie dotyczą kwestii bardziej użytecznych w ludzkiej praktyce życiowej („nauka potrzebna do wygody i obcowania ludzkiego”)⁸⁴. Stosując się do podstawowej dyrektywy epistemologicznej: „Przeto pierwszym wodzem naszym będzie doświadczenie zmysłów”, należy powstrzymać się przed preferencją którejś z wpływowych koncepcji filozoficznych, owych „dowcipnych a niepewnych domysłów” a – w sposób właściwy nowożytnemu fenomenalizmowi – skupić się na analizie przynależnym ciałom własności, wszakże tych, które są „stałe i jednostajne”. Jedne z nich są bardziej podstawowe, bo „pierwsze i powszechne”, czyli te, „które nie rozdzielają się od ciał w jakimkolwiek stanie i okoliczności położonych”, a więc takich jak „rozłożenie albo wielkość”, „kształt” i „ruchomość”, które stanowiły podówczas fundamentalne kategorie nowożytnej mechaniki. Inne własności specyfikujące poszczególne ciała, „szczególne”, które nie przynależą wszystkim ciałom, albo tylko w pewnych okolicznościach, jak „rozciekłość”, są pochodne od tych podstawowych („czynią się pospolicie od pierwszych powszechnych różnie ułożonych”). Taka struktura rzeczy wyznaczy też logikę wykładu, od „własności powszechnych” do „szczególnych”, a więc od fizyki ogólnej do szczegółowej⁸⁵.

Można więc przyjąć, że dyscyplina, którą uprawiał Rogaliński, to fizyka doświadczalna, choćby określając swe dzieło tylko w kategoriach *Doświadczeń skutków rzeczy pod zmysły podpadających*, powstrzymał się przed użyciem tak jednoznacznego określenia, jakim posłużył się Nollet w tytule swego dzieła. Jak Chróścikowski czy Osiński, tak też Rogaliński, skoro wykład fizyki miał dalej funkcjonować w ramach zajęć obejmujących kurs filozofii, posłużył się nazewnictwem bardziej opisowym niż nomenklatura francuskiego jezuitę⁸⁶. W rozbudowanym (ówczesnym zwyczajem) podtytule swego dzieła Rogaliński określi się wszakże wyraźnie jako „nauczyciel matematyki i fizyki doświadczalnej”. Matematyka bowiem stanowiła istotne narzędzie ówczesnego przyrodoznawstwa, a niejednokrotnie nawet dawała wygodniejszą niż filozofia przyrody przestrzeń dla dydaktyki elementów nowej nauki⁸⁷. Stąd też

84 Rogaliński, *Doświadczenia Skutków Rzeczy*, 21–22; toż w Rogaliński, *O pierwszych rzeczy początkach*, 387.

85 Rogaliński, *Doświadczenia Skutków Rzeczy*, 22; toż w Rogaliński, *O pierwszych rzeczy początkach*, 387–388.

86 Przypomnijmy, że Nollet zatytułował swoje dzieło jako *Leçons de physique expérimentale*, Chróścikowski *Fizyka doświadczeniami potwierdzona albo doświadczenia fizyczne*, a Osiński *Fizyka doświadczeniami potwierdzona*.

87 To właśnie w ramach nauczania matematyki stosowanej upowszechniano zdobycze nowożytnej nauki w formie swoistej *philosophia curiosa*, czyli ciekawostek

była szczególnie bliska Rogalińskiemu, który obok regularnych zajęć szkolnych od 1762 r.

kierował także dwuletnim studium matematycznym dla młodych jezuitów, absolwentów filozofii, którzy przygotowywali się do nauczania matematyki i fizyki w jezuickich szkołach średnich. Oprócz tego prowadził wykłady specjalnie dla geometrów świeckich⁸⁸.

Choć tradycyjne szkolnictwo jezuickie wg *Ratio studiorum* nie przewidywało nauczania matematyki w szkołach średnich (wykładanej dopiero podczas kursu filozofii w szkołach wyższych)⁸⁹, to jednak na wyraźną prośbę rodziców w polskich szkołach nauczano tego przedmiotu w trzech pierwszych klasach, jednak tylko w aspekcie praktycznym. Gdy wszakże pod wpływem parcia nowej nauki polskie władze tego zakonu rozpoczęły wysyłanie na studia przyszłych profesorów, to nieprzypadkowo najpierw właśnie w zakresie matematyki, zwłaszcza do czeskiego jezuitę Josepha Steplinga⁹⁰, kierownika praskiego obserwatorium astronomicznego, utrzymującego kontakty naukowe z Christianem Wolffem, J.-A. Nollem, L. Eulerem i R.J. Boškovićem. Był on m.in. nauczycielem jezuitę Tomasza Żebrowskiego, twórcy wileńskiego gabinetu (muzeum) matematycznego i fizycznego, który zapoczątkował tam już w 1753 r. budowę obserwatorium astronomicznego, wspieranego hojnie – jak później gabinet matematyczno-fizyczny i obserwatorium astronomiczne w Poznaniu – przez ówczesną magnaterię, której uznanie potrafili zdobyć jezuita dla swego szkolnictwa⁹¹. Śladem mistrza, Żebrowski postulował nieprzypadkowo:

dydaktycznych. Mogły one być wówczas traktowane jako hipotezy różne od systemowej filozofii przyrody, jak np. w ujęciu jezuitę Wojciecha Tytkowskiego, typowego polihistora, matematyka i historyka (Roman Darowski, „Geneza dzieła Wojciecha Tytkowskiego S.I. *Philosophia curiosa*”, *Archiwum Historii Filozofii i Myśli Społecznej* 26 (1980): 21–34; Franciszek Bargieł, *Wojciech Tytkowski SJ i jego „Philosophia curiosa*” (Kraków: Wydział Filozoficzny Towarzystwa Jezusowego w Krakowie, 1986); Tadeusz Bieńkowski, „Polscy przedstawiciele «scientia curiosa»”, *Rozprawy z Dziejów Oświaty* 30 (1987): 5–34; Janusz Tazbir, „Wojciech Tytkowski – polihistor ośmieszony”, *Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki* 23 (1978), nr 1: 83–100.

88 Śmierzchalski, *Fizyka doświadczalna*, s. 62.

89 *Ratio atque institutio studiorum SJ* czyli ustawa szkolna Towarzystwa Jezusowego (1599), oprac. Kalina Bartnicka, Tadeusz Bieńkowski (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Ateneum, 2000), 26, 39.

90 Bednarski, *Upadek i odrodzenie szkół*, 62, 108, 310.

91 *Ibidem*, 343, 359.

„Only Mathematical Sciences are able to cure Philosophy”⁹². Opinia wileńskiego jezuity nie była bynajmniej odosobniona, skoro w reformowanym już pod koniec pierwszej połowy XVIII w. szkolnictwie pijarskim deklarowano stanowczo: „Wykładać fizykę, nie poprzedziwszy jej zasadami geometrii, znaczyłoby to dzisiaj wystawić się na śmiech uczonych”⁹³. Nic dziwnego, że kurs ujętej fizykalistycznie filozofii przyrody w szkolnictwie pijarskim rozpoczynało studium „zasad matematyczno-fizycznych”⁹⁴. Nie inaczej było w szkołach KEN, w których fizykę ogólną i szczegółową poprzedzał wykład mechaniki włączanej początkowo do matematyki (matematyka stosowana), jak chciał *Przepis Komisji Edukacji Narodowej na szkoły wojewódzkie*, z czasem zaś dopiero do fizyki⁹⁵. Nie można jednak nie zauważyć, że doceniany przez KEN kurs matematyki był tak dalece rozwinięty już w przynajmniej lepszych szkołach zakonnych – którym historycy niesłusznie przeciwstawiają dokonania w dobie KEN⁹⁶ – że to właśnie jezuitom król Stanisław August Poniatowski już w roku 1766 zlecił opracowanie topografii ziem Rzeczypospolitej, a Marcinowi Poczobutowi,

92 Nijolė Bulotaitė, „Thomas Żebrowski – the Disciple of Joseph Stepling”, *Acta Universitatis Carolinae – Historia Universitatis Carolinae Pragensis* 57 (2017), nr 2: 71–77; Bednarski, *Upadek i odrodzenie szkół*, 340–344.

93 Stanisław Konarski, *Ustawy szkolne*, tłum. Wanda Germain (Kraków: M. Arct, 1925), 127. „Non praemissis Geometrias Principiis Physicen tradere, est hodie se se risui eruditorum exponere” (Stanisław Konarski, Felicjan Mąkowski, Placyd Piotrowski, Augustyn Józef Orłowski, Antoni Franciszek Konarski, *Ordinationes Visitationis Apostolicae Pro Provincia Polona Clericorum Regularium Pauperum Matris Dei Scholarum Piarum*, cz. 4 (Warszawa: Drukarnia Pijarów, 1753), 67).

94 Konarski, *Ustawy szkolne*, 132–134. Tytuł pierwszego elementu spisu zagadnień z zakresu filozofii przyrody, rozpoczynającej się od zarysu algebry i geometrii, poprzedzającej mechanikę, brzmiał: „Principia mathematico-physica” (Konarski i in, *Ordinationes Visitationis Apostolicae*, cz. 4, 69).

95 Mimo że wszystkie akty programowe opublikowane po *Przepisie Edukacji Narodowej na szkoły wojewódzkie* wiążą mechanikę z fizyką, to dalej jednak *Plan instrukcji i edukacji* datowany po roku 1791 umieszcza zakres problematyki charakterystycznej dla mechaniki w programie „nauk matematycznych stosowanych”, których elementem ma być też astronomia. Zaznacza się jednak, że mechanika w szkołach średnich wykładana jest jako część fizyki (*Ustawodawstwo szkolne*, 27, 43, 86–88, 126, 342–343; *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej (pisma Komisji i o Komisji)*. *Wybór źródeł*, wyd. Stanisław Tync (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1954), 671–672).

96 „W świetle badań Ireny Szybiak, a zwłaszcza Janiny Kamińskiej, reforma Poczobuta była znacznie bardziej udana, aniżeli można by sądzić z czarnej legendy rozpowszechnionej na początku XIX wieku przez Hugona Kołłątaja i Jana Śniadeckiego, wrogo nastawionych do eksjezuitów, a przekazanej przez historiografię” (Wioletta Pawlikowska-Butterwick, Richard Butterwick-Pawlikowski, „Najjaśniejsza gwiazda wileńska. Ks. Rektor Marcin Poczobut w ostatnich latach Rzeczypospolitej, XVIII *amžiaus studijos* 2 (2015): 88–101. Por. Ludwik Piechnik, *Dzieje Akademii Wileńskiej*, t. 4: *Odrodzenie Akademii Wileńskiej 1730–1773* (Rzym: Apud „Institutum Historicum Societatis Jesu”, 1990), 91.

kierownikowi obserwatorium wileńskiego, wieloletniemu rektorowi Akademii Wileńskiej, od 1769 r. członkowi Royal Society, nadał w roku 1766 tytuł *astronomus regius*⁹⁷.

Interpretacja metodologiczna dokonania Rogalińskiego

Jak już sygnalizowano wyżej, w reformowanym od połowy wieku XVIII kursie filozofii filozofia przyrody (kosmologia) przekształcała się w konglomerat przyrodoznawstwa. Tym zabiegiem nie rozładowano niewątpliwego napięcia między płaskim opisem zjawisk a zaczerpniętymi z filozofii kategoriami interpretacyjnymi. W czasach przygotowujących kulturę filozoficzną i naukową formułowaną przez Rogalińskiego istotna była metodologiczna wizja Christiana Wolffa⁹⁸, rozróżniającego – ale po to, by jednoczyć – trzy typy poznania: filozoficzne, matematyczne i empiryczne, zwane historycznym (jako *historia naturalis*)⁹⁹. W zgodzie z tradycyjnym utożsamianiem *scientia* jako wiedzy o charakterze wyjaśniającym to przede wszystkim dla filozofii mistrz z Halle rezerwował zadanie wyjaśniania, gdy dwie pozostałe dziedziny wiedzy miały się ograniczać do rejestracji faktów, chociaż w praktyce następowało przenikanie się tych dziedzin (np. *physica mixta*) i tym samym Wolff godził rozum z doświadczeniem¹⁰⁰. Jeśli więc Wolff będzie formułował wyjaśniająco pojętą wizję przyrody, co określi dalej jako rozważania filozoficzne¹⁰¹, to wówczas hipotezy, niemogące uzyskać dowodu o charakterze racjonalnym, wymagają sprawdzenia na gruncie doświadczenia, które ostatecznie

97 Bednarski, *Upadek i odrodzenie szkół*, 352.

98 Zob. Stanisław Janeczek, *Logika czy epistemologia? Historycznofilozoficzne uwarunkowania nowożytnej koncepcji logiki* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2003), 316–322.

99 Wolff posługuje się szerokim, sięgającym Francisa Bacona, rozumieniem historii, obejmującej opisowe przyrodoznawstwo, historię sztuki i sztuk wyzwolonych oraz historię pojętą w sensie właściwym, zawierającą z kolei historię polityczną (*historia civilis*), kościelną, literatury, a także historię prywatną (*historia privata*), czyli opis życia prywatnych ludzi (biografia) (Christian Wolf, *Philosophia rationalis sive logica, methodo scientifica pertractatum ad usum scientiarum atque vitae aptata* (Francofurti: Officina libraria Rengeriana, 1728), 538–565).

100 „Differt autem utique cognitio mathematica cum ab historica, tum a philosophica. Nam cognitio historica acquiescit in nuda notitia facti, in philosophica reddimus rationem eorum, quae sunt vel esse possunt, in mathematica denique determinamus quantitatis, quae rebus insunt” (*Ibidem*, 8; szerzej *ibidem*, 1–27).

101 Gdy oprócz czystego opisu faktu dojdzie do wskazania ich racji odwołujących się do zaplanowanych eksperymentów, wówczas opisowa *historia experimentalis* przekształca się w *philosophia experimentalis* (*Ibidem*, 539).

zdecyduje o ich przyjęciu lub odrzuceniu¹⁰². Znaczenie doświadczenia ujawniało się w systemie Wolffa nie tylko na gruncie refleksji nad światem przyrody, ale także w metafizyce, jednak z wyłączeniem spekulatywnej ontologii¹⁰³, a więc na gruncie metafizyk szczegółowych, gdy np. w traktowaniu o istnieniu Boga miało być właściwe podejście aprioryczne i aposterioryczne¹⁰⁴. Nie można też zapomnieć, że już w 1752 r. w pijarskim Collegium Nobilium – w odróżnieniu od Wolffa włączającego jeszcze do kosmologii, jako elementu metafizyki szczegółowej, problematykę istoty ciała¹⁰⁵ – to centralne zagadnienie Antoni Wiśniewski włączył do fizyki wieńczącej czteroczęlonową strukturę kursu filozofii, co należy uznać za kolejny przejaw usamodzielnienia się przyrodoznawstwa. Na jednym poziomie pijar stawiał wykładnię hylemorfizmu, atomizmu i naukę o „elementach” ubogaconą o koncepcję trzech rodzajów materii wyróżnianych przez Kartezjusza i nową naukę o „pierwiastkach” chemicznych. Wykład ten opatrzył jednak uwagą o niemożności utożsamienia jednej z przytaczanych przez nowożytnych autorów cech jako

102 *Ibidem*, 60–61. Choć tradycyjnie łączy się dokonanie Wolffa z tradycją racjonalistyczną (np. Nicolao Merker, *Die Aufklärung in Deutschland* (München: C.H.Beck, 1982), 58 nn.), to jednak wielu autorów przełamuje ten schemat interpretacyjny, wskazuje na istotną w tym dokonaniu obecność wątków empirycznych. Zob. np. Jean École, „En quels sens peut-on dire que Wolff est rationaliste?”, *Studia Leibnitiana* 11 (1979): 45–61; Jean École, „De la notion de philosophie expérimentale chez Wolff”, *Les Etudes philosophiques* 4 (1979): 397–406; Hans Werner Arndt, „Rationalismus und Empirismus in der Erkenntnislehre Christian Wolffs”, w *Christian Wolff 1679–1754. Interpretationen zu seiner Philosophie und deren Wirkung*, red. Werner Schneiders (Hamburg: Felix Meiner, 1983), 31–47; Luigi Cataldi Madonna, „La metodologia empirica di Christian Wolff”, *Il Cannocchiale* (1984), nr 1–2: 59–93.

103 Zob. np. Bogusław Paż, *Epistemologiczne założenia ontologii Christiana Wolffa* (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2002); Bogusław Paż, *Naczelna zasada racjonalizmu. Od Kartezjusza do wczesnego Kanta* (Kraków: Aureus, 2007).

104 Zob. Jean École, „De quelques difficultés à propos des notions d’a posteriori et d’a priori chez Wolff”, *Teoresi* 31 (1976), 23–34; Jean École, „Les preuves Wolffianes de l’existence de Dieu”, *Archives de Philosophie* 42 (1979), nr 3, 389–396; Jean École, „De la démonstration «a posteriori» de l’existence et des attributs de Dieu, ou la „Theologia naturalis. Pars I”, de Christian Wolff”, *Giornale di Metafisica* 28 (1973), nr 4: 363–388; Jean École, „De la démonstration «a posteriori» de l’existence et des attributs de Dieu, ou la „Theologia naturalis. Pars I”, de Christian Wolff (continuazione)”, *Giornale di Metafisica* 28 (1973), nr 5–6: 537–560; Jean École, „De la démonstration «a priori» de l’existence et des attributs de Dieu, ou la „Theologia naturalis. Pars II”, de Christian Wolff”, *Giornale di Metafisica* 32 (1977), nr 1–2: 85–109; Jean École, „De la démonstration «a priori» de l’existence et des attributs de Dieu, ou la „Theologia naturalis. Pars II”, de Christian Wolff (continuazione)”, *Giornale di Metafisica* 32 (1977), nr 3: 237–272.

105 Zob. w szerszym kontekście Stanisław Janeczek, „Spór o rolę wolffianizmu w polskim oświeceniu. Antoni Wiśniewski SP a Christian Wolff”, *Roczniki Filozoficzne* 42 (1994), nr 1: 81–120 (przedruk jako: *Spór o rolę wolffianizmu w polskim oświeceniu*, w Janeczek, *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej*, 149–191.

konstytuującą naturę ciała, stąd jego istota pozostaje nieznana¹⁰⁶. Nic dziwnego, że w wykładzie fizykalistycznie interpretowanego hylemorfizmu afilozoficznie podkreślał rolę materii jako elementu aktualnego, a nie jak w arystotelizmie jako jedynie potencjalnego. Rozbudowując fizykę, w ramach której należało podejmować dyskutowane w nowożytności kwestie czasu i przestrzeni (przestrzeń absolutna), pozostawiał w kosmologii tylko takie zagadnienia tradycyjnej filozofii przyrody jak natura świata, jego wielkość czy doskonałość, a nawet związana z teologiczną wykładnią kwestia stworzenia i wieku świata¹⁰⁷. Jeszcze bardziej radykalnie potraktował kosmologię jezuita Stanisław Szadurski, który w wykładzie dla kleryków przekształcił ją w etiologię, czyli naukę o przyczynach, stanowiącą ontologiczno-kosmologiczny fundament filozofii Boga¹⁰⁸, konsekwentnie traktując o zagadnieniach przyrodniczych w fizyce ogólnej i szczegółowej. W fizyce szczegółowej Wiśniewski omawiał zaś astronomiczną strukturę *universum*, specyfikę poszczególnych rodzajów ciał w zakresie przyrody ożywionej i nieożywionej czy takie ekscytujące podówczas zagadnienia jak elektryczność czy magnetyzm, które ilustrował eksperymentami dokonanymi za pomocą przyrządów przywiezionych z czteroletniej podróży naukowej, co spotkało się ze

106 Z tego zapewne powodu w tezach z 1746 r. (Antoni Wiśniewski, *Propositiones philosophicae ex physica recentiorum, quas [...] publice propugnandas suscepit in Collegio Nobilium Varsaviensis Scholarum Piarum [...] Ignatius Pac [...] (Varsaviae, 1746)*) minimalizował znaczenie tego problemu, który traktował jako przejaw jedynie teoretycznych dywagacji. Z tego względu postulował, w duchu oświeceniowego praktycyzmu, podjęcie kwestii bardziej użytecznych. Wszechstronną próbę opracowania rozumienia *corpus naturale* w ujęciu Wiśniewskiego można znaleźć w artykule Jana Skarbka operującego szerszą podstawą źródłową, gdyż odwołującego się do obszernego rękopisu Wiśniewskiego obejmującego cały kurs filozofii, w ramach którego wykladał fizykę: *Elementa Philosophie. Varsaviae in Collegio Nobilium Scholarum Piarum per A. W. tradita*, t. 3: *Principia mathematico-physica. Algebra cum arithmetica, geometria, mechanica generalis, mechanica specialis seu statica*, t. 4: *Physica cum generalis tum particularis* (Jan Skarbak, „Pojęcia wstępne fizyki Antoniego Wiśniewskiego”, *Studia i Materiały z Dziejów Nauki Polskiej* 7 (1959), seria A, nr 3: 181–203). Dwuletni kurs filozofii zebrał Wiśniewski po raz pierwszy w tezach z roku 1752: *Propositiones philosophicae ex illustrioribus veterum recentiorumque philosophorum placitis depromptae, quas in Collegio biennalis cursus anno, propugnandas susceperunt Josephus Dąbkowski, Adamus Worowski, et Ludovicus Ekielski*.

107 Przekład tez (tezy XLV–LXI) z zakresu kosmologii za *Propositiones philosophicae ex illustrioribus veterum recentiorumque philosophorum placitis depromptae...* (Warszawa, 1753) zob. Antoni Wiśniewski, „Kosmologia ogólna”, tłum. Mikołaj Olszewski, w *Filozofia i myśl społeczna w latach 1700–1830*, t. 1, 389–394.

108 Stanisław Szadurski, „*Propositiones metaphysicae*” [bez paginacji i właściwej karty tytułowej], w Stanisław Szadurski, *Scita philosophica ex physica particulari* (Nowogródek, 1762). Zob. Bargieł, *Stanisław Szadurski SJ*, 140–141, 166–182.

znacznym zainteresowaniem¹⁰⁹. Że zaś przekształcenie kosmologii jako filozofii przyrody w fizykę nie było łatwe, wskazuje fakt, że typowo teoretyczne kwestie natury czasu i przestrzeni pijar przedstawiał nieporównanie szerzej niż konkretne zjawiska przyrodnicze¹¹⁰.

Badacz nowożytnej kultury naukowej i filozoficznej ekscytujący się stopniowym wyzwalaniem się przyrodoznawstwa z ram filozofii nie może jednak zapomnieć o właściwym także współczesnym dyskusjom na terenie metodologii nauki i filozofii nauki napięciu między elementem teoretycznym i doświadczalnym¹¹¹. Tak czy inaczej opisowy eksperymentalizm Rogalińskiego można nazwać naturalizmem metodologicznym. Wbrew pozorom, naturalizmowi poznańskiego profesora nie jest jednak właściwy płaski empiryzm czy wręcz sensualizm, skoro nie prowadził on do naturalizmu ontologicznego. Wprost przeciwnie, jego naturalizm wiązał się bowiem ze stałą świadomością, że obok poznania doświadczalnego funkcjonują także inne rodzaje wiedzy, a ich status wyznacza specyfika właściwych im przedmiotów, choćby nawet w perspektywie fizyki eksperymentalnej ich rozważania wydawały się niepewne. Formułując wizję fizyki eksperymentalnej, Rogaliński wykraczał jednakże poza przyjęty w tej nauce aspekt rozważań, bowiem faktycznie wypowiadał się jako filozof-epistemolog, świadomy znaczenia złożonej tradycji naukowej kultury zachodniej, obejmującej filozofię i religię, o znacznie dłuższym dziedzictwie niż rodząca się w bólach (stąd z krzykiem) nauka nowożytna. Współcześnie zaś myślenie naukowe traktuje się już jako

109 Podczas jednego z popisów publicznych doszło do zabawnego zdarzenia podczas prezentacji „machiny elektrycznej”, której wywołujące ogień funkcjonowanie zostało uznane przez oponentów za efekt działalności diabelskiej, gdyż korba urządzenia zniszczyła ulepioną z wosku postać *agnum Dei*, podłożoną przez demaskatora tych dokonań (Władysław Smoleński, *Przewrót umysłowy w Polsce wieku XVIII* (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1979), 73).

110 We wspomnianym rękopisie problem czasu omówił Wiśniewski na 25 stronach, przestrzeni – na 11, podczas gdy zjawiska cieplne jedynie na 4 stronach, a naturę dźwięku na 2 (Skarbek, *Pojęcia wstępne fizyki*, 187–188, 201–202).

111 W odniesieniu do skomplikowania metodologicznego współczesnej nauki, dalekiego od prostego empiryzmu postulowanego przez neopozytywizm, zob. artykuły Pawła Zeidlera „Empiryczny wymiar nauki”, Elżbiety Kałuszyńskiej „Teorie w nauce” i Krzysztofa Brzechczyńska „Modele w nauce” opublikowane w *Metodologia nauk*, cz. 1, 155–230.

paradygmatyczny rodzaj poznania¹¹², a konsekwentny naturalizm nie-rzadko spełnia funkcje „prowizorycznego ateizmu”¹¹³.

Ilustracją właściwego Rogalińskiemu pluralizmu wiedzy jest w pewnej mierze pierwsze jego wystąpienie rozpoczynające *Doświadczenia skutków rzeczy pod zmysły podpadających*. Jest to rozbudowana dedykacja dla króla Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego, która miała – według Bednarskiego, przywołującego zapisy kolegium poznańskiego (Historia Coli. Posnaniensis S. J. pod r. 1765, Bibl. Jagiell. 5198, II) – spotkać się z zachwytem monarchy¹¹⁴. Akcentuje w niej korzyści płynące z uprawiania fizyki eksperymentalnej, które ujawniają się nie tylko w praktyce gospodarczej. Rogaliński – jak znów podkreśla lapidarnie Bednarski – wskazuje, że „poznanie przyrody przynosi także wielkie korzyści naszemu własnemu dobru, prowadząc nas do poznania Boga, jako Stwórcy przyrody i poznania samego siebie”¹¹⁵. Odkrywając bogactwo przyrody, rozum ludzki staje wobec panującego w niej doskonalszego niż zegar ładu dotyczącego

112 Jak wskazuje Jan Woleński, rozstrzygnięcia co do natury poznania są uzależnione od uprzednio przyjętej koncepcji poznania naukowego, stąd też ogólna charakterystyka nauki łączy się z analizą poznania jako takiego (*knowledge*) (Jan Woleński, *Epistemologia. Poznanie, prawda, wiedza, realizm* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN, 2005), 60). Postawa ta uwidacznia się m.in. u typowego dla amerykańskiej filozofii nauki Philipa Kitchera, dla którego najbardziej wiarygodną formą poznania jest poznanie naukowe, głównie jednak w sensie *science*. To może pociągać za sobą konsekwencje metafizyczne, gdy w praktyce nauka staje się wyznacznikiem tego, co istnieje (Anna Starościc, *Koncepcja nauki Philipa Kitchera* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2023), 33).

113 Por. Alvin Plantinga, *Naturalizm metodologiczny?*, tłum. Radosław Plato, w *Metodologia nauk*, cz. 1, 603–653. Formulowane są wszakże opinie odmienne o współczesnym uprawianiu nauki i filozofii tak, że postulując naturalizm metodologiczny unika się naturalizmu ontologicznego: „Naturalizm metodologiczny [...] nie odnosi się do tego, co istnieje, ale dotyczy wyłącznie sposobu prowadzenia badań w zakresie nauk. Zgodnie z tym stanowiskiem, wyjaśniając jakiegokolwiek zjawiska, uczony zobowiązany jest wskazywać wyłącznie przyczyny naturalne, przyrodnicze” (Piotr Gutowski, „Józefa Życińskiego koncepcja relacji między religią a nauką”, *Przegląd Filozoficzny. Nowa Seria* 22 (2013), nr 1(85): 17).

114 „Mową tą zachwycał się król Stanisław August. Nie dziwny się temu! Jest ona tak pod względem formy jak i treści jednym z najpiękniejszych zabytków staropolskiej prozy. Klasyczna prostota i umiar, wspaniałe, misternie snute, czasem długie, a przecież jasne okresy, oparte na niespotykanej dotąd w polskiej prozie harmonijnej rytmice, oto zalety, które mowę Rogalińskiego winny wprowadzić do wszystkich wypisów i czytanek szkolnych, zwłaszcza, że nie straciła nic ze swej aktualności i mądrości. Głęboka wiara uczonego, korząca się w zachwycie wobec cudów Bożej przyrody i wielbiąca w uczuciu wdzięczności Jego wielkość, cicha pokora i zaduma wobec niezgłębionych tajemnic bytu i wszechświata, ukochanie gorące a trzeźwe, praktyczne, czynne Ojczyzny, oto zasadnicze akordy tego prawdziwego pomnika prozy polskiej (Bednarski, *Upadek i odrodzenie szkół*, 361).

115 *Ibidem*, 361.

każdego jej elementu, który jest „sprawą [...] nieskończonego rozumu, dziełem nieograniczonej mądrości”. Wskazując właściwą postawę człowieka wobec rzeczywistości, mówił Rogaliński:

Zgoła każda rzecz nam mówi: że jest Bóg, że my jesteśmy od Boga, że jesteśmy dla Boga, że wszystkie rzeczy stworzone są dla nas. Jest światło, aby nas objaśniało, – powietrze, aby nas ożywiało, – ogień, aby nas ogrzewał, – zioła, aby nam były pokarmem w zdrowiu, lekarstwem w chorobie, – zwierzęta, aby nas jedne tuczyły, drugie odziewały; tak dalece, że ów głos całego świata [...] brzmi w uszach każdego z nas: Służę tobie (mówi świat), abys ty służył Temu, który stworzył mnie i ciebie; stworzył mnie dla ciebie, a ciebie dla siebie. Dosyć jest uważać skutki przyrodzone, aby usłyszeć ten głos. Przeto nie płonnem powiedział, że uważanie tych skutków, prowadzi nas do poznania Boga¹¹⁶.

W religijną interpretację przyrody wpisane jest także odkrycie natury ludzkiej egzystencji, ukazując

z jednej strony godność istoty naszej, z drugiej nikczemność jej. [...] Godność, która wywyższa człowieka nad wszystkie inne cielesne istoty, czyni go prawie równym aniołom i żywym obrazem Boskim; nikczemność zaś, która wydaje niedostatek rozumu jego na poznanie doskonale najmniejszego proszku. [...] Jakokolwiek bowiem objaśnieni jesteśmy, cokolwiek umieć możemy, to wszystko nic nie jest względem innych niezliczonych rzeczy na świecie, których nigdy dociec nie potrafimy. Opatrzność Boska na utrzymanie w granicach swoich rozumu naszego, żeby głębiej nad siły swoje sięgać się nie ważył, rzuciła grubą zasłonę na oczy nasze, że tych rzeczy nawet, które są blisko nas, z którymi obcujemy, które są ustawicznie w oczach naszych, poznać doskonale nie możemy¹¹⁷.

To religijnie motywowane odkrycie ograniczenia ludzkiego umysłu nie było wszakże tylko wyrazem pokory właściwej poznańskiemu jezuitom¹¹⁸, gdyż w pewnej mierze analogicznie pisał nawet racjonalistycznie nastawiony d'Alembert. Upatrując pierwszorzędny cel ludzkiej wiedzy w zaspokojeniu naszych potrzeb, wtórnie dopiero ciekawości, agnostycznie wyznawał, że nie należy się martwić o brak możliwości poznania

116 „Przemowa miana na zaczęciu doświadczenia skutków wszystkich rzeczy pod zmysły podpadających, w której się pokazuje, że ta zabawa jest dla wszystkich i do pojęcia wszystkich”, w Rogaliński, *Doświadczenia Skutków Rzeczy*, t. 1.

117 *Ibidem*.

118 Na temat notatek sporządzanych podczas ośmiodniowych notatek rekolekcyjnych oraz wzruszająco pokornej modlitwy odmawianej przed zajęciami szkolnymi zob. Bednarski, *Upadek i odrodzenie szkół*, 71, 377–378.

istoty dostępnych nam w doświadczeniu zjawisk, gdyż rozwiązanie większości problemów podejmowanych na gruncie metafizyki przekracza nasze możliwości poznawcze. Kwestie te miały być zasłonięte przez Najwyższą Inteligencję dla naszego ograniczonego widzenia, stąd jest rzeczą nieużyteczną próbować rozerwać tę zasłonę, gdyż sytuacja ta jest smutną przypadłością ludzkiej natury¹¹⁹. Prawdziwy hymn uwielbienia Boskiej mądrości sformułowany przez polskiego jezuitę był charakterystyczny dla wypowiedzi oświeceniowych uczonych i to także najwybitniejszych, którzy swoje systemy umieszczali w filozoficzno-religijnej perspektywie, podtrzymując przekonanie o racjonalności natury ugruntowanej na wizji wszechwiedzy i wszechmocy Boga-Stwórcy, niezależnie od tego czy przekonanie to było zakorzenione w religii naturalnej czy w kontekście wyznaniowym¹²⁰. Sam Isaac Newton sławił przecież Boga w swoich *Principiach*, już to ukazując konieczność Jego działania w formie swoistego postulatu warunkującego funkcjonowanie sformułowanego przez niego systemu fizyki, już to wnosząc o istnieniu i naturze Boga z Jego skutków działania w świecie¹²¹. Podobnie sądził twórca filozofii korpuskularnej Robert Boyle:

Filozofia, której bronię, sięga do rzeczy czysto cielesnych; rozróżniając pomiędzy pierwszym źródłem rzeczy a następującym potem biegiem natury, uczy, że Bóg [...] ustalił owe reguły ruchu oraz porządek wśród rzeczy cielesnych, który my nazywamy prawami natury. Tak więc skoro Bóg niegdyś ukształtował istnienie wszechświata i ustanowił prawa ruchu, a wszystko wspomagane jest przez jego nieustanny udział i powszechną Opatrzność [...] zjawiska świata są fizycznie tworzone przez mechaniczne własności cząstek materii¹²².

119 Jean le Rond d'Alembert, *Essai sur les éléments de philosophie, ou sur les principes des connaissances humaines* został wydany w ramach czwartego tomu *Mélanges de littérature, d'histoire et de philosophie* (Amsterdam: Zacharie Chatelain & Fils, 1759).

120 Por. Stanisław Janeczek, „Od filozofii Boga do filozofii religii w dobie oświecenia”, w *Filozofia a religia w dziejach filozofii polskiej. Inspiracje – krytyka*, red. Stanisław Janeczek, Anna Starościc (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2014), 85–108.

121 Zob. Michał Heller, Józef Życiński, *Wszechświat – maszyna czy myśl?* (Kraków: Polskie Towarzystwo Teologiczne, 1988), 85–95. Por. David Kubrin, „Newton and the Cyclical Cosmos. Providence and the Mechanical Philosophy”, *Journal of the History of Ideas* 28 (1967): 325–346; Jerzy Kierul, *Izaak Newton. Bóg, światło i świat* (Wrocław: Oficyna Wydawnicza Quadrivium, 1996).

122 Robert Boyle, „The Excellency and Grounds of the Mechanical Hypothesis”, w *The Philosophical Works of the Honourable Robert Boyle*, t. 1, red. Peter Shaw (London: W. and J. Innys, 1725), 187. Cyt. za: Alistair Cameron Crombie, *Nauka średniowieczna i początki nauki nowożytnej*, t. 2, tłum. Stanisław Łypaciewicz (Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy Pax, 1960), 387.

Podejście to było także typowe np. dla najwybitniejszego systematyka ówczesnej biologii, jakim był Carl von Linné (Linneusz), który co prawda zaliczał w aspekcie cech anatomicznych człowieka do naczelných, ale zaznaczał, że wykracza on poza świat zwierząt, jest bowiem stworzony na podobieństwo Boże, z duszą nieśmiertelną, obdarzony rozumem na chwałę Stwórcy; jest panem stworzenia zamykającym to dzieło, choćby naznaczonym przygodnością egzystencji¹²³. Podobnie człowieka ujmował Georges-Louis Leclerc de Buffon, który umieścił go na szczycie hierarchii życia ze względu na niematerialną rozumną duszę¹²⁴. Stąd to człowiek w ujęciu Linneusza i Buffona jest dalej punktem odniesienia w rozumieniu uporządkowanego bogactwa świata przyrody jako swoistej drabiny stworzeń¹²⁵. Nie może więc dziwić, że nie w innym kontekście postrzegali świat autorzy podręczników przyrodoznawstwa w szkolnictwie KEN, gdy Jan Michał Hube wieńczył swój podręcznik wołaniem: „O, jak wielki zatem Bóg, na którego skinienie wszystko stało się i trwa”¹²⁶. Także dostrzeżony przez ks. Krzysztofa Kluka porządek przyrody stanowił okazję do podkreślania „zasług” jej Stwórcy, o którego wszechmocy, mądrości i dobroci „woła” wręcz sama natura¹²⁷, a choć człowieka traktował aspektywnie jako zwierzę, to nie omieszczał zaznaczyć, że ma on duszę różną od zwierzęcej, wyższą, rozumną, co przesądza o jego doskonałości¹²⁸. Dotyczyło to także analiz z zakresu astronomii, jak zauważa bowiem Barbara Bieńkowska:

Funkcja światopoglądowa astronomii polegała na uświadamianiu uczniom dobroci, potęgi i chwały Boga przez ukazanie ogromu i wspaniałości niebios. W ten sposób nauczanie astronomii uzupełniało szkolne wychowanie religijne¹²⁹.

123 Carolus Linnaeus, *Systema naturae, per regna tria naturae secundum classes, ordines, genera, species cum characteribus, differentiis synonymis locis*, t. 1 (Vindobonae: Trattner, 1767).

124 Georges Louis Leclerc Comte de Buffon, *De l'homme*, wyd. Michéle Duchet (Paris: Maspero, 1971), 3–15.

125 Z ogromu literatury zob. Wolf Lepenies, *Autoren und Wissenschaftler im 18. Jahrhundert. Linné, Buffon, Winckelmann, Georg Forster, Erasmus Darwin* (München: Carl Hanser, 1988). Na temat filozoficznego i światopoglądowego skomplikowania ówczesnej nauki zob. Steven Shapin, „Do czego służyła wiedza?”, w Shapin, *Rewolucja naukowa*, 108–145, przedr. w *Historia filozofii*, cz. 3, 205–235.

126 Hube, *Fizyka dla szkół narodowych*, Cz. 1, 536.

127 Krzysztof Kluk, *Zwierząt domowych i dzikich, osobliwie krajowych, historii naturalnej początki i gospodarstwo potrzebnych...*, t. 1: *O Zwierzętach Śsących* (Warszawa: Drukarnia Pijarów, 1779), 3–7, 134–135.

128 *Ibidem*, 2, 45.

129 Barbara Bieńkowska, „Z dziejów recepcji heliocentryzmu w polskich szkołach katolickich od XVI do XVIII wieku”, *Studia Warmińskie* 9 (1972): 266.

Dopiero w tym kontekście można zrozumieć, dlaczego uczeni funkcjonujący w kręgu kultury chrześcijańskiej zachowywali wyjątkową ostrożność wobec kwestionowania zakorzenionych w tradycji przekonań. Dotyczy to zwłaszcza – traktowanej wręcz jak papierek lakmusowy intelektualnej otwartości lub fanatycznej ignorancji – kwestii akceptacji lub odrzucania koncepcji heliocentryzmu¹³⁰. Jak wiadomo, jej akceptacja napotykała na trudności wynikające z literalnej interpretacji Pisma św., którego wzmianki sugerowały poprawność wizji geocentrycznej. Użyteczność rozwiązania sformułowanego przez Mikołaja Kopernika, ułatwiającego obliczenia astronomiczne, zmusiła czynniki kościelne do wydania zgody na jego rozpowszechnienie jedynie w formie hipotezy naukowej (jako hipotetyczny model matematyczny, nie zaś jako koncepcję o charakterze filozoficzno-wyjaśniającym)¹³¹. W tej formie omawiali je tacy luminarze nowożytnej nauki, jak Kartezjusz czy – początkowo – nawet Isaac Newton¹³². Dotyczyło to również szeregu *minores* funkcjonujących w obiegu intelektualnym Rzeczypospolitej¹³³, jak Christian Wolff¹³⁴. Stąd też mimo wyraźnego określenia różnic w odniesieniu do przedmiotu praw objawionych i filozofii, dojrzale wykluczającego z depozytu prawd

130 Przywołując cytaty ze sztuki Bertolda Brechta *Życie Galileusza*, Tadeusz Sierotowicz notuje: „Dramat Brechta pozostaje, jak sądzę, najelokwentniejszym wyrazem mitu przedstawiającego Kościół jako wroga nauki, zaś Galileusza, twórcę metody naukowej, jako ofiarę. Jest to mit, który powstał jeszcze w czasach przedoświeceniowych, ale po dziś dzień zachowuje swą żywotność i siłę oddziaływania na wyobraźnię wielu ludzi (Tadeusz Sierotowicz, „Jan Paweł II i sprawa Galileusza – «rehabilitacja» Galileusza?”, *Zagadnienia Filozoficzne w Nauce* 45 (2009): 97. Por. William E. Carroll, „Eppur si muove: legenda «sprawy Galileusza»”, tłum. Zenon Roskał, *Roczniki Filozoficzne* 57 (2009), nr 2: 25–39. Szerzej zob. Tadeusz Sierotowicz, *Galileusz* (Kraków: WAM, 2003); *Sprawa Galileusza*, wybór i red. Józef Życkiński (Kraków: Znak, 1991).

131 Dopiero w roku 1757 papież Benedykt XIV wydał dekret, na skutek którego usunięte zostały z indeksu ksiąg zakazanych wszystkie dzieła popierające heliocentryzm z wyjątkiem *Dialogu o dwu najważniejszych układach świata* Galileusza. Samo dzieło Kopernika wciągnięto na ten indeks w roku 1616, a więc 73 lata po publikacji, po pierwszych rzymskich przesłuchaniach Galileusza. Zdjęto je z indeksu dopiero w roku 1835, gdy jego koncepcja uzyskała potwierdzenie empiryczne w roku 1728 w postaci odkrycia aberracji światła przez Jamesa Bradley’a (obserwacyjny dowód ruchu Ziemi wokół Słońca), a ostatecznie w roku 1837 dzięki dokonaniom przez Friedricha Bessela obliczeniom rocznej paralaksy gwiazd stałych.

132 Crombie, *Nauka średniowieczna*, t. 2, 207–272; Mieczysław Markowski, „Doktrynalne tło przewrotu kopernikowskiego”, w *Mikołaj Kopernik. Studia i materiały sesji kopernikowskiej w KUL 18–19 lutego 1972 r.*, red. Marian Kurdziałek, Jerzy Rebeta, Stefan Swieżawski (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe KUL, 1973), 13–51; Stanisław Kamiński, *Filozoficzne uwarunkowania rewolucyjnej idei Mikołaja Kopernika*, w *ibidem*, 107–141.

133 Janeczka, *Przyrodoznawstwo w polskim szkolnictwie*.

134 Christian Wolff, *Cosmologia generalis methodo scientifica pertractata* (Francofurti: Renger, 1737), 37–51.

objawionych zakładaną przez Biblię wizję kosmologiczną (nierefleksyjna i oparta na potocznym doświadczeniu), oraz dostrzeżenia walorów rozwiązania Kopernika, także inicjator reform pijarskich w zakresie nauczania przyrodoznawstwa Antoni Wiśniewski czuł się związany głosem Kościoła nauczającego¹³⁵. Nie inna postawa była właściwa polskim jezuitom, jak Benedykt Dobszewicz¹³⁶, Stanisław Szadurski¹³⁷ czy chętnie przywoływany w historiografii polskiej nauki Grzegorz Arakielowicz¹³⁸. Cóż więc dziwnego, że kłopoty z właściwą oceną heliocentryzmu miał i Rogaliński preferujący podejście opisowe przed wyjaśniającym. Jak referuje Barbara Bienkowska,

wykładając przede wszystkim fizykę doświadczalną, programowo i ostentacyjnie odcinał się od astronomii. Opierając jednak cały swój wykład na fizyce Newtona wielokrotnie referując przedstawiał układ heliocentryczny, mimochodem dorzucając jeszcze argumenty doświadczalne na jego poparcie (ks. IV, cz.1, s. 117, 127 i in.). Z całego kontekstu jasno wynikała bezwarunkowa aprobata teorii heliocentrycznej i oparcie na jej założeniach całego dalszego rozumowania. Niemniej Rogaliński nigdzie wyraźnie nie powiedział i nie mógł powiedzieć, że traktuje ją jako prawdę fizyczną [podkr. – autorzy]. Charakterystyczny pod tym względem jest następujący fragment (ks. IV, cz.1, s. 158–159): „Co zaś tu widzieliśmy na tej kuli, to samo Hugenius [Christiaan Huygens] i Newton do całej Ziemi przystosowali. Mniemając bowiem z Kopernikiem, że krąży dziennym biegiem wkoło swojej osi, oraz rocznym biegiem obraca się wkoło Słońca, wnieśli łatwo z tego wszystkiego, cośmy dotąd przełożyli, że musi być wyższa i wypuklejsza pod Rowiennikiem, a spłaszczona pod biegunami, mając kształt niby cybuli lub jabłka [...] Zdania te o takim kształcie ziemi, ponieważ zasadały się na domysłach jeszcze niepewnych, a osobliwie na obrocie ziemi, którego pod pewnością utrzymywać nie można [...]”, wymagały potwierdzenia doświadczalnego. Następnie autor przytacza

135 Antoni Wiśniewski, *Propositiones philosophicae ex physica recentiorum*, Varsaviae 1746, teza XLVIII; Antoni Wiśniewski, *Propositiones philosophicae* (Varsaviae, 1752), tezy CLVI–CLVII. Por. Barbara Bienkowska, Tadeusz Bienkowski, *Kierunki recepcji nowożytnej myśli naukowej w szkołach polskich (1600–1773)*, cz. 1: *Przyrodoznawstwo* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwa Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 1973), 87–104; Jan Buba, „Rodowód Collegium Nobilium”, w *Nowożytna myśl naukowa*, 38.

136 Bargieł, *Benedykt Dobszewicz SJ*, 192–193.

137 Bargieł, *Stanisław Szadurski SJ*, 268–269.

138 Waldemar Voisé, „Grzegorz Arakielowicz o geo- i heliocentryzmie”, w *Mikołaj Kopernik. Studia i materiały*, 205–213. Por. Roman Darowski, *Grzegorz Arakielowicz i jego poglądy filozoficzne*, w Darowski, *Studia z filozofii jezuitów*, 299–310.

doświadczenia potwierdzające domysł Newtona, nie formułuje jednak ostatecznej konkluzji [podkr. – autorzy]¹³⁹.

Dopiero pod koniec lat 70., pod wyraźnym naciskiem kół naukowych i po usunięciu wskazanych wyżej kościelnych ograniczeń, zauważa się pełną autonomię w badaniach kosmologicznych¹⁴⁰. Stąd też pijar Kazimierz Narbutt mógł traktować heliocentryzm jako uzasadnioną empirycznie koncepcję o charakterze wyjaśniającym¹⁴¹.

Schizofreniczną postawę szkół katolickich ostrożnie jednak oceni Barbara Bieńkowska. Choć stwierdzi fakt wyjątkowo długiej dominacji tej postawy na ziemiach Rzeczypospolitej w porównaniu z krajami zachodnimi, to przecież w duchu *longue durée* stwierdzi:

Zasługi polskich szkół katolickich na przestrzeni wieku XVII i XVIII polegały na podtrzymywaniu najpierw kultu Kopernika i szerzeniu zwykłej, encyklopedycznej wiedzy o jego teorii, a następnie na propagowaniu tej teorii jako najlepszego sposobu wytłumaczenia położenia i ruchów planet. Wiedza podręcznikowa o heliocentryzmie nie była mała. Nawet jeśli w określonych latach był on komentowany jako niezgodny z Pismem św., rozumem, logiką itd. to i tak wykłady zawierały główne założenia teorii ruchu Ziemi i wiadomości o samym Koperniku jako wielkim uczonym, pobożnym kanoniku, Polaku rodem z Torunia. Co więcej, ta wiedza podręcznikowa zawierała również zazwyczaj argumenty zwolenników heliocentryzmu, które chociaż później przez wykładowców zbijane (pozwornie czy też z istotnego przekonania) musiały przecież zapadać w pamięć i świadomość słuchaczy. O tym procesie „informowania przez negację” z reguły zapominali, bądź go zupełnie nie dostrzegali badacze dziejów kultury, którzy przez wiele ubiegłych dziesięcioleci krytykowali szkoły katolickie za ich nieufność wobec heliocentryzmu¹⁴².

Zakończenie

Uogólniając opinię Bieńkowskiej, można stwierdzić, że duch ostrożnych reform był właściwy także innym wymiarom przemian kultury filozoficznej poczynawszy od połowy wieku XVIII w szkołach zakonnych

139 Barbara Bieńkowska, *Kopernik i heliocentryzm w polskiej kulturze umysłowej do końca XVIII wieku* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1971), 131.

140 Por. Bieńkowska, Bieńkowski, *Kierunki recepcji*, t. 1, 104–105.

141 Kazimierz Narbutt, *Z filozofii wybrane zdania...* (Wilno, 1771), tezy LXXII i LXXIV.

142 Bieńkowska, *Z dziejów recepcji heliocentryzmu*, 311.

Rzeczpospolitej ukazanych w niniejszym artykule na przykładzie dokonania jezuita Józefa Rogalińskiego jako przejawu krytycznego uczestnictwa w kulturze sobie współczesnej. Zespałał on ducha odwagi w wykorzystywaniu elementów nowych, uznanych za cenne, ale z poszanowaniem wartościowych elementów wypracowanych w przeszłości, a więc podtrzymując ciągłość tradycji filozoficznej oraz licząc się z uwarunkowaniami światopoglądowymi. Reformom tym nie można więc odmówić ich kulturotwórczego charakteru, zwłaszcza że w odróżnieniu od oświaty w dobie KEN praktyka tych szkół nie spotkała się z kontestacją, bowiem ceniono w nich tak ważne we współczesnej oświacie i polityce naukowej dobre relacje ze środowiskiem lokalnym i dbałość o użyteczność nauczanych treści nie tylko dla środowiska kulturowego, ale i – co było niewątpliwym *novum* – także dla środowiska gospodarczego. Nie można jednak nie zauważyć, że o ile zmiany te służyły rozbudowaniu wąsko traktowanej kultury naukowej, upowszechniając znajomość osiągnięć nowożytnej nauki, to wyrosły w takiej atmosferze styl uprawiania filozofii określany jako *philosophia recentiorum* – mimo kulturotwórczego ducha otwartości, jakim był postulat programowego eklektyzmu – prowadził do mocno ograniczonej dociekliwości intelektualnej, preferując bardziej deklaracje niż pogłębione analizy, a nawet lekceważąc dbałość o koherencję formułowanych przekonań. Odnosi się to zwłaszcza do dostatecznej troski o zbudowanie całościowej wizji rzeczywistości, w to miejsce skupiając się na analizie oderwanych elementów rzeczywistości, z czym wiązało się unikanie właściwego tradycji filozofii klasycznej wyjaśniania przez wskazanie przyczyn głębszych niż prosta interpretacja postrzeganych zmysłowo zjawisk, w której niezbędne okazało się jednak dosyć swobodne wykorzystanie tradycyjnych kategorii filozoficznych. Choć jezuićcy historycy skłonni są – nie bez aspektywnej słuszności – widzieć w tych dokonaniach przejaw „unowocześniania scholastyki”, bo rzeczywiście zmiany te dokonują się w ramach integralnie pojętego kursu filozofii, to przecież nie można zapomnieć o typowym dla ducha oświecenia programowym eklektyzmie filozoficznym¹⁴³ w szkołach zakonnych, stojącym w wyraźnej sprzeczności z systemowym charakterem nowożytnego

143 Twórca *Wielkiej encyklopedii francuskiej* Denis Diderot stwierdzał: „powinno się wymagać ode mnie, żebym szukał prawdy, a nie, żebym ją znalazł”, co jest synonimem postawy „badającej, ale nie rozstrzygającej”, uznając tę drugą za wyraz „głupiej zarozumiałości dogmatycznej” (Denis Diderot, „Myśli filozoficzne”, w Denis Diderot, *Wybór pism filozoficznych*, tłum. Julia Hartwig, Julian Rogoziński, red. Jerzy Adamski (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1953), 35, 38). Por. Michał Węclawski, „Eklektyzm jako postawa filozoficzna”, *Hybris* 2018, nr 41: 126–146.

arystotelizmu chrześcijańskiego¹⁴⁴. Ujawniający się w polskich przemianach w połowie wieku XVIII oświeceniowy eklektyzm chrześcijański jest jednak najbliższy prądowi określanemu jako „oświecenie chrześcijańskie” czy też – precyzując bliżej jego wyznaniową proveniencję – „oświecenie katolickie” i „oświecenie protestanckie”¹⁴⁵. Wystąpiły one z poparciem czynników kościelnych (np. papieża Benedykta XIV) w takich krajach jak Włochy, Francja, Niemcy, Austria, Węgry czy Polska. Polskie „oświe-

144 Stanisław Janeczek, „Franciszek Bargiel SJ, Stanisław Szadurski SJ (1726–1789). Przedstawiciel uwspółcześnionej filozofii scholastycznej (Kraków 1978)”, *Roczniki Filozoficzne* 29 (1981), nr 1: 239–243. Por. Roman Darowski, *Filozofia jezuitów w Polsce od XVI do XVIII wieku. Próba syntezy*, w Darowski, *Studia z filozofii jezuitów*, 315–346.

145 Co prawda w polskiej literaturze historycznofilozoficznej zgłasza się opinię, że termin „oświecenie chrześcijańskie” „lansowany przez konfesyjnych historyków filozofii nie jest szczęśliwy, gdyż zdaje się zapoznawać doniosłą rolę ośrodków protestanckich (gimnazja akademickie Torunia i Gdańsk) w formowaniu się wczesnego polskiego oświecenia, a odnosi się raczej do warszawskiego Collegium Nobilium i do reformatorskich poczynań pijarów” (Marian Skrzypek, „Kołłątajowska reforma Wydziału Filozoficznego Uniwersytetu Krakowskiego”, *Archiwum Historii Filozofii i Myśli Społecznej* 46 (2001), 27–46). Zasadność tej opinii podważają jednak takie poważne opracowania jak Davida Sorkina *The Religious Enlightenment: Protestants, Jews, and Catholics from London to Vienna* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008). Jak pisze recenzentka tego tomu: „Dotychczasowe badania Davida Sorkina koncentrowały się na XVIII-wiecznej kulturze żydowskiej i haskali (pruskim oświeceniu żydowskim), rozpatrując je w szerszym kontekście niemieckiego umiarkowanego, teologicznego oświecenia. [...] Tutaj zarzuca szerszą sieć, próbując «zrewidować nasze rozumienie Oświecenia», argumentując – wbrew dominującej świeckiej narracji, która wyłoniła się w następstwie rewolucji francuskiej, wzmocnionej przez dwa wieki badań historycznych – że «Oświecenie nie tylko było zgodne z wiarą religijną, ale wręcz do niej prowadziło» (s. 3)” (Francesca Bregoli, „David Sorkin, «The Religious Enlightenment: Protestants, Jews, and Catholics from London to Vienna»”, *Quest. Issues in Contemporary Jewish History* 2010, DOI: 10.48248/issn.2037-741X/613). Chrześcijański rys protestanckiego przeciw oświecenia szkockiego akcentował na gruncie polskim Stefan Zabieglik: „Szczególną cechą szkockiego Oświecenia była przy tym aktywność w jego ramach liberalnej grupy duchowieństwa, której przez wiele lat przewodził W[illiam] Robertson. Przedstawiciele tej grupy utrzymywali ścisłe więzi ze świeckimi luminarzami nauki i filozofii, nie wyłączając samego [Davida] Hume’a. W żadnym z krajów europejskich udział duchowieństwa w ruchu oświeceniowym nie był chyba tak liczny i znaczący, jak właśnie w Szkocji” (Stefan Zabieglik, *Wiek doskonalenia. Z filozofii szkockiego Oświecenia* (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo PG, 1997). Por. *ibidem*, zwłaszcza 41–93). Asymilując zdobycze nowożytnej filozofii i przyrodoznawstwa szkoły protestanckiej na terenach Rzeczypospolitej, także dbały o zgodność z ortodoksją religijną. Zob. przywoływany w przyp. 34 artykuł Stanisława Salmonowicza dotyczący gimnazjum toruńskiego. O ewentualnej aprobacie lub kontestacji heliocentryzmu z przyczyn religijnych pisze zaś Barbara Bieńkowska: „Zanim dekrety rzymskiej kongregacji kardynałów z lat 1616 i 1633 otworzyły nowy etap w sporze o heliocentryzm, czyniąc z niego dla katolików sprawę doktrynalną, przeciwko heliocentryzmowi wystąpili przywódcy Reformacji – Luter i Melancthon – powołując się na świadectwo zmysłów „oczy nasze są świadkami tego, że niebios obracają się” i na kilka miejsc w Biblii mówiących o ruchomości Słońca i nieruchomej Ziemi (Bieńkowska, *Kopernik i heliocentryzm*, 21–22).

cenie chrześcijańskie” nie ustępuje zasadniczo zachodnioeuropejskiemu ani pod względem chronologii jego rozpowszechnienia, ani w aspekcie merytorycznym czy formalnym. Stanowiło ono typowy przejaw ówczesnej szkolnej kultury filozoficznej, relatywnie samodzielny i niepozbawiony pewnej oryginalności¹⁴⁶. Przede wszystkim dotyczy to większej niż w krajach zachodnich dbałości o zachowanie zgodności nowej kultury filozoficznej z kulturą chrześcijańską. To do realiów Rzeczypospolitej można odnieść opinię Jeremy’ego Blacka, że w oświeceniowych, na pozór radykalnie nowatorskich przemianach, należy dostrzegać ich ciągłość, nawet jeśli „niektórzy autorzy [...] określali swe idee przez opozycję do dokonań przeszłości”, to jednak „większość podążała inną drogą i nawet ci, którzy akcentowali zmianę, często sięgali po idee zaczerpnięte z przeszłości”¹⁴⁷. Dotyczy to w szczególności miejsca, jakie zajmowała w nich religia, stąd też Black protestuje przeciwko opinii o desakralizacji kultury oświecenia, gdyż

po pierwsze, należy odróżniać zmiany wrażliwości religijnej od objawów jej zaniku, po drugie, świadectwa, jakimi dysponujemy, wskazują, że sceptycyzm, choć niewątpliwie obecny, to zjawisko marginesowe i że o wiele powszechniejszym fenomenem była bogata religijność ludowa, często niepodatna na wpływy reformatorsko nastawionych duchownych¹⁴⁸.

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146 Richard Butterwick-Pawlikowski, „Między oświeceniem a katolicyzmem, czyli o katolickim oświeceniu i oświeconym katolicyzmie”, *Wiek Oświecenia* 30 (2014): 11–55; Stanisław Janeczek, „Rola oświecenia chrześcijańskiego w kulturze wieku XVIII”, *Kultura i Wartości* 15 (2015): 9–48 (toż w Stanisław Janeczek, *Filozofia – nauka – religia. Studia i szkice z dziejów kultury intelektualnej*, red. Anna Starościc (Kęty: Wydawnictwo Marek Derewiecki, 2018), 216–243); Stanisław Janeczek, *Oświecenie chrześcijańskie. Z dziejów polskiej kultury filozoficznej* (Lublin: Redakcja Wydawnictw KUL, 1994). Por. *A Companion to the Catholic Enlightenment in Europe*, red. Ulrich L. Lehner, Michael Printy (Leiden: Brill, 2010).

147 Jeremy Black, *Europa XVIII wieku 1700–1789*, tłum. Jarosław Mikos (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1997), 275.

148 *Ibidem*, 234.

- [reprint: *Cours de sciences. Sur des principes nouveaux et simples pour former le langage, l'esprit et le coeur, dans l'usage ordinaire de la vie, suivi de Homère en arbitrage* (Genève: Slatkine, 1971)].
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Odpowiedzialność w ujęciu Friedricha Augusta Hayeka

Friedrich August Hayek on Responsibility

Abstrakt

Przedmiotem rozważań są poglądy F.A. Hayeka na temat odpowiedzialności. Celem pracy jest ich zebranie i przeanalizowanie oraz pokazanie, jak układają się one w spójną koncepcję wpisującą się w ogólną perspektywę aksjologiczną austriackiego filozofa. Podjęte są kolejno kwestie znaczenia odpowiedzialności, jej podmiotów i przedmiotów, funkcjonowania odpowiedzialności indywidualnej także jako wartości społecznej. Ukazane jest, iż Hayek przedstawia odpowiedzialność jako atrybut wolności, a jednocześnie warunek konieczny jej zaistnienia. Zostaje przedstawiona argumentacja za tezą mówiącą, iż rezygnacja z odpowiedzialności oznacza zgodę na przymusowe zarządzanie sprawami człowieka, które prowadzi nieuchronnie do zjawisk negatywnych, takich jak zanegowanie autonomii moralnej, zniewolenie, niekompetentne podejmowanie decyzji czy nieskuteczność działań. Podmiotami właściwie rozumianej odpowiedzialności są dla Hayeka poszczególni ludzie, zaś w zakres jej przedmiotów wchodzi bezpośrednio własne sprawy człowieka oraz sprawy innych ludzi, których z określonych powodów uczynił przedmiotem swej troski. W świetle jego rozważań w stosunku do osób nieznanym odpowiedzialne postępowanie polega na właściwym zagospodarowywaniu sfery własnej wolności oraz pozwalanie na to samo innym. Zarządzając odpowiedzialnie swą wolnością,

człowiek (często w sposób niezamierzony) przyczynia się do dobrostanu osób poza jego bezpośrednim zainteresowaniem – w tym sensie indywidualistyczna wartość, jaką jest odpowiedzialność, stanowi jednocześnie wartość społeczną. Artykuł wypełnia luki w istniejącej literaturze w zakresie myśli aksjologicznej Hayeka. Wprowadza do współczesnych dyskusji o odpowiedzialności jego perspektywę, zgodnie z którą należy dostrzegać ścisły związek odpowiedzialności z wolnością oraz dwoistość natury odpowiedzialności: jako cnoty osobistej i społecznego dobra (pożądaną alternatywę dla interwencji państwa w sprawę osobiste człowieka).

Słowa kluczowe: odpowiedzialność, F.A. Hayek, indywidualizm, podmiotowość moralna, wartości indywidualistyczne, wolność.

Abstract

This paper examines F. A. Hayek's views on responsibility. Its aim is to collect, analyze, and demonstrate how these views form a coherent concept consistent with his broader axiological framework. The discussion addresses, in turn, the meaning of responsibility, its subjects and objects, and the role of individual responsibility as a social value. The article shows that Hayek portrays responsibility both as an attribute of freedom and as a necessary condition for its existence. It presents arguments supporting the thesis that renouncing responsibility entails accepting the coercive management of human affairs, which inevitably leads to adverse consequences such as the denial of moral autonomy, loss of freedom, poor decision-making, and inefficiency. For Hayek, the proper subjects of responsibility are individuals, while its objects include primarily one's own affairs and, under certain conditions, the affairs of others for whom one has voluntarily assumed concern. In his view, responsible behavior toward strangers consists in properly managing one's own sphere of freedom and allowing others to do the same. By exercising responsibility over their own freedom, individuals—often unintentionally—contribute to the well-being of others beyond their immediate concern. In this sense, responsibility, while an individualist value, also serves as a social good. The article fills a gap in the existing literature on Hayek's axiological thought and introduces his perspective into contemporary discussions on responsibility—one that emphasizes its close connection to freedom and its dual character as both a personal virtue and a social value, serving as a desirable alternative to state intervention in private life.

Keywords: responsibility, F.A. Hayek, individualism, moral subjectivity, individualistic values, liberty, freedom.

Wprowadzenie

Celem rozważań jest rekonstrukcja poglądów Friedricha Augusta Hayeka na temat odpowiedzialności. Chociaż nie poświęcił on tej wartości żadnej ze swych prac i nie przedstawił wprost jej koncepcji (jak uczynił to na przykład w przypadku wolności czy sprawiedliwości), lecz rozpatrywał związaną z nią problematykę raczej na obrzeżach innych zagadnień, kategoria odpowiedzialności ma w jego aksjologii bardzo istotne znaczenie¹. Warto więc podjąć próbę przedstawienia koncepcji zarysowującej się po zebraniu rozproszonych w różnych jego pracach poglądów na temat odpowiedzialności – pozwoli to wypełnić pewną lukę, którą można zidentyfikować w dotychczasowej refleksji nad aksjologią Hayeka.

Wyniki analiz Hayeka dotyczących pojęć wartości są istotne nie tylko dla nurtów filozofii politycznej, których jest on reprezentantem, ale także dla szerszych dyskusji aksjologicznych. Wystrzega się on bowiem projektującego lub perswazyjnego definiowania wartości, optując za podejściem, które odzwierciedla idee pierwotnie związane z tymi wartościami². Stwierdzając to, nie sugeruję, że Hayek, będący zdeklarowanym liberałem klasycznym i zwolennikiem indywidualizmu, nie proponuje wyrazistych zasad porządku społecznego. Przeciwnie, jego przekonania światopoglądowe (apoteoza wolności) są silnie zaznaczone, co manifestuje się także w jego podejściu do kwestii odpowiedzialności, rozpatrywanej z perspektywy indywidualizmu. Jeżeli jednak zgodzimy się z Hayekiem, że posiadanie jasnych poglądów w sprawach społecznych nie równa się doktrynerstwu i że zadaniem nauk społecznych jest odkrywanie, jakie działania na poziomie indywidualnym faktycznie kreują dobrze funkcjonujący porządek społeczny, możemy uznać, że ma też

1 Głównie dzieło Hayeka poświęcone wolności to Friedrich A. Hayek, *The Constitution of Liberty* (London–New York: Routledge, 2006), zaś sprawiedliwości: Friedrich A. Hayek, *Law, Legislation and Liberty* (London–New York: Routledge, 2013), rozdz. II „The Mirage of Social Justice”. Obydwie prace ukazały się również w języku polskim: *Konstytucja wolności*, tłum. Janusz Stawiński (Warszawa: PWN, 2006) oraz *Prawo, ustawodawstwo i wolność*, tłum. Grzegorz Łuczkiewicz (Warszawa: Aletheia, 2020). Cytaty z wersji angielskich przytaczane w tekście pochodzą z przekładu własnego autorki.

2 O manipulacjach związanych z wprowadzaniem definicji perswazyjnych pisał Charles L. Stevenson, *Ethics and Language* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1944), 210.

rację, twierdząc, iż odpowiednio pojęty indywidualizm dostarcza właściwej perspektywy do analizy problematyki wartości kluczowych dla jednostki i społeczeństwa³.

Rozważania części głównej pracy rozpocznę od przedstawienia idei odpowiedzialności i jej związków z wolnością. Opis tych relacji pozwala dostrzec znaczenie odpowiedzialności w aspekcie normatywnym i opisowym, jej wyróżnione miejsce w systemie wartości. W kolejnym rozdziale artykułu zaprezentuję poglądy Hayeka na temat podmiotów i przedmiotów odpowiedzialności. W ostatnim rozdziale przedstawię podstawowe tezy głoszonego przez niego indywidualizmu, by na tej podstawie wyjaśnić, w jaki sposób indywidualistycznie pojęta odpowiedzialność może być jednocześnie traktowana jako wartość społeczna.

Znaczenie odpowiedzialności

Hayek ściśle wiąże odpowiedzialność z wolnością rozumianą jako brak arbitralnego przymusu w stosunku do człowieka ze strony innych ludzi, czyli wartością centralną w jego perspektywie aksjologicznej. Jego zdaniem „Wolność i odpowiedzialność są ze sobą nierozzerwalnie związane”⁴. Należy on do grona filozofów traktujących odpowiedzialność i wolność jako w zasadzie dwie strony tego samego medalu. Nacisk kładzie na dwa aspekty współzależności między odpowiedzialnością i wolnością. Odpowiedzialność jest atrybutem autentycznej wolności i stanowi warunek konieczny jej zaistnienia, podobnie jak autentyczna wolność jest niezbędna dla prawdziwej odpowiedzialności. Po drugie, jest ona podstawą podmiotowości moralnej, przy czym jej nośnikiem jest działanie (względnie – osoba działająca) niepozostające pod wpływem przymusu, a więc wolne. Odpowiedzialność jest tu z jednej strony przedstawiana jako wartość znajdująca wyraz w pewnych normach etycznych lub pozaetycznych (zalecenia dotyczące tego, jak żyć, jak urządzić społeczeństwo), z drugiej strony – jako kategoria użyta do opisu kondycji ludzkiej (odpowiedzialność jest udziałem człowieka). Aspekty te są wzajemnie sprzężone.

Mówiąc o wolności, Hayek nie ma na myśli nieograniczonej dowolności postępowania czy absolutnego braku przymusu⁵. Postulat wolności

3 Friedrich A. Hayek, *Indywidualizm i porządek ekonomiczny*, tłum. Grzegorz Łuczkiwicz (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Aletheia, 2018), 9–10.

4 Hayek, *The Constitution of Liberty*, 63.

5 *Ibidem*, 15.

to dla niego postulat życia na własny rachunek, ponoszenia konsekwencji własnego postępowania, czyli – innymi słowy – odpowiedzialnego podejścia do życia. Pewien zakres przymusu (niearbitralnego) jest nie tylko dopuszczalny, ale wręcz konieczny. Potrzebne jest mianowicie jednolite ograniczenie swobód wszystkich za pomocą abstrakcyjnych zasad, które zapobiegają ingerencji kogokolwiek w sferę wolności kogoś innego. W praktyce chodzi o dotyczącą w jednakowej mierze każdego członka społeczeństwa konieczność przestrzegania przepisów prawa stojącego na straży przestrzegania tych zasad⁶. Dla dobrego współżycia jest jednak ważne także uznawanie w społeczeństwie tradycji moralnej (spontanicznie ukształtowanej). Jej normy, uzupełniając przepisy prawa, w pewnym sensie współwyznaczają granice wolności i odpowiedzialności człowieka⁷. Nie są one egzekwowane przez państwo, lecz liczenie się z nimi umożliwia współpracę przy znacznie mniejszym poziomie formalnej organizacji i przymusu: „[...] poziom przymusu może być minimalny tylko w społeczeństwie, w którym konwencje i tradycja powodują, że zachowanie człowieka jest w znacznym stopniu przewidywalne”⁸. Odpowiedzialność prawną i moralną Hayek traktuje jako spontanicznie ukształtowane narzędzie kreowania takiego ładu w życiu społecznym, który nie bazuje na arbitralnym przymusie⁹.

Wyraźnie widać, że nie ma podstaw do kojarzenia koncepcji Hayeka z propagowaniem postaw permissywistycznych, które niekiedy *a priori* są przypisywane liberałom¹⁰. To właśnie nacisk na odpowiedzialność oraz poszanowanie fundamentalnych zasad – zarówno prawnych, jak i moralnych – wyróżnia liberałów jego typu od zwolenników permissywizmu. Koncepcja wolności Hayeka, w kontekście pochwały odpowiedzialności,

6 Hayek, *The Constitution of Liberty*, 19–20; Halina Šimo, „O koncepcji wolności F.A. von Hayeka”, *Przegląd Filozoficzny – Nowa Seria* 3 (2020): 55–56.

7 „Odpowiedzialność stała się przede wszystkim pojęciem prawnym, ponieważ prawo wymaga jasnych kryteriów, aby zdecydować, kiedy działania osoby tworzą obowiązek lub czynią ją odpowiedzialną za karę. Jest to jednak równie mocno pojęcie moralne, koncepcja, która leży u podstaw naszego postrzegania moralnych obowiązków osoby” (Hayek, *The Constitution of Liberty*, 67).

8 Hayek, *Indywidualizm i porządek ekonomiczny*, 40.

9 *Ibidem*, 39–40, 68. Zob. także np. Friedrich A. Hayek, *Zgubna pycha rozumu. O błędach socjalizmu*, tłum. Tomasz Kuniński (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Arcana, 2004), 29–30.

10 Por. np. Jacek Bartyzel, *W głąb liberalizmów. Próba periodyzacji i klasyfikacji* (Lublin: Fundacja Servire Veritati Instytut Edukacji Narodowej, 2012), 219, 221; zob. np. Janina Filek, „Spór o odpowiedzialność: między odpowiedzialnością jednostki a odpowiedzialnością wspólnotową”, *Prakseologia* 156 (2016): 42; Hayek, *Indywidualizm i porządek ekonomiczny*, 31.

należy do tych ujęć, gdzie wolność, jak opisuje Jacek Filek, jest starannie odróżniona od samowoli¹¹.

Jak zauważa Hayek, w warunkach wolności można osiągnąć bardzo wiele. Żyjąc na własny rachunek, możemy z czystym sumieniem korzystać z dóbr, które są naszą własnością, realizować własne cele itp. (pozytywny aspekt odpowiedzialności). Jednakże z drugiej strony w warunkach wolności można nie odnieść sukcesu, ponieść straty itp., przy czym również wtedy trzeba przyjąć odpowiedzialność (aspekt negatywny). Konieczność ponoszenia odpowiedzialności, zarówno w aspekcie negatywnym, jak i w perspektywie ciężaru dokonywania własnych wyborów – głównych niedogodności życia w warunkach wolności – często są określane jako „ciężar odpowiedzialności”. Hayek wyjaśnia w związku z tym, że różne próby ucieczki przed wolnością są zazwyczaj wynikiem lęku przed odpowiedzialnością¹². Można przypuszczać, że to właśnie ścisły związek wolności z odpowiedzialnością sprawia, że pomysły na urządzenie społeczeństwa oparte na wolności mają niewielu zwolenników. Nie każdy pragnie przyjąć odpowiedzialność, ale także nie każdy jest skłonny przyznać innym ludziom prawo do podejmowania własnych decyzji (do życia na własną odpowiedzialność).

Zrzekanie się odpowiedzialności lub bezpodstawne odmawianie jej innym interpretujemy jako naruszenie norm, które chronią wartość odpowiedzialności w jej normatywnym aspekcie. Stanowi to istotne zagadnienie, którego znaczenie jest szczególnie widoczne przy analizie drugiego z wymienionych wymiarów współzależności odpowiedzialności i wolności. Poddając go pod refleksję, Hayek nawiązuje do ich tradycyjnej charakterystyki jako konstytutywnych cech podmiotu moralnego¹³. Gdzie nie ma odpowiedzialności, nie ma sensu mówić o wartości moralnej czynu, zaś warunkiem koniecznym pojawienia się odpowiedzialności człowieka za czyny jest wolność, gdyż za działanie pod przymusem nie można działającemu przypisywać odpowiedzialności¹⁴. W tym kontekście mówimy o odpowiedzialności jako o ważnym aspekcie samego

11 Jacek Filek, „Podstawowe pytanie etyczne w horyzoncie prawdy, wolności i odpowiedzialności”, *Argument* 1 (2013): 172–173.

12 Hayek, *The Constitution of Liberty*, 63–64, 70; zob. Tomasz Homa, *Wspólnotowość. W poszukiwaniu spoiwa wspólnoty politycznej* (Kraków: Akademia Ignatianum w Krakowie; Wydawnictwo WAM, 2017), 54.

13 Zob. np. Jan Woleński, Jan Hartman, *Wiedza o etyce* (Warszawa–Bielsko-Biała: Wydawnictwo Szkolne PWN, 2008), 34.

14 Hayek, *The Constitution of Liberty*, 70; por. Roman Ingarden, „O odpowiedzialności i jej podstawach ontycznych”, w *Książeczka o człowieku* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 2003), 122–123.

człowieczeństwa – pewnym atrybucie (a nie postulacie), własności konstytutywnej dla natury człowieka¹⁵. W tym aspekcie – opisowym – odpowiedzialność jest udziałem człowieka niezależnie od tego, czy poczuwa się on do niej, czy nie. Jest ona niezbywalna, nie można konsekwentnie jej się zrzec, w związku z czym bywa opisywana także jako pewne brzemie, choć z innego punktu widzenia stanowi przywilej. Liczenie się z nią wiąże się ściśle z poszanowaniem godności człowieka¹⁶.

Główny argument za szczególną wartością życia w warunkach wolności i odpowiedzialności, za jego wyższością nad innymi układami, wyrasta właśnie z przekonania, że są one nieodzowne dla istnienia podmiotowości moralnej¹⁷. Według Hayeka pozbawienie człowieka możliwości realizowania jego odpowiedzialności redukuje go do roli narzędzia w rękach innych, służącego do realizacji ich celów. Uznając kogoś za istotę racjonalną, powinniśmy z konsekwentnie obdarzyć go zaufaniem, że jest zdolny do zarządzania własnymi sprawami¹⁸. Opis ludzkiej kondycji przemawia zatem przeciwko odrzucaniu imperatywów odpowiedzialności.

Obok takiego argumentu za urządzeniem społeczeństwa w sposób sprzyjający manifestowaniu się indywidualnej odpowiedzialności Hayek wymienia też inne, zastrzegając jednak, że traktuje je jako mniej istotne¹⁹. Wskazuje na korzyści takiego modelu w wymiarze indywidualnym, jak również społecznym. Wyjaśnia na przykład, iż tego typu ład społeczny daje jednostce możliwość, by mogła jak najlepiej wykorzystać swój potencjał, że sprzyja dobrobytowi, gdyż ludzie przyjmujący odpowiedzialność za własny los częściej osiągają sukces (działają skuteczniej) niż pozostali. Jakość życia człowieka jest stanowczo wyższa w społeczeństwach, które charakteryzuje wysoki stopień indywidualnej wolności i odpowiedzialności, niż w takich, w których zabrakło poszanowania tych wartości²⁰. Możliwy dyskomfort związany z poczuciem presji pod wpływem odpowiedzialności nie jest dobrym powodem, by próbować „odciążyć” ludzi, „zwalniając” ich z odpowiedzialności. Byłoby przy tym nieporozumieniem sądzić, że inny typ społeczeństwa pozwala uniknąć

15 Por. Jacek Filek, *Ontologizacja odpowiedzialności. Analityczne i historyczne wprowadzenie w problematykę* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Baran i Suszczyński, 1996), 7.

16 Por. Johannes Schwartländer, „Odpowiedzialność jako podstawowe pojęcie filozoficzne”, w *Filozofia odpowiedzialności XX wieku. Teksty źródłowe*, red. Jacek Filek (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, 2004), 176.

17 Hayek, *The Constitution of Liberty*, 5–6.

18 *Ibidem*, 67.

19 *Ibidem*, 5–6.

20 *Ibidem*, 69.

presji, gdyż w rzeczywistości alternatywą dla presji związanej z indywidualną odpowiedzialnością jest o wiele gorsza presja nakazów i zakazów ze strony innych ludzi²¹.

Podmioty i przedmioty odpowiedzialności

Słowniki definiują odpowiedzialność jako pewien obowiązek odpowiedzialności za kogoś lub coś bądź zadbania o kogoś lub o coś²². Tego typu ogólnikowe definicje nie budzą raczej kontrowersji i wielu myślicieli (Hayek do nich należy) nawiązuje do nich, nie przywołując ich *explicite*²³. Wydaje się, że bazujące na takim rozumieniu koncepcje odpowiedzialności na ogół różnią się między sobą głównie pod względem wyznaczonego przez nie zakresu podmiotów (kto odpowiada?) oraz przedmiotów odpowiedzialności (za co lub kogo odpowiada?)²⁴. Konkretyzacja ogólnej definicji odpowiedzialności dokonana przez wskazanie odpowiedzi na te pytania jest kluczowa dla rozumienia omawianej kategorii. Wyznaczenie zakresu podmiotów i przedmiotów odpowiedzialności decyduje w dużej

21 *Ibidem*, 72.

22 Por. Słownik języka polskiego PWN, „Odpowiedzialność”, <https://sjp.pwn.pl/sjp/odpowiedzialnosc;2493511.html> (dostęp 11.04.2025).

23 Zaliczam tu m.in. Romana Ingardena – zob. Ingarden, „O odpowiedzialności i jej podstawach ontycznych”, 71–169. Wyjątek stanowią niektórzy filozofowie, np. Emmanuel Lévinas, którzy raczej proponują własne projektujące jej ujęcia, używając do tego odpowiednio oryginalnego języka (zob. np. Marta A. Chojnacka, „Problem odpowiedzialności w filozofii Levinasa”, *Studia z Historii Filozofii* 2 (2011): 134–146; por. Jacek Filek, *Życie, etyka, inni* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Homini, 2010), 231.

24 Odpowiedzialność może być rozpatrywana jako relacja trójczłonowa. Oprócz podmiotów i przedmiotów jest wówczas w jej określeniach wskazywane coś, co można nazwać organem przypisującym odpowiedzialność lub rozliczającym z odpowiedzialności (por. Georg Picht, „Pojęcie odpowiedzialności”, w *Odwaga utopii* (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1981), 236. U Hayeka obecnie takiego swego trybunału nie wchodzi w istotę odpowiedzialności, traktuje on podjęcie odpowiedzialności jako podporządkowanie się „pewnej bezosobowej dyscyplinie”: Hayek, *Zgubna pycha rozumu*, 229. Chodzi o spontanicznie ukształtowany mechanizm pozwalający skupiać naszą uwagę na sprawach, na które mamy wpływ: „To, że sfera indywidualnej wolności jest także sferą indywidualnej odpowiedzialności, nie oznacza, że jesteśmy rozliczani za nasze działania przez jakiegokolwiek konkretne osoby. Co prawda, możemy narazić się na krytykę innych, ponieważ robimy coś, co im się nie podoba. Jednak głównym powodem, dla którego powinniśmy być w pełni odpowiedzialni za nasze decyzje, jest to, że skieruje to naszą uwagę na te przyczyny zdarzeń, które zależą od naszych działań” (Hayek, *The Constitution of Liberty*, 70). Hayek jest jednak skłonny uznać za pozytywne różne punkty odniesienia (z wyjątkiem tych bazujących na arbitralnym przymusie), które wspierają motywację do postępowania odpowiedzialnego (w tym kontekście docenia rolę tradycji, religii itp.) (zob. np. Hayek, *Zgubna pycha rozumu*, 205–212, 234–235).

mierze o tym, czy prezentowana przez danego teoretyka idea odpowiedzialności jest możliwa do zrealizowania (taki cel przyświeca Hayekowi), czy też co najwyżej przekłada się na wzniosłe, lecz utopijne slogany²⁵.

W pracach Hayeka u podstaw określenia zakresu podmiotów i przedmiotów odpowiedzialności znajdujemy następujące przekonania: By odpowiedzialność mogła spełniać swą rolę (stanować dobre narzędzie kształtowania ładu społecznego, który nie bazuje na arbitralnym przy-musie), musi być jasno określona, „przysposobiona emocjonalnie i intelektualnie do ludzkich możliwości”. Dla ponoszenia odpowiedzialności kluczowa jest wiedza jej podmiotu na temat przedmiotu²⁶. Jest przy tym „bezdyskusyjnym intelektualnym faktem”, którego nikt nie może zmienić, „konstytucjonalne ograniczenie wiedzy i zainteresowań człowieka, fakt, że nie może on znać więcej niż tylko drobną część całego społeczeństwa i że dlatego do sfery jego motywacji mogą wejść tylko bezpośrednie skutki jego działań w znanej mu sferze”. Umysł ludzki „może efektywnie objąć jedynie wąski krąg, w którego centrum sam się znajduje”²⁷. Ponadto człowiek niejako funkcjonuje w dwóch odrębnych ładach, gdy chodzi o współistnienie z innymi ludźmi, przy czym u podstaw każdego z nich są inne wartości i związane z nimi imperatywy. Z jednej strony jednostka działa w sferze bliskich relacji, określanej jako mikrokosmos, która bazuje na naturalnej trosce, świadomej, dobrowolnej współpracy, wspólnocie celów i osobistym zaangażowaniu typowym dla małych wspólnot (zachowania w dużej mierze instynktowne). Z drugiej strony funkcjonuje w makrokosmosie, tj. w strukturach tzw. ładu rozszerzonego, czyli w dużych społeczeństwach – społecznościach ludzi na ogół osobiście nieznanym. „Wielkie Społeczeństwo” ma u swych podstaw wyuczone, oparte na tradycji i zwyczaju (nieposiadające na ogół oparcia w instynktach) zasady²⁸. Wartościami są tu na przykład sprawiedliwość wymienna, uczciwość konkurencji, dotrzymywanie umów, prywatność,

25 A. Anzenbacher, komentując koncepcję odpowiedzialności H. Jonasa, konkretnie jego obstawanie przy globalnej odpowiedzialności, słusznie zauważa, że na niewiele się ono zda, dopóki jej pojęcie nie zostanie sprecyzowane tak, że ukaże się konkretna postać tej odpowiedzialności, którą rzeczywiście będzie można przyjąć. (Arno Anzenbacher, *Wprowadzenie do etyki* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo WAM, 2008), 266; Hans Jonas, *Zasada odpowiedzialności. Etyka dla cywilizacji technologicznej*, tłum. Marek Klimowicz (Kraków: Platan, 1996).

26 Por. Hayek, *The Constitution of Liberty*, 73–74.

27 Hayek, *Indywidualizm i porządek ekonomiczny*, 27.

28 Oba systemy reguł są ważne, komplementarne i niesprowadzalne do siebie wzajemnie. Por. Hayek, *Zgubna pycha rozumu*, 29–30. Por. Hayek, *Law, Legislation and Liberty*, 169–176.

szczególnie ścisła nieingerencja w sfery wolności i odpowiedzialności²⁹. Tradycja moralna domaga się zadośćuczynienia wymaganiom obu tych ładów moralnych, przy czym kategoria odpowiedzialności jest inaczej określana w obrębie każdego z nich³⁰.

Zgodnie z przekonaniami Hayeka autentycznymi podmiotami odpowiedzialności mogą być tylko indywidualne osoby. Również w przypadku ich współpracy można mówić o odpowiedzialności jedynie wtedy, gdy poszczególni ludzie odpowiadają za konkretne obszary lub aspekty działań. Rozważanie odpowiedzialności zbiorowej w dosłownym znaczeniu jest dla niego nieporozumieniem. W tym kontekście zauważa on: „Tak jak własność wszystkich jest w efekcie niczyją własnością, tak odpowiedzialność wszystkich jest odpowiedzialnością niczyją”³¹. Co więcej, przypisywanie wspólnej odpowiedzialności grupom ludzi, bez wyraźnego podziału kompetencji (stref odpowiedzialności), jest nie tylko nieskuteczne, lecz prowadzi do niedopuszczalnego narzucania decyzji, poglądów lub celów jednych osób innym, co również jest sprzeczne z rozpoznaną rolą odpowiedzialności.

Oczywiście, odpowiedzialność nie może być przypisana wszystkim osobom, lecz jedynie tym, które są odpowiednio – jak ujmuje to Ingar-den – „ukwalifikowane w momencie działania”³². Hayek określa warunek takiego „ukwalifikowania” jako zdolność do uczenia się z własnych doświadczeń oraz do wykorzystywania zgromadzonej wiedzy w celu kierowania własnymi działaniami. Tego warunku nie spełniają osoby, które do tej pory nie miały możliwości zdobycia odpowiedniej ilości wiedzy lub z różnych przyczyn nie są w stanie tej wiedzy osiągnąć ani wykorzystać³³.

W obrębie małych wspólnot odpowiedzialność można traktować jako własność stopniowalną. Jest więc dopuszczalne, by osoba niekwalifikująca się do ponoszenia odpowiedzialności pełnowymiarowej, adekwatnie do swych możliwości ponosiła odpowiedzialność tylko w określonym stopniu lub w określonych sprawach. Natomiast funkcjonowanie w ramach „Wielkiego Społeczeństwa”, ładu rozszerzonego, ufundowanego na

29 Hayek, *Zgubna pycha rozumu*, 20–21.

30 Instynkt jest tu rozumiany jak u Leszka Kołakowskiego – jako „przedłużenie popędów, które powszechnie w naturze działają, mianowicie sprzyjają samozachowaniu lub zachowaniu gatunku” – Leszek Kołakowski, „Mała etyka”, w *Czy diabeł może być zbawiony i 27 innych kazań* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Znak, 2006), 144.

31 Hayek, *The Constitution of Liberty*, 73–74; por. Hannah Arendt, *Odpowiedzialność i władza sądenia*, przeł. Mieczysław Godyń, Wojciech Madej (Warszawa: Prószyński i S-ka, 2006), 61.

32 Hayek, *The Constitution of Liberty*, 77.

33 *Ibidem*, 68.

przestrzeganiu abstrakcyjnych zasad, wymaga przyjęcia ostrego kryterium, pozwalającego odróżnić osoby ponoszące odpowiedzialność od tych, które są z odpowiedzialności zwolnione³⁴. Kryterium ponoszenia odpowiedzialności stanowią wtedy pewne obiektywne wskaźniki – zazwyczaj brany jest pod uwagę wiek lub stan zdrowia. Status osoby będącej podmiotem odpowiedzialności musi tu przysługiwać bez wyjątku i w pełni każdemu, kto spełnia te, określone uprzednio, warunki. Odpowiedzialność nie może w tym wypadku podlegać stopniowaniu w zależności od stopnia inteligencji, zaradności życiowej danej osoby itp.³⁵

Ponieważ autentyczna odpowiedzialność jest uwarunkowana dobrą znajomością tego, do czego się odnosi, przedmiotem odpowiedzialności człowieka są przede wszystkim jego własne sprawy, znane mu nie tylko teoretycznie (cele, działania, rzeczy itp.). Hayek zastrzega, że nie ograniczają się one jedynie do tych, które są bezpośrednio związane z potrzebami własnej osoby. W naturalny sposób wiąże się z nimi także postawa opiekuńcza wobec potrzeb innych osób (zwłaszcza z kręgu rodziny czy przyjaciół) w naszym otoczeniu, które wymagają naszej troski. Obejmujemy odpowiedzialnością wszystko to, co siłą rzeczy jest jej przedmiotem, oraz to, co świadomie, dobrowolnie i zasadnie nim uczyniliśmy³⁶.

Wolność wymaga, aby odpowiedzialność jednostki ograniczała się tylko do tego, co może przypuszczalnie ocenić, aby jej działania uwzględniały skutki, które mieszczą się w zakresie jej przewidywań, i przede wszystkim, aby była odpowiedzialna tylko za własne działania (lub osób, które są pod jej opieką) – a nie za działania innych, którzy są równie wolni³⁷.

Nie mamy gwarancji, że każdy człowiek formalnie kwalifikujący się do ponoszenia odpowiedzialności zawsze podejmie najlepsze decyzje we własnych sprawach. Taki brak gwarancji nie jest jednak zdaniem Hayeka dobrym powodem do rezygnacji z indywidualnej odpowiedzialności za własne sprawy. Założenie bowiem, że ktoś inny lepiej od nas wie, jak wykorzystać nasze indywidualne warunki życiowe, jest mało prawdopodobne, zaś jego przyjęcie i przekazanie komuś własnej odpowiedzialności z dużym prawdopodobieństwem doprowadziłyby do wskazanych w poprzednim rozdziale negatywnych skutków: nadużyć kompetencji, ataków na godność, ograniczenia wolności itp.

34 Hayek, *Law, Legislation and Liberty*, 402.

35 Por. Hayek, *The Constitution of Liberty*, 68–69.

36 Por. *ibidem*, 69; Hayek, *Indywidualizm i porządek ekonomiczny*, 26–27.

37 Hayek, *The Constitution of Liberty*, 73.

Nie zakłada się tutaj, że wszyscy ludzie są równi pod względem naturalnego uposażenia i możliwości, lecz jedynie to, że żaden człowiek nie ma wystarczających kwalifikacji, by wydać ostateczne orzeczenie w sprawie tego, jakie możliwości ma ktoś inny czy jakie wolno mu wykorzystywać³⁸.

W kwestii ponoszenia odpowiedzialności za innych Hayek zaznacza:

[...] bez względu na to, czy człowiek jest zupełnym egoistą czy najdoskonalszym altruistą, potrzeby ludzkie, o których zaspokojenie efektywnie może się troszczyć, są niemal zaniedbywalną częścią potrzeb wszystkich członków społeczeństwa³⁹.

Dysponując wiedzą na temat warunków życiowych ludzi w potrzebie, których sprawy „uczyniliśmy naszymi”, wiemy na ogół, jak możemy tym osobom pomóc. Nie jesteśmy jednakże w stanie objąć podobną troską (i odpowiedzialnością) milionów nieszczęsnych ludzi na świecie. Jakkolwiek poruszeni jesteśmy ich nędzą, nasza wiedza na ich temat to wiedza „abstrakcyjna”, nieprzekładająca się na skuteczne działanie⁴⁰. Zatem chybiony jest postulat „socjalnej” odpowiedzialności względem wszystkich ludzi w potrzebie. Oprócz tego, że jego realizacja jest poza zasięgiem naszych możliwości, jest on destruktywny dla poczucia odpowiedzialności (podobnie zresztą jak inny skrajny pogląd, zgodnie z którym odpowiedzialność nie jest w ogóle możliwa)⁴¹. Stawiając bowiem nierealne wymogi, doprowadza do osłabiania uczuć odpowiadających za ukierunkowanie naszego zaangażowania ku pomocy innym. Mamy tu do czynienia z mechanizmem zacierania różnicy między poczuciem odpowiedzialności domagającym się naszego działania i tym, które stanowi jakiś stały składnik naszej świadomości, niezmiennie w niej obecny niezależnie od naszych działań lub zaniechań (a więc niemotywuujący do

38 Hayek, *Indywidualizm i porządek ekonomiczny*, 29; por. Hayek, *The Constitution of Liberty*, 67. Hayek przypisuje duże znaczenie różnicom w postrzeganiu i ocenach rzeczy u różnych osób. Por. Bruce Caldwell, *Hayek's Challenge. An Intellectual Biography of F.A. Hayek* (Chicago–London: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), 282; zob. Friedrich A. Hayek, *The Sensory Order. An Inquiry into the Foundations of Theoretical Psychology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).

39 Hayek, *Indywidualizm i porządek ekonomiczny*, 27.

40 Por. Hayek, *The Constitution of Liberty*, 74.

41 Dyskusje z tym poglądem – zob. Hayek, *The Constitution of Liberty*, 64–67; por. Ingar-den, *O odpowiedzialności*, 100–110.

działania). Należy w związku z tym rozróżnić odpowiedzialność, „która wzywa nas do działania”, i tę, „która nie znika”⁴².

Podsumowując, w zakresie kontaktów osobistych odpowiedzialność przejawia się jako troska o drugiego człowieka. Natomiast w ramach struktur ładu rozszerzonego nie domaga się ona traktowania celów nieznanym nam osób jako własnych. W obrębie tego porządku postępowanie odpowiedzialne polega po prostu na przestrzeganiu konstytuujących ten ład reguł, czyli wspomnianych wcześniej stałych i powszechnych zasad, stojących na straży równej wolności poszczególnych jednostek oraz ich sfer osobistej odpowiedzialności w sensie troski o szeroko pojęte własne sprawy. Normy określające odpowiedzialną postawę w stosunku do innych mają tu charakter negatywny – zabraniają ingerencji w ich sfery osobiste, nie nakazując aktywnie zabiegać o ich interesy⁴³.

Odpowiedzialność wartością indywidualistyczną, a zarazem społeczną

Poglądy Hayeka dotyczące znaczenia odpowiedzialności oraz jej podmiotów i przedmiotów uzasadniają jej zaliczenie do wartości indywidualistycznych, w opozycji do wartości kolektywistycznych. Tak pojęta odpowiedzialność jest kluczowym elementem w ramach głoszonej przez niego odmiany indywidualizmu, którą przeciwstawia zarówno socjalizmowi (typowemu myśleniu kolektywistycznemu), jak i racjonalistycznemu indywidualizmowi (który, według Hayeka, mimo braku kolektywistycznych założeń prowadzi do kolektywistycznych rozwiązań)⁴⁴. Hayekowski indywidualizm, definiowany w opozycji do tych nurtów, wspiera przekonanie, że dobrze urządzone społeczeństwo musi umożliwiać manifestację indywidualnej odpowiedzialności i że jej kulturowanie

42 Hayek, *The Constitution of Liberty*, 74.

43 Hayek, *Indywidualizm i porządek ekonomiczny*, 33.

44 *Ibidem*, 14. Przez indywidualizm racjonalistyczny Hayek rozumie orientację myślową opartą na kartezjańskim racjonalizmie, która traktuje ludzkie osiągnięcia i porządek społeczny jako wynik świadomego projektu jednostkowego umysłu. Zwolennicy tego podejścia wierzą, że społeczeństwa powstają poprzez formalne umowy między jednostkami, a funkcjonują dobrze jedynie wtedy, gdy są zarządzane przez ludzki rozum. Choć indywidualizm racjonalistyczny uznaje jednostki za punkt wyjścia w tworzeniu porządku społecznego, ostatecznie – jak wyjaśnia Hayek – prowadzi do podporządkowania ich decyzji ogólnym planom, co pozbawia ludzi ich indywidualnej wolności i odpowiedzialności (Hayek, *ibidem*, 39).

przynosi korzyści całemu społeczeństwu⁴⁵. Hayek sprzeciwia się poglądowi, że akcentowanie wartości indywidualistycznych zagraża harmonijnemu współżyciu ludzi.

Próbując to wykazać, Hayek poddaje krytyce nurty wspierające kolektywizm, zarzucając im przesadną wiarę w moc jednostkowego rozumu i pogardę dla wszystkiego, czego ten rozum świadomie nie zaplanował lub nie jest w pełni uchwytne. Zwolennicy tych stanowisk twierdzą, że cokolwiek, co wynika ze spontanicznych zdarzeń lub ewolucji, mogłoby zostać lepiej zaprojektowane przez ludzki intelekt. To prowadzi do życzliwości wobec centralnego planowania i kontroli gospodarczej oraz do niechęci wobec spontanicznych przedsięwzięć ludzi żyjących na własną odpowiedzialność⁴⁶. W rezultacie usprawiedliwiają narzucanie przymusowego zarządzania ludzkimi sprawami jako dążenie do sprawiedliwego społeczeństwa, co Hayek uważa za niedopuszczalne. Jego zdaniem, takie teoretyzowanie, niezależnie od intencji, jakie mu przyświecają, stanowi „perfidną rezygnację z troski o innych”, wynikającą z braku uważnego rozważenia konsekwencji wprowadzenia tych poglądów w życie⁴⁷.

W tradycji indywidualizmu, w którą wpisuje się myśl Hayeka, wiedza, jaką ludzkość dysponuje, postrzegana jest jako ograniczona i rozproszona, a nie skumulowana w jednym umyśle. Mocno doceniana jest rola samorządnych procesów społecznych. Doniosłe wyniki ludzkich działań, w tym uporządkowanie relacji społecznych, często nie mają u swych podstaw planu, lecz są nieprzewidywalnym rezultatem spontanicznej współpracy wolnych ludzi. Wyniki te nierzadko przewyższają zdolności poznawcze indywidualnych umysłów zaangażowanych osób⁴⁸. Stąd wynika wniosek, że warto pozwalać na przebieg tych spontanicznych procesów, umożliwiając ludziom kształtowanie swego życia w obrębie stref wolności i odpowiedzialności wyznaczanych przez reguły chroniące przed „zderzaniem się sprzecznych dążeń”⁴⁹.

Tak pojęty indywidualizm nie stanowi apologii egoizmu. Proponowane przez niego rozwiązania nie prowadzą do funkcjonowania członków

45 Zdaniem Hayeka (Hayek, *Indywidualizm i porządek ekonomiczny*, 12, 51) to jedyna odmiana indywidualizmu, której da się bronić w sposób spójny. To w opozycji do „indywidualizmu” w tym znaczeniu został ukuty termin przeciwstawny – „socjalizm”.

46 Hayek, *Zgubna pycha rozumu*, 85, 128; por. Hayek, *Indywidualizm i porządek ekonomiczny*, 19, 22.

47 Hayek, *Zgubna pycha rozumu*, 132.

48 Por. Hayek, *Indywidualizm i porządek ekonomiczny*, 18–19, 29.

49 *Ibidem*, 22, 34.

społeczeństwa jako odizolowanych bytów⁵⁰. Jak zauważyliśmy, analizując przedmioty odpowiedzialności, ludzie, formułując własne cele, biorą pod uwagę innych. Według Hayeka potrzeba realizowania własnych celów jest istotna, nawet dla osoby o silnej orientacji altruistycznej⁵¹. Jednak z drugiej strony, z natury człowieka wynika, że w zadowoleniu innych upatruje on swój cel, a szczęście innych jest warunkiem jego szczęścia⁵². Gdy zaś chodzi o potrzeby „leżące poza zasięgiem wzroku” danego człowieka – zaspokaja je pośrednio, mając swobodę wykorzystania własnej wiedzy i umiejętności oraz odpowiedzialnego zajmowania się tym, co zna i o co się troszczy (uznając tę samą swobodę dla innych). W ten sposób najlepiej przyczynia się do dobrostanu innych członków społeczeństwa⁵³. W tym sensie odpowiedzialność i inne cnoty indywidualistyczne są jednocześnie cnotami wybitnie społecznymi⁵⁴.

Podsumowanie

Zrekonstruowane w niniejszym artykule przemyślenia Hayeka na temat odpowiedzialności składają się na koncepcję wielowymiarową, uwzględniającą różne aspekty odpowiedzialności. Jego analizy dostarczają spójnej i przekonującej argumentacji za tezami, które można uznać za główne przesłanie obecnych w jego pracach dociekań z zakresu etyki i filozofii społecznej. Chodzi po pierwsze o przekonanie, że rezygnacja z odpowiedzialności implikuje zgodę, świadomą lub nie, na przymusowe zarządzanie sprawami człowieka, które prędzej czy później okaże się na wskroś niewłaściwe (zanegowanie autonomii moralnej) i niekorzystne (nasze decyzje życiowe podejmują inni ludzie, którzy nie mają do tego

50 *Ibidem*, 26–27. Według Hayeka to indywidualizm racjonalistyczny rozbija spontaniczne społeczności na „atomy” związane przymusowymi regułami państwa, co niszczy naturalne więzi społeczne. W związku ze wspólną nazwą tendencje do atomizowania społeczeństwa bywają mylnie przypisywane też indywidualizmowi, którego bronił Hayek (por. Hayek, *Indywidualizm i porządek ekonomiczny*, 16, 39).

51 Hayek, *Law, Legislation and Liberty*, 54.

52 *Ibidem*; Hayek, *The Constitution of Liberty*, 69.

53 Hayek, *Indywidualizm i porządek ekonomiczny*, 25, 28.

54 Friedrich A. Hayek, *Droga do zniewolenia* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Arcana, 2015), 164. Warto zauważyć, że wszelkie wspólnoty bazujące na naturalnej trosce lub dobrowolnej współpracy są na gruncie indywidualizmu przedmiotem afirmacji. Doceniana jest nie tylko wartość rodziny, kręgu przyjaciół, lecz także autonomii lokalnej, stowarzyszeń itp. – wiąże się z przekonaniem, że oddolna inicjatywa i dobrowolna współpraca lepiej sprzyjają realizacji różnych ludzkich celów niż działania oparte na przymusie, narzucone odgórnie przez władze (Hayek, *Indywidualizm i porządek ekonomiczny*, 31).

kompetencji itp.). Ponieważ odpowiedzialność odgrywa niezwykle ważną rolę w życiu społecznym, istotne jest jego właściwe zrozumienie – konieczne jest dostrzeżenie kluczowej roli wiedzy na temat potencjalnego przedmiotu, a także nieprzecenianie ludzkich możliwości.

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„Męstwo obywatela” (πολιτικὴ ἀνδρεία) w refleksji staropolskiej XVI wieku

“The Courage of the Citizen” (πολιτικὴ
ἀνδρεία) in Sixteenth-Century Polish Thought

Abstrakt

W artykule rozważa się kwestię obecności w staropolskiej refleksji publicystycznej – głównie wieku XVI – problematyki męstwa obywatela (πολιτικὴ ἀνδρεία). Termin ów pojawił się w myśli klasycznej (Arystoteles, Platon, Cyceon, stoicy) oraz chrześcijańskiej (św. Augustyn, św. Tomasz z Akwinu) i rozpatrywany był w odniesieniu do cnoty męstwa. W okresie klasycznym wprowadzono rozróżnienie na męstwo wojenne i męstwo czasów pokoju, związane z uczestnictwem w życiu politycznym. W tekście dowodzi się, iż klasyczne i chrześcijańskie rozważania o „męstwie obywatela” przejęto w refleksji staropolskiej, aczkolwiek bardzo wyraźnie związane je z zagadnieniem sposobu podejmowania decyzji. W pismach Frycza Modrzewskiego i innych myślicieli (a także w *Odprawie posłów greckich* Jana Kochanowskiego) interesująco łączy się tę kwestię indywidualnego, pojedynczego oporu wobec większości. Wskazano też na pewien krystalizujący się w praktyce politycznej sposób rozumienia obywatelskości jako „opozycyjności” (szczególnie w traktacie *Krótkie zebranie rzeczy potrzebnych z strony wolności...*, jak i w refleksji wiążącej się z rokoszem sandomierskim). Wreszcie

postawiono pytanie, czy instytucję *liberum veto* zestawiano z zagadnieniem „męstwa obywatela”, i wskazuje się, iż najprawdopodobniej zagadnień tych ze sobą nie łączono.

Słowa klucze: męstwo obywatela, *liberum veto*, opozycja polityczna, Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, Wawrzyniec Goślicki, *Odprawa posłów greckich* Jana Kochanowskiego, rokosz sandomierski.

Abstract

The article considers the issue of the presence of the concept of civic courage (πολιτικὴ ἀνδρεία) in Old Polish political thought, particularly during the sixteenth century. This term originated in classical (Aristotle, Plato, Cicero, the Stoics) and Christian philosophy (St. Augustine and St. Thomas Aquinas) and was discussed within the broader context of the virtue of courage. In classical thought, a distinction was introduced between martial courage and the courage of peacetime, the latter being associated with participation in political life. The article argues that classical and Christian reflections on “civic courage” were adopted in Old Polish discourse, though they were closely tied to the issue of decision-making processes. In the writings of Frycz Modrzewski and other thinkers (as well as in Jan Kochanowski’s *Odprawa posłów greckich* [*The Dismissal of the Greek Envoys*]), this theme is intriguingly linked with the problem of individual resistance against the majority. The article also points to a crystallizing understanding of citizenship in political practice as a form of “opposition” – particularly evident in the treatise *Krótkie zebranie rzeczy potrzebnych z strony wolności* [*A Brief Summary of Matters Essential to Liberty*], as well as in reflections associated with the Sandomierz Rebellion. Finally, the question is posed whether the institution of *liberum veto* was ever connected with the concept of “civic courage.” The article suggests that these issues were most likely not associated with one another.

Keywords: civic courage, *liberum veto*, political opposition, Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, Wawrzyniec Goślicki, *The Dismissal of the Greek Envoys* by Jan Kochanowski, Sandomierz Rebellion.

W przedstawianym tekście zamierzam zastanowić się nad staropolską refleksją poświęconą zagadnieniu odwagi, którą Arystoteles definiuje w *Etyce nikomachejskiej* jako „męstwo obywatela” (πολιτικὴ ἀνδρεία). Na poniższych stronach mam zamiar zadać następujące pytania i poszukać na nie odpowiedzi: 1. Jak rozumieli „męstwo obywatela” staropolscy pisarze? 2. Czy łączyli w jakiś sposób kwestię owego męstwa z ustrojem politycznym? Spróbuję również zorientować się wstępnie, czy kategorię tę łączyli w jakiś sposób ze sposobem podejmowania decyzji politycznych

(głosowanie większością czy jednomyślnie)? W tym ostatnim względzie dopiero wskażę kierunek przyszłych poszukiwań.

Zanim jednak przejdziemy do rozważań pisarzy staropolskich, warto – choćby w skrócie – przyjrzeć się klasycznej refleksji na temat interesującej nas kwestii.

1.

Łacińskie wczesnonowożytnie tłumaczenia πολιτικὴ ἀνδρεία mamy przynajmniej dwa: jedno, w klasycznym przekładzie Joannesa Argyropousa, πολιτικὴ określa jako *civilis*¹. Istnieje też drugie, pochodzące z komentarzy Victorina Strigelia, wydanych staraniem jego ucznia Jacoba Monaua, gdzie mówi się o *politica fortitudo*².

Zdaniem greckiego filozofa „męstwo obywatela” (*civilis* czy *politica*)³

zbliża się [...] najbardziej [do męstwa we właściwym tego słowa znaczeniu], bo obywatele zdają się narażać na niebezpieczeństwo w obawie przed groźącymi im ustawowo grzywnami lub zniewagą, albo też w nadziei otrzymania zaszczytnego odznaczenia⁴.

Filozof rozumie przez mężną aktywność publiczną taką, która wiąże się z moralnie pięknym celem, bo ów „jest tym, w imię czego człowiek mężny naraża się i postępuje zgodnie z nakazami męstwa”⁵. Arystoteles zakłada, że akt męstwa winien być konsekwencją wolnej decyzji człowieka, bo „należy [...] być mężnym nie dlatego, że ulega się przemocy, lecz dlatego, że to jest nakazem piękna moralnego”⁶.

1 *Aristotelis Ethicorum sive de moribus ad Nicomachum filium, libri decem* (Basilea: per Ioannem Oporinum, 1555), 65.

2 *Aristotelis Stagiritae Ad Filium Nicomachum, De vita et moribus, Libri X. Conuersi de Græco in sermonem Latinum, & argumentis singulorum librorum atque capitum, tum scholijs quoque illustrati A Victorino Strigelio* (Frankoforte: Christoph Rab, 1583), 287.

3 Termin „męstwo obywatelskie” wprowadził Platon w *Państwie*. Platon, *Państwo*, przeł. i oprac. Władysław Witwicki (Kęty: Antyk, 2003), 430C, 128. Natrafiamy w tym miejscu na dosyć pokrętnie rozumowanie, które objaśnia Witwicki, mówiąc, że męstwo polega „na trwałym, nieodpartym i niezachwianym przekonaniu, że straszne jest tylko to, co prawo nazywa strasznym, i nic poza tym”. Por. Platon, *Państwo*, 128.

4 Arystoteles, *Etyka nikomachejska*, przeł. Daniela Gromska (Warszawa: PWN, 2012), III. 8, 1116b, 137.

5 *Ibidem*, III. 8, 1115b, 136.

6 *Ibidem*, III. 8. 1116b, 138.

Stagiryta definiuje też męstwo w swojej *Retoryce*, gdzie nazywa je „cnotą, która pozwala człowiekowi dokonać w obliczu niebezpieczeństwa chwalebnych czynów”. Natychmiast jednak do swojej definicji dodaje dopełnienie: „zgodnie z zaleceniami prawa i w jego służbie”⁷. Męstwo łączy tu jednak przede wszystkim z aktywnością wojenną⁸.

Prawdopodobnie najobszerniej temat męstwa poruszał Cyceon. W jego ujęciu zda się być ono niekoniecznie z działalnością wojenną związane. W *De inventione* podaje jego dosyć obszerną charakterystykę, wprawdzie zaznaczając, iż „męstwo polega na rozważnym podejmowaniu niebezpieczeństw i znoszeniu cierpienia”, a następnie wskazując na części składowe *fortitudo*: „wielkość ducha, pewność siebie, cierpliwość i wytrwałość”⁹. Od rozważań o męstwie i pragnieniu obrony „wspólnego dobra” rozpoczyna też swój dialog *De re publica*. Cały zachowany wywód wstępny tekstu jest refutacją poglądu, iż filozof czy myśliciel winien trzymać się z dala od polityki. Cyceon dowodzi, także na własnym przykładzie i przykładach innych, że jest dokładnie odwrotnie: powiada polemicznie, iż „celem naszego istnienia jest wykorzystanie najważniejszych przymiotów ducha z myślą o kraju”¹⁰. Dopiero gdy one zostaną zaspokojone, możemy myśleć o sobie. Męstwo, dodaje wcześniej, realizuje się – w przeciwieństwie do innych „biegłości” – „tylko w działaniu”¹¹. Traktuje jednak męstwo podobnie jak Arystoteles – jako odwagę narażenia życia i zdrowia dla wspólnoty, chociaż jednocześnie zdaje się, że nie tylko męstwo „wojskowe” ma na myśli. Zauważa bowiem konieczność znoszenia „niesprawiedliwości” i „krzywd” doznanych od współobywateli: to właśnie męstwo pozwala je znosić¹².

Znacznie bardziej rozbudowane i z przyjętej tu perspektywy głębsze rozważania o męstwie/odwadze (*fortitudo*) znajdzie czytelnik w rozprawie Cyceona *De officiis*, napisanej dla syna. Pisarz wskazuje na fakt, iż

7 Arystoteles, *Retoryka*, przeł. Henryk Podbielski (Warszawa: PWN, 1988), I. 9, 1366b, 105.

8 *Ibidem*, I. 9. 1366b, 104. Czytamy tam, iż „największym szacunkiem otacza się ludzi sprawiedliwych i mężnych, ponieważ męstwo przynosi innym największy pożytek w czasie wojny, sprawiedliwość zaś zarówno w czasie pokoju, jak na wojnie”.

9 Cyceon, *De inventione. O inwencji retorycznej*, przeł. Bartosz Awianowicz (Warszawa: Stowarzyszenie Pro Cultura Litteraria i IBL PAN, 2013), II. 163, 237.

10 Cyceon, *O państwie, O prawach*, przeł. Iwona Żółtowska (Kęty: Antyk 1999), 13.

11 *Ibidem*, 10.

12 *Ibidem*, 11.

męstwo to „cnota walcząca w obronie słuszności”¹³. Wszystko bowiem, co jest pozbawione sprawiedliwości, nie może być cnotliwe.

Niemniej jednak Arpinata poddaje refleksji też kwestię męstwa „wewnętrznego”, okazywanego nie w działaniu międzyludzkim. W rozważaniach o wzniosłości i wielkości ducha wskazuje na zagrożenia, które posiadanie tych cech niesie. Są to: krnąbrność, pycha, żądza sławy. Do kielznania tych skłonności u osób powołanych do rzeczy wzniosłych służy właśnie męstwo. Osób takich okiełznać z zewnątrz („w drodze namowy ani skrępowania [...] przepisami prawnymi”¹⁴) się nie da: pozostaje więc ich wewnętrzna umiejętność do opanowywania swych skłonności cnotą sprawiedliwości, której niejako wykonawczym czynnikiem jest męstwo. Pragnienie (w polskim przekładzie konsekwentnie „żądza”) sławy, wyniesienia, szczytów i urzędów, wszak naturalne dla ludzi obdarzonych wielkością ducha, nie może przesłonić celu ich działalności: gdyby tak się stało, osoby te straciłyby „niezależność”¹⁵. W wywodzie Cyceron’a to zaledwie wstęp do intrygujących humanistów rozważań o znaczeniu zatrudnienia „sprawami państwowymi” w opozycji do decyzji tych, którzy w obliczu wymienionych wyżej trudności „obrali sobie żywot wolny od zatrudnień publicznych”¹⁶. Radzi Cynceron nimi nie gardzić (choć oczywiście za pożyteczniejsze uznaje życie dla wspólnoty), chyba że ich decyzja wynikała z wygody czy z pogardy dla tego, co „ogół ceni tak wysoko”¹⁷.

Jedną z przyczyn, dla których jedni nie podejmują bowiem działalności publicznej jest... strach: są oni, powiada filozof, „zbyt wrażliwi na ból” oraz „żałamują się pod wpływem niesławy”¹⁸. Co innego ci drudzy: w ich sposobie działania wzruszenia i czyny są znacznie większe niż w przypadku schowanych w zaciszu pracowni filozofów: od tych zatem należy wymagać, by byli „wolni od trwogi”¹⁹.

Pod koniec pierwszej księgi Cynceron porusza tę kwestię jeszcze raz, mocno akcentując znaczenie powinności, której celem jest zespolenie ludzi i utrzymanie więzi społecznej, i przedkłada ją nad tę powinność,

13 Cynceron, *O powinnościach*, w *idem, Pisma filozoficzne*, przeł. Wiktor Kornatowski, t. 2 (Warszawa: PWN, 1960), I. 19. 62, 360.

14 *Ibidem*, I. 19. 64, 361.

15 *Ibidem*, I. 20. 68, 363.

16 *Ibidem*, I. 20. 69, 363.

17 *Ibidem*, I. 21. 71, 364.

18 *Ibidem*, I. 21. 71, 364.

19 *Ibidem*, I. 21. 73, 366.

„której istotę stanowi poznanie i zdobywanie wiedzy”²⁰. Należy, jak sądzę, rozumieć te uwagi w ten sposób, że rzetelne postępowanie w przestrzeni publicznej musi kierować się męstwem.

Drugą kwestią, której dotyczy filozof, odnosząc się do uwag Arystotelesa, jest problem dotyczący tego, czy czyny wojenne są większe od „osiągnięć pokojowych”²¹. Myśliciel, nawiązując do przykładów historycznych ułożonych w pary: Temistokles – wojownik, Solon – prawodawca, Likurg – prawodawca i Pauzaniasz oraz Lizander – wojownicy, oraz podając przykłady ze swej aktywności publicznej, dowodzi tezy, iż „liczne dokonania pokojowe były donioślejsze i świetniejsze od czynów wojennych”²². Wniosek z tego dowodzenia paradoksalnie na pierwszy rzut oka przeciwstawia męstwo wojenne „umiejętności wydawania mądrych rozstrzygnięć”, niemniej jednak w istocie pisarz dowodzi czegoś wprost przeciwnego:

powinnością duszy dzielnej i statecznej jest nie ulegać zatrwożeniu w przeciwnościach i nie dać się – jak się to mówi – zbić z tropu w chwili zaniepokojenia, ale zachować przytomność umysłu, działać rozważnie i nie ztracać zdrowego rozsądku²³.

Po czym dodaje: „a choć już to wymaga wielkiej odwagi, wybitny charakter musi jeszcze umieć wybiegać myślą w przyszłość...”²⁴.

Co więcej, ten, kto działa publicznie, w przeciwieństwie do tych, co walczą, naraża na niebezpieczeństwo nie swoje życie, ale „swą sławę i wziętość u obywateli”²⁵. Sytuacja tego rodzaju (znowu okraszona przykładami – tym razem jest to Kallikratidas Lacedemończyk, a potem Kleombrot czy przeciwstawiany im Kwintus Maksimus, który to przykład wspierany jest znanym cytatem z Enniusza²⁶) wiedzie pisarza do opisanie takiego rodzaju męstwa, które wiąże się istotowo z działalnością publiczną:

20 *Ibidem*, I. 44. 158, 413.

21 *Ibidem*, I. 74.22, 366.

22 *Ibidem*, I. 22. 74–75, 366.

23 *Ibidem*, I. 23. 80, 369.

24 *Ibidem*, I. 23.81, 369.

25 *Ibidem*, I. 24. 84, 371.

26 „Rzeczpospolitą jeden człowiek przez zwłokę ocalił/ Nie chcąc dla jej ratowania unikać nawet nagany./ Toteż i sława jego świetniejszym wciąż blaskiem jaśnieje” (*ibidem*, I. 24. 84, 372).

„są tacy, którzy z obawy przed wzbudzeniem niechęci do siebie nie śmieją wypowiadać swych poglądów, choćby były jak najśluszniesze”²⁷.

W *Rhetorica ad C. Herennium*, jednym z podstawowych podręczników do nauczania retoryki w szkolnictwie europejskim do XVIII wieku²⁸, przez wieki przypisywanym Cyceronowi, określa się męstwo jako „dążenie do spraw wielkich, pogarda dla rzeczy podrzędnych i cierpliwe znoszenie trudu ze względu na jego użyteczność”²⁹. W rozdziale 5 ks. III mówca znacznie swoją definicję rozszerza, wskazując, jak zauważa Karolina Ekes, na „pożytek związanych z męstwem wyrzeczeń”³⁰. Faktycznie bowiem mówi o konieczności podążania za rzeczami wielkimi i wzniosłymi, a odrzucenia tych, które są niskie i niegodne, po czym podaje kilka zasad postępowania:

od żadnej uczciwej sprawy nie należy się cofać ze względu na wielkość niebezpieczeństwa lub trudu; hańba jest gorsza od śmierci; żaden ból nie powinien zmuszać do odstąpienia od obowiązku; dla prawdy nie należy obawiać się wrogów; dla ojczyzny, rodziców, gości, przyjaciół i tych wartości, które każe czcić Sprawiedliwość, trzeba być gotowym na wszelkie niebezpieczeństwo i podjąć każdy trud³¹.

Są to zasady, którymi powinno się kierować w działalności publicznej bardziej nawet niż li tylko wojskowej.

W pismach stoików *fortitudo* doczekało się głębszych i złożonych analiz, niemniej jednak charakterystyczne dla tej myśli stało się, jak pisze Dominika Budzanowska-Weglenda, dociekanie nad sposobami „pokonywania strachu i bólu”³². Rozważania aktywności politycznej

27 *Ibidem*, I. 24.84, 372.

28 Por. Ernst Robert Curtius, *Literatura europejska i łacińskie średniowiecze*, przeł. Andrzej Borowski (Kraków: Universitas, 1997), 72.

29 [Cicero], *Ad Herennium*, przeł. Harry Caplan (London: Harvard UP, 1954), II. 3, 162: „rerum magnarum appetitio et rerum humilium contemptio et laboris cum utilitatis ratione perpersio”.

30 Cyceron, *De inventione*, II. 163, 237.

31 [Cicero], *Ad Herennium*, III. 5, 164–166. (podaję cały ów passus): „Si fortitudinis retinendae causa faciendum quid, esse dicemus, ostendemus res magnas et celsas sequi et appeti oportere; et item res humiles et indignas viris fortibus viros fortes propterea contemnere oportere nec idoneas dignitate sua iudicare. Item ab nulla re honesta periculi aut laboris magnitudine deduci oportere; antiquiorem mortem turpitudine haberi; nullo dolore cogi ut ab officio recedatur; nullius pro rei veritate metuere inimicitias; quodlibet pro patria, parentibus, hospitibus, Amicis, iis rebus quas Justitia colere cogit, adire periculum et quemlibet suscitare laborem”.

32 Dominika Budzanowska-Weglenda, „Seneka Młodszy o cnocie męstwa – fortitudo, czyli o pokonywaniu strachu i cierpienia”, *Słowo Krzyża. Rocznik poświęcony teologii krzyża oraz duchowości i historii pasjonistów* 3 (2009): 234.

(arystotelesowskie męstwo obywatelskie) oczywiście zajmowały uwagę stoickich myślicieli, choć niekiedy w dosyć zaskakującym kontekście, przykładowo w rozważaniach o samobójczej śmierci Katona czy Seneki³³.

Chrześcijańska myśl postępuje w kwestii rozważań o męstwie drogą klasyczną, choć rozwija zagadnienia o kilka zasadniczych, oczywistych wątków³⁴. Z zaskakująco nowej perspektywy spogląda na klasyczną cnotę męstwa św. Augustyn, wskazując w *De civitate Dei*, iż jest ona „najlepszym świadkiem, że [...] zło wśród ludzi przebywa”³⁵. Osobne miejsce rozważaniom o cnotie męstwa poświęcił w swojej *Summie* Tomasz z Akwinu (II.II, q. 123–128). Porusza w niej temat całkowicie obcy światu klasycznemu, rozważając w kwestiach dotyczących męstwa zagadnienie męczeństwa (q. 124); hierarchizuje też cnoty, męstwo umieszczając na trzecim miejscu: po roztropności, sprawiedliwości, przed umiarkowaniem³⁶. W artykule 4. (choć w 5. skupia się głównie na męstwie w obliczu śmierci na wojnie) kwestii 123. Tomasz dowodzi, że męstwo „dotyczy nie tylko niebezpieczeństwa śmierci, lecz także wszelkich innych przeciwności”. Nie nazywa ich (w przeciwieństwie do przywoływanego przez siebie Ambrożego, który dzieli męstwo na wojenne i domowe), choć stwierdza, że „za znoszenie innych przeciwności człowiek zyskuje sobie miano mężnego pod pewnym względem”³⁷. Mężność w obliczu śmierci (zatem w boju) uważa za najwyższy jego wymiar.

2.

Interesującym *novum* w zakresie omawianego tematu jest fakt, iż pisarze staropolscy połączyli niejako od razu zagadnienie męstwa obywatelskiego z zagadnieniem sposobu wspólnotowego podejmowania decyzji. Wskazówką dla nich być może mogła być krótka uwaga Cyncerona poczyniona w *De officiis*: w sytuacjach niepewnych (podczas społecznych zamieszek, jak je precyzuje autor w ks. VI swego traktatu): „gdy ludzie

33 Budzanowska-Weglenda, „Seneka Młodszy o cnotie męstwa”: 256–257.

34 Por. Martyna Koszkało, „Arystoteles, Tomasz z Akwinu, Jan Duns Szkot: kilka uwag o różnicy między starożytnym i średniowiecznym pojmowaniem cnoty”, *Roczniki Filozoficzne* LXXII/2 (2024): 489–510.

35 Św. Augustyn, *Państwo Boże*, przeł. ks. Władysław Kumaniecki, wstęp Jacek Salij (Kęty: Antyk, 2002), ks. 19, rozdz. 4, 766.

36 Por. Św. Tomasz z Akwinu, *Summa Theologiae*, przeł. ks. Stanisław Bełch, t. 21, II. II, art. 123, q. 12, 17, https://www.katedra.uksw.edu.pl/suma/suma_21.pdf (dostęp: 16.09.2025).

37 *Ibidem*, II. II, art. 123, q. 4, 9, https://www.katedra.uksw.edu.pl/suma/suma_21.pdf (dostęp 16.09.2025).

szlachetni liczą się bardziej od pospólstwa, należy [...] wziąć pod uwagę ciężar gatunkowy, nie zaś liczbę obywateli”³⁸.

Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski porusza interesujący nas temat politycznego męstwa i jego kontekstów związanych z formami podejmowania decyzji kilkakrotnie. Najwcześniej chyba w swojej *Mowie o wysłaniu posłów na sobór chrześcijański* (1546), kiedy przechodzi do ostatniego punktu swego wyводу, czyli omówienia, „jacy to powinni być wysłani”³⁹. Akcentuje głównie dwie kwestie: wiedzę (szczególną roztropność) i posiadanie cnót. Przede wszystkim podkreśla swoistą dla przedmiotu soboru erudycję (znajomość języków, teologii i posiadania cech oraz umiejętności, które będą mogły być zastosowane w debacie – zatem retoryki i dialektyki, rozumności, bystrości itp.), zarazem jednak zwraca uwagę na pewne niebezpieczeństwa, które dostrzega u intelektualistów, a mianowicie zaciętość, nieumiejętność słuchania innych, zbytnią żądzę sławy, przeto sugeruje, by posłowie nie zeszli na włos „z drogi czystego sumienia”⁴⁰. Niemniej jednak w jednym z fragmentów mówi następująco o umiejętności zachowania się w sytuacji debaty:

Pisze Parnomitańczyk, iż może się zdarzyć, że jeden jakiś człowiek ma w sprawie odnoszącej się do religii zdanie silniejsze niż cała starszyzna sobory. Dodaje nawet i to, że w sprawach religii zdaniu jakiegoś jednego prywatnego człowieka popartemu powagą Pisma św. oddać należy pierwszeństwo przed zdaniem czy to papieża, czy całego soboru, jeśli one nie opierają się na równie mocnych świadectwach Pisma...⁴¹

I podaje przykład z soboru nicejskiego, „kiedy to człowiek najczciodszy, Pafnucy, zaliczany (jak się zdaje) do całkiem poślednich uczestników, odważył się sprzeciwić całemu soborowi i ostatecznie wszyscy zgodzili się na jego zdanie”⁴². Są to więc cechy odwołujące się do cnoty

38 Ciceron, *O państwie*, 86.

39 Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, *Mowy*, przeł. Edwin Jędrkiewicz, w Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, *Dzieła wszystkie*, wstęp Łukasz Kurdybacha, t. 2 (Warszawa: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1954), 206.

40 Modrzewski, *Mowy*, 209.

41 Modrzewski, *Mowy*, 208. Adrae Fricii Modrevii, w *idem, De republica emendanda, Libri quinque* (Basilae: apud Joannis Oporinus, 1559), 792: „Panormitanus scribit, fieri posse ut aliquis unus rectius de religione atque reliquis universi conciliis Senatus sentiat. Illud etiam addit, in rebus religionis, sententiam unius alicuius privati hominis, auctoritate scripturae divinae fultam, praeferenda, esse sententiae vel Papae, vel totius concilii, quae non adeo firmis scripturarum testimoniis nitatur”.

42 Modrzewski, *Mowy*, 208. Modrevii, w *idem, De republica emendanda*, 792: „cum Paphnutius vir sanctissimus, et inrepostremos (ut videtur) numeratus universo concilio contradicere ausus est; in eiusque tandem sententiam ab omnibus itum est.”

męstwa, którą Frycz wiąże z odwagą sprzeciwu indywidualnego wobec większości.

Rozwinie je w formie jeszcze bardziej konkretnej, kiedy w swoim koronnym traktacie o poprawie Rzeczypospolitej zastanawiał się będzie nad senatorami, gdzie analogicznie zwiąże kwestię odwagi zabierania głosu z... głosowaniem niewiększościowym. Nakaz brzmi jasno:

Konieczna też jest przy wypowiedzaniu własnego zdania odwaga mówienia tego, co myślisz (podkr. – K.K.). Ze wszystkim bowiem najbardziej niegodni są być senatorami ci, którzy kryją się ze swą wiarą i cnotą z lęku przed władzą czy ludem⁴³.

Po czym rozważa ciekawy problem, kiedy senator wybiera między tym, co można, a tym, czego trzeba dokonać, bowiem, jak zauważa, można się tu zasłonić okolicznościami, czyli kierować się pragmatyzmem czy – jak wtedy mówiono – roztropnością.

Frycz domaga się swego rodzaju maksymalizmu:

jeśli ludzie stojący w Rzeczypospolitej na najwyższym stopniu godności uchylają się od wypowiedzenia zdania, które trzeba powiedzieć na stanowisku senatora, to nie dbają oni o swoją godność, uwłaczają swojej powadze, zbiegają spod znaku prawdy, za którą powinni umierać, i mają ją za nic⁴⁴.

Uważa dalej, że głosy należy przy podejmowaniu decyzji ważyć, a nie liczyć, ale zarazem zaznacza, że niedobrze jest, gdy król czy ktoś inny podejmujący decyzję przychyła się do głosu jednego lub kilku⁴⁵. Niemniej jednak – podając trzy przykłady: przypowieści o głosowaniu członków ciała, wzmiankowanego w *Mowie* soboru nicejskiego i jego głosowaniu z uwzględnieniem pojedynczego zdania Pafnucego, wreszcie swoje zmagania z głosem większości w kwestii prawa o mężobójstwie – Frycz zdaje się ostatecznie bardziej przychyłać do ważenia głosów niż do liczenia ich. Oto wnioski: „[...] gdyby na soborze nicejskim nie ważono sobie rozumu

43 Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, *O poprawie Rzeczypospolitej*, przeł. Edwin Jędrkiewicz, w Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, *Dzieła wszystkie*, wstęp Łukasz Kurdybacha, t. I (Warszawa: PIW, 1953), 149; Modrevii, *De republica emendanda*, 46: „Pernecessarium est etiam in dicendis sententiis, ut quod sentias, id loqui audeas. Omnino enim indigni sunt senatorio ordine, qui fidei et virtutem suam celent, principium populi ve metu”.

44 Modrzewski, *O poprawie Rzeczypospolitej*, 149; Modrevii, *De republica emendanda*, 46: „tamen qui in summo dignitatis gradu in Republica locati, praetermittant sententiam dicere, quam loco senatorio dici necesse sit, ii parum consulunt dignitate suae, auctoritati suae desunt, veritatem pro qua mori deberent deserunt, ac pro nihilo habent”.

45 Modrzewski, *O poprawie Rzeczypospolitej*, 149.

i bojaźni Bożej, to bez wątpienia wzgardzono by całkowicie głosem jednego Pafnucego wobec większości innych [...]”⁴⁶.

Owszem, powiada Frycz, można próbować wydzielić sprawy niejasne i sporne od tych, które są sporne, ale jasne i zbadane. Wtedy w pierwszych można iść za głosem większości, w drugich warto ważyć dobro sprawy. Sądzę, że pisarz ma świadomość niepewności kryteriów, które stosuje, bo wprowadza, jak się zdaje, dodatkowe kryterium, którego opis lepiej pozostawić jemu:

To nam przecie mówi rozum ludzki, ten znamienity dar boski, to doradzają dobre obyczaje, to nasza wiara, prawdę samą nam zalecająca a potępiająca fałsz, to przykazuje Bóg-Chrystus, stwórca wszystkiego, które swoje słowa prawdą nazywa, a diabelskie kłamstwem. Więc choćby nie wiem jak wielka była liczba tych, którzy kłamią z pełną wiedzą i wolą, to czy nie trzeba uważać ich za potomstwo tego ojca kłamstwa...⁴⁷

W takiej sytuacji, uważa pisarz, naród chrześcijański winien się odwrócić od nich, nawet gdyby stanowili większość. Jako przykład takiej sytuacji podaje właśnie spór o prawo, w którym uczestniczy. Sądzę, że Frycz doskonale widzi trudność swego stanowiska (bo jego kryteria można równie łatwo odwrócić przeciw pojedynczemu głosowi i uznać go za... „diabelskie kłamstwo”). Niemniej jednak połączenie kwestii odwagi sprzeciwu ze sposobem podejmowania decyzji zawdzięczamy właśnie jemu.

Zadziwiająco niewiele ma do powiedzenia o odwadze senatorskiej autor poradnika dla senatora Wawrzyniec Goślicki. Owszem, wymienia jak należy cnoty „niezbędne” dla dobrego senatora: ma być on „prudens, iustus, fortis, temperans”⁴⁸, ale znacznie ciekawsze i być może oryginalnie makiaweliczne są uwagi o *prudentiali*, bo mocno „retoryzują” tę cnotę, wskazując na jej oczywistą kontekstowość aż po – zdaje się, że wprost przejęte od Machiavellego bez podania źródeł – rozważania o konieczności dysymulacji, niedotrzymywania słowa czy przede wszystkim stosowania się do okoliczności. Natomiast uwagi o męstwie raczej utrzymują

46 Modrzewski, *O poprawie Rzeczypospolitej*, 150; Modrevii, *De republica emendanda*, 47: „nisi ratio et niminis respectus apud concilium Nicenum valuisset, haud dubie contempta iacuisset Paphnutii unius sententia, prae tanta multitudine aliorum”.

47 Modrzewski, *O poprawie Rzeczypospolitej*, 151; Modrevii *De republica emendanda*, 47: „Hoc enim ratio hominis, praeclarum Dei donum, hoc boni mores suadent; hoc professio nostra, veritatem nobis unice commendans, falsitatem damnans; hoc author omnium Christus Deus praecipit, qui sermonem suum veritatem, diaboli mendacium dicit esse”.

48 Wawrzyniec Goślicki, *O senatorze doskonałym księgi dwie. De optimo senatore libri duo*, przeł. Tadeusz Bieńkowski (Kraków: Arcana, 2000), 292.

się zgodnie z przyjętą konwencją. Choć zapowiada się ciekawie, bo – jak uczy przywoływana tradycja – zaczyna pisarz od wskazania na fakt, iż męstwo ma za zadanie zwyciężać „wszelkie wybuchy naszego umysłu i kaprysy losu, jako że życie niesie ze sobą wiele różnych przeciwieństw, które musimy ominąć albo pokonać”⁴⁹.

Niemniej jednak w swoim wywodzie następującym po tym zapowiadającym rozważania o męstwie „wewnętrznym” nasz pisarz prawie wyłącznie skupia się na męstwie wyrażającym się w działaniu. Męstwo, powiada ewidentnie za Cyceronem, „jest to właściwość pomagająca cnotcie zwyciężać i znosić trudności i jako taka jest ozdobą wszystkich cnót”⁵⁰, i konkluduje: „Bez męstwa roztropność, sprawiedliwość, umiarkowanie są słabe i niedołężne, gdyż nie potrafią tak działać skutecznie, jak tamta”⁵¹.

Goślicki porusza też obecne w literaturze przedmiotu rozważania o „ważeniu” cnoty męstwa (między byciem śmiałkiem czy ryzykantem a tchórzem i słabeuszem). Właściwą drogą jest kierowanie się rozumem⁵².

Owszem, dostrzega za tradycją trzy wymiary przejawiania się męstwa (choć żywa pagina mówi jedynie o „Fortitudi duplex”, w sentencji: „Męstwo może przejawiać się w życiu domowym, jak i publicznym, oraz na wojnie”⁵³. I owo męstwo domowe (żywa pagina nazywa je „Privata fortitudo”) Goślicki wiąże z zagadnieniem szczęśliwego, czyli filozoficznego życia, którego celem jest spokój ducha i godność życia. Męstwo publiczne faktycznie właściwie ogranicza do *militaris fortitudo* i w sumie w sprawach państwowych każe się swojemu senatorowi kierować męstwem militarnym, które postrzega jako „chęć podejmowania wszelkich niebezpieczeństw i gotowość do ofiary z życia dla dobra państwa i godziwej sprawy”⁵⁴.

Niemniej jednak chyba wolno nam przenieść owe zasady męstwa wojskowego na postępowanie polityczne, kiedy czytamy, że „Męstwo

49 *Ibidem*, 429: „variis incommodorum periculis, exposita est vitae nostrae conditio, quae vel perferre, vel fortiter propulsare nos semper convenit”, 428.

50 *Ibidem*, 431: „que ingruerint calamitates, dolores, pericula tolerare, et magno excelsoque animo vincere”, 430.

51 *Ibidem*, 431: „Prudentiae, iustitiae, temperantiae vis et affeminata, sine fortitudine; illarum est tantum sentire et facere, at huius constantes, animose, viriliter et facere et sentire”, 432.

52 *Ibidem*, 432: „propter virtutem faciat et in suscipiendo periculo ratione”, 431.

53 *Ibidem*, 433: „est autem fortitudinis laus omnis sita, partim in domesticis et publicis, partim in militaribus actionibus”, 432.

54 *Ibidem*, 433: „in perferendo omni labore et periculo versatus, potissimum vero in contemnenda morte, honestatis et reipublicae causa”, 432.

nakazuje niczym nie dać się zastraszyć, lekceważyć ludzkie rzeczy i mieć je za nic”⁵⁵.

W opisie cnót obywatela, miłośnika ojczyzny, w znanym anonimowym traktaciku *Philopolites to jest miłośnik oczyzny* (1588) na pierwszym planie umieszczone jest męstwo, które autor widzi, za tradycją, jaką przedstawiono wyżej, jako „podejmowanie niewczasów, niebezpieczności i prac”, w sytuacjach, w których obywatel: „walczy o pożytek samej Rzplitej”⁵⁶. Cnota owa wyrasta z miłości do ojczyzny, która jest warunkiem *sine qua non* działania obywatelskiego. Posiłkując się cycerońskim odwołaniem do stoików, anonimowy autor broszury wskazuje przy tym na działanie męstwa, dowodząc, iż jest to cnota, „która o słuszną sprawiedliwość walczy”⁵⁷, i jednocześnie powtarza tezy o podwójnym niejako zastosowaniu tej cnoty: zewnętrznym i wewnętrznym. Dlatego, powiada,

dobry obywatel nie ma dać się zwyciężyć ani z pocziwej drogi spierać i człowiekowi żadnemu i poruszeniu myśli swej, także szczęściu i nieszczęściu, gdyż prawdziwe męstwo niebezpieczeństwa wszelakie na koniec i śmierć samę wzgardza dla uczciwości i sławy i umysł nasz do mądrości i sprawiedliwości prowadzi⁵⁸.

„Uskramianie” wszelkich „cielesnych afektów” to według niego podstawowe i trudniejsze działanie niż opieranie się zewnątrz, co znowu wspiera Goślicki przywołaniem Cyclerona (z dołożeniem Owidiusza):

żadna bowiem siła nie jest takowa (jako mówi Cycero), któraby mocą nie miała być zwątlona i stłumiona, ale samego siebie człowiekowi zwyciężyć, żądze swoje umiarkować, aby żadna zmaza nieuczciwego na świecie życia prowadzenia nie znaczyła się, jest to *virī fortissimo*...⁵⁹

Nauka o cnotach w *Philopolitesie* oparta jest na wzorach klasycznych, stąd charakteryzuje autor tę cnotę, szukając dowodów w dziejach podawanych przez pisarzy antycznych – wszystkie przykłady jednak nie mówią o elemencie walki ze sobą, raczej o ofierze, którą bohaterowie składają ze swego zdrowia czy życia dla ojczyzny.

55 *Ibidem*, 433–435: „Hoc est proprium fortitudinis, et magnitudinis animi, nihil extimescere, omnia haec humana contemnere, nihil non ferendum putare”, 432–434.

56 *Philopolites to jest miłośnik ojczyzny abo o powinności dobrego obywatela ojczyźnie dobrze chcącego krótki traktat* (Kraków: druk. M. Wirzbięty, 1588), B3 verso.

57 *Ibidem*.

58 *Ibidem*.

59 *Ibidem*.

W znanym i cenionym pod koniec wieku XVI tekście *Krótkie zebranie rzeczy potrzebnych z strony wolności* (1587)⁶⁰ nieznanymi imienia i nazwiska autor dokonuje swoistej apoteozy obywatelskiego zaangażowania pojmowanego jako postawa krytyczna, niezależna i przede wszystkim ukształtowana opozycyjnie wobec władzy królewskiej. Pisałem o tym obszerniej w innym miejscu⁶¹, na potrzeby tego wywodu warto zaś wskazać, iż konstruowany w tekście schemat niekiedy samotnego, indywidualnego (jak w przypadku przykładów z dziejów relacji Władysława Jagiełły czy Witolda i kardynała Zbigniewa Oleśnickiego), a także wspólnotowego oporu wobec królewskiej omnipotencji (wybór mów z *Conciones* Orzechowskiego) zakłada obywatelską czujność wspieraną cnotą męstwa w obliczu wyzwań, które stawia przed uczestnikami życia politycznego proces polityczny.

4.

Na zakończenie swych uwag chciałbym wskazać na tekst artystyczny, który – jak się zdaje – stawia problem męstwa politycznego w samym centrum. Mowa o dramacie *Odprawa posłów greckich* (1578) Jana Kochanowskiego, gdzie wszak mamy opis „nierządnego i bliskiego zginienia królestwa” trojańskiego⁶². W tekście wyraźnie mówi się, iż zasadniczą przyczyną tego stanu rzeczy jest nieprzestrzeganie sprawiedliwości. Zaburzenie w podejściu do tej cnoty, która – jak czytaliśmy – warunkuje funkcjonowanie wspólnoty politycznej, pojawia się we wszystkich wymiarach życia publicznego. W tym też kontekście, zepsutego królestwa, należy, jak mi się wydaje, rozpatrzyć dwie kwestie: jedną jest męstwo obywatelskie, które – wszak wiemy już – rozstrzyga się w postępowaniu obywateli czy władców.

Drugą kwestią – prostszą do rozważenia, aczkolwiek mocno związaną z pierwszą – jest rozpatrzenie sposobu podejmowania decyzji politycznych w sferze publicznej. Widzimy ją w długim monologu Posłańca, który relacjonuje Helenie przebieg obrad trojańskiego zgromadzenia

60 Tekst za: Krzysztofa Warszawickiego i Anonima *uwagi o wolności szlacheckiej*, red. nauk. Krzysztof Koehler (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Ignatianum, 2010).

61 Krzysztof Koehler, „Krótkie zebranie rzeczy potrzebnych z strony wolności. Analiza intencji”, *Horyzonty Polityki* 4/7 (2013): 67–88.

62 O związkach *Odprawy posłów greckich* ze szlacheckim postrzeganiem polityki pisałem w: Krzysztof Koehler, „*Odprawa posłów greckich* Jana Kochanowskiego a szlacheckie postrzeganie polityki”, *Mysł Polityczna. Political Thought* 2/3 (2020): 51–70.

politycznego. Wypełniają ją wypowiedzi Króla, Parysa, Antenora i Iketaona, po której następuje podjęcie decyzji. Cały ów proces uruchamiany jest jednak przez wypowiedź króla Priama, z której dowiadujemy się, w jaki sposób władca podejmuje decyzje w państwie:

nie zwykłem nic nigdy/
Bez rady waszej czynić (w. 198–199)⁶³.

Zarazem Priam przecież wyraźnie wskazuje na to, iż brak mu pewnej cechy politycznego męstwa, o której wspominali klasyczni autorzy: decyzja rady trojańskiej ma być dla niego zabezpieczeniem przed nepotyzmem:

Bo aczci to podobno nie darmo rzeczono:
„Krew nie woda”, lecz u mnie pospolitej rzeczy
Powinowacto większe. A tak, co się kolwiek
Wam wszystkim będzie zdało, toż i ja pochwałę” (w. 202–205).

Priam wyrzeka się w ten sposób owego męstwa „wewnętrznego”, o którym pisali autorzy traktatów, a co więcej, zdaje się, że wskazuje na staropolski mechanizm podejmowania decyzji: „wam wszystkim” – nie „większości”. Jego wypowiedź więc – którą kończy *nota bene* kłamstwo: „żony dostał, nie wiem jako” (o Parysie) (w. 206) – jest swoistą prezentacją modelu podejmowania decyzji, a także wyznaniem braku zaufania do męstwa „wewnętrznego”: decyzja „wszystkich” ma być obowiązująca.

Jak wiemy jednak z końcowych słów Posła – nie jest to decyzja wszystkich. Nie uciera się głosów w Troi, mimo że król deklaruje inaczej:

Kiedy się rozstąpili, nie było co równać:
Wszyscy przy Aleksandrze, a tam ich garść była (w. 364–365)

Wbrew temu, co napisał autor *Odprawy* – jednak nie „wszyscy”. To, zdaje się, eufemizm: raczej przytłaczająca większość, co zresztą sam Priam podkreśla w swojej końcowej wypowiedzi: „Mnie nie lża, jeno większej części naśladować” (w. 369), czym zresztą podkreśla, iż politykiem, który kieruje się męstwem w sprawach domowych, na pewno nie jest. Tylko dla porządku warto przypomnieć, że poniekąd reakcją na te wydarzenia jest monolog Ulissea z otwierającym go dwuwersem:

63 Tekst dramatu podaję za wydaniem Jan Kochanowski, *Dzieła polskie*, oprac. Julian Krzyżanowski (Warszawa: PIW, 1972).

O, nierządne królestwo i zginienia bliskie,
Gdzie ani prawa ważyć, ani sprawiedliwość
Ma miejsca... (w. 383–385)

Postacią, która kieruje się na pewno męstwem – w swoich czynach i wypowiedziach – jest oczywiście Antenor. W otwierającej dramat scenie stychomytii z Aleksandrem padają jego deklaracje żywcem przejęte z tradycji cycerońskiej (łączenie męstwa, dobra rzeczypospolitej, sumienia, sprawiedliwości, przystojności i prawdy). Natomiast nie werbalną, tylko realną jego pełną męstwa aktywnością jest mowa wygłoszona podczas obrad trojańskiej rady, kiedy to emocjom sali obrad przeciwstawia fakty, które interpretuje poniekąd na niekorzyść wspólnoty trojańskiej. Nie ugina się pod szantażem emocjonalnym Parysa ani też nie cofa się przed retoryką odwołującą się do rzekomej krzywdy Trojan doznanej od Greków. Oto jego ocena historycznych dowodów na trojańskie krzywdy:

(prawda się znać musi),
Nasze niesprawiedliwość do tego upadku nas przywiodła... (w. 294–295)

Antenor więc jest jakby idealnym bohaterem Cyclerona, mówcą – uczestnikiem życia publicznego – który stawia przed sobą dylemat: czy liczy się zwycięstwo w debacie politycznej czy powinności wynikające z praktykowania cnót. Wybiera, jak wiemy, powinności. Może powinien lepiej argumentować, by zwyciężyć? Wtedy wszak ocaliłby Troję przed zagładą, choć swoje moralne pryncypia musiałby jakoś uchylić. Choć z drugiej strony – chyba nie: w Troi, królestwie „zginienia bliskim”, nie respektuje się męstwa obywatelskiego i głosi większość, a wtedy cnota przegrywa z siłą.

5.

Retoryka obywatelskiej „podejrzliwości” czy sprzeciwu obywatelskiego wobec władzy królewskiej dojdzie bardzo wyraźnie do głosu w okresie rokосу sandomierskiego. W pismach politycznych tego czasu odpowiedzialność indywidualna senatora Rzeczypospolitej, niezłomnego Mikołaja Zebrzydowskiego, pojawiać się będzie

jako jeden z czynników oporu społeczeństwa szlacheckiego wobec królewskich – domniemanych – machinacji⁶⁴.

W znanej i szeroko kolportowanej broszurze z czasów rokoszu „Libera Respublica – absolutum dominium – rokosz” męstwo sprzeciwu zdecydowanie wiązano z obywatelskością jako odwagą występowania publicznego nawet (czy przede wszystkim) przeciwko najważniejszym instytucjom politycznym wspólnoty:

Daje jeszcze ta Rzplta porządna *suo civi* [swojemu obywatelowi] ślactwo, wielką preeminencją, wielką prerogatywę, gdy ślachcicowi w tej Rzpltej *sine metu et timore* [bez strachu i obawy] wolno mu o krzywdę Rzpltej mówić *et in libera caritate* [i we właściwej dla człowieka wolnego miłości] wolno mu o krzywdę Rzpltej króla rugować, senatora, urzędnika także, nie oglądając się na łaskę i niełaskę jego, jedno na samo dobro Rzpltej i na prawo pospolite, którego on kiedy będzie posłuszny i będzie cnotliwym, nie boi się w takiej Rzpltej króla, nie boi się senatora, hetmana i jego marszałka, wszystko mu wolno, co jedno do pocziwej sławy swej być rozumie potrzebnego, ma z każdym wolną *palaestram* [sąd], wolne *campum* [pole] i wolne prawo, jedno mu złym być nie wolno⁶⁵.

Zaskakuje natomiast refleksja staropolska XVII wieku nad instytucją *liberum veto*⁶⁶. Otóż okazuje się, że stosowanie sprzeciwu przykładowo

64 Krzysztof Koehler, „Krytyka parlamentaryzmu w Rzeczypospolitej w literaturze staropolskiej końca XVI wieku”, *Perspektywy Kultury* 2/1(41) (2023); Krzysztof Koehler, „Retoryka sporu politycznego czasów rokoszu Zebrzydowskiego. Opis przypadku”, w *„Synthesis viginti annorum”. Bielańskie studia humanistyczne*, red. Dominika Budzanowska-Weglenda, Dorota Kielak (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UKSW, 2023); Krzysztof Koehler, „«Rokosz» or «sejm»? A discussion on political institutions during the Sandomierz rebellion”, w *The Polish and Anglo-American Constitutional Tradition in the 16th–18th Centuries*, red. J. Patrick Higgins, Michał Kuź, Dariusz Makiła (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo AEH, 2024).

65 „Libera Respublica-absolutum dominium – rokosz”, wyd. Dorota Pietrzyk-Reeves, *Myśl Polityczna. Political Thought* 2/3 (2020): 118.

66 Poza oczywistą w tym kontekście pracę Władysława Konopczyńskiego, *Liberum veto* (Kraków: Ośrodek Myśli Politycznej, 2002), warto wskazać na prace Zygmunta Ogonowskiego, „Nad pismami A. M. Fredry w obronie liberum veto”, w *idem, Filozofia polityczna w Polsce XVII wieku i tradycje demokracji europejskiej* (Warszawa: PAN, 1999), 9–57; Zbigniewa Wójcika, *Liberum veto* (Kraków: KAW, 1992) czy Anny Grześkowiak-Krwawicz, „Veto – wolność – władza w polskiej myśli politycznej wieku XVIII”, *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, CXI/3 (2004): 141–159. O poglądach politycznych Fredry w interesującym nas kontekście pisze tak samo Marek Tracz-Tryniecki, *Republika versus monarchia. Myśl polityczna i prawna Andrzeja Maksymiliana Fredry* (Łódź: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego, 2019), *szcz.* 135–137. Anna Grześkowiak-Krwawicz porusza problem „unanimitas czy pluralitas” marginalnie w swej rozprawie *Dyskurs polityczny Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UMK, 2018), 235–237.

dla Andrzeja Maksymiliana Fredry⁶⁷, głównego obrońcy „starego prawa”, to po prostu mechanizm polityczny, którego używanie nie wymaga żadnych dodatkowych odwołań do cnoty męstwa. Jakby jego stosowanie było szlachecką prerogatywą, a nie jakimś wyjątkowym aktem odwagi cywilnej. Być może oczywistą przyczyną tego stanu rzeczy był fakt, iż instytucja ta była, jak zauważa Grześkowiak-Krwawicz,

nie tylko żrenicą, „duszą” i „twierdzą” wolności, „najdelikatniejszą częścią ciała” politycznego Rzeczypospolitej, [...] Żadne inne prawo, żadna inna instytucja ustrojowa nie zyskało tak wielu tak wzniosłych epitetów [...] nie tylko jego bezkrytyczni zwolennicy, ale i autorzy nastawieni sceptycznie zgadzali się, iż było ono podstawą wolności⁶⁸.

Zapewne jednak w rzeczywistości struktury politycznej Rzeczypospolitej, w której akcentowało się wartości wiążące się z etosem republikańskim, a cnoty polityczne (obyczaje) stawiało się na pierwszym miejscu w hierarchii aksjologicznej, refleksja nad obywatelską odwagą miała znaczenie nieprzecenione.

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67 Andrzej Maksymilian Fredro, *Scriptorum seu Togae et Belli Notationum Fragmenta*, wstęp i przypisy Marek Tracz-Tryniecki, przeł. Jagoda Chmielewska, Bartłomiej Bednarek (Warszawa: Narodowe Centrum Kultury, 2014), 437–455 i 537–569.

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Dźwięk jako integralny składnik architektury sakralnej

Sound as an Integral Component of Sacred Architecture

Abstrakt

Poza czynnikiem wizualnym czynnik foniczny (akustyka) jest głównym elementem nadającym charakter świątyni (*sacrum*) i wpływającym na duchowy wymiar przestrzeni sakralnej. Celem artykułu jest zbadanie powiązań między akustyką a architekturą sakralną oraz roli dźwięku w kształtowaniu percepcji wnętrza liturgicznego. Analiza obejmuje literaturę naukową i historyczną dotyczącą akustyki obiektów sakralnych, przykłady zastosowania rezonatorów Helmholtza oraz interpretacje cymatyczne detali architektonicznych, takich jak rozety czy motywy kaplicy Rosslyn. Badanie opiera się na metodzie obserwacji przestrzeni sakralnych, analizie dokumentacji i literatury, a także interpretacji zjawisk cymatycznych i psychoakustycznych. W pracy wykazano, że elementy materialne (forma architektoniczna, ornamentyka) współdziałają z niematerialnymi (percepcja dźwięku, nastrój, multisensoryczność), kształtując tożsamość i funkcjonalność wnętrza sakralnego. Dźwięk oddziałuje na materię i przestrzeń, a świadome projektowanie akustyczne decyduje o zrozumiałości mowy, walorach muzycznych i duchowym odbiorze przestrzeni. Wnioski podkreślają konieczność integracji projektowania akustycznego z architekturą oraz wykorzystania detali architektonicznych jako narzędzi modulacji dźwięku.

Słowa kluczowe: akustyka, architektura sakralna, przestrzeń liturgiczna, dźwięk, cymatyka.

Abstract

Apart from the visual factor, the acoustic factor is the main element that gives character to a temple as a sacred space and influences the spiritual dimension of sacred spaces. The aim of this article is to examine the relationships between acoustics and sacred architecture, as well as the role of sound in shaping the perception of liturgical interiors. The analysis includes scientific and historical literature on the acoustics of sacred buildings, examples of the application of Helmholtz resonators, and cymatic interpretations of architectural details, such as rosettes and motifs from Rosslyn Chapel. The study is based on observation of sacred spaces, analysis of documentation and literature, as well as the interpretation of cymatic and psychoacoustic phenomena. The paper demonstrates that material elements (architectural form, ornamentation) interact with immaterial elements (sound perception, atmosphere, multisensory experience), shaping the identity and functionality of sacred interiors. Sound affects both matter and space, and conscious acoustic design determines speech intelligibility, musical quality, and the spiritual reception of the space. The conclusions emphasize the necessity of integrating acoustic design with architecture and using architectural details as tools for sound modulation.

Keywords: acoustics, sacred architecture, liturgical space, sound, cymatics.

Uzasadnienie podjęcia tematu

Przestrzeń sakralną tworzą elementy materialne i niematerialne. Cechami elementów materialnych są: kontekst przyrodniczo-prze-strzenny, forma architektoniczna, forma użytkowania i stan zachowania, integralność, czytelność oraz otwartość. Przestrzeń niematerialną cechują natomiast: powiązanie z wydarzeniami, nazwa miejsca, multisensoryczność, dynamika, nastrój, odczuwane emocje i uczucia¹. Aż trzy spośród wymienionych cech niematerialnych (multisensoryczność, nastrój, odczuwane emocje i uczucia) dotyczą akustyki architektonicznej. Są to psychoakustyczne efekty odczuwane przez wiernych. Cechy te są wynikiem współistnienia cech materialnych, takich jak: forma architektoniczna, otwartość, czytelność i integralność. Przykładem integralności w architekturze było celowe wykorzystanie ornamentyki, paramentów

1 Barbara Sowińska, „Kształtowanie tożsamości krajobrazów sakralnych”, *Sacrum w krajobrazie*, „Prace Komisji Krajobrazu Kulturowego” 17 (2012): 78–79.

liturgicznych oraz przestrzeni architektonicznej do przekazywania prawd wiary². Przestrzeń sakralna to miejsce do sprawowania liturgii.

Wzajemne przenikanie się cech materialnych i niematerialnych ma swoje odzwierciedlenie w poszukiwaniu związków akustyki z architekturą sakralną. Praca ta ma charakter poszukiwania relacji tych dwóch dziedzin nauki.

Znaczenie akustyki w budowlach sakralnych

Jedną z ważnych ludzkich potrzeb jest obcowanie z ciszą. Ciszę definiuje się jako brak dźwięków (choć cisza absolutna nie istnieje). Może być ona opisana jako

zjawisko fizyczne, badalne (pomiar dźwięku, decybeli) i jako zjawisko psychiczne czy duchowe, które może być rozmaicie pojmowane i rozmaicie spełniane (cisza jako warunek rozwoju życia wewnętrznego, jakość egzystencji człowieka, harmonia wewnętrzna)³.

Cisza wewnątrz sakralnych pozwala na osiągnięcie stanu kontemplacji i skupienia. Odbiór zjawisk akustycznych jest integralnie związany z doświadczaniem świętości. Kształtowanie poczucia *sacrum* może być uzyskane poprzez świadome zabiegi architektoniczne oraz akustyczne nadające odpowiedni charakter, który definiuje tożsamość tego wnętrza.

Obiekty sakralne powinny cechować się doskonałą akustyką, ponieważ pożądane są zarówno prawidłowy odbiór treści przekazywanej przez kapłana, jak i możliwość niezakłóconej modlitwy⁴. Już we wczesnym chrześcijaństwie (Bizancjum) stosowano przemyślane rozwiązania akustyczne⁵. Od czasów starożytnej Grecji i Rzymu umieszczano w świątyniach ceramiczne, gliniane czy też mosiężne misy i wazy, które były strojone na różne dźwięki. Działyły one jak rezonator Helmholtza, poprawiając warunki akustyczne pomieszczenia. Różny kształt i wielkość tych naczyń wpływał na określone częstotliwości dźwięku. Wiedza i precyzja,

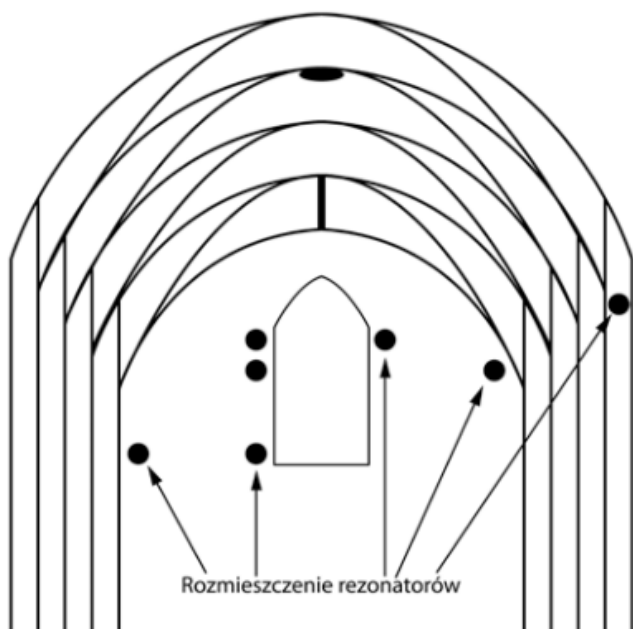
2 Aidan Nichols, *Patrząc na liturgię. Krytyczna ocena jej współczesnej formy*, przeł. Tomasz Glanz (Poznań: Wydawnictwo W drodze, 2005); Mikołaj Gihř, *Ofiara Mszy Świętej. Wykład dogmatyczny, liturgiczny i ascetyczny dla duchowieństwa i świeckich*, t. I–III (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Te Deum, 2012).

3 Teresa Olearczyk, *Pedagogia ciszy* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo WAM, 2010), 25.

4 Andrzej Kulowski, Dominika Wróblewska, *Czynniki akustyki w architektonicznym projektowaniu kościołów* (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Politechniki Gdańskiej, 2007), 42–43.

5 *Ibidem*, 20–23.

z jaką je stosowano, zaskakuje do dzisiaj, gdyż współcześnie do symulacji i pomiarów akustyki architektonicznej używa się oprogramowania komputerowego. Naczynia te pełniły nie tylko funkcję akustyczną, ale również architektoniczną, ponieważ umieszczenie ich w górnej części ścian i na kopułach zmniejszało wagę całej budowli.



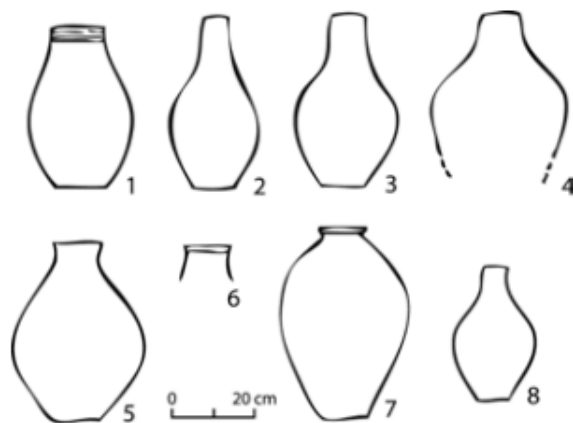
Rysunek 1. Schematyczne rozmieszczenie glinianych waz rezonansowych we wnętrzu kaplicy Pleterje koło Ljubliany. Źródło: Adam Rosiński, „Wpływ akustyki architektonicznej na kreowanie tożsamości sonorystycznej kościołów”, w II Sobór Watykański (1962–1965) i jego wpływ na Kościół katolicki. Perspektywa tradycyjnalistyczna, red. Jacek Bartyzel (Zabrze–Tarnowskie Góry: Wydawnictwo Inforteditions, 2018), 89.

Aby dostroić taki rezonator, wypełniano go piaskiem lub popiołem w ten sposób, by pochłaniał częstotliwości dźwięków rezonujących⁶. Odzworowaniem takiego rezonatora jest szklana butelka – kiedy dmucha się do niej przez szyjkę, można usłyszeć dźwięk o ustalonej częstotliwości. Jest to właśnie częstotliwość rezonansowa tej butelki.

Współcześnie nadal używa się takich rezonansowych elementów akustycznych, lecz w postaci zmodyfikowanej, stosując boazerię szczelinową

6 Andrzej Kulowski, *Akustyka sal* (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Politechniki Gdańskiej, 2007), 29–30.

lub ceramikę otworową⁷, a także perforowane płyty drewniane, za którymi umieszczony jest materiał dźwiękochłonny, czy też perforowane płyty gipsowo-kartonowe, będące elementem wykończeniowym wnętrza⁸.



Rysunek 2. Rezonatory Helmholtza stosowane we wczesnośredniowiecznym budownictwie cerkiewnym na Rusi. „1 – Kijów, sobór Uspienski, 2 – Obrucz, cerkiew Wasilija, 3 – Grodno, cerkiew Niżniniaja, 4 – cerkiew w Trubczewsku, 5, 6 – Nowgorod, cerkiew Spasa-Nieriedicy, 7 – Kijów, sobór sofijski”. Źródło: Rosiński, „Wpływ akustyki architektonicznej na kreowanie tożsamości sonorystycznej kościołów”, 92.

Zrozumiałość mowy w świątyni

Najważniejszym problemem w budownictwie sakralnym jest nadmierna pogłosowość. Czas pogłosu to czas mierzony w sekundach, w którym natężenie dźwięku spada do milionowej części pierwotnej wartości, co odpowiada spadkowi poziomu natężenia o 60 dB⁹. Tworzą go fale akustyczne, które wielokrotnie odbijają się, powodując wzmacnianie lub osłabianie pewnych częstotliwości (zjawisko interferencji fal). To właśnie ta własność wnętrza sakralnego decyduje o odbiorze muzyki organowej,

⁷ *Ibidem*, 29–33.

⁸ Anna Sygulska, „Problemy akustyczne współczesnego budownictwa sakralnego na przykładzie Wotrubakirche i Donaucity-Kirche”, *Liturgia Sacra* 21/2 (2015): 454.

⁹ Mieczysław Drobner, *Akustyka muzyczna* (Kraków: Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne, 1973), 345.

a także zrozumiałości mowy w jego wnętrzu (np. mowy kapłana)¹⁰. Wraz ze wzrostem kubatury pomieszczenia wzrasta czas pogłosu. Wierni słyszą dźwięk bezpośredni oraz różnice w czasie dochodzenia dźwięków odbitych od elementów ograniczających pomieszczenie¹¹. Charakter świątyni często nadają rozrzeźbienia, które silnie rozpraszają dźwięk.

Zrozumiałość mowy jest zaburzona również przez zazwyczaj bardzo wysokie, ustawione względem siebie ściany. Zauważalny jest tutaj brak harmonii między elementami materialnymi i niematerialnymi. Przeważnie wygląd zewnętrzny i wewnętrzny budowli stawia się na pierwszym planie, podczas gdy użyteczność budynku w sferze słuchowej jest zazwyczaj pomijana. Warto zauważyć, że funkcjonalność obiektów sakralnych nie zawsze jest w pełni zaakceptowana przez wiernych¹².

W kościele występuje również hałas wytwarzany przez samych wiernych. Generują go np. szepty modlitw, kroki osób przechodzących przez świątynię lub szelest ich ubrań. Są to naturalne odgłosy, które również mogą wpływać na zrozumiałość mowy, dlatego też kościół jako obiekt użyteczności publicznej nie powinien mieć zbyt dużej pogłosowości¹³.

Odpowiednie zaprojektowanie wnętrza sakralnego jest bardzo trudne, ponieważ kryteria i parametry obowiązujące dla poprawnej percepcji mowy i muzyki są odmienne¹⁴. Istotny jest dobór materiałów akustycznych, które niewątpliwie mają wpływ na długość czasu pogłosu. Od chłonności materiałów wykończeniowych zależy bowiem odbiór bodźców akustycznych przez wiernych^{15, 16}.

Nieprawidłowy projekt architektoniczny świątyni powoduje występowanie wad akustycznych w jej wnętrzu, co zmusza do wykorzystania systemów nagłaśniających. Stosowanie systemu głośników nie zawsze jednak poprawia zrozumiałości przekazu słownego. Czasami wręcz

10 Tadeusz Kamisiński, Krzysztof Kosała, „Akustyka wielofunkcyjna wnętrz sakralnych”, *Czasopismo Techniczne* 2-A/1 (2011): 116–118.

11 Gary Kendall, Mauricio Ardila, „The Artistic Play of Spatial Organization: Spatial Attributes, Scene Analysis and Auditory Spatial Schemata”, *Lecture Notes in Computer Science* 4969 (2007): 129.

12 Kulowski, Wróblewska, *Czynniki akustyki w architektonicznym projektowaniu kościołów*, 17–18.

13 Barbara Szudrowicz, „Normowanie wartości czasu pogłosu w pomieszczeniach – założenia do normy PN”, *Materiały Budowlane* 8 (2009): 9.

14 Anna Sygulska, „Acoustic Investigations of the Contemporary Churches in Poznań”, *Vibrations in Physical Systems* 26 (2014): 281–287.

15 Robert Kramarz, „Czas pogłosu... przed i po adaptacji akustycznej”, *Akustyka* 2 (2014): 6–7.

16 Jacek Gyurkovich, „Architektura sakralna – współczesne tendencje w kościele zachodnim”, *Przestrzeń i Forma* 12 (2009): 175.

pogłębia problem, gdyż występują dodatkowe odbicia dźwięku, których nie było przy naturalnej akustyce świątyni. Źle dobrany system nagłośnieniowy może spowodować wystąpienie nadmiernego pogłosu, fal stojących, rezonansów, echa trzepoczącego czy też zaburzenia kierunkowości dźwięku¹⁷. Dlatego też już na etapie projektowania przestrzeni sakralnych należy pamiętać o dążeniu do uzyskania odpowiedniej akustyki wnętrza. Użycie systemów elektroakustycznych nie powinno stanowić jedyne go sposobu na poprawę warunków akustycznych.

Przystosowanie akustyczne świątyni wiąże się z osiągnięciem co najmniej dobrej zrozumiałości przekazu słownego poprzez¹⁸:

- ukształtowanie pomieszczenia w taki sposób, by osiągnąć równomierne pokrycie powierzchni odsłuchu wcześniej dochodzącymi falami odbitymi,
- odpowiednio krótki czas opóźnienia pierwszego odbicia, natomiast dźwięk odbity powinien być na tyle silny, by móc wywołać efekt psychoakustyczny (subiektywnie odczuwane zwiększenie głośności dźwięku),
- osiągnięcie odpowiedniego dla swej kubatury i funkcji pomieszczenia czasu pogłosu,
- zminimalizowanie poziomu tła akustycznego, tak by nie przekraczał on wartości dopuszczalnej przez przepisy¹⁹. Poziom tła akustycznego jest zależny od czynników wewnętrznych, takich jak instalacja wentylacyjna, oraz czynników zewnętrznych jak np. zakłócenia komunikacyjne.

Na akustykę wnętrza mają wpływ kształt architektoniczny budowli, wyposażenie oraz materiały wykorzystane we wnętrzu. Zdobienia występujące w kościele wypływają na rozproszenie dźwięku. Zapewnienie optymalnych warunków akustycznych decyduje o duchowym wymiarze kościoła, przeżywaniu Mszy św. i skupieniu w modlitwie²⁰, dlatego też akustyka powinna być rozważana już na etapie projektu architektonicznego. Projekt decyduje o identyfikacji brzmienia wnętrza sakralnego, o jego charakterze, który wskazuje na istnienie tożsamości kościoła.

17 Kulowski, Wróblewska, *Czynniki akustyki w architektonicznym projektowaniu kościołów*, 30–33.

18 Adam Rosiński, „Akustyka pomieszczeń sakralnych a zrozumiałość przekazu słownego”, w *Muzyka sakralna w europejskim przekazie kulturowym. Historia – kryteria – współczesność* (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Akademii Muzycznej w Gdańsku, 2012), 96–97.

19 Kulowski, *Akustyka sal*, 299.

20 Mieczysław Twarowski, *Metoda projektowania kościoła* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Archidiecezji Warszawskiej, 1985), 272.

Tożsamość to suma kultury i tradycji miejsca (zespołu czynników związanych z całokształtem historycznych nawarstwień materialnych i niematerialnych) oraz kanonu jego cech (zespołu czynników składających się na formę danego miejsca, decydujących o jego wyrazie i mających swoją aktualną lub źródłowo udokumentowaną postać percypowaną przez człowieka)²¹.

Dźwięk ukryty w detalach

Architektura może być traktowana jako swoista muzyka przestrzeni²². „Wszystko jest dźwiękiem i określoną wibracją. Ta wibracja z kolei nadaje kształt wszelkim formom. Ten sam ton dźwiękowy tworzy zawsze ten sam kształt tworzony przez tzw. fale stojące”²³. Formy geometryczne mogą być odzwierciedleniem dźwięku.

Dźwięk może wprawiać w ruch materię i formować ją w określone kształty²⁴. Dźwięk to fala mechaniczna, która przechodzi przez ośrodek materialny. Określone częstotliwości dźwiękowe mogą być zwizualizowane dzięki wykorzystaniu w praktyce wiedzy, którą dostarcza cymatyka, czyli nauki o falach dźwiękowych i ich oddziaływaniu na substancje fizyczne. Pod wpływem wibracji dźwiękowych z zagęszczającej się materii powstają wzory.

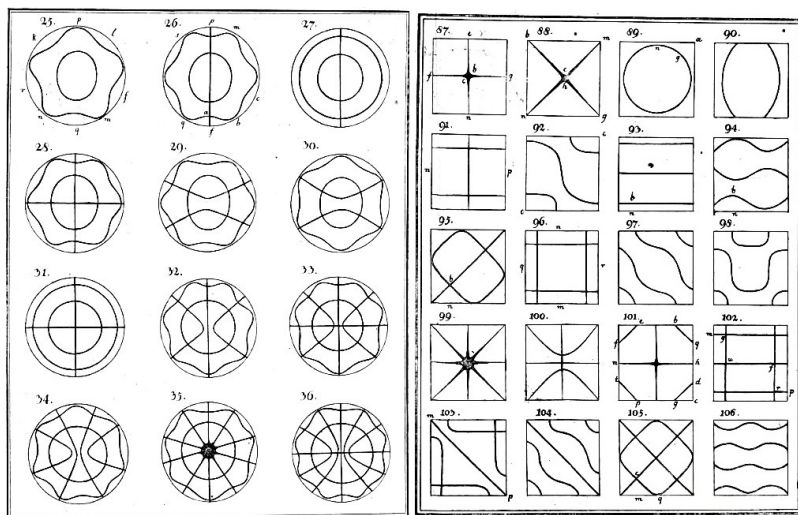
Pionierem badań cymatycznych był Chladni. Kiedy pocierał smyczkiem metalową płytę, na której był rozsypany piasek, odkrył, że piasek układa się w określone geometryczne wzory, znane dzisiaj jako figury Chladniego. Piasek gromadził się w węzłach fali stojącej, tworząc regularne figury. Te wzory są wizualną reprezentacją fali dźwiękowej przechodzącej przez metalową płytę. Chladni udowodnił, że dźwięk ma wpływ na materię.

21 Sowińska, „Kształtowanie tożsamości krajobrazów sakralnych”, 79.

22 Aleksandra Satkiewicz-Parczewska, „Autorska metoda transpozycji muzyki na architekturę”, *Przestrzeń i Forma* 20 (2013): 95–110.

23 *Cymatyka – coś więcej niż tylko muzyka*, <http://www.nutao.pl/cymatyka-cos-wiecej-niz-tylko-muzyka/> (dostęp: 03.11.2024).

24 Anna Telatycka, „Architektura teatru dźwiękiem malowana”, *Zeszyty Naukowe Politechniki Poznańskiej* 17 (2023): 437–453.



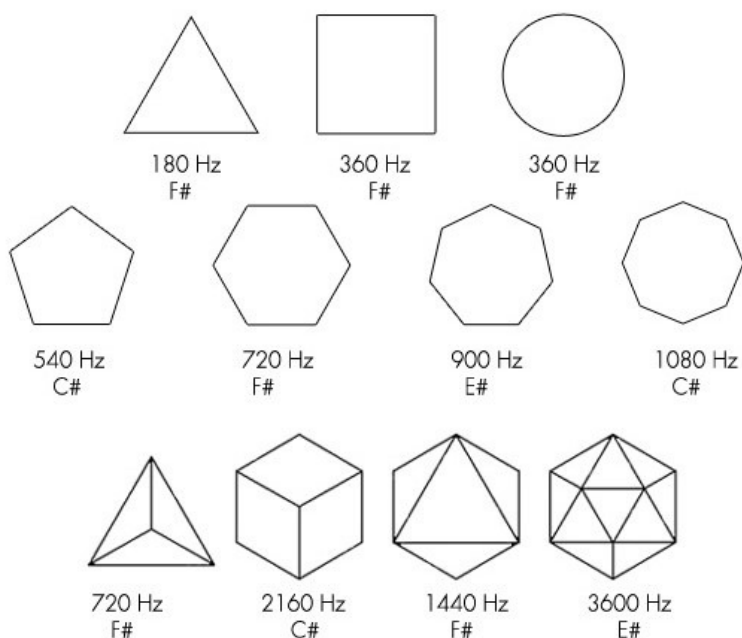
Rysunek 3. Przykłady figur Chladniego. Źródło: Ernst Florens Friedrich Chladni, *Entdeckungen über die Theorie des Klanges* (Leipzig: Weidmanns Erben und Reich, 1787).

Wielu naukowców zgłębiało temat cymatyki. Jednym z nich był Alexander Lauterwasser, który jako medium badał wodę. Podczas jego koncertów można było zobaczyć na żywo zmiany kształtu wody jako odpowiedź na pobudzenie muzyką²⁵. Badaniami wody zajmował się również Masaru Emoto, który udowodnił, że woda może magazynować informacje, a także je odzwierciedlać²⁶.

Obiekt, który zostaje pobudzony energią akustyczną, zostaje wprawiony w drgania. Każdy kształt ma swoją częstotliwość rezonansową. Wibracje kreują kształty, a kształty kreują wibracje.

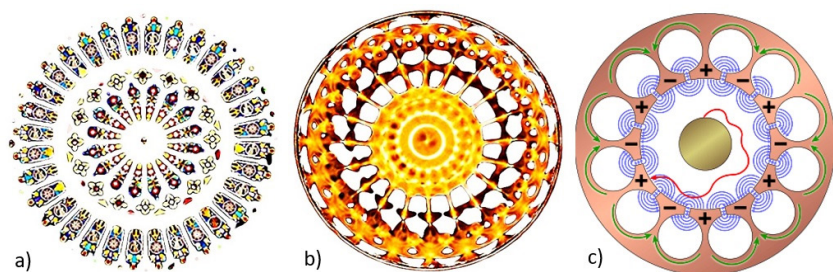
25 *Wasser Klang Bilder*, <http://www.wasserklangbilder.de/> (dostęp: 03.11.2024).

26 *Masaru Emoto i jego eksperymenty z wodą*, <http://www.nutao.pl/masaru-emoto-i-jego-eksperymenty-z-woda/> (dostęp: 03.11.2024).



Rysunek 4. Częstotliwości rezonansowe kształtów. Źródło: Robert Boerman, Water Sound Images: Is Sound Creating?, <https://watersoundimages.com/news/issoundcreating.htm> (dostęp: 03.11.2024).

Niektóre z cymatycznych kształtów są odpowiednikami detali architektonicznych. Jednym z nich jest kształt rozety. W świątyniach chrześcijańskich rozeta jest powszechnie występującym kształtem, który może mieć wiele znaczeń. Oprócz znaczenia symbolicznego, jako zmartwychwstałego Chrystusa, jest przede wszystkim oknem, które filtruje barwy światła wpadające do wnętrza świątyni, ale stanowi również moderator przestrzeni środowiska akustycznego wnętrza. Oddziaływanie akustyczne takiego kształtu można porównać do zasady działania magnetronu. Każdy element w tym kształcie może stanowić wnękę rezonansową. Po pobudzeniu tej formy falą akustyczną o częstotliwości równej częstotliwości rezonansowej tego kształtu może on wzmacniać określone dźwięki (rys. 5).



Rysunek 5. Porównanie kształtów: a) rozety, b) formy cymatycznej, c) magnetronu. Źródło: opracowanie własne.

W przestrzeniach sakralnych można odnaleźć więcej takich elementów architektonicznych, które mogą stanowić odwzorowanie formy cymatycznej dźwięku. XV-wieczna kaplica Rosslyn, znajdująca się na terenie Szkocji, jest chyba najbardziej nasyconą świątynią w takie właśnie elementy. Posiada ona wiele zdobień, na których są umieszczone różne motywy. We wnętrzu tej świątyni na sklepieniu znajduje się 213 niewielkich sześciątów (rys. 6.) z wzorami przypominającymi kształty cymatyczne.

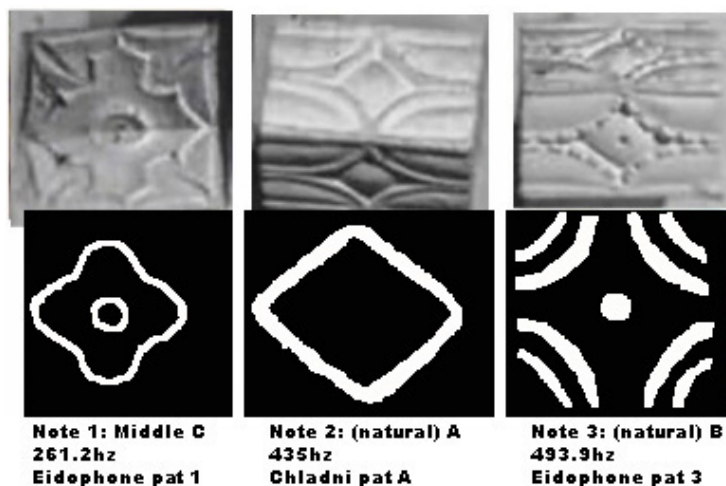


Rysunek 6. Widok sklepienia kaplicy Rosslyn. Źródło: *Rosslyn Chapel – Conservation*, <https://www.rosslynchapel.com/conservation/> (dostęp: 09.11.2024).

Thomas J. Mitchell i Stuart Mitchell (ojciec i syn – szkoccy muzycy) zdekodowali kostki świątyni Rosslyn²⁷. Odkryli oni, że wzory te są związane z nutami muzycznymi, które należy czytać w określonej kolejności

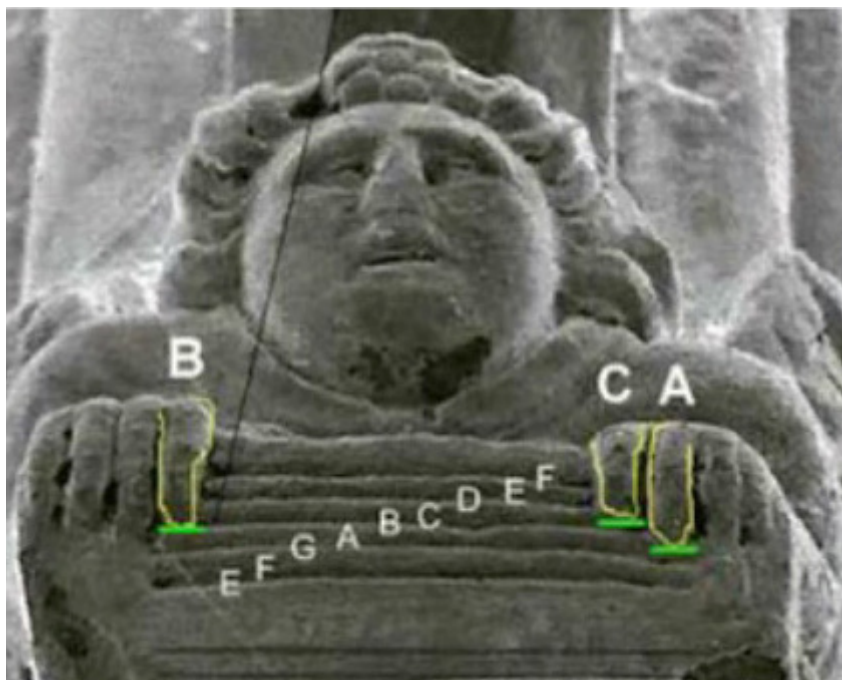
27 Thomas James Mitchell, Stuart Mitchell, *Rosslyn Chapel: The Music of the Cubes* (Edinburgh: Diversions Books, 2006).

(rys. 7). Budowniczy tej świątyni już wtedy mogli znać zasadę działania płyty Chladniego i celowo zakodować melodię w kostkach. Stuart (kompozytor) zaaranżował tę muzykę i nazwał ją *Rosslyn Motet*. Została ona zagrana na tradycyjnych średniowiecznych instrumentach w świątyni w 2006 roku.



Rysunek 7. Przykłady odwzorowania „muzycznych kostek” z Kaplicy Rosslyn za pomocą cymatycznych kształtów. Źródło: BS Historian: Rosslyn Chapel – Music of the Rubes, <https://bshistorian.wordpress.com/2007/05/28/rosslyn-chapel-music-of-the-rubes/> (dostęp: 09.11.2024).

W kaplicy znajduje się również anioł, który trzyma pięciolinię. Wskazuje on nuty, które dokładnie odpowiadają wzorom Chladniego pokazanym na pierwszych trzech sześciątach nad głową anioła i, co zadziwiająco, te trzy nuty stanowią „70 procent całej sekwencji sześciątów” (rys. 8).

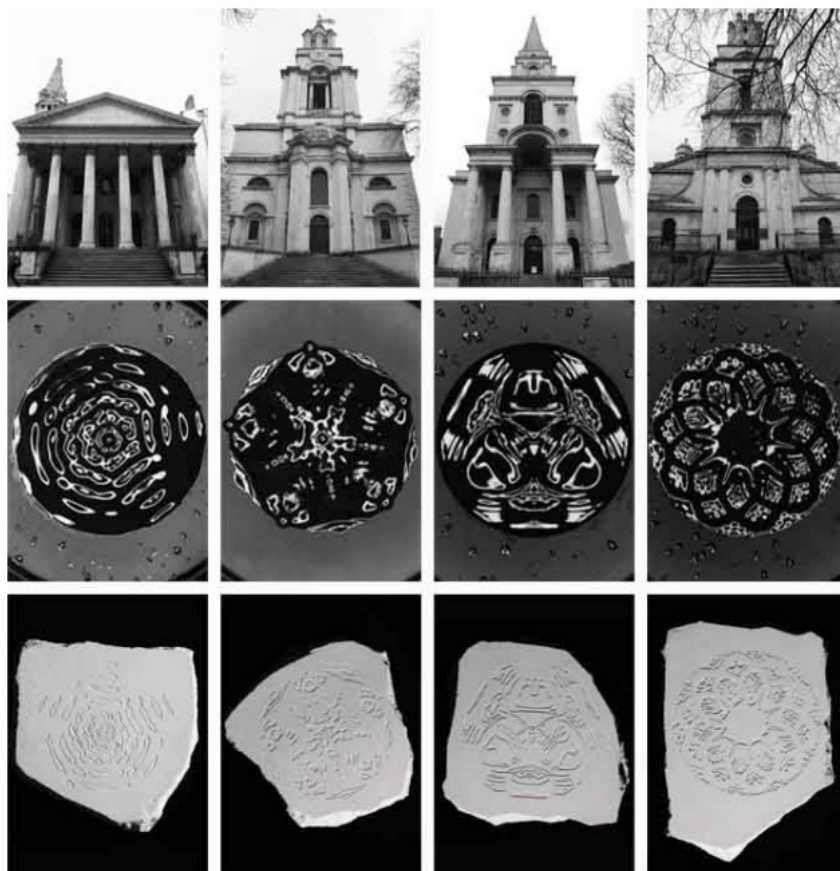


Rysunek 8. Anioł w kaplicy Rosslyn, wskazujący nuty na pięciolinii. Źródło: Jeff Nisbet, *Mythomorph: The Rosslyn Motet – Rosslyn Chapel’s Music Code*, <http://www.mythomorph.com/wp/the-rosslyn-motet-rosslyn-chapels-music-code/> (dostęp: 09.11.2024).

Ciekawego odkrycia dokonała również Tanya Harris, która badała związki dźwięku i geometrii sakralnej²⁸. Zbadała cztery kościoły zaprojektowane przez Nicholasa Hawksmoora i nagrała ich częstotliwość rezonansową. Częstotliwość rezonansowa przestrzeni to jej tendencja do wytwarzania oscylacji o pewnej częstotliwości przy wyższej amplitudzie lub głośności niż inne. Wszystko w kościele wibruje na różnych częstotliwościach. Na rezonans całego kościoła wpływają rozmaite czynniki, np. objętość, materiały, które ograniczają tę przestrzeń, a także ludzie, którzy znajdują się wewnątrz. Tanya Harris zaczynała od nagrania ciszy, które to następnie odtwarzała z powrotem w kościele, nagrywając je ponownie. Proces ten powtarzała wielokrotnie, aż rezonans przestrzeni stał się słyszalny. Następnie, umieszczając wodę w głośniku, wygenerowała wzory

28 Tanya Harris, *The Architecture of Sound. What Architecture Does Sound Orchestrate?*, <https://files.cargocollective.com/550970/TANYA-HARRIS-PROJECT-DESCRIPTION.pdf> (dostęp: 03.11.2024).

cymatyczne i wygrawerowała je w kamieniach (takich samych, jakich Hawksmoor użył do budowy tych budynków). Przekształciła ona płynną architekturę w zamrożoną muzykę. Efekty jej pracy są przedstawione na rysunku 9.



Rysunek 9. Wyniki badań Tanyi Harris. Przedstawienie graficzne częstotliwości rezonansowych kościołów: St. George w Bloomsbury, St. Anne's w Limehouse, Christchurch w Spitalfields, i St. George-in-the-East w Wapping. Źródło: Tanya Harris, *The Architecture of Sound. What Architecture Does Sound Orchestrate?*, <https://files.cargocollective.com/550970/TANYA-HARRIS-PROJECT-DESCRIPTION.pdf> (dostęp: 09.11.2024).

Hans Jenny, który również zajmował się zgłębianiem badań cymatycznych, w swej książce z 2001 roku opisał teorię sugerującą, że dźwięk jest pierwotną siłą, która generuje geometryczną esencję w formie²⁹.

29 Hans Jenny, *Cymatics: A Study of Wave Phenomena and Vibration* (Whitney: MACRO-media, 2001).

Odniesienie do tej teorii odnajdujemy również w Starym Testamencie. „Na początku było Słowo, a Słowo było u Boga, i Bogiem było Słowo”. Tak właśnie miało miejsce stworzenie – w pustej przestrzeni pojawił się dźwięk, a materia przybrała formę. Cymatyka ujawnia niezwykle zjawisko, jakim jest wrażliwość materii na dźwięk. Dźwięk wpływa na materię, która jest utrzymywana w formie przez vibracje. Forma to zaś organizacja energii przy określonej częstotliwości vibracji.

Podsumowanie

Źle zaprojektowana świątynia, która nie posiada dobrych warunków akustycznych, może być powodem zaburzonej istoty obrzędów religijnych. W takiej sytuacji bodźce akustyczne docierające do wiernych zostają błędnie rozpoznane, co prowadzi do zniekształcenia treści komunikatu. Nauczanie poprzez słowa może nie zostać zrealizowane. Projektant nie powinien opierać się wyłącznie na wizualnym kształcie budynku, ale również na jakości dźwięku w jego wnętrzu. Akustyka wnętrza sakralnego jest szczególnie ważna. Stanowi ona nośnik informacji. Zapewnienie dobrych warunków akustycznych wnętrza gwarantuje dobrą zrozumiałość mowy oraz walory muzyczne wyeksponowane podczas liturgii. To właśnie akustyka jest w stanie zapewnić niepowtarzalny klimat, który przybliży do priorytetowej funkcji kościoła, jaką jest nauczanie i słuchanie słowa Bożego.

Dźwięk jest wibracją cząsteczek w dowolnym ośrodku. Jest siłą twórczą, utrzymującą świat w formie. Każdy obiekt fizyczny może być generatorem lub wzmacniaczem drgań akustycznych. Drgania te można odwzorować przy pomocy cymatyki.

W architekturze sakralnej od dawna stosuje się detale architektoniczne, które są odwzorowaniem wzorów cymatycznych. Kształty architektoniczne mogą być więc „zamrożonym” fragmentem muzycznym. XVIII-wieczny pisarz Johann Wolfgang von Goethe nazwał architekturę zamrożoną muzyką. A jeśli architektura to zamrożona muzyka, to możemy powiedzieć, że muzyka to płynna architektura. Można też powiedzieć, że architektura jest rezonującym dziełem sztuki.

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Rola kobiety w społeczeństwie i Kościele katolickim w wypowiedziach medialnych, dokumentach i decyzjach personalnych papieża Franciszka

**The Role of Women in Society and the Catholic
Church in Pope Francis' Media Statements,
Documents, and Ecclesiastical Appointments**

Abstrakt

Celem artykułu będzie pokazanie roli kobiety w społeczeństwie, w instytucjach kościelnych i w posługiwaniu duszpasterskim w ujęciu papieża Franciszka. Problem badawczy tkwi w pytaniach: czy papież kontynuował w tym względzie podejście swoich poprzedników, czy też je zmienił? Czy był nowatorski, czy zachowawczy w pojmowaniu roli kobiety? Czy powierzał kobietom funkcje podporządkowane mężczyznom, czy też decyzyjne? Materiałem badawczym były wybrane medialne wypowiedzi papieża oraz fragmenty jego dokumentów, a także teksty innych papieży (będące punktem odniesienia). Za metodę badawczą posłużyła analiza treści. W pierwszej części tekstu będzie pokazane, jak postrzegali rolę kobiety wcześniejsi papieże, w drugiej zostanie omówiona rola kobiet w społeczeństwie

w ujęciu papieża Franciszka, w trzeciej – ich pozycja w instytucjach kościelnych, w czwartej zaś w posługiwaniu duszpasterskim.

Słowa kluczowe: papież Franciszek, kobieta, wypowiedzi medialne, stanowiska kościelne, nowy feminizm.

Abstract

The aim of this article is to show the role of women in society, in Church institutions, and in pastoral ministry as seen by Pope Francis. The research questions are: did Pope Francis continue the approach of his predecessors in this regard, or did he change it? Was he innovative or conservative in his understanding of the role of women? Did he entrust women with functions subordinate to men or with decision-making functions? The research material consists of selected media statements by the Pope and excerpts from his documents, as well as those of other popes (as a point of reference). Content analysis was used as the research method. The first part of the text will show how previous popes perceived the role of women, the second will discuss the role of women in society as seen by Pope Francis, the third will discuss their position in Church institutions, and the fourth will discuss their role in pastoral ministry.

Keywords: Pope Francis, women, media statements, church positions, new feminism.

Kobieta w nauczaniu poprzedników papieża Franciszka

Postrzeganie roli kobiety w społeczeństwie i w Kościele przez papieży ewoluje i jest odzwierciedleniem zmian w tym zakresie zachodzących w szerszym kontekście. W wielu aspektach jest ono zbieżne z tendencjami czasów, w jakich przyszło poszczególnym papieżom żyć¹.

Leon XIII, którego pontyfikat przypadał na przełom XIX i XX w., w encyklice *Rerum novarum* pisał na przykład, że „natura przeznacza kobiety do życia rodzinnego”.

Pius XI w encyklice o małżeństwie chrześcijańskim *Casti connubii* z 1930 r. stwierdził, że emancypacja jest

1 O ewolucji roli kobiety w Kościele w czasie pontyfikatów kolejnych papieży m.in. w: Monika Kulesza, „Klasztory żeńskie jako enklawy kobiecej niezależności: Marcelina Darowska i Józefa Karska – emancypantki w zakonnych sukienkach”, *Perspektywy Kultury* 47/4 (2024): 247–268.

wypaczeniem kobiecego charakteru i macierzyńskiej godności oraz zburzeniem całej rodziny. Przez nią traci mąż żonę, dzieci matkę, dom i rodziną całą czujnego zawsze stróża. Doprawdy fałszywe to wyzwolenie i nienaturalne zrównanie z mężem jest raczej zgubą niewiasty².

Mocno podkreślał konieczność podporządkowania żony mężowi.

Takie stanowisko wyrażał też w serii katechez o małżeństwie jego następca, Pius XII. Trzeba jednak zauważyć, że papież ten dokonał pewnego otwarcia w Kościele na kobiety, stwierdził bowiem w 1955 r., że mogą być one członkiniami chórów mieszanych, co zostało uznane za „czynność prawdziwie liturgiczną”.

Pontyfikaty II połowy XX w. przyniosły znaczące zmiany w rozumieniu pozycji kobiety w świecie. Jan XXIII uznał ruch kobiecy za „znak czasu”, a w encyklice *Pacem in terris* z 1963 r. napisał:

udział kobiet w życiu publicznym jest już faktem dokonanym i oczywistym (...). Ponieważ kobiety są z każdym dniem bardziej świadome swej godności ludzkiej, nie zgadzają się na traktowanie ich jako istot bezdusznych czy też jakichś narzędzi, lecz domagają się praw i obowiązków godnych ich ludzkiej osobowości, tak w życiu domowym, jak i publicznym³.

Papież uznał, że ten udział kobiet w życiu publicznym charakteryzuje czasy, w których żyje, i że „upowszechnia się on może szybciej wśród narodów wyznających wiarę chrześcijańską, a wolniej, chociaż też powszechnie, w narodach będących spadkobiercami innych tradycji i cywilizacji”⁴. Rozpoczęty przez Jana XXIII Sobór Watykański również zwrócił uwagę na pozycję kobiet, a także na ich dyskryminację, uznając, że narusza ona podstawowe prawa człowieka i jest sprzeczna z planem Bożym.

Kolejny papież, Paweł VI, w adhortacji *Marialis cultus* (1974) ocenia jako słuszną zmianę statusu kobiety:

prawa i postęp obyczajów słusznie przyznają jej [kobiecie] równość z mężem i władzę w kreowaniu życiem rodzinnym; czy w dziedzinie politycznej, w której w wielu krajach zyskała możliwość włączania się w sprawy publiczne tak samo jak mężczyźni; czy w dziedzinie społecznej, gdzie rozwija ona swoją działalność na różnych stanowiskach, z każdym dniem coraz bardziej wychodząc poza wąską wspólnotę rodzinną; czy

2 Pius XI, *Casti Connubii*, https://opoka.org.pl/biblioteka/W/WP/pius_xi/encykliki/casti_connubi_31121930.html (dostęp: 12.09.2025).

3 Jan XXIII, *Pacem in terris*, 41, https://opoka.org.pl/biblioteka/W/WP/jan_xxiii/encykliki/pacem_in_terr_11041963.html (dostęp: 12.09.2025).

4 *Ibidem*.

w dziedzinie nauki, gdzie daje się jej nowe możliwości badania naukowego i sukcesu intelektualnego⁵.

Jako pierwszy dopuścił też kobiety do obrad soboru⁶ i nadał tytuł „doktora Kościoła” dwóm kobietom: św. Katarzynie ze Sieny i św. Teresie z Ávili.

Jan Paweł II, papież przełomu wieku XX i XXI, w encyklice *Evangelium vitae* (1995 r.) zachęca do promowania „nowego feminizmu”⁷. W punkcie 99. tej encykliki napisał:

W dziele kształtowania nowej kultury sprzyjającej życiu, kobiety mają do odegrania rolę wyjątkową, a może i decydującą, w sferze myśli i działania: mają stawać się promotorkami „nowego feminizmu”, który nie ulega pokusie naśladowania modeli „maskulinizmu”, ale umie rozpoznać i wyrazić autentyczny geniusz kobiecy we wszystkich przejawach życia społecznego, działając na rzecz przezwyciężania wszelkich form dyskryminacji, przemocy i wyzysku⁸.

Co więcej, jako pierwszy papież poświęcił kobietom osobny list apostolski *Mulieris dignitatem* (1988). Listem tym zmienił nastawienie doktryny katolickiej odnoszącej się do kobiet. Był zdania, że rola kobiety w Kościele powinna być większa aniżeli ta jej przypisywana. Nie znaczy to jednak, że widział jakąkolwiek możliwość dopuszczenia kobiet do sakramentu święceń. W liście apostolskim *Ordinatio sacerdotalis* z 1994 r. napisał jednoznacznie: „Kościół nie ma żadnej władzy udzielania święceń

5 Paweł VI, *Marialis cultus*, 34, https://kosciol.wiara.pl/doc/490260.Marialis-cultus#goog_rewarded (dostęp: 12.09.2025).

6 W dwóch ostatnich z czterech soborowych sesji uczestniczyły 23 kobiety z 14 krajów, nie miały one jednak prawa głosu, por. Joanna Petry-Mroczkowska, *Feminizm – anty-feminizm. Kobieta w Kościele* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo WAM, 2012), 76–90. Na temat soborowych i posoborowych ustaleń dotyczących roli kobiet w Kościele por. Małgorzata Chrzastowska, *Powołanie i odpowiedzialność. Uczestnictwo kobiet w pastoralnej posłudze Kościoła* (Poznań: Uniwersytet im. Adama Mickiewicza w Poznaniu, 2014).

7 Więcej na temat nauczania Jana Pawła II o kobietach w kontekście teologii feministycznej w: Elżbieta Adamiak, „Nauczanie Jana Pawła II o kobietach w kontekście teologii feministycznej”, w *Kobieta w Kościele i w społeczeństwie*, red. Andrzej Pastwa (Katowice: Księgarnia św. Jacka, 2014), 29–38; por. też: Zofia Zdybicka, „Prawdziwy i fałszywy feminizm”, w *Kobieta w Kościele i w społeczeństwie*, red. Ignacy Dec (Wrocław: Papieski Wydział Teologiczny we Wrocławiu, 2004), 108–117. Treści głoszone przez przedstawicielki „nowego feminizmu” przedstawia tekst Anety Gawkowskiej, „Nowy feminizm jako odpowiedź na nowożytny kryzys wspólnotowości”, w *Kobieta w Kościele i w społeczeństwie*, red. Andrzej Pastwa (Katowice: Księgarnia św. Jacka, 2014), 15–28.

8 Jan Paweł II, *Evangelium vitae*, 99, https://www.vatican.va/content/john-paul-ii/pl/encyclicals/documents/hf_jp-ii_enc_25031995_evangelium-vitae.html (dostęp: 12.09.2025).

kapłańskich kobietom (...) orzeczenie to powinno być przez wszystkich wiernych Kościoła uznane za ostateczne”⁹.

O tym, że kobiety mogą odgrywać coraz większą rolę w społeczeństwie i Kościele, nauczał również papież Benedykt XVI. Jednocześnie zaznaczał też wagę tradycyjnie pojmowanej roli kobiety. W Angoli w 2009 r. powiedział, że

kobiety mają, na podstawie swej równej godności z mężczyznami, pełne prawo do czynnego udziału we wszystkich dziedzinach życia publicznego i to ich prawo domaga się potwierdzenia i ochrony także przy pomocy środków prawnych, tam gdzie jest to konieczne. Uznanie roli kobiet w sferze publicznej nie powinno jednak podważać ich niezastąpionej roli w łonie rodziny: tutaj ich wkład w społeczne dobro i postęp, choć mało dostrzegany, ma wartość naprawdę nieocenioną¹⁰.

Nakreślony powyżej kontekst stanowi tło do dalszych rozważań poświęconych roli, jaką kobiecie przypisał papież Franciszek.

Kobieta w społeczeństwie

Papież Franciszek wiele razy dawał wyraz swoim poglądom dotyczącym roli kobiety w społeczeństwie. Jego wypowiedzi na ten temat dość szybko zdobywały rozgłos medialny. W bardzo charakterystyczny wyraził swoją opinię na ten temat na przykład w czasie pielgrzymki do Belgii i Holandii we wrześniu 2024 r. Podczas spotkania z młodymi ludźmi na uniwersytecie katolickim we flamandzkim mieście Louvain-la-Neuve powiedział m.in.:

Dlatego musimy na nowo odkryć punkt wyjścia: kim jest kobieta i kim jest Kościół. Kościół jest kobietą – *la Chiesa*, jest oblubienicą. Kościół jest Ludem Bożym, a nie koncertem międzynarodowym. Kobieta w Ludzie Bożym jest córką, siostrą, matką¹¹.

9 Jan Paweł II, *Ordinatio sacerdotalis*, https://opoka.org.pl/biblioteka/W/WP/jan_pawel_ii/listy/ordinatio_sacerdotalis.html (dostęp: 12.09.2025).

10 Benedykt XVI, *Przemówienie Benedykta XVI do kobiet Angoli 22 marca 2009*, <https://www.ekai.pl/dokumenty/przemowienie-benedykta-xvi-do-kobiet-angoli-22-marca-2009> (dostęp: 10.09.2025).

11 Franciszek, *Przemówienie do studentów*, 28.09.2024, <https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/pl/speeches/2024/september/documents/20240928-belgio-studenti-universitari.html> (dostęp: 12.10.2025).

Zdefiniował też wówczas kobiecość jako „płodne przyjęcie, troskę, życiodajne poświęcenie”¹². Słowa te, nagłośnione i komentowane przez media, spotkały się z powszechną krytyką. Zarzucano Franciszkowi myślenie stereotypami, ograniczanie roli kobiety do bycia matką, rodzenia dzieci itp.

Określenia, którymi posłużył się tu papież, można jednak odczytywać nie dosłownie, ale przenośnie, w kontekście jego innych wypowiedzi na temat kobiet. Widać w nich, że metafora matki jest mu bliska, co badacze wiążą z silnymi odniesieniami do macierzyństwa w kulturze latynoskiej, kształtującej przyszłego papieża¹³. W 2014 r. duże kontrowersje wywołało porównanie przez Franciszka Europy do osłabionej wiekiem babci, która nie jest już płodna i pełna życia¹⁴. W przemówieniu do zakonnic papież powiedział też kiedyś, że mają być „matkami”, a nie „starymi pannami”, ślub czystości również ma być „płodny” (papież wspomniał w tym kontekście o „macierzyństwie życia konsekrowanego”)¹⁵. Pytany o to, jak przywrócić jedność Europy, Franciszek odpowiedział:

Nie powinniśmy tu zapominać o roli kobiet w Europie. Kobiety mają tę macierzyńską zdolność łączenia. Dzieci kłócą się ze sobą, ale matka wprowadza jedność. Sądzę, że Europie potrzeba więcej odważnych kobiet. One istnieją. Ale potrzeba nam ich więcej, bo one mogą dokonać tego dzieła zjednoczenia i pojednania między narodami, dialogu pomiędzy nimi¹⁶.

W podobnym duchu przywołał też kiedyś papież fragment swojej rozmowy z przewodniczącą Komisji Europejskiej Ursulą von der Leyen. Na pytanie: „Ale jak radzi sobie pani z tego rodzaju problemami?”, odparła: „W ten sam sposób, w jaki robią to wszystkie matki”. Jej odpowiedź dała papieżowi, jak sam to określił, dużo do myślenia¹⁷.

12 *Ibidem*.

13 Franciszek Kampka, „Franciszek i feminizm – inność i paralele”, *Dyskursy Młodych Andragogów* 22 (2021): 315–326.

14 Franciszek, *Przemówienie w Parlamencie Europejskim 25 listopada 2014 r.*, https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/pl/speeches/2014/november/documents/papa-francesco_20141125_strasburgo-parlamento-europeo.html (dostęp: 14.10.2025).

15 Franciszek, *Przemówienie do Unii Żeńskich Przełożonych Generalnych*, <https://www.zyciezakonne.pl/wiadomosci/swiat/papiez-franciszek-o-programie-odnowy-zenskiego-zycia-zakonnego-29730> (dostęp: 12.10.2025).

16 Papież Franciszek, Dominique Wolton, *Otwieranie drzwi. Rozmowy o Kościele i świecie*, przeł. Marek Chojnacki (Kraków: Wydawnictwo WAM, 2018), 140.

17 *Von der Leyen wpłynęła na papieża. Franciszek sam to przyznał*, 8.10.2024, <https://www.wprost.pl/religia/11827713/von-der-leyen-miala-duzy-wplyw-na-papieza-franciszka-dala-mi-wiele-do-myslenia.html> (dostęp: 12.10.2025).

Z wypowiedzi tych wynika, że dla Franciszka macierzyństwo było podstawowym wyróżnikiem kobiecości, ale nie postrzegał go tylko jako rodzenia i wychowywania dzieci. Każda kobieta jest potencjalnie matką i tego potencjału może użyć do realizacji różnych zadań społecznych, do rozwiązywania konfliktów, budowania jedności, podejmowania trudnych decyzji, do dawania nowego życia ideom, pomysłom, zmianom¹⁸. Metaforyczne odczytanie zatem wydźwięk wypowiedzi papieża w Belgii z tradycyjnej na postępową, nieograniczającą kobiet do zajmowania się domem i rodzenia dzieci. Choć terminologia przez niego wykorzystywana może budzić wątpliwości, to jednak przesłanie przytoczonych wypowiedzi nie stoi w sprzeczności z dążeniami kobiet do coraz większej emancypacji i uznania ich prawa do pełnienia funkcji społecznie równych tym, które powierzane są mężczyznom.

Kobieta w instytucjach kościelnych

Pontyfikat Franciszka to czas, kiedy nastąpiły istotne zmiany w obsadzeniu ważnych funkcji watykańskich. Konsekwencją dostrzeżenia przez papieża ważnej roli kobiety w społeczeństwie (o czym pisał m.in. w swojej pierwszej adhortacji apostolskiej *Evangelii gaudium* z 2013 r.¹⁹) było bowiem powierzanie im coraz bardziej odpowiedzialnych stanowisk.

18 W przedmowie do książki *Więcej kobiecego przywództwa dla lepszego świata: troska jako motor zmian w naszym wspólnym domu* papież podkreślił m.in., że z byciem matką wiąże się patrzenie w stronę przyszłości: „Myśl kobieca jest [bowiem] inna od męskiej; są bardziej wrażliwe na środowisko, a ich spojrzenie nie kieruje się na przeszłość, lecz ku przyszłości. Kobiety wiedzą, że rodzą w bólu, aby osiągnąć wielką radość: aby dać życie i otworzyć szerokie nowe horyzonty”, Krzysztof Dudek, *Papież: Bez kobiet nie da się zmierzać do lepszego świata*, 8.03.2023, <https://www.vaticannews.va/pl/papiez/news/2023-03/papiez-bez-kobiet-nie-da-sie-zmierzac-do-lepszego-swiata.html> (dostęp: 12.10.2025).

19 „Kościół uznaje nieodzowny wkład kobiety w społeczeństwie, z wrażliwością, intuicją i pewnymi szczególnymi zdolnościami, które zwykle są bardziej właściwe kobietom niż mężczyznom. Na przykład specjalna uwaga kobiet zwrócona na drugich, wyrażająca się szczególnie, chociaż nie wyłącznie, w macierzyństwie. Dostrzegam z przyjemnością, jak wiele kobiet podziela odpowiedzialność duszpasterską razem z kapłanami, wnosząc swój wkład w towarzyszenie osobom, rodzinom lub grupom i ofiarując nowy wkład w refleksję teologiczną. Ale potrzeba jeszcze poszerzyć przestrzeń dla bardziej znaczącej obecności kobiecej w Kościele. Ponieważ «kobiece cechy są niezbędne we wszystkich przejawach życia społecznego, dlatego też obecność kobiet również w obszarze pracy powinna być zagwarantowana» w różnych miejscach, gdzie podejmowane są ważne decyzje, zarówno w Kościele, jak i w strukturach społecznych”, Franciszek, *Adhortacja apostolska Evangelii gaudium*, https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/pl/apost_exhortations/documents/papa-francesco_esortazione-ap_20131124_evangelii-gaudium.html (dostęp: 12.09.2025).

Efektom reformy papieża było to, że na stanowiskach wcześniej zarezerwowanych jedynie dla kardynałów i arcybiskupów znalazło się ponad 20 kobiet.

Dwie kobiety w Watykanie zostały dyrektorkami (Barbara Jatta²⁰ Muzeów Watykańskich i Nataša Govekar w Dykasterii Komunikacji), a jedna – wicedyrektorką (Cristiane Murray w Sala Stampa Stolicy Apostolskiej).

Trzy kobiety pełniły funkcję sekretarzy najwyższych rangą instytucji (s. Alessandra Smerilli, salezjanka, w Dykasterii ds. Służby Integralnemu Rozwojowi Człowieka, s. Simona Brambilla w Dykasterii ds. Instytutów Życia Konsekwowanego i Stowarzyszeń Życia Apostolskiego i s. Raffaella Petrini w Gubernatoracie Państwa Watykańskiego). Siostra Simona Brambilla 6 stycznia 2025 r. została prefektem ds. Instytutów Życia Konsekwowanego i Stowarzyszeń Życia Apostolskiego. Była to pierwsza nominacja kobiety na najwyższe stanowisko dykasterii Kurii Rzymskiej. Franciszka siostra Raffaella Petrini z kolei w lutym 2025 roku została mianowana przewodniczącą Gubernatoratu Państwa Watykańskiego, obejmując tym samym najwyższe stanowisko w watykańskiej administracji wykonawczej²¹.

Kolejnych pięć kobiet było podsekretarzami tych instytucji (Linda Ghisoni i Gabriella Gambino w Dykasterii Świeckich, Rodziny i Życia, Antonella Sciarrone Alibrandi w Dykasterii Kultury i Edukacji, s. Carmen Ros Nortes w Dykasterii ds. Instytutów Życia Konsekwowanego i Stowarzyszeń Życia Apostolskiego i s. Nathalie Becquart w Sekretariacie Generalnym Synodu). Ta ostatnia to absolwentka paryskiej szkoły biznesu i marketingu (HEC) oraz teologii (Boston College). Dwa razy została zaliczona przez magazyn „Forbes” do grupy 50 najbardziej wpływowych kobiet na świecie.

Do grona kobiet zajmujących ważne stanowiska za pontyfikatu papieża Franciszka w Watykanie trzeba też zaliczyć prawniczki, które zostały sekretarzami papieskich komisji – s. Núria Calduch-Benages w Komisji Biblijnej i Emilce Cuda w Komisji ds. Ameryki Łacińskiej. Cuda w 2021 r. została szefem biura w Papieskiej Komisji ds. Ameryki Łacińskiej

20 Nominacja Barbary Jatty, muzykolog i historyka sztuki, w 2017 r. na dyrektora Muzeów Watykańskich była było pierwszą taką nominacją dla kobiety w historii tej instytucji.

21 Dorota Abdelmoula-Viet, *Po raz pierwszy kobieta na czele watykańskiej dykasterii*, 6.01.2025, <https://www.vaticannews.va/pl/watykan/news/2025-01/po-raz-pierwszy-kobieta-na-czele-watykanskiej-dykasterii.html> (dostęp: 12.10.2025).

i zarazem jest pierwszą kobietą, która na Papieskim Uniwersytecie Katolickim Argentyny uzyskała doktorat z teologii moralnej²².

W skład papieskiej rady ekonomicznej wchodziło ośmiu kardynałów i siedem osób świeckich, z czego sześć to kobiety. Trzy kobiety od 2022 r. były członkiniami Dykasterii ds. Biskupów (s. Raffaella Petrini, s. Yvonne Reungoat i María Lía Zervino) i miały wpływ – po raz pierwszy w historii – na episkopalne nominacje. Podczas wspomnianej pielgrzymki do Belgii i Holandii papież Franciszek powiedział o nich: „Odkąd są tam, aby wybierać kandydatów, sprawy mają się znacznie lepiej: są ostre w swoich osądach”. Kolejne trzy kobiety zostały konsultorkami Dykasterii Nauki Wiary, a dwie – Dykasterii ds. Kultu Bożego.

Spośród wymienionych wyżej kobiet dziewięć posiada stopień naukowy doktora (ekonomii, prawa cywilnego, psychologii, bioetyki, biblistyki, teologii, socjologii, w tym dwie także tytuł profesora), jedna jest absolwentką studiów MBA (i doktorem *honoris causa* dwóch uczelni), pozostałe mają stopień magistra dwóch lub trzech fakultetów. Ich wykształcenie i kompetencje są niejednokrotnie wyższe niż większości mężczyzn (księży, biskupów czy nawet kardynałów) zajmujących podobne stanowiska (regulamin kurii wymaga od pracowników trzech najwyższych poziomów jedynie ukończenia studiów magisterskich i specjalistycznych podyplomowych).

Analiza nazw stanowisk zajmowanych przez kobiety pokazuje, że są one zróżnicowane. Nie dominują tu stanowiska kierownicze (dyrektor i wicedyrektor jest stosunkowo mało), ale powierzane im funkcje sekretarzy i podsekretarzy w wymienionych instytucjach też wiążą się z wysokim prestiżem społecznym. Są także inne role powierzane kobietom w Watykanie – w 2019 r. na 4618 pracowników Watykanu 1016 stanowiły kobiety (22 proc.). Jest to wzrost o 24 procent w porównaniu z pontyfikatem Benedykta XVI. W 2010 r., za pontyfikatu Benedykta XVI, w Watykanie pracowało dla papieża 4053 osób, wśród nich 697 (17 proc.) kobiet²³.

Dowartościowanie kobiet w instytucjach kościelnych przez papieża Franciszka jest widoczne również na szczeblu parafialnym. Zgodnie z jego decyzją kobiety, jeśli wymaga tego sytuacja, mogą pełnić funkcję koordynatorek czy też administratorek parafii, zarządzać nimi w sprawach ekonomicznych.

22 *Watykańska nominacja dla „kobiety, która umie czytać papieża Franciszka”*, 18.02.2022, <https://www.ekai.pl/watykanskie-nominacje-dla-kobiety-ktora-umie-czytac-papieza-franciszka> (dostęp: 8.09.2025).

23 *Kobiety w Watykanie – jest ich coraz więcej*, 8.03.2024, <https://www.ekai.pl/kobiety-w-watykanie> (dostęp: 21.09.2024).

Kobieta w posługiwaniu duszpasterskim

Papież Franciszek dopuścił kobiety do posługi duszpasterskiej akolity i lektora w 2021 r.²⁴ Wymagało to zmiany dyscypliny Kościoła względem urzędów niższych i stanowiło pod wieloma względami kontynuację przemian zachodzących w sposób szczególny w drugiej połowie XX w. i na początku XXI w. Doktryna kościelna odnosząca się do misji laikatu w Kościele została przez Franciszka pogłębiona. Wpływ na to miał Synod Amazoński odbywający się między 6 a 27 października 2019 r. Wzmiankowano na nim o udostępnieniu kobietom posług niższych, co prawdopodobnie stało u podstaw decyzji papieża Franciszka, który to pragnienie rozszerzył na cały Kościół. Uznał tym samym, że zwyczaj udzielania posług wyłącznie mężczyznom wcześniej obowiązujący nie jest wiążący²⁵. Jego decyzja odbierana jest jako nobilitacja kobiet i ich promocja w Kościele. Uznaje się, że w kontekście teologicznym nie była to korekta drobna, ale dość znacząca²⁶.

Papież Franciszek wyraził również zgodę na to, aby kobieta w sytuacjach nadzwyczajnych mogła asystować przy zawarciu małżeństwa sakramentalnego jako świadek urzędowy za zgodą biskupa miejsca. Wcześniej oprócz księży mogli tę funkcję pełnić tylko świeccy mężczyźni, papież okazał się zatem inkluzywny w stosunku do kobiet i w tym zakresie.

Wciąż jednak mowa tu o posługach – i to niższych. Tam, gdzie pojawia się temat święceń, czyli przy diakonacie i kapłaństwie, Franciszek za swoimi poprzednikami powtarzał konsekwentnie „nie”. Kiedy w 2015 r. papież wracał z USA, podczas konferencji prasowej jeden z dziennikarzy, Sagrario Ruiz, zapytał wprost: „Czy zobaczymy kiedyś kobiety kapłanów w Kościele katolickim, zgodnie z postulatami niektórych grup w Stanach Zjednoczonych i jak to ma miejsce w innych kościołach chrześcijańskich?”. Odpowiedź Franciszka była jednoznaczna: „Tego nie można

24 Franciszek, *List apostolski Spiritus Domini*, https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/pl/motu_proprio/documents/papa-francesco-motu-proprio-20210110_spiritus-domini.html

25 „Również ugruntowana praktyka w Kościele łacińskim istotnie potwierdziła, że takie świeckie posługi, opierając się na sakramencie chrztu, mogą być powierzane wszystkim zdatnym wiernym, zarówno mężczyznom jak i kobietom, zgodnie z tym, co zostało już domyślnie przewidziane w kanonie 230 § 2”, Franciszek, *List apostolski Spiritus Domini*, https://www.vatican.va/content/francesco/pl/motu_proprio/documents/papa-francesco-motu-proprio-20210110_spiritus-domini.html (dostęp: 21.09.2025).

26 Dawid Makowski, *Wokół „Spiritus Domini” papieża Franciszka – geneza dopuszczenia kobiet do posług stałych*, 2.05.2024, <https://zpasjidoliturгии.pl/wokol-spiritus-domini-papieza-franciszka-geneza-dopuszczenia-kobiet-do-poslug-stalych> (dostęp: 8.09.2025).

zrobić²⁷. Wyraźnie powiedział to również podczas lotu z Malmö do Rzymu w 2016 r. Rozmawiał wówczas ok. 40 minut z dziennikarzami i odpowiadał na pytania dotyczące różnych spraw: polityki migracyjnej, odnowy charyzmatycznej, sekularyzacji w Europie czy właśnie święceń kobiet. Odnosząc się do tego ostatniego wątku, wyjaśniał swoje stanowisko w następujący sposób:

Co do święcenia kobiet w Kościele katolickim, ostatnie słowo jasno wypowiedział Jan Paweł II i jest ono trwałe... Ale kobiety mogą robić wiele rzeczy lepiej niż mężczyźni. Dotyczy to także dziedziny dogmatycznej – by wyjaśnić, nie ograniczając się jedynie do odwołania się do dokumentu. W eklezjologii katolickiej istnieją dwa wymiary: Piotrowy, to znaczy apostołski – Piotr i kolegium apostołskie, czyli duszpasterstwo biskupów – oraz Maryjny, to znaczy kobiecy wymiar Kościoła. I to już powiedziałem kilkakrotnie. Zastanawiam się, kto jest ważniejszy w teologii i mistyce Kościoła: apostołowie czy Maryja w dniu Pięćdziesiątnicy? Maryja! Co więcej: Kościół jest kobietą. Po włosku i w wielu innych językach jest to wyraz rodzaju żeńskiego, a nie męskiego. A Kościół jest oblubienicą Jezusa Chrystusa. To tajemnica oblubieńcza. I w świetle tej tajemnicy można zrozumieć przyczynę tych dwóch wymiarów: Piotrowego, to znaczy episkopalnego, oraz Maryjnego, ze wszystkim, co jest w Kościele macierzyńskie, ale w głębszym sensie. Nie ma Kościoła bez tego wymiaru kobiecego, ponieważ on sam jest rodzaju żeńskiego²⁸.

Widać wyraźnie, że papież konsekwentnie podtrzymywał swoje zdania. Powtarzał, że Kościół jest kobietą, ale w tym Kościele ze względów teologicznych i pragmatycznych kobieta nie może być wyświęcona na diakona czy kapłana. Mocno trzymał się tutaj linii zakreślonej między innymi przez Jana Pawła II.

Wnioski

Rola, jaką przypisał kobietom papież Franciszek, dla wielu okazała się rozczarowaniem. Zwolennicy nurtu progresywizmu w Kościele oczekiwali, że Franciszek okaże się w tym względzie bardziej postępowy od swoich poprzedników. Spodziewali się przede wszystkim, że zrobi

27 Czy Franciszek dąży do kapłaństwa kobiet, 2.05.2023, <https://catolico.stacja7.pl/czy-franciszek-dazy-do-kaplanstwa-kobiet> (dostęp: 12.09.2024).

28 Franciszek, *Rozmowa z dziennikarzami podczas lotu z Malmö do Rzymu*, <https://deon.pl/kosciol/serwis-papieski/franciszek-kosciol-nigdy-nie-zgodzi-sie-na-swiecenie-kobiet,414650> (dostęp: 12.11.2024).

zdecydowany krok w stronę kapłaństwa kobiet, tak się jednak nie stało. Uznają więc, że był pod tym względem tak samo tradycyjny i konserwatywny jak jego poprzednicy. Zarzucają mu także, że w swoich wypowiedziach zbyt mało zwracał uwagi na rolę kobiet i że używał niewłaściwego języka w odniesieniu do nich. Podkreśliła to jedna z publicystek, Franca Giansoldati, analizując encyklikę *Fratelli tutti*, która ukazała się w 2020 roku. Papież Franciszek odniósł się w niej do „wszystkich braci”, jednak nie wspomniał o „siostrach”. „*Fratelli tutti* w 2024 roku nie jest już sformułowaniem inkluzywnym” – zauważa dziennikarka, podkreślając, że w dzisiejszym świecie bardziej odpowiednio byłoby użycie zwrotu „wszyscy bracia i siostry”²⁹.

Przeciwnicy zmian w Kościele uważają natomiast, że Franciszek był zbyt postępowy w tym, jak określał rolę kobiety. Nazywają go liberałem czy heretykiem w kontekście tego, że wprowadzał kobiety na wyeksponowane stanowiska, powierzał im ważne zadania, dopuszczał je do posługi akolity czy lektora.

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29 Zauważyła też, że „w tej encyklice, jak i w *Laudato si'* słowo «kobieta» pojawia się tylko kilka razy. I tu też należy zapytać: dlaczego?», Piotr Kozłowski (oprac.), *Eksperyment papieża Franciszka. Pierwszy taki w historii*, 9.10.2024, <https://wiadomosci.dziennik.pl/swiat/artykuly/9628689,eksperyment-papieza-franciszka-pierwszy-taki-w-historii.html> (dostęp: 5.12.2024). Na wydzwięk sformułowania *Fratelli tutti* w kontekście dyskusji o roli kobiet w Kościele zwrócił też uwagę Michał Kłosowski, por. *idem*, *Dekada Franciszka. Nowy świat papieża* (Warszawa: Instytut Nowych Mediów, 2023), s. 38.

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Koncepcja wolności słowa i jej ograniczeń w perspektywie filozofii Józefa Tischnera

The Concept of Freedom of Speech and Its Limitations from the Perspective of Józef Tischner's Philosophy

Abstrakt

Artykuł podejmuje próbę konceptualizacji wolności słowa w świetle filozofii ks. prof. Józefa Tischnera ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem jej etycznych i dialogicznych fundamentów. Autor wskazuje, że wolność słowa nie może być rozumiana wyłącznie jako swoboda wypowiedzi, lecz jako odpowiedzialna forma komunikacji ukierunkowana na dobro drugiego człowieka. Na tle współczesnych dylematów związanych z mową nienawiści, dezinformacją i polaryzacją społeczną Tischnerowska koncepcja etyki dialogu staje się propozycją zbudowania przestrzeni komunikacyjnej opartej na prawdzie i sumieniu. W artykule zastosowano metodę hermeneutyczną, interpretując teksty Tischnera w kontekście filozofii personalizmu, fenomenologii oraz współczesnych wyzwań medioznawczych.

Słowa kluczowe: wolność słowa, Józef Tischner, sumienie, prawda, media, odpowiedzialność, komunikacja, mowa nienawiści.

Abstract

This article attempts to conceptualise freedom of speech in the light of the philosophy of Rev. Prof. Józef Tischner, with particular emphasis on its ethical and dialogical foundations. The author points out that freedom of speech cannot be understood solely as freedom of expression, but as a responsible form of communication focused on the good of others. Against the backdrop of contemporary dilemmas related to hate speech, disinformation and social polarisation, Tischner's concept of the ethics of dialogue becomes a proposal to build a space for communication based on truth and conscience. The article uses a hermeneutic method, interpreting Tischner's texts in the context of the philosophy of personalism, phenomenology and contemporary media challenges.

Keywords: freedom of speech, Józef Tischner, conscience, truth, media, responsibility, communication, hate speech.

Wolność słowa stanowi jedno z fundamentalnych praw człowieka i kluczowy element funkcjonowania społeczeństw demokratycznych. Współcześnie jej znaczenie i potrzeba zasadniczo nie są kwestionowane. Przedmiotem intensywnej debaty pozostają jednak granice tego prawa oraz jego praktyczna realizacja w kontekście przemian społecznych i politycznych. Dyskusja ta ujawnia napięcie pomiędzy potrzebą ochrony wolności jednostki a koniecznością zapewnienia bezpieczeństwa oraz przeciwdziałania dyskryminacji i mowie nienawiści. W kontekście współczesnych mediów wolność nie sprowadza się jedynie do swobody wypowiedzi obywatela, ale obejmuje też rolę i odpowiedzialność mediów masowych – zarówno tradycyjnych, jak i cyfrowych – jako głównych aktorów kształtujących przestrzeń debaty publicznej. W dobie cyfrowej granica między nadawcą a odbiorcą zaciera się, co powoduje, że wolność słowa przestaje być wyłącznie indywidualnym prawem i staje się zjawiskiem systemowym, wymagającym regulacji oraz świadomego uczestnictwa wszystkich użytkowników przestrzeni komunikacyjnej.

Podejmowane są inicjatywy legislacyjne mające na celu ograniczenie możliwości publicznego wyrażania niektórych treści w imię ochrony grup społecznych narażonych na przemoc słowną i dyskryminację. Z tego powodu w 2025 roku dokonano nowelizacji Kodeksu karnego, rozszerzając katalog przesłanek dotyczących przestępstw motywowanych nienawiścią – do przynależności narodowej, etnicznej, rasowej, wyznaniowej oraz bezwyznaniowości dodano wiek, płeć, niepełnosprawność i orientację seksualną¹.

1 Nowelizacja dotyczy przestępstw wynikających z uprzedzeń opisanych w art. 119 Kodeksu karnego (przemoc i groźba bezprawna z przyczyn dyskryminacyjnych),

Zwolennicy takich rozwiązań argumentują, że stanowią one niezbędny środek w walce z eskalacją wrogości i w utrzymaniu ładu społecznego. Z drugiej strony pojawiają się głosy krytyczne, wskazujące na ryzyko nadmiernej ingerencji państwa w sferę wolności wypowiedzi oraz potencjalne nadużycia prowadzące do cenzurowania treści niezgodnych z dominującym dyskursem.

W obliczu tych sporów powrót do refleksji nad filozoficznym rozumieniem wolności słowa wydaje się szczególnie istotny. Ważnym punktem odniesienia w tej dyskusji jest myśl ks. prof. Józefa Tischnera, który w swojej filozofii człowieka i dialogu wielokrotnie podejmował problematykę wolności, odpowiedzialności oraz etycznego wymiaru słowa:

Nie należy mylić ideału prawodawstwa z ideałem etyki. Ideałem prawodawstwa jest zbudowanie zewnętrznego ładu między członkami ludzkiej społeczności. Ideałem etyki jest coś większego i głębszego – zaprowadzenie wewnętrznego ładu w samym człowieku².

Celem niniejszego artykułu jest analiza koncepcji wolności słowa w ujęciu ks. prof. Józefa Tischnera oraz próba wskazania, w jaki sposób jego myśl może inspirować współczesną refleksję nad granicami i etyką komunikacji w przestrzeni publicznej.

W prowadzonych analizach zastosowano metodę hermeneutyczną, pozwalającą na interpretację znaczeń zawartych w tekstach, ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem kontekstu filozoficznego, egzystencjalnego i społecznego, a także medioznawczego. Hermeneutyka umożliwiła analizę Tischnerowskiego spojrzenia na – kluczowe w kontekście wolności słowa – takie pojęcia, jak „wolność”, „sumienie” oraz „prawda” w sposób, który integruje zarówno językowy wymiar tekstu, jak i jego aksjologiczne przesłanie. Zastosowanie tej metody jest uzasadnione charakterem badanego zagadnienia. Analiza wolności słowa i jej granic w ujęciu Tischnera wymaga podejścia, które łączy refleksję nad tekstem z próbą odczytania jego znaczenia w kontekście relacji międzyludzkich i etyki dialogu – centralnego elementu jego myśli.

art. 256 k.k. (mowa nienawiści) oraz art. 257 k.k. (znieważenie i naruszenie nietykalności cielesnej z przyczyn dyskryminacyjnych) (Dz.U. z 2025 r., nr 383, t.j.).

2 Józef Tischner, *Myślenie według wartości* (Kraków: Znak, 2002), 369.

Pojęciowe fundamenty wolności słowa

W centrum myśli Józefa Tischnera zawsze stał człowiek. Stanowił on punkt odniesienia wszelkich rozważań, które przybierały wymiar egzystencjalny, etyczny i społeczny. To osoba jest punktem odniesienia i perspektywą poszukiwania wszelkich odpowiedzi. Nie chodzi przy tym o abstrakcyjny konstrukt, ale o osobę jako wydarzenie historyczne – istotę żyjącą, podejmującą wybory, wchodzącą w relacje i posiadającą swoją godność. Profesor kategorycznie upominał się o wolność człowieka, ponieważ to ona pozwala mu być sobą. W *Sporze o człowieka* pisał:

Mój wolny czyn to czyn, którego jestem sprawcą i za który sam mogę odpowiadać. Utrata wolności oznaczałaby utratę siebie. Niewolnik, czyli człowiek pozbawiony wolności, nie tylko nie czyni tego, co chce, ale również nie jest tym, kim może i powinien być – nie „jest naprawdę”³.

Nie można więc być prawdziwie osobą bez posiadania rzeczywistej wolności. Wolność czyni człowieka kimś – podmiotem. Osoba kształtuje samą siebie tylko w wolności. Tym, co czyni nas ludźmi, nie jest sam fakt bycia i czynienia, ale wolność – to z niej wyrastają czyny, dzięki którym stajemy się osobami moralnymi. „Wolność jest środkiem nieodzownym do tego, by człowiek mógł tworzyć siebie jako osobę moralną”⁴.

Podejście Tischnera do wolności człowieka nie jest jednowymiarowe ani nie sprowadza się jedynie do braku zewnętrznego przymusu. Wolność stanowi dla niego centralny wymiar ludzkiego istnienia, moralności i relacji. Człowiek staje się naprawdę sobą dopiero wtedy, gdy w wolności odpowiada na wezwanie prawdy i dobra. Nie powinno to dziwić, zwłaszcza na jego fascynację fenomenologią i personalizmem, które kształtowały jego myślenie. Człowiek nie jest dla Tischnera wyłącznie jednostką, lecz osobą zdolną do relacji, do odpowiedzialności i do przekraczania siebie. To właśnie w spotkaniu z drugim odkrywa własną tożsamość.

Wolność według Tischnera nie polega na braku ograniczeń, ale na gotowości do podejmowania dobra:

Wolność jest najpierw i przede wszystkim sposobem istnienia dobra. Żaden byt jako byt nie jest wolny, lecz musi być poddany koniecznościom, które są w nim i poza nim. (...) Człowiek pojęty wyłącznie jako byt jest jednym z ogniw łańcucha przyczynowości. Jedynie dobro jest wolne. Jest

3 Józef Tischner, *Spór o istnienie człowieka* (Kraków: Znak, 1998), 134.

4 Józef Tischner, *Świat ludzkiej nadziei* (Kraków: Znak, 2000), 59.

transcendentne w stosunku do bytu. Człowiek może być wolny i transcendentny, o ile może mieć udział w tym, co dobre. Ale mieć udział w tym, co dobre, znaczy wybrać to, co dobre⁵.

Wolność nie jest zdolnością do jakiegokolwiek wyboru, ale odpowiedzialnością za nadanie sensu swoim czynom. W kontekście komunikacji oznacza to zdolność wyboru takich form przekazu, które służą drugiej osobie i dobru wspólnemu, a nie jedynie ekspresji jednostkowych emocji czy interesów.

Tischner pisał: „Wolność jest środkiem nieodzownym do tego, by człowiek mógł tworzyć siebie jako osobę moralną”⁶. Wolność wiąże się więc z moralnością. Człowiek wolny to ten, który potrafi powiedzieć „tak” dobru oraz „nie” złu:

Wolność spełnia się wtedy, gdy kieruje się na zewnątrz samej siebie, ku jakiejś wartości, jakiemuś dobru, gdy je wybiera, urzeczywistnia. (...) Pierwszym dobrem wolności jest prawda. Dopiero prawda wyzwala, dopiero ona pozwala na zachowanie właściwego dystansu wobec konieczności (...). Na początku jest wierność dla wartości prawdy. (...) Porządku tego odwracać nie wolno. Nie ma wolności w wyzwoleniu od wartości prawdy⁷.

To niezmiernie ważne w kontekście wolności słowa. Tylko słowo niosące prawdę może być wolne. Tam, gdzie nie ma prawdy, nie ma wolności słowa – panuje samowola.

W tym kontekście Tischner inspirował się m.in. myślą Emmanuela Lévinasa i Karola Wojtyły – świętego Jana Pawła II. W duchu filozofii dialogu uważał, że wolność ujawnia się i rozwija w relacjach z innymi; człowiek nie jest bowiem wolny w izolacji. Wolność nie może być rozumiana egoistycznie – jej pełny sens odsłania się w odpowiedzi na obecność drugiego człowieka, zwłaszcza tego, który cierpi.

Dla Tischnera wolność jest przestrzenią spotkania z drugim człowiekiem, spotkania, które domaga się miłości. Człowiek wolny to człowiek zdolny do miłości. Wolność ta

ujawnia się konkretnie jako świadomość tego, czego człowiek „nie musi”. Człowiek nie musi okłamywać drugiego człowieka, nie musi go okraść, nie musi zdradzać, nie musi zabijać. Jeśli mimo wszystko to robi, to

5 Józef Tischner, *Polski młyn* (Kraków: Instytut Wydawniczy Księży Misjonarzy „Nasza Przyszłość”, 1991), 211.

6 Tischner, *Świat...*, 59.

7 Tischner, *Myślenie...*, 196.

znaczy, że jest „zniewolony” albo przez ślepotę, albo przez mroczne siły pożądliwości⁸.

W perspektywie dialogicznej, reprezentowanej m.in. przez Józefa Tischnera, bycie wolnym nie polega na izolacji czy unikaniu innych, ale na możliwości nawiązania autentycznej relacji z drugim człowiekiem, opartej na wzajemnym szacunku i gotowości do komunikacji. „Wolność należy do takich wartości, które musi się dzielić z innymi. Wolność «wydojrzewa», przechodząc najpierw od Ja do Ty, potem od Ty do Ja, a następnie od Ty i Ja do My. Zwieńczeniem wolności jest My”⁹.

Współcześnie koncepcja ta znajduje odzwierciedlenie w teoriach komunikacyjnych Jürgena Habermasa, dla którego przestrzeń publiczna musi się opierać na racjonalnej wymianie argumentów i być wolna od przemocy symbolicznej¹⁰. Z kolei dla Tischnera

Tylko ten, kto doświadczył spotkania, może mówić, że doświadczył źródło-wo jakiegoś dobra i zła, jakieś tragiczności, jakieś wolności (...). Kluczem do aksjologii jest spotkanie z drugim. Dopiero dzięki spotkaniu widzimy ludzi na scenie życia zorganizowanej w hierarchię, preferujemy i rozumiemy preferencje innych¹¹.

Tischnerowska etyka dialogu i uznanie drugiego jako partnera komunikacji może stanowić etyczny fundament dla pluralistycznych mediów, których rolą jest m.in. przeciwdziałać polaryzacji i radykalizacji opinii publicznej.

W tym sensie wolność można określić jako przestrzeń spotkania, w której możliwe stają się dialog, wzajemne uznanie oraz wspólne poszukiwanie znaczeń. To właśnie w wolności tworzą się warunki sprzyjające prawdziwemu porozumieniu między ludźmi. Brak wolności sprawia natomiast, że człowiek pozostaje zamknięty w lęku, narzuconych rolach czy własnych interesach, co uniemożliwia pełnowartościowe spotkanie z drugim człowiekiem i prowadzi do redukcji go jedynie do funkcji, jaką ma spełnić. Wolność ma sens tylko wtedy, gdy prowadzi do solidarności i miłości, która – jak podkreśla Tischner – „jest podstawowym sposobem uczestnictwa w dobru”¹².

8 Józef Tischner, *Ksiądz na manowcach* (Kraków: Znak, 2007), 297–298.

9 Józef Tischner, „Znicestwienie Polski”, *Res Publica* 6 (1987): 86–88.

10 Jürgen Habermas, *Teoria działania komunikacyjnego*, t. 1 i 2, tłum. Andrzej M. Kaniowski (Warszawa: PWN, 1999).

11 Por. Tischner, *Myslenie...*, 489.

12 Józef Tischner, *Spór o istnienie człowieka* (Kraków: Znak, 1998), 214.

Takie rozumienie wolności człowieka jest fundamentem do zrozumienia wolności słowa – ona również nie jest nieograniczona, jednak ma kardynalne znaczenie dla dialogu i demokracji. W tym kontekście słowo jest czymś więcej niż tylko narzędziem przekazu informacji – może służyć spotkaniu lub przemocy, nieść prawdę lub wprowadzać w błąd, budować lub niszczyć. We współczesnych mediach cyfrowych słowo może przybrać formę hejtu, dezinformacji czy manipulacji obrazem, które zacierają granicę między prawdą a propagandą.

Józef Tischner ostrzega przed fałszywym słowem, które nie służy dobru. Wskazuje, że prawdziwa wolność, w tym również wolność słowa, musi się opierać na etyce. Wolność nie jest absolutna, bo podlega etycznym kryteriom. Mówiąc o wierności prawdzie, Tischner ma na myśli wierność

przede wszystkim dla prawdy o ludzkiej wolności, o jej naturze, o warunkach spełnienia wolności. (...) Żadna prawda nie może stać się prawdą dla człowieka i prawdą człowieka, jeśli za taką nie uzna jej jego wolność. (...) Tak więc to, że ja wierzę w posiadaną przeze mnie prawdę, wcale nie upoważnia mnie do przekreślania cudzej wolności. Aby wolność spełniła się w akcie uznania prawdy, drugi musi sam być przekonany, że to, co mu podaję, jest prawdą. (...) Taki jest ludzki *ethos*. Im więcej jest między nami prawdy, tym więcej jest między nami wolności¹³.

W takiej sytuacji staje się jasne, że nie wszystko, co uznajemy za prawdę, powinniśmy – a nawet możemy – wypowiadać. Należy uwzględnić subiektywną stronę jej odbioru przez konkretną osobę oraz kontekst, w jakim jest ona wypowiadana. Nie chodzi tu o relatywizowanie prawdy, lecz o spojrzenie na nią w konkretnym kontekście i dostrzeżenie jej relacji z dobrem. Pytanie brzmi: Czy ta prawda służy dobru?

Hierarchia prawd mierzonych dobrem stanowi istotę myślenia Józefa Tischnera, który koncentrował się na praktycznym dramacie dobra i zła, czyniąc Dobro – a nie abstrakcyjną Prawdę – głównym punktem swojej filozofii. W tym miejscu dochodzimy do zasadniczego pytania o granice wolności słowa, które dla Tischnera wyznacza właśnie dobro. Słowo, które nie służy dobru, nie może korzystać z wolności.

13 Tischner, *Myślenie...*, 196–197.

Sumienie wyznacznikiem granic wolności słowa

Granica wolności słowa dla Tischnera jest odpowiedzialność za prawdę, która ma na względzie dobro osoby. Granicę tę wyznacza sumienie: „Sumienie to jest przede wszystkim to, co odkrywa nam «co» i «wobec kogo» mamy robić. Powiedzmy z naciskiem, że w tym «co» i «wobec kogo» najważniejsze jest «wobec kogo», a dopiero potem pojawia się «co»”¹⁴. Tischner, diagnozując stan współczesnego człowieka, dostrzegał jego wyrzeczenie się sumienia, ucieczkę od tego wewnętrznego głosu. Pisał:

Głos sumienia we współczesnym świecie jest więc taki: *chciej mieć sumienie. Nie chodzi już o to, co robić, a czego nie robić; kogo ratować, a kogo nie; myśleć, czy nie myśleć – chodzi po prostu tylko o to, aby „chcieć mieć sumienie”*¹⁵.

W praktyce dziennikarskiej sumienie może się objawiać w decyzjach redakcji, dotyczących np. opublikowania materiałów mogących godzić w dobro jednostki lub grupy społecznej, nawet jeśli są one prawdziwe. Takie dylematy wskazują, że wolność słowa musi być zawsze sprzężona z refleksją nad konsekwencjami przekazu i odpowiedzialnością wobec odbiorcy.

W ujęciu Józefa Tischnera sumienie nie jest jednak jedynie „wewnętrznym głosem” czy subiektywnym odczuciem moralnym, ale stanowi głęboką egzystencjalną przestrzeń spotkania człowieka z prawdą o świecie i o nim samym. Tischner odwoływał się do pojęcia „prawdy sumienia” jako szczególnego rodzaju prawdy – nie poznawczej, ale aksjologicznej, wpisanej w doświadczenie człowieka jako istoty moralnej. Prawda ta nie objawia się poprzez logiczne rozumowanie czy naukową analizę, lecz dzięki przeżyciu, w którym człowiek zostaje wezwany do aktu podjęcia dobra i odrzucenia zła.

W tym sensie idea sumienia jest u Tischnera nie tylko arbitralnym sądem jednostki, lecz przede wszystkim miejscem, w którym odsłania się sens istnienia i etyczna struktura świata. Człowiek doświadcza prawdy nie jako zestawu abstrakcyjnych norm, ale jako głosu, który domaga się odpowiedzi – jako wydarzenia, które dotyka go w jego wolności i odpowiedzialności. Sumienie jest więc miejscem, w którym prawda staje się osobistym zobowiązaniem.

14 Józef Tischner, *Alfabet Tischnera* (Kraków: Znak, 2012), 237.

15 Józef Tischner, „Refleksje o istocie sumienia”, w *Sumienie. Głos Boga w duszy*, red. Marek Czeakański (Kraków: Wydawnictwo M, 2002), 217.

Tischner podkreślał, że prawda sumienia ma charakter dialogiczny. Nie jest to tylko „moja” prawda, ale prawda, która mnie przekracza – pochodzi z innego źródła: od Innego, z wartości, od Boga – i domaga się uznania. W tym kontekście sumienie nie służy legitymizowaniu dowolnych wyborów, lecz – przeciwnie – konfrontuje człowieka z wymaganiami, które mogą być trudne, jednak prowadzą do autentycznego dobra i wolności. Nie chodzi jedynie o to, by odczytać, co mam robić, a czego unikać.

Chodzi o zachowanie, które płynie z wnętrza człowieka. Aby przepis mógł budować moralność, musi być akceptowany przez sumienie. Sumienie to zmysł czytania drogowskazów. Tylko ono wie, na który drogowskaz zależy zwrócić uwagę tu i teraz¹⁶.

W myśli filozoficznej Tischnera sumienie nie jest sędzią, ale przyjaciele prawdy prowadzącej człowieka do dobra. W tej perspektywie wolność słowa odrzuca kłamstwo, manipulację czy propagandę. W mediach sumienie dziennikarza powinno pełnić funkcję wewnętrznego regulatora rzetelności.

Prawda punktem odniesienia do wolności słowa

W dobie mnożących się źródeł informacji i dominacji treści wiralowych Tischnerowskie rozumienie prawdy jako relacyjnego i dialogicznego doświadczenia może stanowić przeciwwagę dla logiki clickbaitu i viralizacji, często wypaczającą sens komunikacji. Potrzebna jest nowa etyka medialna, która będzie uwzględniać złożoność współczesnego przekazu oraz opierać się nie tylko na faktach, ale także na intencjonalności i relacyjności prawdy.

Dla Tischnera prawda jednak nie była pojęciem jednoznacznym. Swoją koncepcję prawdy rozwijał on przede wszystkim, opierając się na filozofii dialogu, fenomenologii i personalizmie. Odrzucał zarówno czyisto formalne, jak i dogmatyczne jej ujęcia. Prawda była dla niego przede wszystkim rzeczywistością spotkania między człowiekiem a światem, człowiekiem a człowiekiem, a ostatecznie również między człowiekiem a Bogiem.

Prawda jest personalna. Prawda jest sposobem bycia konkretnego człowieka, o ile człowiek ów wybiera swe własne bycie-w-prawdzie. (...)

16 Józef Tischner, *Etyka solidarności* (Kraków: Znak, 1981), 17.

Wybierając sposób bycia w prawdzie, człowiek nie wybiera żadnej konkretnej prawdy, wybiera jednak coś, co z każdą prawdą jest ściśle związane, wybiera godność¹⁷.

Można powiedzieć, że prawda była dla Tischnera wydarzeniem, które dokonuje się w dialogu, w relacji twarzą w twarz, „nie osiągnie się prawdy w samotności. W samotności łatwo o iluzję. Stąd konieczność pluralizmu”¹⁸.

Tworząc swoją koncepcję prawdy, Tischner wyróżnił jej trzy typy, które człowiek poznaje w swoim życiu:

1. Prawda racjonalna – prawda nauki, zgodność sądu z rzeczywistością.
2. Prawda egzystencjalna – prawda sumienia, prawda życia, która mówi, kim naprawdę jestem.
3. Prawda miłości – najgłębsza prawda, która objawia się w spotkaniu z drugim człowiekiem i z Bogiem¹⁹.

Dla Tischnera te trzy poziomy nie wykluczają się – prawda miłości i sumienia jest jednak ważniejsza niż czysto formalna prawda logiczna. Filozof mocno przeciwstawiał prawdę kłamstwu, będącemu narzędziem zniewolenia. Powtarzał, że kłamstwo jest jedną z największych form zniewolenia – zarówno dla mówiącego, jak i słuchającego. Udowadniał, że w systemach totalitarnych prawda była zakłamywana, przez co ludzie tracili możliwość prawdziwego myślenia, działania, bycia sobą.

Tischner – niezwykle przenikliwy analityk rzeczywistości społecznej i politycznej – w swojej publicystyce i esejach często przyglądał się kondycji polskiego społeczeństwa w okresie PRL oraz transformacji ustrojowej. Jednym z ważnych wątków, jakie podejmował, był – jak wiadomo – fenomen *homo sovieticus*, czyli człowieka ukształtowanego przez system totalitarny, który wyparł ze świadomości odpowiedzialność, prawdę i autentyczność.

W koncepcji *homo sovieticus* Tischner dostrzegał przede wszystkim zredukowane i zakłamane słowo, które nie służy już ani komunikacji, ani szukaniu prawdy, lecz pełni funkcję przetrwania, konformizmu lub propagandy – jest to słowo, które nie wyraża rzeczywistości, ale ją zaciemnia. Dla Tischnera *homo sovieticus* nauczył się mówić nie to, co myśli, lecz to, co wypada mówić. Zjawisko to ma dziś swoją analogię w praktykach

17 Józef Tischner, „Nadzieja szukająca prawdy”, *Znak* 12(373) (1985): 9.

18 Józef Tischner, „Trzy sprawy (Słowo do Zjazdu «Solidarności»)”, *Tygodnik Powszechny* 41 (1981).

19 Józef Tischner, *Polski kształt dialogu* (Kraków: Znak, 2002).

autocenzury, tworzenia „baniek informacyjnych” czy wykorzystywania mediów do utrwalania dominujących narracji.

Tischner podkreślał, że takie słowo zrywa więź z prawdą, a przez to przestaje być przestrzenią spotkania między ludźmi i staje się narzędziem ideologii. To język, który nie buduje wspólnoty, lecz ją dzieli, który nie ma na celu zrozumienia, ale służy władzy, sieje strach lub wprowadza manipulację. Wskazywał też, że w takim zafałszowanym języku zaciera się odpowiedzialność mówiącego. Skoro nie liczy się to, co jest prawdą, ale to, co skuteczne lub dozwolone, to słowo traci swój wymiar etyczny. W myśli Tischnera wolność słowa nie może być oderwana od prawdy i sumienia, bo w przeciwnym razie staje się pustym nadużyciem.

Zakończenie

Z perspektywy nauk o komunikacji myśl Józefa Tischnera można odczytać jako propozycję etyki dialogu, w którym wolność słowa nierozdzielnie wiąże się z odpowiedzialnością i prawdą. Komunikacja w duchu Tischnerowskim nie jest jedynie wymianą informacji, ale aktem spotkania i współobecności, w którym ujawnia się godność osoby. Wymaga ona postawy otwartości, empatii i gotowości do uznania innego jako równoprawnego uczestnika dialogu. Tischnerowska etyka dialogu wpisuje się w podstawowe cele medioznawstwa: badanie, jak komunikacja wpływa na społeczeństwo, jakie wartości przekazuje i jakie konsekwencje niesie. W świecie, w którym debata publiczna często przybiera formę konfrontacyjną, postulaty tego filozofa mogą stanowić narzędzie do odbudowy zaufania społecznego oraz powrotu do komunikacji opartej na wzajemnym uznaniu i odpowiedzialności.

Tischnerowska koncepcja wolności słowa może być niewątpliwie inspiracją dla współczesnych refleksji nad etyką komunikacji publicznej i medialnej. W dobie nadmiaru informacji, polaryzacji oraz agresji słownej namysł ten nabiera szczególnej aktualności. Tischner przypomina, że słowo nie jest neutralnym narzędziem, lecz nośnikiem sensu, który może budować lub ranić, łączyć lub dzielić. Wolność słowa, jeśli ma pozostać prawdziwie ludzka, wymaga zatem nie tylko prawa do wypowiedzi, lecz również świadomości jej konsekwencji oraz troski o prawdę i relacyjny wymiar komunikacji.

Józef Tischner podchodził do wolności słowa z wielką powagą, traktując ją jako istotny wymiar wolności osoby, ale również jako obszar wymagający odpowiedzialności moralnej. Nie był zwolennikiem absolutnej wolności słowa, rozumianej jako „mogę mówić wszystko, co chcę”.

Zamiast tego akcentował, że wolność słowa musi mieć swoje granice, a wyznaczają je przede wszystkim prawda, dobro oraz godność drugiego człowieka.

W epoce fake newsów, mowy nienawiści i brutalnej debaty publicznej Tischnerowska idea słowa odpowiedzialnego za dobro jest nie tylko niezwykle aktualna, ale może być ratunkiem. Może pomóc wrócić do kultury dialogu, gdzie słowo łączy, a nie dzieli. Tischner może stanowić oś refleksji nad komunikacją odpowiedzialną, której celem jest nie tylko informowanie, ale również budowanie wspólnoty.

Może też pomóc w znalezieniu odpowiedzi na następujące pytania: Jak mówić, by być wolnym, ale nie ranić? Jak tworzyć przestrzeń, w której wolność słowa prowadzi do prawdy i spotkania, a nie do przemocy i podziałów?

Tischner proponuje dialog, uznając że

jest [on] [...] podstawowym warunkiem demokracji. Dialog oznacza wymianę poglądów i doświadczeń przez ludzi zajmujących różne miejsca w przestrzeni i czasie. Gdzie jest dialog, tam uznanie dla prawdy łączy się ze wzajemną tolerancją, ze zrozumieniem, a przede wszystkim z wykluczeniem przemocy²⁰.

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20 Józef Tischner, „Budowanie demokracji”, *Tygodnik Powszechny* 26 (1991): 1n.

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Dzieje powstania sztandaru cechu piekarzy krakowskich¹

The History of the Making of the Kraków Bakers' Guild Banner

Abstrakt

Artykuł analizuje okoliczności powstania sztandaru krakowskiego cechu piekarzy, ukończonego w 1912 r., wykorzystując dwa zasadnicze źródła: „Gazetę Piekarską” oraz księgę cechową. Konfrontacja relacji prasowych z dokumentacją wewnętrzną pozwala uchwycić różnice między oficjalnym przekazem a rzeczywistym przebiegiem prac. Podczas gdy gazeta przedstawiała fundację sztandaru jako przedsięwzięcie jednomyślne i entuzjastyczne, protokoły cechowe ujawniają problemy organizacyjne, niską frekwencję mistrzów, trudności finansowe oraz konieczność pozyskania pożyczki. W artykule omówiono także ikonografię sztandaru zaprojektowanego i wykonanego przez Emilię Pydynkowską, w tym wizerunki Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej, św. Stanisława oraz symbole narodowe i cechowe. Analiza ukazuje, że proces fundacji sztandaru stanowi ważne świadectwo funkcjonowania krakowskiego rzemiosła na początku XX w.

Słowa kluczowe: Kraków, cech, piekarze, sztandar, gazeta.

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Abstract

This article investigates the circumstances surrounding the establishment of the banner of the Krakow Bakers' Guild, completed in 1912, on the basis of two principal sources: *Gazeta Piekarska* (The Bakers' Gazette) and the guild's record book. A comparative reading of the press coverage and the internal guild documentation reveals notable discrepancies between the public, official narrative and the actual process recorded in the minutes. While the newspaper presented the foundation of the banner as a unanimous and enthusiastically supported initiative, the guild protocols point to organizational difficulties, limited participation of master bakers, financial constraints, and the eventual need to obtain a loan. The study also examines the iconographic programme of the banner, designed and executed by Emilia Pydyńska, including depictions of Our Lady of Częstochowa, St Stanislaus, and various national and guild symbols. The findings highlight the banner's foundation process as an important source for understanding the functioning of Krakow's craft organisations in the early twentieth century.

Keywords: Kraków, guild, bakers, banner, newspaper.

Celem artykułu będzie rekonstrukcja procesu fundacji sztandaru krakowskiego cechu piekarzy w 1912 r. oraz ukazanie rozbieżności pomiędzy oficjalną narracją prasową a dokumentacją wewnętrzną organizacji. Podjęta analiza zmierza do uchwycenia zarówno motywacji ideowych i środowiskowych, jak i praktycznych uwarunkowań, które wpływały na przebieg prac nad sztandarem. Pozwala to spojrzeć na tytułowe wydarzenie nie jako na harmonijną inicjatywę, lecz na złożony proces, w którym entuzjazm i ambicje środowiska zderzały się z realiami organizacyjnymi i finansowymi.

Zastosowana metoda porównawcza opiera się na krytycznym zestawieniu dwóch zasadniczych typów źródeł: przekazów publikowanych w „Gazecie Piekarskiej” oraz zapisów w księdze cechowej. Analiza obu zespołów materiałów ujawnia znaczące różnice w przedstawieniu prac nad sztandarem. Relacje prasowe ukazują fundację jako przedsięwzięcie o charakterze jednomyślnym, nacechowane wysokim zaangażowaniem i zgodą w środowisku piekarskim. Z kolei protokoły cechowe odsłaniają trudności organizacyjne, niską frekwencję mistrzów na posiedzeniach, przedłużające się dyskusje oraz braki finansowe, które ostatecznie wymusiły zaciągnięcie pożyczki z kasy cechowej.

Różnice te wynikają ze specyfiki analizowanych źródeł. Prasa rzemieślnicza, jako medium o charakterze publicznym, pełniła funkcję reprezentacyjną i kształtowała wizerunek cechu wobec odbiorców

zewewnętrznych. Dokumenty cechowe natomiast miały charakter *stricto* użytkowy: odzwierciedlają one bieżące funkcjonowanie organizacji, jej problemy, decyzje oraz faktyczny stopień zaangażowania członków. Materiały te, uzupełnione o ikonografię sztandaru oraz dane dotyczące działalności Emilii Pydynkowskiej, mogą umożliwić pełniejszą rekonstrukcję zarówno procesu powstawania sztandaru, jak i jego programu symbolicznego.

Tak wstępnie zarysowana analiza może – zgodnie z zamiarem – pokazać fundację sztandaru jako istotny element życia organizacyjnego krakowskiego rzemiosła na początku XX w. Jednocześnie pozwala lepiej zrozumieć mechanizmy funkcjonowania cechu oraz sposób, w jaki wspólnota rzemieślnicza budowała swoją tożsamość w warunkach zaborów i dynamicznych przemian społecznych tuż przed wybuchem I wojny światowej.

„Gazeta Piekarska” była organem prasowym krakowskiego cechu piekarzy. Pierwszy numer ukazał się 1 czerwca, a „wydawcom i odpowiedzialnym redaktorem” był Leon Bałuk, ówczesny starszy wyżej wspomnianego cechu². Roczna prenumerata kosztowała 6 koron, można było też wybrać opcję na pół roku za połowę ceny, pojedynczy egzemplarz został zaś wyceniony na 30 halerzy. Redakcja podała też roczne ceny dla odbiorców w Niemczech (6 marek) i w Ameryce (2 dolary). Wyjaśniono ponadto, że redakcja nie będzie przyjmować nieopłaconych listów i nie będzie zwracać rękopisów. Jeżeli ktoś życzył sobie odpowiedzi na list, musiał dołączyć markę dziesięciohalerzową. Niezapieczętowane reklamacje były zwolnione z opłaty pocztowej. Istniała też możliwość wykupienia reklamy. I tak 40 halerzy kosztował „wiersz petitowy” za pierwszą reklamę, za następne trzeba było zapłacić już tylko 30 halerzy. Drobne ogłoszenia były z kolei wyceniane na 20 halerzy. Siedziba redakcji mieściła się przy ul. Garbarskiej 12 (znajdowała się tutaj także piekarnia i dom Leona Bałuka – zob. ryc. 1). Pierwsze numery były wydawane w drukarni Władysława Poturalskiego³. Gazeta miała ukazywać się każdego 1. i 15. dnia miesiąca – i tak się działo do końca grudnia 1912, w ostatnim dostępnym numerze nie pojawiła się żadna wzmianka, że gazeta nie będzie się ukazywała.

2 „Gazeta Piekarska”, 1 czerwca 1908, nr 1, R. I.

3 Drukarnia Władysława Poturalskiego mieściła się w Podgórzu, Rynek 4: Stefana Mikulskiego Wielka Księga Adresowa Stoł. Król. Miasta Krakowa i Król. Woln. Miasta Podgórza. Rok 1907, rozdz. IV, 22.



Ryc. 1. Siedziba „Gazety Piekarskiej”, Kraków, ul. Garbarska 12

Źródło: Jan Sas-Zubrzycki, dom przy ul. Garbarskiej 12 ok. 1910 r., <https://cyfrowe.mnw.art.pl/pl/zbiory/47475> (dostęp: 05.06.2025)

W ciągu tych kilku lat na łamach gazety poruszano wiele istotnych spraw dla środowiska piekarskiego (zagadnienie to wymaga osobnego opracowania). Na pierwszych stronach pojawiały się najważniejsze wiadomości związane m.in. z powstaniem ogólnokrajowego stowarzyszenia piekarzy, strajkami, cenami produktów rolnych (dział „Wiadomości handlowe”), starano się również przedstawiać różnego rodzaju ciekawostki z kraju i ze świata (dział „Drobnostki i pouczenia”). Do gazety nadsyłało też różnego rodzaju ogłoszenia (dział „Nadesłane”) dotyczące np. sprzedaży piekarni, poszukiwania pracowników.

Redakcja od razu wyjawiała motywację wydania tego pisma:

Pojawienie się naszego pisma wywołała żywa potrzeba chwili. Dążenia do samodzielnej organizacji, stworzenie ogólnego związku piekarzy polskich, wzajemne popieranie interesów polskiego przemysłu piekarskiego, i szerzenie wśród masy pracowników piekarskich idei bratniej zgody, stawiamy jako pierwszy punkt naszego programu⁴.

4 „Gazeta Piekarska”, 1 czerwca 1908, nr 1, R. I: 1.

Zanim przejdę do meritum, wyjaśnię zastosowaną w tytule terminologię. Czy powinno się stosować określenie „sztandar” czy „chorągiew”? W literaturze przedmiotu uważa się, że do końca XVIII stulecia używano terminu „chorągiew”. Opiswany przeze mnie obiekt powstał w XX w., stąd też właściwe będzie nazywanie go sztandarem. Trudno jest jednoznacznie rozstrzygnąć, co leżało u podłoża wykształcenia się sztandarów cechowych w tym kształcie, w jakim można je obserwować już od XVII stulecia. Czy na ich formę wpłynęły chorągiewne znaki rycerskie, czy czerpały ze wzorców kościelnych? W obliczu braku wcześniejszych przekazów ikonograficznych dotyczących wyglądu chorągwi cechowych należy założyć, że przyjmowały dwojaką formę. Pierwsza wzorowana była na chorągwi wojskowej, przyjmowała postać płachty, kwadratowej lub prostokątnej, przymocowanej na stałe wzdłuż jednego z boków do długiego pionowego drzewca, druga nawiązywała do chorągwi używanych w kościołach i przybierała postać płatu przytwierdzonego do niezbyt długiego drążka, który zawieszano na pionowym kiju na kształt krzyża⁵.

Zapisy dotyczące chorągwi cechowych znajdowały się w dokumentach wydawanych przez rady miast czy też aktach królewskich. Posiadanie chorągwi było nie tylko formą wyróżnienia, ale też obowiązkiem. Cechy uczestniczyły bowiem w życiu religijnym, państwowym czy wojskowym miasta, a w każdej z nich chorągiew była potrzebna. Stanowią one ważną pod względem treści i historii grupę weksyliów, będąc z jednej strony odzwierciedleniem relacji społeczno-gospodarczych panujących w danym mieście, a z drugiej – świadomości religijnej członków poszczególnych cechów, jak i istniejącego w danej epoce zespołu wyobrażeń ikonicznych i symbolicznych⁶.

W tym kontekście należy podkreślić, że cechy obok swojej podstawowej działalności zawodowej pełniły również istotne funkcje religijne i dobroczynne. Tradycją było, że każda organizacja rzemieślnicza wybierała dla siebie kościół lub kaplicę, w której jej członkowie mogli gromadzić się na wspólnych nabożeństwach. W przypadku piekarzy krakowskich najwcześniejszym miejscem takich spotkań był prawdopodobnie kościół Św. Krzyża. W różnego rodzaju wydarzeniach o charakterze religijnym cechy występowały ze swoimi chorągwiami, na których umieszczano wizerunki świętych patronów danego rzemiosła⁷.

5 Elżbieta Bimler-Mackiewicz, *Znaki cechowe i ich funkcje na ziemiach polskich. Studium źródłoznawcze* (Warszawa: DiG, 2004), 79.

6 Jan Ptak, *Weksylologia polska* (Warszawa: DiG, 2016), 219.

7 Nie zachowały się żadne chorągwie piekarzy krakowskich z epoki nowożytnej, natomiast przekazy źródłowe z ksiąg cechowych potwierdzają ich używanie.

Nieco zagadkową postacią jest patron rzemiosła piekarskiego w Krakowie. Żegota Pauli pisał, że w okresie nowożytnym była to św. Elżbieta⁸ – chodziło o św. Elżbietę Węgierską, nazywaną także św. Elżbietą z Turynii⁹. Była ona patronką rzemiosła piekarskiego, ale raczej nie krakowskiego. Natomiast według Jana Wincentego Smoniewskiego w omawianej epoce piekarzom patronował św. Mikołaj¹⁰, który był jednak patronem nie całego cechu, a tylko organizacji czeladników piekarskich. Natomiast Henryk Molicki, długoletni starszy cechu piekarzy i badacz jego historii, na podstawie dostępnych mu wówczas dokumentów uważał, że patronem był św. Stanisław, biskup krakowski¹¹. Potwierdzeniem tezy Henryka Molickiego może być wezwanie kaplicy (pw. św. Stanisława) w kościele Mariackim, w której spotykali się mistrzowie piekarscy w okresie nowożytnym¹². Najpóźniej od 1599 r. mistrzowie piekarscy gromadzili się na uroczystościach religijnych właśnie w tej kaplicy¹³. Dlatego też raczej nie było przypadkiem, że na sztandarze cechu, o którym zaczęto myśleć na początku XX w., pojawił się wizerunek właśnie św. Stanisława. Będzie o tym mowa jeszcze poniżej.

W pierwszej relacji „Gazety Piekarskiej”¹⁴, traktującej o fundacji sztandaru, autor pisał, że minęło już dwa lata, gdy majstrowie krakowscy powzięli decyzję o fundacji sztandaru cechowego. Dodał, że odbyło się już kilka posiedzeń komisji sztandarowej, a komitet w niedługim czasie zebrał znaczniejszą kwotę, gdyż każdy mistrz ofiarował chętnie składki na ten ważny cel. Redaktor uważał, że sztandar będzie cenną pamiątką dla przyszłych pokoleń piekarzy, świadczącą o głębokiej wierze ich poprzedników oraz o szacunku, jakim darzono kościół. Prace postępowyły, a komisja sztandarowa uważnie nadzorowała każdy etap wykonania dzieła i dążyła do możliwie szybkiego jego zakończenia. Informowano

8 Biblioteka Jagiellońska, Teki Żegoty Paulego, rkps 5402, t. 1, 74.

9 *Księga imion i świętych*, t. 2: D-G, oprac. Henryk Fros SJ, Franciszek Sowa (Kraków: Wydawnictwo WAM, 1997), 143–144.

10 Biblioteka PAN/PAU, rkps 463, 201.

11 Henryk Molicki, *Kaplica sławetnego cechu mistrzów piekarzy w Krakowie* (Kraków, 1931), 9; *Witraz św. Klemensa Dworzaka patrona piekarzy [w kaplicy cechowej w kościele św. Krzyża w Krakowie]* (Kraków: nakładem Cechu Mistrzów Piekarzy, 1947), 14.

12 Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie (dalej: ANK), Cech piekarzy krakowskich (dalej: CPK) 29/168/0/2/22, f. 80–81.

13 *Akta wizytacji dekanatu krakowskiego 1599 roku przeprowadzonej z polecenia kardynała Jerzego Radziwiłła*, cz. 1, red. Czesław Skowron (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1965), 378; Piotr P. Gach, „Bractwa kościelne w Krakowie pod koniec XVI w”, *Summarius. Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego KUL*, 18 (1970): 132.

14 „Gazeta Piekarska”, 1 września 1912, nr 17, R. V: 3.

wówczas, że sztandar zostanie przekazany cechowi w ciągu trzech tygodni, a jego uroczyste poświęcenie miało się odbyć w październiku. Podkreślał, że cech wyraził podziękowanie komisji sztandarowej, w której skład wchodził: Stanisław Długoszowski, prezes Leon Bałuk, Franciszek Kozłowski, Wincenty Molicki, Wojciech Krok, Jan Kornecki i podstarszy Józef Rączkiewicz. Autor notki prasowej podkreślił, że żaden mistrz piekarski w Krakowie nie odmówił kwoty „na ten piękny cel”, a dodatkowo

Koledzy z Wielkiego Krakowa sami się zgłosili do przewodniczącego Komisji sztandarowej i udział w kosztach pokrycia sztandaru zadeklarowali. Oby ten szlachetny zamiar doprowadziło jak najprędzej do celu, oby ta wzniosła myśl zagrzała nasze serca i potomstwo do wytrwałości w pracy, jej udoskonalenia, do pracy z Bogiem, z ufnością i wiarą w przyszłość¹⁵.

Relacja z kolejnego numeru gazety przyniosła dodatkowe wyjaśnienie powodów powstania sztandaru oraz dokładny jego opis. Autor notatki pisał, że myśl uczczenia 700-letniej rocznicy¹⁶ założenia cechu piekarzy białego pieczywa w Krakowie powstała przed dwoma laty (1910). Starszyzna cechu z przełożonym Leonem Bałukiem na czele postanowiła upamiętnić to przygotowaniem nowego sztandaru cechowego, aby w ten sposób oddać „cześć Wszechmocnemu i Najświętszej Matce Częstochowskiej za błogosławieństwo”. Podkreślono, że mimo tego, iż w tym czasie

15 *Ibidem*.

16 Przez wiele lat sądzono, że wzmianka o piekarzach zamieszczona w przywileju lokacyjnym z 5 marca 1257 r. stanowi bezpośredni dowód istnienia cechu piekarskiego. Tymczasem dokument Bolesława Wstydlivego mówi jedynie o tym, że wójtom nadano prawo do zbudowania jatek piekarskich, co świadczy o organizacji handlu, a nie o funkcjonowaniu struktury cechowej. Kolejne informacje odnoszące się do krakowskich piekarzy pojawiają się dopiero na początku XIV w., w przywileju Władysława Łokietka wydanym dla wójtów Alberta i Henryka. W 1358 r. Kazimierz Wielki potwierdził Krakowowi prawo do użytkowania 22 ław piekarskich na rynku, co wskazuje na rozwój rzemiosła, lecz nadal nie przesądza o istnieniu cechu. Dopiero późniejsze przekazy pozwalają mówić o bardziej zorganizowanej działalności. Od 1398 r. w księgach radzieckich zaczęto wpisywać nazwiska starszych cechowych. Wśród pierwszych piekarzy odnotowanych w tabelach *seniores mechanicorum* w 1399 r. znajdujemy Langego, Maternego, Niclosa Schrodenera, Petera von Lane oraz Niclosa Koniga. Jerzy Wyrozumski zakładał, że pojawienie się w księgach miejskich imiennych list starszych danej profesji świadczyło o jej funkcjonowaniu jako osobnego cechu. Jednocześnie podkreślał, że sama organizacja musiała powstać wcześniej. Wiadomo na przykład, że już w 1375 r. rada miejska wydała wilkierz wymierzony w czeladników piekarskich, w którym wymieniono ponad trzydziestu z nich z imienia. Przy tak licznej grupie towarzyszy w Krakowie musiało działać przynajmniej kilkunastu mistrzów, co sugeruje istnienie cechu już w tym czasie. Wobec tego można uznać, że krakowski cech piekarzy funkcjonował co najmniej od drugiej połowy XIV w., choć dokładna data jego powstania pozostaje niepewna: Marcin Gadocha, *Cech piekarzy i handel chlebem w Krakowie w okresie nowożytnym* (Kraków: Księgarnia Akademicka, 2012), 13.

było w cechu zaledwie 34 piekarzy, składki „wpływały obficie”. Prace nad sztandarem powierzono Emilii Pydynkowskiej, która według relacji gazetowej „dołożyła wszelkich starań, aby uczynić zadość wymaganiom sztuki hafciarskiej na podstawie wiadomości historycznych i co do sposobu wykonania”¹⁷.

W tym miejscu warto przybliżyć postać tej znanej krakowskiej hafciarki, której zakład istniał od 1888 r.¹⁸ Pracownia hafciarska była połączona ze szkołą haftu i ulokowana przy Małym Rynku 4. W 1907 r. Emilia Pydynkowska reklamowała swój zakład w Wielkiej Księdze Adresowej Stefana Mikulskiego jako „Pierwszy Zakład Restaurowania Zabytków Starożytnych” i „Pracownię Robót Kościelnych i Haftów Artystycznych”¹⁹. Postać krakowskiej hafciarki wspomina w swoim pamiętniku (w kontekście zleconych prac) ksiądz infułat dr Józef Bąba: „p. Pydynkowska Emilia, pod tym względem artystka z ukończonymi studiami fachowymi w Paryżu, albo je restaurowała, albo je tylko umiejętnie czyściła”²⁰. Wiadomo także, że Emilia Pydynkowska przekazała w darze do Muzeum Narodowego „kawałek tkaniny przetykanej złotem”, co zostało odnotowane w sprawozdaniu tej instytucji za rok 1909²¹. Wykonywała także m.in. aplikacje na kotarach w domu Zofii i Tadeusza Żeleńskich²². Jej zakład realizował też dla Jasnej Góry baldachim i chorągiew Matki Boskiej²³. Jej pracownia dokonywała także renowacji szat liturgicznych w kościele Mariackim²⁴. W zbiorach Archiwum Bazyliki Mariackiej przechowywane są druki reklamowe pracowni Emilii Pydynkowskiej, w których można natrafić także na jej odręczne zapiski i rachunki. W jednym z zachowanych anonsów prasowych tak reklamowała swój zakład:

17 „Gazeta Piekarska”, 15 października 1912, nr 20, R. V: 3.

18 Kalendarz Józefa Czecha na rok 1913, 352.

19 Stefana Mikulskiego Wielka Księga Adresowa Stoł. Król. Miasta Krakowa i Król. Woln. Miasta Podgórze, Rok 1907, rozdz. 3, 15 i LX.

20 Ks. Tadeusz Bukowski, „Muzeum diecezjalne w Tarnowie dzieje – ludzie – dzieła”, *Muzealnictwo* 49 (2008): 103.

21 Sprawozdanie Dyrekcji Muzeum Narodowego w Krakowie za rok 1909 (Kraków, 1910), 43.

22 Kalendarz życia i twórczości, 28 marca 1898 – grudzień 1907 Stanisława Wyspiańskiego, oprac. Alina Doboszevska (Kraków: Wydawnictwo Literackie, 1995), 373.

23 Aneta Borowik, *Dzieje architektura oraz twórcy Zakładu OO Jezuitów w Chyrowie. Twórczość Antoniego Łuszczkiewicza oraz Edgara Kovátsa na tle epoki* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego, 2012), 191.

24 Maria Porucznik, „Ksiądz archiprezbiter Józef Krzemieński jako opiekun i fundator szat liturgicznych oraz tkanin ze skarbca kościoła Mariackiego w Krakowie”, w *Jako serce pośrodku ciała...: kultura artystyczna kościoła Mariackiego w Krakowie*, red. Marek Walczak, Agata Wolska (Kraków: Societas Vistulana), 2021, 383–392.

wykonuje wszelkiego rodzaju Hafty złotem, srebrem, jedwabiami i perłami; podejmuje się naprawy uszkodzonych dawnych paramentów kościelnych, Makat, Pasów Słuckich, Dywanów, Szalów; haftuje monogramy, herby ozdobne, ekrany, poduszki, krzesła²⁵.

Pracownia Emili Pydyńkowskiej wykonała ostatecznie sztandar w 1912 r. W gazecie umieszczono także opis sztandaru²⁶. Został on stworzony z dwóch rodzajów rypsowych jedwabnych tkanin, ciemno niebieskiej i ciemno czerwonej.

Na niebieskiej stronie widnieje obraz Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej, wyhaftowany na tle biało-złotych łusek. Wzorowano się na obrazie Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej z panopliami, który był umieszczony nad bramą Lubomirskich w Częstochowie (pierwsza brama do wejścia na Jasną Górę) (zob. ryc. 2). Struktura panopliów jest mocno rozbudowana i składają się na nią m.in. armaty, bębny, hełmy, kołczany, piki, topory, zbroja.



Ryc. 2 Sztandar cechu piekarzy krakowskich

Źródło: Cech Rzemiosł Spożywczych w Krakowie²⁷

Strona ta została zmontowana z kilku części niebieskiego jedwabnego rypsu.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, 385.

²⁶ „Gazeta Piekarska”, 15 października 1912, nr 20, R. V: 3.

²⁷ W tym miejscu chciałbym podziękować Cechowi Rzemiosł Spożywczych za umożliwienie prac badawczych oraz udostępnienie fotografii sztandaru.

Na drugiej stronie sztandaru widnieje obraz św. Stanisława, biskupa krakowskiego. Opis tego obrazu cech piekarzy krakowskich otrzymał według relacji gazety od kustosza muzeum Czartoryskich w Warszawie, pana Smolińskiego. Wizerunek świętego został zaczerpnięty z dzieła Jana Długosza *Katalog biskupów gnieźnieńskich*²⁸ (zob. ryc. 3).



Ryc. 3 Wizerunek św. Stanisława

Źródło: Jan Długosz, *Catalogus archiepiscoporum Gnesnensium; Vitae episcoporum Cracoviensium*, <https://polona.pl/item-view/37bd23e5-f5dd-4d3c-a26d-8a4cd2f70d07?page=11> (dostęp: 04.05.2025)

Święty Stanisław został tu przedstawiony z Piotrowinem. Biskup jest ubrany w strój pontyfikalny, na który składa się kapa wysadzana kamieniami szlachetnymi, infula i złoty pastorał. Po bokach świętego stoją dwaj aniołowie w bieli. Jeden z nich trzyma w ręku pasową chorągiew z wizerunkiem Orła polskiego, a drugi ma palmę symbolizującą męczeństwo. Święty Stanisław błogosławi prawą ręką klęczącego

28 Barbara Miodońska, *Miniatury Stanisława Samostrzelnika* (Warszawa: Auriga, 1983), 26.

u jego nóg Zygmunta I Starego, który ma na głowie złotą koronę i ubrany jest w czarnym futrem podbitą szubę. Na szyi ma order złotego runa, ręce złożone jak do modlitwy, zaś na każdym palcu z osobna – pełno pierścieni. Obok króla, po prawej jego stronie, klęczy Piotr Tomicki, biskup krakowski, wicekanclerz koronny. Na obrazie jest także kanclerz Krzysztof Szydłowski. Po prawej stronie św. Stanisława zostało umieszczonych jeszcze kilku duchownych w długich białych komżach i czarnych sukniach, wśród których można rozpoznać archidiakona krakowskiego Jerzego Myszkowskiego. W polu aplikacji znajdują się dwa owalne pola z tarczami herbowymi, a w nich herb Łódzia i godło Polski – Orzeł Biały opleciony literą Zygmunta I Starego „S”.

Jak podkreślał redaktor „Gazety Piekarskiej”, sztandar był „haftowany ręcznie złotem i jedwabiem, każdy szczegół odpowiednią techniką starożytnych haftów. Szczególnie ważne, że pracę tę wykonano ręką polską”²⁹. Założono go na drewniane drzewce zakończone złożoną gałką, która została wykonana w pracowni Sztorca mieszczącej się wówczas przy ul. Floriańskiej³⁰.



Ryc. 4. Sztandar cechu piekarzy krakowskich

Źródło: Cech Rzemiosł Spożywczych w Krakowie

29 „Gazeta Piekarska”, 15 października 1912, nr 20, R. V, 3.

30 Henryk Sztorc był brązownikiem, jego pracownia znajdowała się przy ul. Floriańskiej 36. Zob. Stefana Mikulskiego Wielka Księga Adresowa Stoł. Król. Miasta Krakowa i Król. Woln. Miasta Podgórze. Rok 1912, 241. Obecnie sztandar nie posiada już gałki.

Symbolika sztandaru ma wyraźnie patriotyczny charakter. Po jednej stronie umieszczono wizerunek św. Stanisława, patrona jednoczącej się Polski, po drugiej zaś Matkę Boską przedstawioną wśród panoplii, co odwołuje się do tradycji walk o wolność. Chorągiew miała wyrażać głębokie przywiązanie cechu do ojczyzny i jej historii. Trzeba przy tym pamiętać, że sztandary towarzyszyły rzemieślnikom zarówno podczas najważniejszych uroczystości o charakterze publicznym, jak i w czasie wydarzeń wewnątrz cechu.

Patriotycznej wymowy dopełniają umieszczone w górnej partii chorągwi herby Litwy oraz orzeł biały. Najpewniej przeniesiono je z wcześniejszego sztandaru krakowskiego cechu rzeźników, dzięki czemu elementy te pozwoliły na zachowanie ciągłości tradycji. Dodatkowo do chorągwi doszyto dwie aplikacje: jedna przedstawia basztę cechu piekarzy krakowskich i godło cechu piekarzy krakowskich (dwa lwy podtrzymujące w przednich łapach precla obsypanego makiem).

W hafcie zastosowano różnego rodzaju nici, m.in.: sznile w kilku kolorach, nici metalowe w srebrnym i złotym oplocie, srebrne blaszki, sznureczki, pasmanteryjne łańcuszki. W chorągwi zastosowano kilka rodzajów haftów: haft płaski cieniowany, haft kładziony w barwnej sznili, haft kładziony z metalowych nici, haft kładziony z metalowych nici na wysokim podłożeniu przytrzymywany w rytmie skośnym o kierunku „S”³¹.

Dodatkowo władze cechowe postanowiły przedstawić sztandar większej liczbie osób. Dlatego też najpierw na dwa tygodnie umieszczono go wystawie u Rayala na rogu ul. św. Anny i Wiślniej. Potem od poniedziałku 14 października znajdował się on na wystawie Ligi Pomocy Przemysłowej przy ul. Straszewskiego³².

Pierwotnie planowano poświęcenie sztandaru na 17 listopada 1912 r., jednakże z niewiadomych przyczyn zostało to przeniesiono na grudzień³³. Finalnie w numerze 24. „Gazety Piekarskiej”, który ukazał się 15 grudnia, pojawiło się zaproszenie na uroczyste poświęcenie sztandaru, które miało się odbyć 28 grudnia 1912 r. w kościele Mariackim. Przedstawiono także plan całego wydarzenia:

- 1) W sobotę dnia 28 grudnia 1912 r. o godzinie 9. z rana zebranie się członków Cechu, P. T. chrześniych rodziców i gości przy ul. Garbarskiej 12,

31 Natalia Krupa, Magdalena Naruszewicz, Beata Krzywicka, Barbara Kalfas, *Dokumentacja prac konserwatorskich i restauratorskich sztandar cechu piekarzy Białego pieczywa z przedstawieniem św. Stanisława 1912 rok* (Kraków, 2010), 10.

32 „Gazeta Piekarska”, 15 października 1912, nr 20, R. V: 3.

33 „Gazeta Piekarska”, 15 listopada 1912, nr 22, R. V: 3.

skąd wyruszy pochód ze sztandarami i insygniami cechowymi do kościoła Najśw. Panny Maryi.

- 2) Bezpośrednio po uroczystym nabożeństwie nastąpi poświęcenie sztandaru przez Najprzewielebniejszego ks. biskupa Adama Stefana Sapiechę³⁴ oraz wbijanie gwoździ pamiątkowych.
- 3) Uczestnicy uroczystości udadzą się po nabożeństwie do sali w domu sławetne go Cechu rzeźników i masarzy „na Kotłowie” przy ul. Kolejowej³⁵.

Relacje, jakie pojawiały się w „Gazecie Piekarskiej”, nie odzwierciedlały wszystkich niuansów związanych z fundacją sztandaru. Opisy były bardzo zwięzłe i jednocześnie płynął z nich bardzo pozytywny przekaz. Jednakże w rzeczywistości obraz był inny. W dokumentach cechowych można dopiero zauważyć szereg kwestii, które wskazują że dyskutowano też i o sztandarze. I tak we wpisie z 9 marca 1910 r. wskazano, że na 25 członków cechu w tym spotkaniu uczestniczyło jedynie 9 osób³⁶. Na sesji 12 października 1910 r. pojawiło się kilka problemów, które zostały całkowicie przemilczane w gazecie. Czy był to zabieg celowy redaktora naczelnego Leona Bałuka? Można się tylko domyślać, że Bałuk nie chciał, by czytelnicy gazety z kraju i zagranicy dowiadawali się o licznych problemach związanych z powstaniem, stąd relacje zamieszczone w gazecie były kpelne patosu i optymizmu, jednak to, co podano w artykułach, np. w kontekście dużego zaangażowania w prace nad sztandarem, nie miało odzwierciedlenia w dokumentach cechowych. Mistrzowie piekarscy niezbyt chętnie uczestniczyli w sesjach, na których obradowano nad opracowaniem sztandaru cechowego i wyborem osobnego Komitetu (nie podano wówczas jego składu). Ustanowiono też wysokość składki na ten cel w wysokości 100 koron od osoby³⁷. W trakcie sesji cechowej z 8 lipca 1911 r. uchwalono wstrzymanie prac aż do zebrania pełnej kwoty (co znów przeczyło relacji gazetowej), a od Emilii Pydyńkowskiej miano zażądać przedstawienia rachunków z dotychczasowych działań³⁸. To żądanie przedstawienia rachunków może sugerować, że prace nie były wykonywane tak, jak życzyłby sobie tego cech. Tydzień później podjęto decyzję w sprawie uzupełnienia składu komitetu odpowiedzialnego za

34 Według informacji zawartej w Kalendarzu Czecha na rok 1914 poświęcenia dokonał biskup Nowak (Anatol Wincenty Nowak, w 1912 r. był biskupem pomocniczym krakowskim), zob. Józefa Czecha Kalendarz na rok Pański 1914, 92.

35 „Gazeta Piekarska”, 15 grudnia 1912, nr 24, R. V: 1.

36 ANK, CPK, 29/168/0/2/41, f. 12.

37 ANK, CPK, 29/168/0/2/41, f. 26.

38 ANK, CPK, 29/168/0/2/41, f. 29.

wykonanie sztandaru. W miejsce Franciszka Kozłowskiego i Jana Wątolskiego weszli Florentyn Götz, Stanisław Długoszewski i Józef Rączkiewicz. Nowi członkowie zostali zobowiązani do działań nad przygotowaniem sztandaru³⁹. Na kolejnym spotkaniu, które odbyło się 1 września 1911 r., Stanisław Pachel oznajmił, że sprawą sztandaru trzeba się „szczerze zająć i doprowadzić ją do końca”. Zebrani podjęli decyzję, że starszy Leon Bałuk, Florentyn Götz, Józef Rączkiewicz i Stanisław Pachel mieli spotkać się 4 września w celu podjęcia dalszych działań⁴⁰. 14 października tegoż roku ponownie dyskutowano nad sprawą sztandaru. Jan Kornecki zaapelował, żeby przymusowo dokończyli to mistrzowie, którzy byli do tego wybrani. Ponadto wskazał, że powinno zwołać się walne zgromadzenie i tę sprawę opracować w ramach posiedzenia. Oba wnioski Wydział cechu przyjął⁴¹. Te relacje po raz kolejny pokazują, że prace nad sztandarem nie przebiegały płynnie i brakowało większego zaangażowania, co przemilczano w relacjach prasowych w „Gazecie Piekarskiej”.

Sprawa sztandaru po raz kolejny pojawiła się na walnym zgromadzeniu dopiero 14 lutego 1912 r. Ustalono, że w sprawie sztandaru 21 lutego na godzinę 4 do pracowni Emilii Pydynkowskiej udadzą się Leon Bałuk, Stanisław Długoszewski, Franciszek Kozłowski i Wincenty Molicki⁴².

Do wizyty raczej nie doszło, bo na posiedzeniu Wydziału w dniu 23 lutego ustalono, że komisja ma zobaczyć postępowanie w robotach w niedzielę 24 lutego⁴³. Przez kilka miesięcy nie zajmowano się sprawą sztandaru, aż do posiedzenia, które miało miejsce 27 lipca. Uchwalono wtedy, że 5 sierpnia zostaną odwiedzeni mistrzowie, którzy jeszcze nie zapłacili składek na sztandar⁴⁴.

Na kolejnym posiedzeniu Wydziału, 17 sierpnia, komisja sztandarowa złożyła sprawozdanie ze swoich czynności. Mistrzowie potwierdzili, że dotychczas zebrano 2786 koron, a 17 sierpnia wpłynęło jeszcze 250, co dało w sumie 3016 koron. Niektórzy mistrzowie jednakże nadal nie uiścili w całości bądź w brakującej części składek, lecz zobowiązali się, że wkrótce je uregulują⁴⁵. 19 września w trakcie walnego zgromadzenia przewodniczący komitetu sztandarowego wskazał, że zebrano około 3500 koron, przy czym nadal nie wszyscy wywiązali się z tego obowiązku.

39 ANK, CPK, 29/168/0/2/41, f. 30.

40 ANK, CPK, 29/168/0/2/41, f. 36.

41 ANK, CPK, 29/168/0/2/41, f. 37.

42 ANK, CPK, 29/168/0/2/41, f. 46.

43 ANK, CPK, 29/168/0/2/41, f. 48.

44 ANK, CPK, 29/168/0/2/41, f. 76.

45 ANK, CPK, 29/168/0/2/41, f. 77.

Do 1 października Jan Wątorski miał zapłacić jeszcze 100 koron, Michał Wójcik zobowiązał się, że będzie przekazywał co miesiąc po 50 koron. Pozostali obiecali, że w najbliższym czasie dokonają wpłat na poczet sztandaru.

Termin odbioru sztandaru zbliżał się nieuchronnie, podczas gdy nadal nie zgromadzono pełnej sumy, na jaką umówiono się z Emilią Pydnkowską. Dlatego też starszy Leon Bałuk zaproponował, żeby brakujące środki pożyczyć z kasy cechowej. Propozycję jednogłośnie uchwalono. Dodatkowo Wincenty Molicki obiecał, że dołoży jeszcze 200 koron, pod warunkiem że mistrzowie, którzy zobowiązali się do datków, wpłacą je. Z końcem września składki mieli złożyć jeszcze: Wawrzyniec Gawędzki: 30 koron, Jan Kwiatkowski: 50 koron, Antoni Tatka: 25 koron i Michał Wójcik: 100 koron.

Komitet miał podjąć decyzję, w jakim kościele będzie miała miejsce uroczystość poświęcenia sztandaru. Do komitetu sztandarowego wybrano 11 mistrzów: Leona Bałuka, Stanisława Dłogoszewskiego, Wawrzyńca Gawędzkiego, Jana Korneckiego, Wojciecha Kroka, Jan Kwiatkowskiego, Franciszka Kozłowskiego, Wincentego Molickiego, Józefa Rączkiewicza, Jana Wątorskiego i Michała Wójcika⁴⁶.

16 października odbyło się specjalne posiedzenie komitetu sztandarowego, na którym po dłuższej dyskusji uchwalono, że poświęcenie sztandaru odbędzie się w kościele Najświętszej Marii Panny w dniu 17 listopada. Do zaproszenia gości wybrano Leona Bałuka i Józefa Rączkiewicza. Treść zaproszeń miał przygotować Leon Bałuk i sekretarz cechu, niejaki Horowski. Uchwalono także zamówienie pamiątkowej książki u introligatora. Miano poprosić rzeźników krakowskich, by użyczyli sali na tę uroczystość.

Wydarzenie to nie odbyło się w planowanym terminie, ponieważ na posiedzeniu Wydziału cechu z 27 listopada podjęto uchwałę, że Leon Bałuk i Józef Rączkiewicz w czwartek 28 listopada udadzą się do księdza biskupa w sprawie wyznaczenia nowego dnia poświęcenia sztandaru⁴⁷.

Na walnym zgromadzeniu z 7 grudnia poinformowano mistrzów, że poświęcenie sztandaru odbędzie się ostatecznie 28 grudnia o godz. 10.00 w kościele Mariackim. Po uroczystościach w sali cechu rzeźników krakowskich zostanie zorganizowane spotkanie przy tzw. zimnym śniadaniu, którego przygotowaniem mieli się zająć Józef Rączkiewicz, Stanisław Dłogoszewski i Michał Wójcik. W trakcie uroczystości poświęcenia nowy

46 ANK, CPK, 29/168/0/2/41, f. 79–80.

47 ANK, CPK, 29/168/0/2/41, f. 84.

sztandar miał nieść (wybrany jednogłośnie) Jan Kwiatkowski⁴⁸. W dokumentach cechowych niestety brak jest informacji, jak przebiegła sama uroczystość, a pełniejszy opis tego uroczystego wydarzenia w kontekście oficjalnego zaproszenia znalazł się tylko w relacji z „Gazety Piekarskiej”, o czym była mowa wcześniej. Ponadto zachowało się zdjęcie z dziedzińca siedziby cechu rzeźników krakowskich (zob. ryc. 5).



POŚWIĘCENIE NOWEGO SZTANDARU CECHU PIEKARZY
W KRAKOWIE DNIA 28 GRUDNIA 1912 R.

Ryc. 5. Poświęcenie sztandaru cechu piekarzy krakowskich

Źródło: *Statut Związku Chrześcijańskich Mistrzów Piekarskich na okręg Województwa Krakowskiego: wraz z rozporządzeniem Ministra Opieki Społecznej o dozorze nad wyrobem i obiegiem mąki i wyrobów mącznych oraz informatorem dla rzemiosła piekarskiego* (Kraków, 1937), 11

Sprawa fundacji sztandaru nie zakończyła się po jego poświęceniu. Pozostał spory dług w kasie cechowej, wynikający z pożyczki na pokrycie wynagrodzenia dla Emilii Pydyńkowskiej, który trzeba było uregulować. Na posiedzeniu Wydziału z 17 kwietnia 1913 r. podjęto po dłuższej dyskusji decyzję o wprowadzeniu nowej książki, gdzie miały być wpisywane tygodniowe bądź ewentualnie miesięczne składki dokonywane w celu zebrania kwoty 1300 koron na pokrycie niedoboru na koszty sztandaru. Do komisji, która miała się tym zająć, zostali wybrani Leon Bałuk, Józef Rączkiewicz i Franciszek Kozłowski⁴⁹. Sprawa miała swój dalszy ciąg na

48 ANK, CPK, 29/168/0/2/41, f. 86.

49 ANK, CPK, 29/168/0/2/41, f. 91.

posiedzeniu Wydziału z 31 października, w trakcie którego uchwalono, że 5 listopada o godz. 8.00 rano starszy Leon Bałuk i Jan Kornecki udadzą się do mistrzów, aby zebrać pieniądze za sztandar i zwrócić te kwoty do kasy cechowej. Resztę brakującej kwoty planowano zebrać w następnym roku⁵⁰. Na posiedzeniu Wydziału 22 listopada 1913 r. na wniosek Michała Wójcika uchwalono, że 100 koron, które jest pobierane od każdego nowego mistrza i które dotychczas było przeznaczone na fundusz zapomogowy, od teraz zostanie przeznaczone na wyrównanie długu za sztandar. Dodatkowo informowano, że dotychczas pokryto jedynie 305 koron długu (50 koron zebrał Stanisław Długoszewski, 155 koron zebrali Leon Bałuk i Jan Kornecki, 100 koron przekazał kierownik piekarni miejskiej)⁵¹. Do zwrotu pozostawało nadal aż 1020 koron, które to w latach następnych miały zostać zwrócone do kasy cechowej⁵². Ostatnim akordem związanym z fundacją nowego sztandaru była propozycja, jaką zgłosił na walnym zgromadzeniu z 5 marca 1914 r. Michał Wójcik. Zaproponował on, żeby na gałce przy nowym sztandarze wyryć nazwiska wszystkich majstrów, którzy należeli do cechu⁵³. W późniejszych miesiącach i latach ani razu już nie wracano do kwestii długów w kasie cechowej wynikających z pożyczki na finalizację zakupu sztandaru.

Przedstawione źródła pozwalają stwierdzić, że proces powstawania sztandaru krakowskiego cechu piekarzy w 1912 r. miał charakter zdecydowanie bardziej skomplikowany niż obraz przedstawiony na łamach „Gazety Piekarskiej”. Przekaz prasowy, utrzymany w tonie entuzjastycznym i podkreślający zgodę oraz zaangażowanie całej wspólnoty, pomijał wiele trudności, z którymi borykał się cech. Wydaje się, że był to jednak zabieg celowy. Dopiero księga cechowa ujawnia niską frekwencję na zebraniach, opóźnienia w pracach komisji, a przede wszystkim problemy finansowe, które zmuszały mistrzów do podejmowania dodatkowych działań i zaciągania wewnętrznych pożyczek z kasy cechu.

Sam sztandar, wykonany w pracowni znanej krakowskiej hafciarki Emilii Pydyńkowskiej, stanowi ważny przykład połączenia symboliki religijnej, cechowej i narodowej. Dobór przedstawień – Matki Boskiej Częstochowskiej wśród panopliów oraz św. Stanisława, z którym piekarze byli związani od wieków – odzwierciedla zarówno tradycję rzemiosła, jak i aspiracje środowiska do podkreślania swego miejsca w historii Krakowa i Polski będącej w tym czasie dalej pod zaborami. Włączenie

50 ANK, CPK, 29/168/0/2/41, f. 103.

51 ANK, CPK, 29/168/0/2/41, f. 104.

52 ANK, CPK, 29/168/0/2/41, f. 110.

53 ANK, CPK, 29/168/0/2/41, f. 115.

elementów heraldycznych, takich jak Orzeł Biały czy herb Litwy, dodatkowo podkreślało ciągłość i znaczenie lokalnej wspólnoty.

Dopiero zestawienie obu typów przekazów, oficjalnej narracji prasowej oraz dokumentacji wewnętrznej, pozwala odtworzyć rzeczywisty przebieg wydarzeń. Fundacja sztandaru była nie tylko aktem religijnym czy patriotycznym, ale także ważnym momentem organizacyjnym i symbolicznym dla całego cechu. Uroczystość poświęcenia w kościele Mariackim stała się zwieńczeniem wieloletnich starań i potwierdziła znaczenie tego sztandaru jako trwałego znaku tożsamości piekarzy krakowskich. Sztandar obecnie jest przechowywany w siedzibie Cechu Rzemiosł Spożywczych.

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Posługa polskich księży w alianckich strefach okupacyjnych po wyzwoleniu KL Dachau

The Pastoral Ministry of Polish Priests in the Allied Occupation Zones after the Liberation of KL Dachau

Abstrakt

W artykule na podstawie źródeł archiwalnych i opracowań przybliżono posługę polskich księży w alianckich strefach okupacyjnych po wyzwoleniu z KL Dachau w kwietniu 1945 r. Materiał przybliży posługę duszpasterską polskich duchownych po wyzwoleniu oraz gehennę obozową polskiego duchowieństwa rzymskokatolickiego ze wskazaniem na KL Dachau pod Monachium jako miejsce martyrologii księży diecezjalnych, zakonnych, diakonów i kleryków w latach II wojny światowej. Obóz ten został utworzony przez Heinricha Himmlera w 1933 r. dla przeciwników Niemieckiej Narodowo-Socjalistycznej Partii Robotników (NSDAP). Wskazanie to poszerzono po wybuchu II wojny światowej i napaści Niemiec hitlerowskich na Polskę 1 września 1939 r. Przewożono wówczas do niego w transportach również ludzi z wszystkich krajów okupowanych przez Niemcy. Trudno ustalić dokładnie liczbę więźniów. Najczęściej w źródłach podaje się, że przebywało w nim około 250 tys. osób. Od końca 1940 r. według szacunków Kościoła katolickiego przebywało w nim 2794 księży, w tym 1773

pochodzących z Polski, spośród których 858 zostało zamordowanych. Jednym z nich był biskup wrocławski Michał Kozal, który został beatyfikowany przez Jana Pawła II w czerwcu 1987 r. W kwietniu 1945 r. polscy duchowni zawierzili siebie oraz wszystkich uwięzionych opiece św. Józefa Kaliskiego. Ich modlitwy zostały wysłuchane przez Boga, zaś obóz i więźniowie zostali ocaleni przed planowaną likwidacją i zatarciem wszelkich śladów o istnieniu tego miejsca. Materiał ukazuje działalność duszpasterską polskich duchownych po ich ocaleniu przez Opatrzność Bożą za wstawiennictwem św. Józefa Kaliskiego z KL Dachau. Omawia ich wkład w odtworzenie i podtrzymanie sieci parafialnej na terenie Niemiec po zakończeniu działań wojennych w 1945 r. Z zachowanego materiału źródłowego, wspomnień i relacji polskich duchownych wyłania się obraz zaangażowania polskich kapłanów w organizowanie duszpasterstwa w parafiach w alianckich strefach okupacyjnych.

Słowa klucze: Bóg, Kościół rzymskokatolicki, II wojna światowa, diecezja, męczeństwo, KL Dachau, duchowieństwo polskie, parafia.

Abstract

Based on archival sources and scholarly studies, this article presents the ministry of Polish priests in the Allied occupation zones after their liberation from KL Dachau in April 1945. The material outlines the pastoral activity of Polish clergy after liberation as well as the camp ordeal of Polish Roman Catholic clergy, with particular emphasis on KL Dachau near Munich as a place of martyrdom of diocesan and religious priests, deacons, and seminarians during the Second World War. The camp was established by Heinrich Himmler in 1933 for opponents of the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP). After the outbreak of the Second World War and Nazi Germany's invasion of Poland on 1 September 1939, its function was expanded, and transports of prisoners from all countries occupied by Germany were sent there. It is difficult to determine the exact number of prisoners; most sources indicate that approximately 250,000 people were held in the camp. From the end of 1940, according to estimates of the Catholic Church, 2,794 priests were imprisoned there, including 1,773 from Poland, of whom 858 were murdered. One of the victims was Bishop Michał Kozal of Wrocław, who was beatified by Pope John Paul II in June 1987. In April 1945, Polish clergy entrusted themselves and all the imprisoned to the care of Saint Joseph of Kalisz. Their prayers were answered by God, and the camp and its prisoners were saved from the planned liquidation and the obliteration of all traces of its existence. The article presents the pastoral activity of Polish clergy after their deliverance from KL Dachau, attributed to Divine Providence through the intercession of Saint Joseph of Kalisz. It discusses their contribution to the reconstruction and maintenance of the parish network in Germany.

after the end of hostilities in 1945. On the basis of preserved source materials, memoirs, and testimonies of Polish clergy, a picture emerges of the commitment of Polish priests to organizing pastoral care in parishes within the Allied occupation zones.

Keywords: God, Roman Catholic Church, the Second World War, diocese, martyrdom, KL Dachau, mercy, Polish clergy, parish.

Przed II wojną światową w parafiach 21 diecezji Kościoła rzymskokatolickiego w granicach II Rzeczypospolitej pracowało 10 154 księży¹. Do tych danych doliczyć trzeba jeszcze 6197 zakonników obrządku łacińskiego z 42 zakonów i zgromadzeń, które prowadziły prace duszpasterskie i misyjne². Zakonnicy, których kościoły włączone zostały w sieć parafialną, sprawowali posługę duszpasterską, przeprowadzali misje ludowe, głosili rekolekcje, obsługiwali miejsca pątnicze, prowadzili wydawnictwa katolickie, a także oddawali się pracy naukowej, pedagogicznej i wychowawczej.

Obóz koncentracyjny w Dachau pod Monachium utworzony został przez Heinricha Himmlera w 1933 r. dla przeciwników Niemieckiej Narodowo-Socjalistycznej Partii Robotników (NSDAP). Wskazanie to poszerzono po wybuchu II wojny światowej i napaści Niemiec hitlerowskich na Polskę 1 września 1939 r. Przewożono wówczas do niego w transportach również ludzi z wszystkich krajów okupowanych przez Niemcy. Trudno ustalić dokładnie liczbę więźniów. Najczęściej podaje się w źródłach, że przebywało w nim około 250 tys. osób³.

W grudniu 1940 r. do tego obozu zaczęto przywozić także polskich księży więzionych w różnych niemieckich obozach koncentracyjnych. Stało się tak na podstawie decyzji Heinricha Himmlera, podjętej w wyniku działań nuncjusza apostolskiego w Berlinie – Cesarego

1 Boleśław Kumor, *Historia Kościoła. Czasy współczesne 1914–1992*, cz. 8 (Lublin: Wydawnictwo Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 2001), 400. Patrz też Edward Jarmoch, Witold Zdaniewicz, „Księża diecezjalni w Polsce”, w *Kościół Katolicki w Polsce. 1918–1990. Rocznik Statystyczny*, red. Leszek Adamczuk, Witold Zdaniewicz (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Instytutu Statystyki Kościoła Katolickiego (ISKK), 1991), 129, tab. 1.

2 Marian Pirożyński, *Zakony męskie w Polsce* (Lublin: Uniwersytet Towarzystwo Wiedzy Chrześcijańskiej, 1937), 5–7; patrz też *Mały rocznik statystyczny za rok 1938* (Warszawa: Główny Urząd Statystyczny Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej, 1939), 342.

3 Teodor Musioł, *Dachau 1933–1945* (Katowice: Wydawnictwo Śląsk, 1968). Por. Eugen Weiler, *Die Geistlicher in Dachau sowie in anderen Konzentrationslager und in Gefängnissen* (Mödling: Missionsdruckerei St. Gabriel, 1972). Wśród osadzonych w KL Dachau więźniów ponad 28 tys. stanowili obywatele II Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej.

Orseniga – oraz propozycji zgromadzenia księży katolickich w jednym obozie⁴. Okrutna rzeczywistość hitlerowskich obozów koncentracyjnych z lat II wojny światowej może być odczytywana przez ludzi tylko jako przepastna historia cierpienia, „życie na granicy życia” i w końcu umieranie milionów ludzi w warunkach uwłaczających wszelkiej godności⁵. Taki obraz tamtych dni pozostawiły wspomnienia wielu więźniów. Wspominając ówczesną codzienność, pisali o kształtującym tamten czas cierpieniu, przeżytych okrutnych karach, masowych egzekucjach, gdy: „zawsąd dochodziły jęki, a wytężając wzrok można było dostrzec padające ludzkie sylwetki”⁶. Rzeczywistość ta może być także odczytywana jako opowieść o ludzkich kryzysach i załamaniach pojawiających się, gdy wyznawane na wolności wartości etyczne stawały się ofiarą moralnego subiektywizmu znajdującego swój wyraz w całkowitym braku wrażliwości na drugiego człowieka. Hitlerowski system z jego zakłamaniem, ukazywaniem rasy i interesu narodowego jako najwyższego celu, z wyraźnym odrzucaniem chrześcijańskiej hierarchii wartości, doprowadził do tego, że „nadludzie” – *Herrenmenschen* – stworzyli misterium nieprawości, którego decydującą odłonę stanowiły zbrodnie popełniane w obozach koncentracyjnych.

Jaką rolę w tym „przebudzeniu” odegrali tak licznie uwięzieni w Dachau księża katolicy – tego nie wiemy. Boleśnie doświadczany człowiek potrzebował zaangażowania się kogoś w refleksję nad obozową egzystencją i w trud zaakceptowania cierpienia. Być może ci dwaj mężczyźni zetknęli się z ukrytą, bo wszelkie praktyki religijne były w Dachau zabronione, „katakumbowa posługa” kapłanów polskich wśród świeckich więźniów obozu. Kierując się wspomnieniem Gustawa Morcinka, że: „człowiek w obozie stawał się bezwiednie metafizykiem, poszukiwaczem Boga, powoli, z wysiłkiem formułował swoje myśli (...), skupiał je i przemieniał jakoby w ciężki kamień, którym pragnął ciskać w sklepienie niebieskie. Jest więc Bóg, czy Go nie ma?”⁷, można sądzić, że rola księży-więźniów w tych poszukiwaniach i odkrywaniu, iż Bóg istnieje, jest kochającym Ojcem, i że istnieje Miłosierdzie, była niewątpliwie

4 Musioł, *Dachau...*, 61. Zob. też Jan Żaryn, *Stolica Apostolska wobec Polski i Polaków 1944–1958 w świetle materiałów ambasady RP przy Watykanie* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Neriton: Instytut Historii Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1998). Chodzi o propozycję umieszczenia w obozie o złagodzonej rygorze, wysuniętą przypuszczalnie przez bpa Heinricha Wienkena, specjalnego komisarza Konferencji Fuldańskiej.

5 Kumor, *Historia Kościoła*, 400. Patrz też Jarmoch, Zdaniewicz, „Księża diecezjalni w Polsce”, 129, tab. 1.

6 Sławomir Kęszka, *Eucharystia w KL Dachau* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo SPES, 2016), 59.

7 Gustaw Morcinek, „Szukanie Boga w obozie”, *Tygodnik Powszechny* 41 (1946): 7.

istotna⁸. Wpływ wiary oddalał w nich budzące się urazy. Nie była to jednak naiwna niepamięć, lecz wypracowane łaską Bożą przebaczenie, bo jak mówili po latach na swoich spotkaniach u św. Józefa Kaliskiego: „Przebaczyć i zapomnieć to dwie różne rzeczy. Mogę komuś przebaczyć, ale zapomnieć nie mogę”⁹.

Szukając pomocy w trudach życia obozowego, księża-więźniowie zawierzyli się Niepokalanemu Sercu Maryi oraz Najświętszemu Sercu Pana Jezusa, a w kwietniu 1945 r., gdy wiadomości o kończącej się wojnie napawały wszystkich uwieczonych nadzieją, ale jednocześnie budziły również lęk i niepewność co do dalszego ich losu, zwrócili się także ku św. Józefowi z kaliskiego obrazu Świętej Rodziny z prośbą o cud wyzwolenia za Jego wstawiennictwem. Uczyniono to 22 kwietnia 1945 r. uroczystym „Aktem oddania się w opiekę św. Józefowi”, który poprzedziła dziewięciodniowa nowenna. Księża zawierzyli wówczas temu Orędownikowi powrót do Polski i swoją późniejszą posługę wśród wiernych w Ojczyźnie, a także zobowiązali się do szerzenia kultu św. Józefa, odbycia pielgrzymki i złożenia hołdu przed cudownym obrazem w kolegiacie Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Maryi Panny w Kaliszu.

Księża i zakonnicy wracali do kraju – podobnie jak pochodzący z Polski świeccy więźniowie KL Dachau, a także osoby wywiezione w okolice Monachium na przymusowe roboty – stopniowo, w różnym czasie, niekiedy nawet z kilkuletnim opóźnieniem w stosunku do chwili wyzwolenia obozu w dniu 29 kwietnia 1945 r. przez oddział patrolowy VII Armii wojsk amerykańskich.

Spowodowane to było zarówno czynnikami obiektywnymi, jak i subiektywnymi. Wśród tych pierwszych istotną rolę odgrywała konieczność odbycia dwutygodniowej kwarantanny związanej ze wspomnianą w pierwszym rozdziale książki Musioła epidemią tyfusu brzuszego (zwyczajnego) i plamistego¹⁰ oraz fakt, że wojskowe władze amerykańskiej strefy okupacyjnej Niemiec, na terenie której znajdował się obóz w Dachau, w pierwszych trzech miesiącach po wyzwoleniu nie organizowały w zasadzie transportów na wschód¹¹. Z kolei władze radzieckiej strefy okupacyjnej nie wyrażały zgody na ich przyjęcie, bo nie były w stanie

8 Sabina Bober, *Bóg i człowieczeństwo w niemieckich obozach koncentracyjnych* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Nauka i Innowacje, 2013), 48.

9 Sławomir Kęszka, „Posługa polskich księży w KL Dachau i jej upamiętnienie”, *Biuletyn IPN* 1–2(146–147) (2018): 56.

10 Zob. np. Musioł, *Dachau 1933–1945*, 226.

11 *Ibidem*, 227–229.

zapewnić dalszego transportu¹², przez co powrót do Polski był wtedy możliwy prawie wyłącznie na własną rękę i często jedynie okreśną drogą.

Tak uczynił na przykład kleryk jezuicki Kazimierz Chudy, który opuścił obóz już w dniu 23 maja 1945 r. i z pomocą niemieckich jezuitów z kolegium w Pullach koło Monachium w sierpniu 1945 r. dotarł do Belgii¹³, gdzie zatrzymał się na dłużej. Tam ukończył naukę seminarijną i przyjął święcenia kapłańskie, i chociaż był jednym z pierwszych duchownych, którzy opuścili obóz, do Polski powrócił dopiero w 1948 r.¹⁴ Podobnie zrobiła – dzięki staraniom ks. Franciszka Korszyńskiego i o. Archanioła Brzezińskiego (przed wywiezieniem do KL Dachau komisarza komisariatu prowincjalnego kapucynów w Warszawie) – studziwieńciosaobowa grupa złożona z kleryków i księży diecezjalnych oraz z seminarzystów kapucyńskich i towarzyszących im zakonników, która dzięki uprzejmości Edmunda Micheleta stojącego na czele Komitetu Francuskiego utworzonego w Dachau po wyzwoleniu obozu wyjechała 26 maja 1945 r. transportem samochodowym wraz z byłymi więźniami francuskimi, do Paryża¹⁵. Osoby, które znajdowały się w tej grupie, należały – tak, jak wymieniony przed chwilą kleryk jezuicki – do tych polskich duchownych, którzy wcześniej opuścili obóz w Dachau, ale podobnie jak on do kraju powrócili z pewnym opóźnieniem – głównie w 1946 r.

Z kolei o określonej drodze powrotu z obozowej niewoli do kraju świadczyć może dla przykładu trasa, jaką przemierzył o. Edward Frankiewicz OFM, który wyjechał z Dachau we wspomnianej wyżej grupie, która udała się do Francji. Tam przez kilka miesięcy pełnił posługę duszpasterską w kilku podparyskich parafiach i oczekiwał na paszport upoważniający do wyjazdu do Polski, o którego przyznanie wystąpił do władz francuskich już w połowie sierpnia 1945 r. Otrzymał go dopiero 28 stycznia 1946 r. i 13 lutego wyjechał koleją do Belgii, gdzie przez Brukselę dotarł do Antwerpii. Stamtąd w dniu 16 lutego odplynął szwedzkim statkiem do Gdyni, a następnie – po otrzymaniu stosownych pozwoleń

12 „Samorząd”, *Defilada. Tygodnik Polskich Sił Zbrojnych w Niemczech* (14.10.1945): 2.

13 Maria Nędzewicz, *Sługa wierny. Zarys biograficzny ks. Kazimierza Chudego SJ* (Toruń: Wydawnictwo. Da Vinci, Toruń, 2002), 62.

14 *Ibidem*, 70.

15 Franciszek Korszyński, *Jasne promienie w Dachau* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Pallotinum, 1985), 223–231; tam jednak błędna data wyjazdu – „27 maja”; AKOK (dalej: Archiwum Księża Obozów Koncentracyjnych), sygn. III-5, Andrzej Jastrzębski, *Przez udrękę obozów do Ojczyzny*, mpis, Nowe Miasto n/Pilicą 1970, 27–29.

repatriacyjnych – drogą kolejową dotarł 23 lutego 1946 r., przez Poznań i Leszno, do swojego przedwojennego klasztoru w Osiecznej¹⁶.

Natomiast wśród czynników o charakterze subiektywnym główną rolę odgrywały wątpliwości, które rodziły się u byłych więźniów KL Dachau na podstawie docierających do nich informacji o niepewnej i niejasnej sytuacji w kraju oraz z powodu braku jednoznacznej odpowiedzi na pytanie: jaka będzie powojenna Polska? Jako przykład tych wątpliwości posłużyć może notatka sporządzona w Dachau 12 maja 1945 r. przez ks. Jana Wosia, salezjanina:

serce mówi, by wracać do Polski. A rozum mówi, że nie można. Stosunki jakie obecnie tam panują nie mówią nic dobrego. Radio mówi, że aresztowania są bardzo liczne, że aresztuje się mężczyzn nawet w kościele, w kinie. Głosy są, że przyjdzie do wojny z Rosją¹⁷.

Z pewnością informacje o takiej lub podobnej treści nie zachęcały do podejmowania starań o przyspieszenie wyjazdu, lecz raczej skłaniały do przesuwania jego terminu na późniejszy czas lub też do zastanawiania się nad ewentualnością pozostania na Zachodzie na stałe, co w rzeczywistości uczyniło wiele osób, w tym także księży i zakonników.

O niejasnej sytuacji w Polsce, spowodowanej ingerencją Sowietów w jej wewnętrzne sprawy administracyjne, gospodarcze i polityczne, wiedziały również władze wojskowe zachodnich stref okupacyjnych Niemiec (amerykańskiej, brytyjskiej i francuskiej)¹⁸ i w myśl międzynarodowej konwencji dotyczącej „dipisów” (od ang. *displaced persons*), czyli „osób przemieszczonych”, które w wyniku wojny znalazły się poza swoim państwem i chcą albo wrócić do kraju, albo znaleźć nową ojczyznę, lecz bez pomocy uczynić tego nie mogą¹⁹, dla pochodzących z Polski byłych

16 Edward Frankiewicz, *Człowiek poza nawiasem* (Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy PAX, 1955), 132–138.

17 Archiwum Salezjańskiej Inspektorii Pilskiej (dalej: ASIP), bez sygn., Jan Woś, *Ostatnie dni Dachau, oswobodzenie nasze przez wojska amerykańskie, pobyt dalszy w Dachau, przeniesienie do Freimannu, zgłoszenie do pracy duszpasterskiej, pobyt w Eschede, praca duszpasterska w Osnabrück. Notatki kronikarskie z owych dni – w dziesiątą rocznicę przepisane*, mpis, 24. Autor składa w tym miejscu podziękowanie dyrektorowi archiwum – ks. dr. hab. Jarosławowi Wąsowiczowi SDB, za umożliwienie zapoznania się z archiwaliami dotyczącymi KL Dachau znajdującymi się w tym archiwum.

18 Zob. np. Czesław Madajczyk, *Okupacja Niemiec 1945–1948*, oprac. Piotr Madajczyk (Warszawa: 2009), *passim*.

19 Międzynarodowa Konstytucja Biura Wysokiego Komisarza Narodów Zjednoczonych do spraw Uchodźców (UNHCR) – *Constitution of the international refugee organization and agreement on interim measures to be taken in respect of refugees and displaced*

więźniów obozów koncentracyjnych, obozów pracy i obozów jenieckich oraz osób wywiezionych na przymusowe roboty, a także żołnierzy z rozwiązanych jednostek wojskowych, którzy znaleźli się w tych strefach, przewidywały zarówno możliwość repatriacji, jak i emigracji²⁰.

Władze amerykańskiej strefy okupacyjnej znały też rozterki Polaków, byłych więźniów KL Dachau, co do ich losów po zakończeniu wojny i w związku z tym w celu dokładniejszego poznania ich zamiarów zakresie repatriacji lub emigracji przygotowały specjalną ankietę. Na jej temat przywołany już wcześniej ks. J. Woś w swoich obozowych notatkach pod datą 14 maja 1945 r. napisał, że: „nowe formularze wypełniamy, co do wyjazdu naszego: 1 – albo do Polski zaraz, 2 – albo do Polski po unormowaniu się stosunków, 3 – albo do Niemiec, jeżeli się chce tu zostać, 4 – albo do Francji, Włoch, Holandii, Czech lub innych krajów”²¹. Pochodzący z Polski byli więźniowie obozu w Dachau – w łącznej liczbie 7702 osób, wśród których znajdowało się 818 duchownych (591 księży diecezjalnych i 227 zakonników)²² – na pytania zawarte w tej ankiecie w dniu 23 maja 1945 r. udzielili następujących odpowiedzi: za natychmiastowym wyjazdem opowiedziało się 1951 osób (25,33%), poczekać do wyjaśnienia się sytuacji politycznej w Polsce zamierzało 4647 osób (60,33%), pozostać w Niemczech postanowiło 306 osób (3,97 %), a decyzję udania się do innych krajów podjęło 798 osób (10,37 %), w tym m.in. do Francji – 285, Stanów Zjednoczonych Ameryki Północnej – 232, Anglii – 96, Belgii – 80, Palestyny – 34, Włoch – 30 i Szwajcarii – 14 osób²³.

Z danych tych wynika, że tylko 1104 osoby (14,33%) wyraziły zamiar pozostania za granicą i osiedlenia się tam na stałe, a zdecydowana większość – 6598 osób (85,67 %) – zdecydowała o powrocie do Polski,

persons. Zob. też Andreas Lembeck, *Wyzwoleni, ale nie wolni. Polskie miasto w okupowanych Niemczech* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Świat Książki, 2006), 38.

20 Zob. np. Wiesław Hładkiewicz, *Polacy w zachodnich strefach okupacyjnych Niemiec 1945–1948* (Zielona Góra: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Pedagogicznej w Zielonej Górze, 1982), passim; Czesław Łuczak, *Polacy w okupowanych Niemczech 1945–1949* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Pracownia Serwisu Oprogramowania, 1993), passim.

21 ASIP, Woś, *Ostatnie dni Dachau...*, 26.

22 W literaturze przedmiotu liczba duchownych obecnych w KL Dachau w chwili jego wyzwolenia określana jest różnie. Autor przyjmuje dane zamieszczone w pracy: Wiktor Jacewicz, Jan Woś, *Martyrologium polskiego duchowieństwa rzymskokatolickiego pod okupacją hitlerowską w latach 1939–1945*, z. 1: „Straty osobowe” (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1977), 36–38.

23 Musioł, *Dachau 1933–1945*, 228.

przy czym 4647 osób (60,33%) planowało odłożyć jego termin do czasu przynajmniej częściowego wyjaśnienia się sytuacji w kraju²⁴.

Repatriacja Polaków z zachodnich terenów III Rzeszy, które obejmowały trzy strefy okupacyjne – amerykańska, brytyjska i francuska – przebiegała stopniowo i z różnym nasileniem. Jej zakres – do końca 1947 r. – przedstawia tabela opracowana na podstawie danych zaczerpniętych z czasopisma „Defilada. Tygodnik Polskich Sił Zbrojnych w Niemczech”, wydawanego na terenie brytyjskiej strefy okupacyjnej²⁵.

Tabela. Repatriacja Polaków z zachodnich stref okupacyjnych Niemiec do końca 1947 r.

Okres	Wyjechało ogółem osób	Wyjechało ze strefy okupacyjnej		
		amerykańskiej	brytyjskiej	francuskiej
do końca września 1945 r.	93 592	93 592	–	–
październik 1945 r.	127 308	73 733	53 575	–
listopad 1945 r.	106 393	23 388	74 005	9 000
grudzień 1945 r.	40 049	5 851	28 265	5 933
styczeń 1946 r.	9 811	1 562	7 806	443
luty 1946 r.	16 576	3 625	12 951	–
marzec 1946 r.	35 366	4 953	27 349	3 064
kwiecień 1946 r.	57 216	11 385	39 724	6 107
maj 1946 r.	34 783	8 494	17 610	8 679
czerwiec 1946 r.	22 051	8 589	10 603	2 859
lipiec 1946 r.	34 765	15 191	18 802	772
sierpień 1946 r.	23 510	11 418	11 433	659
wrzesień 1946 r.	25 264	12 577	11 865	822
październik 1946 r.	46 401	27 405	17 282	1 714
listopad 1946 r.	20 500	10 591	9 160	749
grudzień 1946 r.	19 012	8 682	10 330	–
1947 r.	286 327	118 680	147 564	20 083
Razem	998 924	439 716	498 324	60 884

24 Na temat repatriacji Polaków z różnych ośrodków na terenie Niemiec zob. Krystyna Kersten, „Repatriacja Polaków z b. Rzeszy niemieckiej po II wojnie światowej”, cz. I: 1945, w *Polska Ludowa*, t. VI (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1967), 3–34; cz. II: 1946–1950, *Polska Ludowa*, t. VII (Warszawa: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1968), 3–44.

25 „Ilu Polaków jest w Niemczech”, *Defilada. Tygodnik Polskich Sił Zbrojnych w Niemczech* (30.01.1947): 3. Zob. też Jakub Żak, „Polscy dipłomi w zachodnich strefach okupacyjnych Niemiec na łamach polskiej prasy emigracyjnej”, *Naukowy Przegląd Dziennikarski* 3 (2017): 95–127.

Podaję ją w celu ukazania skali tego problemu²⁶ oraz dla zobrazowania rozmiaru potrzeb w zakresie posługi duszpasterskiej i sakramentalnej pełnionej wśród prawie miliona polskich dipisów głównie przez księży, byłych więźniów KL Dachau, którzy nie chcieli ich pozbawić opieki duchowej²⁷ i w związku z tym powracali do kraju (niekiedy razem z nimi) w różnym czasie i z pewnym opóźnieniem²⁸. Do chwili wyjazdu do Polski część księży-obozowców pracowała najpierw jako sanitariusze w szpitalu zorganizowanym w Allach dla osób więzionych w KL Dachau, a nieco później – wraz z pozostałymi dachauczykami – podjęła pracę duszpasterską w Freimannie, położonym 4 kilometry na północ od Monachium²⁹, gdzie powstał tymczasowy ośrodek dla Polaków. Na przełomie maja i czerwca 1945 r. przewieziono do niego pochodzących z Polski byłych więźniów obozu w Dachau (świeckich i duchownych), a pod koniec czerwca 1945 r. skierowano także osoby wywiezione w okolice Monachium na roboty przymusowe³⁰.

Natomiast z chwilą utworzenia przez Stolicę Apostolską Duszpasterstwa dla Polaków w Niemczech, którego ordynariuszem Pius XII ustanowił 5 czerwca 1945 r. bpa Józefa Gawlinę³¹, księża niezwłocznie odpowiedzieli na apel zawarty w jego odezwie, w której napisał:

26 Józef Smoliński, „Stosunki polsko-amerykańskie bezpośrednio po II wojnie światowej (1945–1947)”, *Ante Portas. Studia nad Bezpieczeństwem* 1(4) (2015): 111–129.

27 Albert Urbański, *Duchowni w Dachau. Wspomnienia z przeżyć około dwóch tysięcy księży w hitlerowskim obozie koncentracyjnym* (Kraków: Wydawnictwo OO. Karmelitów Bosych, 1945), 101.

28 Na temat powrotu księży i zakonników zob. Franciszek Korszyński, *Jasne promienie...*, 279–284, Ludwik Poprawa, *Okruchy wojennych wspomnień*, wybór, opracowanie, redakcja i przypisy Sławomir Kęszka, współpraca Krystyna Splitt (Kalisz: Wydawnictwo Edytor, 2014, 2017), 122–126 (całość wspomnień: AKOK, sygn. I-3/7 – Ludwik Poprawa, *Pamiętnik wojenny 1939–1946*, mpis) oraz AKOK, sygn. III-5 – Andrzej Jastrzębski, *Przez udrękę obozów...*, 42–44.

29 O pracy księży polskich w Freimannie szerzej pisze np. Korszyński, *Jasne promienie...*, a zwłaszcza Poprawa, *Okruchy wojennych wspomnień...*, 91–122.

30 Na jego potrzeby przeznaczone zostały zabudowania byłej szkoły pilotów oraz największe w Niemczech koszary wojskowe SS – zob. np. Czesław Dmochowski, *Widziałem piekło. Przeżycia więźnia obozów niemieckich* (Janów Lubelski: Stowarzyszenie Przymierze, 2006), 262–264 oraz Anna Jagodzińska, *Niezlomni. Wierni Bogu i Ojczyźnie* (Łódź: Archidiecezjalne Wydawnictwo Łódzkie, 2018), 138–139. Z ośrodka tego Polacy wracali do kraju bądź też wyjeżdżali do różnych miejscowości w Niemczech (lub innych krajach), gdzie osiedlali się na stałe.

31 Bp Józef Gawlina pierwszym wikariuszem generalnym Duszpasterstwa dla Polaków w Niemczech i Austrii mianował 5 czerwca 1945 r. ks. kan. F. Jedwabskiego, a po jego wyjeździe 15 listopada 1945 r. do Rzymu w celu objęcia funkcji rektora tamtejszego Instytutu Polskiego, wikariuszem generalnym został ks. prał. E. Lubowiecki – zob. np. Korszyński, *Jasne promienie...*, 143, gdzie jednak błędnie określony jest rok wyjazdu ks. Jedwabskiego – 1946 zamiast 1945.

dziś zaczyna się nowa dla nas praca (...). Z obozów bracia wołają o kapłanów, proszą o spowiedź, błagają o pomoc. Z całego serca dziękuję tym, co na pierwszy zew pospieszyli do naszej smutnej diaspory, by jako Apostołowie prawdy i miłości nieść opuszczonym światło i pokrzepienie. Dziękuję także i tym czcigodnym kapłanom, którzy w gorliwości o Chwałę Bożą i o zbawienie dusz nieśmiertelnych wyczekują chwili na tę pracę duszpasterską (...). Nieście jeszcze ciężar dnia i upalenia, będąc nadal braci naszych podporą, nadzieją i światłością³².

Księża podjęli posługę duszpasterską najpierw wśród Polaków, którzy po zakończeniu II wojny światowej znaleźli się w różnego rodzaju tymczasowych obozach i ośrodkach dla dipisów na terenie Niemiec (w amerykańskiej, brytyjskiej i francuskiej strefie okupacyjnej), a nieco później także w środowiskach polonijnych w innych krajach.

O skali ich posługi świadczyć może na przykład informacja mówiąca, że w okresie od maja 1945 r. do marca 1947 r. w brytyjskiej strefie okupacyjnej (obejmującej północno-zachodnią część Niemiec), podzielonej na trzy dekanaty pokrywające się terytorialnie z rejonami Korpusów armii brytyjskiej, w których każdy obóz lub ośrodek dla dipisów tworzył samodzielną parafię:

księża pobłogosławili 23.031 małżeństw, udzielili 12.352 chrztów, asystowali przy 2.997 pogrzebach, przyjęli na katolicyzm 3.006 osób, wysłuchali spowiedzi ponad 380.000 osób. Urządzono również wiele rekolekcji, uczęszczanych przez tysiączne rzesze wiernych. Staraniem duchowieństwa wydrukowano 170.000 książeczek do nabożeństwa, 37.000 podręczników katechizmu, 300.000 obrazków religijnych, 17.000 kolęd, 80.000 egz. czasopism o treści religijnej. Obecnie [kwiecień 1947 r. – dop. S. K.] pracuje w strefie brytyjskiej 126 księży, którzy obsługują 255 obozów zamieszkałych przez 138.575 osób. Ponadto uczą tutaj księża religii w 13 gimnazjach, w 125 szkołach powszechnych, 101 przedszkolach, 168 kursach i uniwersytetach ludowych, ponadto niosą pociechę religijną chorym w 78 szpitalach³³.

32 [Józef Gawlina], *Odezwa Ordynariusza Księdza Biskupa Józefa Gawliny do duszpasterzy polskich* (Dachau-Freimann, 23 lipca 1945), cyt. za: Ludwik Walkowiak, *Dwa fronty. Wspomnienia więźnia II wojny światowej* (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Kościoła Parafialny pw. Świętej Trójcy w Poznaniu, 1998), 189 (całość odezwy: 187–190).

33 „Bilans pracy polskich księży na terenie Niemiec”, *Dziennik Żołnierza 1. Dywizji Pancerniej* (16.04.1947), 3.

Nieco wcześniej, w październiku 1946 r., w strefie tej pracowało 153 księży³⁴, a w okresie od sierpnia 1945 r. do grudnia 1946 r. – łącznie 257 księży³⁵. Posługa polskich duchownych w obozach dla dipisów stanowi ważny problem badawczy, który dotychczas nie był podejmowany w literaturze przedmiotu, ale wykracza on znacznie poza temat niniejszej pracy i nie będzie w niej szerzej omawiany. Podniesiony został w tym miejscu jedynie sygnałnie, w celu ukazania głównej przyczyny opóźnienia w wypełnianiu przez polskich duchownych obozowych przyrzeczeń, a zwłaszcza tego dotyczącego pielgrzymki dziękczynnej do św. Józefa Kaliskiego.

Korzystając z możliwości przywołania Bożego błogosławieństwa, wielu z nich w czasie wojennej Golgoty obozowej kierowało je w stronę hitlerowców mieszkających przy obozie. Bóg pozwolił im już wtedy oddalić od siebie niszczący gniew. Wspominał o tym w „Biuletynie Informacyjnym Księża byłych Więźniów Obozów” ks. prałat Józef Batkowski. Napisał on:

Chciałbym przytoczyć przykład ks. prof. Seweryna Kowalskiego. Podczas pobytu w Dachau zachęcał nas byśmy korzystali z przywilejów kapłanów i rano po przebudzeniu kierowali swoje błogosławieństwo w stronę baraków SS-manów. Przypominał jak wielkie znaczenie przypisuje Pismo Święte błogosławieństwu. Wiele z nas księży tak czyniło. Myślę, że błogosławienie prawcom ochraniało nas³⁶,

tym bardziej że, jak wspominał bp Ignacy Jeż: „Esesmani nie mogli chodzić na Mszę. Żyli w całkowitej pustce duchowej. A to bardzo niebezpieczny stan”³⁷.

Modlitwa i ofiara z siebie za drugich była obecna w życiu obozowym kapłanów. Obóz KL Dachau jest w sposób szczególnie powiązany z Kaliszem i obecnym tam Narodowym Sanktuarium Świętego Józefa, bo księża cudownie ocaleni za wstawiennictwem świętego Patrona, przybywali do nadprośniańskiego grodu, by dziękować za uratowanie nie tylko ich

34 Materiały przekazane do kaliskiego archiwum księży dachauowczyków przez ks. Mariana Magnuszewskiego – AKOK, sygn. II-19/1, *Spis księży na terenie B.A.O.R. (stan z 27 października 1946)*, 1–3. (B.A.O.R. oznacza brytyjską strefę okupacyjną Niemiec).

35 AKOK, sygn. II-19/1, *Księża polscy, którzy pracują lub pracowali w polskich ośrodkach strefy brytyjskiej w Niemczech, stan z dnia 1 I 1947 r.*, 1–34.

36 Jan Batkowski, „Z ponurych lat historii”, *Biuletyn Informacyjny Komitetu Księża b. Więźniów Obozów Koncentracyjnych* 24 (1996): 47.

37 Ignacy Jeż, *Błogosławcie Pana. Światło i ciemności* (Koszalin: nakł. Kurii Metropolitalnej, 1993), 16.

życia, ale także wszystkich dachauowskich współwięźniów. Utworzyli komitet byłych więźniów obozu, by przekazywać prawdę o martyrologium duchowieństwa w czasach okupacji.

Ufundowana przez nich na 25-lecie wyzwolenia obozu Kaplica Męczeństwa i Wdzięczności, teraz, gdy oni już nie żyją, jest świadectwem, które przypominać ma dalszym pokoleniom prawdę o ich męczeństwie i ofierze³⁸. Ma to wymiar nie tylko modlitewnej pamięci o wielkich czciocielach św. Józefa, ale także błagalny, „w intencji Kościoła i nowych pokoleń Kapłanów Chrystusa”, wyrażonej w słowach pozostawionej przez nich modlitwy.

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38 Sławomir Kęszka, *Kaplica Męczeństwa i Wdzięczności księży dachauowczyków w Sanktuarium św. Józefa w Kaliszu. Przewodnik* (Wrocław-Kalisz: Wydawnictwo Kobus, 2013), 18. Zob. *idem*, „Kaplica Męczeństwa i Wdzięczności duchowieństwa polskiego w Narodowym Sanktuarium Świętego Józefa Kaliskiego. Wotum dziękczynne księży «dachauowczyków» za ocalenie z Dachau”, *Polonia Maior Orientalis* XII (2025).

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MATERIAŁY I RECENZJE



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Tibor Gerencsér, Marcin Grad, Miklos Mitrovits, *Flaga węgierska nad Wisłą. Z dziejów placówki dyplomatycznej Węgier nad Wisłą* [The Hungarian Flag on the Vistula. From the History of the Hungarian Diplomatic Mission in Poland], Warsaw: Wydawnictwo MOST, 2017, 223 pp.

The book under review, although published several years ago, has attracted little attention in Polish historiography. This is somewhat surprising, given the scarcity of publications on the history of Hungary available in Polish, and the even smaller number written from a distinctly Hungarian perspective. It is precisely in this light that *Węgierska flaga nad Wisłą* [The Hungarian Flag on the Vistula River] should be approached. A further contribution of the volume lies in the perspective adopted by its authors: they examine Polish–Hungarian relations through the activities of Hungary’s official diplomatic representation in Poland. While such relations cannot, of course, be analysed without reference to the broader historical context of Polish–Hungarian relations, this is not the authors’ point of departure. Instead, they focus primarily on the

work and initiatives of Hungarian envoys and ambassadors to Poland between 1919–2017.

The book has a rather complex structure, and, in my view, this is its weakest point. It follows a seemingly chronological arrangement, which is at times disturbed by subchapters (themselves divided into smaller sections) dealing with selected issues within a given period. I understand that this helps readers locate specific topics more easily, but it also results in certain passages being repeated within the same chapter.

The titles of some sections are not always particularly well-chosen. For example, subchapter II.4 is entitled *Bez prawdziwych kontaktów (1948–1956)* [Without real contacts (1948–1956)]. This is misleading, as diplomatic relations can hardly be described as formally “false” or “unreal”. A more appropriate title could have been *W cieniu Moskwy* [Under the shadow of Moscow], or something similar, which would indicate that during the Stalinist period bilateral relations were effectively replaced by directives from the Soviet Union.

Subchapter III.2, *Brak przestrzeni* [The lack of space], discusses a highly interesting episode in the exceptionally strained Polish–Hungarian relations between 1957 and 1958, yet the meaning of its enigmatic title becomes clear only after reading it. The title does not refer to the lack of space for an embassy, but to the absence of room for an exhibition planned by the diplomatic post, which was intended to present selected examples of Polish–Hungarian friendship and which, in the end, was never organized, having been blocked by the Polish side.

It is also difficult to accept the title of subchapter III.5, *Lata 70.: dekada szarości* [The 1970s – a grey decade]; in Poland it was certainly not a “grey” period, and the choice of that color for describing Polish–Hungarian relations at the time does not seem particularly accurate either.

The whole discussion is preceded by a mere two-page Introduction, which presents the source base of the publication and its structure only superficially. The goals of the work can hardly be considered modest. As the authors state, “Our intention was to present the less known or hitherto unstudied chapters in the history of the Hungarian Legation in Warsaw from its establishment in 1919 up to 1989” (p. 5). They do not present the methodology they adopted. Instead, a rather substantial portion of the Introduction is devoted to acknowledgments to selected individuals and institutions without whose support the book would not have been published. What is even more surprising, however, is the complete absence of a concluding chapter. Were the authors truly unable to summarize their discussion in any way? One also looks in vain for an index of names. Nowadays, it is difficult to find a scholarly book that

lacks these components; both the conclusion and the name index are essential elements of any academic publication.

However, the main body of the book deserves to be rated highly. It consists of three chapters: I. *Zarys historii polsko-węgierskich stosunków dyplomatycznych w okresie międzywojennym* [An outline of the history of Polish–Hungarian diplomatic relations between the wars] by Tibor Gerencsér; II. *Działalność Poselstwa Węgier w Warszawie i Instytutu Kultury Węgierskiej w latach 1945–1956* [The activity of the Hungarian Diplomatic Mission in Warsaw and the Institute of Hungarian Culture between 1945 and 1956] by Marcin Grad; III. *Od rewolucji do transformacji* [From revolution to transformation] by Miklós Mitrovits. The discussion is supplemented by several additional parts: Chapter IV: *Zarys historii stosunków polsko-węgierskich po 1989 roku* [An outline of the history of Polish–Hungarian relations after 1989], pp. 183–187, with one page devoted to photographs); Chapter V: *Miejsca* [Places], pp. 187–201, offering descriptions of the buildings that officially housed the Hungarian mission and embassy; and Chapter VI: *Twarze* [Faces], which provides short biographies of the official representatives of the Hungarian government in Poland between 1919 and 1944 (pp. 202–208). Chapter VII serves as an Appendix, listing the representatives of the Kingdom of Hungary from the establishment of the diplomatic post until the year the book was published, along with the honorary consulates.

Polish-language readers have received a publication which not only presents the history of Hungarian diplomats in Poland, but also offers a substantial insight into Polish – Hungarian relations in the twentieth century. Thus, alongside matters already well established in historiography – such as Hungarian assistance to Poland in the face of the Bolshevik invasion in 1920, or the Polish demonstrations in front of the Hungarian diplomatic mission in Warsaw in support of the common border in 1938–1939 – the book also highlights important little-known episodes. By this I mean, for example, the work of the secret Hungarian collaborator in Cieszyn, Franciszek Unger, or the history of the making of the 1939 film *Áll a bál* (The ball is on), which was shot in part in Warsaw shortly before the outbreak of the September Campaign. The book also gives due credit to the activities of Pál Domszky, a Hungarian historian and count of Polish–Hungarian origin. Thanks to the Hungarian Association operating since 1942 in the General Government, Domszky offered considerable assistance to both Hungarians and Poles during the harsh years of the German occupation, and the reach of his efforts extended far beyond Warsaw, where the head office of the organization was located. The discussion of the mission of Pál Förtner deserves high

praise; Förtner, who headed the Hungarian Diplomatic Mission in Warsaw after the Second World War, resigned from Hungarian diplomatic service in June 1948 as a protest against the communization of Hungary and the anti-church policies of the authorities of that time. The fragments devoted to the discrepancies between Polish and Hungarian Communists in their assessments of the 1956 Hungarian Uprising are equally noteworthy. A careful reader will also find much of interest in the subsequent chapters, particularly those dealing with the relations between Wojciech Jaruzelski and János Kádár in the 1980s. The strong factual side of the book is hardly surprising, as it was written by two excellent Hungarian historians of the younger generation, Tibor Gerencsér and Miklós Mitrovits, as well as Marcin Grad, who works in Hungarian Studies at the University of Warsaw.

Despite the praise the three authors undoubtedly deserve, the book does contain certain shortcomings. In addition to those already mentioned, I would like to point out a few more, from the reviewer's perspective. What seems surprising in the Bibliography is the inclusion of only the names of archives, without specifying the individual units consulted by the authors. Of course, detailed information can be found in the relevant chapters of the publication, yet the Bibliography should include at least the names and numbers of the fonds. The selection of press sources appears to be impressive, however, here too the authors fail to specify even the particular annual volumes of journals they used. Close reading suggests, moreover, that the press was employed only marginally. Both the archival and the printed sources, as well as the studies used for the analysis, are drawn predominantly from Hungarian scholarship. Archival materials and studies of Polish origin, and in the Polish language, appear to have been used insufficiently. Had they been represented more extensively, the book could have shown, for example, how successive Polish governments assessed the work of the Hungarian diplomatic mission – at least in comparison with other missions and embassies. Unfortunately, the authors have made little attempt to employ comparative analysis; by contrast, their assessment of Poland's and Hungary's relations with their respective neighbours is much better developed and appears, as it were, as a consequence of their mutual relations in particular years.

Polish-language readers have been presented with a book that allows them to examine the activity of Hungarian diplomatic representatives in Poland in the twentieth century. Despite some critical remarks and a slight sense of lingering dissatisfaction, I do recommend the publication as one of few works of this kind. Given the limited knowledge of Hungarian language among Polish readers, a major advantage of the

book is that it provides the results of the research conducted in Hungarian archives, occasionally complemented by other sources. This is by no means a criticism. The authors have succeeded in reconstructing the image that Hungarian diplomats conveyed to their superiors in Budapest and, in doing so, have answered the question of how they depicted the situation in Poland in official reports across the decades. A careful reader may also draw conclusions about how these diplomats assessed the effects of their work among Poles, who their collaborators were, and which factors they believed strengthened – or weakened – Polish-Hungarian relations. In the discussions presented by Gerencsér, Grad and Mitrovits, we also find an attempt to illustrate attitudes toward Poland in Budapest and to show how successive Hungarian governments evaluated the work of their diplomats in Poland. Naturally, the activity of Hungarian diplomats in Warsaw (and in offices in other cities) constitutes merely a small section of the broader landscape of Polish-Hungarian relations. Nevertheless, the authors deserve credit for broadening the contexts wherever possible and for demonstrating both the challenges and difficulties, as well as successes and failures, of the diplomats' work. Given that the book has been neatly edited and translated into Polish, I have no doubt it is essential reading for anyone researching Polish-Hungarian relations in the twentieth century or the history of diplomacy in Central Europe in the period in question.

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Homo politicus – homo medialis.
O kulturze politycznej szlachty polskiej
w XVI wieku. Edmund Kotarski, *Media*
i kultura polityczna szlachty polskiej
***XVI wieku* (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo**
Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego 2025),
ss. 498

Kreślony w badaniach obraz obecności tekstu w kulturze dawnej ujawnia wielowątkowość i złożoność tej problematyki. Niewątpliwie jednym z badaczy, którzy konsekwentnie od lat prowadzą badania skoncentrowane na polskiej literaturze dawnej, a zwłaszcza niedocenianym i trudnym obszarze piśmiennictwa okolicznościowego, osadzonego w kontekstach polityczno-społecznych, jest Edmund Kotarski. Badacz literatury i kultury staropolskiej, publicystyki oraz tradycji retorycznej, edytor, inicjator badań nad kulturą literacką dawnego Gdańska, a w końcu twórca marynistyki staropolskiej.

W kręgu jego zainteresowań badawczych dominuje zwłaszcza proza publicystyczna i okolicznościowa poezja XVI–XVIII wieku oraz wczesna, polska literatura marynistyczna¹. Podejmując te wątki, Edmund Kotar-

1 Spośród znanych prac warto przypomnieć, m.in.: Edmund Kotarski, *Publicystyka Jana Dymitra Solikowskiego* (Toruń: Państwowe Wydawnictwo, 1970);

ski wszedł w obszar badawczy długo niedocenianej, a nawet deprecjonowanej twórczości bezpośrednio powiązanej z życiem społecznym i politycznym dawnej Rzeczypospolitej – literatury okolicznościowej. Przypomnijmy stwierdzenie:

Okolicznościowa literatura polityczna, zwłaszcza zaś okolicznościowa poezja polityczna, była dziedziną przez pół wieku z okładem, odkąd ją odkryto, ezoteryczną, tworzącą zamknięty w sobie rezerwat badawczy dla niewielu wtajemniczonych. Ludzie zresztą w literaturze stateczni sami się trzymali z daleka od tej okolicznościowej literatury i odstraszała od niej..., jako od rzeczy mało poważnej, nierentownej pod względem naukowym, którą nie warto wcale się zajmować...²

Kotarski docenił znaczenie tych czasem drobnych i rozproszonych tekstów dla odtworzenia rozwoju ówczesnej kultury politycznej, pokazania wykorzystywanych w nim metafor, odniesień do motywów znanych z komunikacji wizualnej, a w końcu wskazania roli mediów w kulturze dawnej Polski³.

W 55. rocznicę założenia Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego uhonorowano wieloletnią pracę Edmunda Kotarskiego, który pracował tu od momentu jego powstania – wydano dwa tomy podsumowujące dorobek autora: *Media i kultura polityczna szlachty polskiej XVI wieku* oraz *W Gdańsku XVI–XVII wieku. Szkice*⁴. Szczególne znaczenie ma ta pierwsza praca, w której Kotarski jako badacz staropolskiego dziedzictwa opisał „kreatywną siłę” ówczesnych mediów: „nośników poglądów, opinii i mniemań”

idem, *U progu marynistyki polskiej. XVI–XVII wiek* (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Morskie, 1978 [1979]); *idem*, *Muza gdańska Janowi Sobieskiemu 1673–1696* (Wrocław: Ossolineum, 1985); *idem*, *Gdańska poezja okolicznościowa XVII wieku* (Gdańsk: Instytut Bałtycki, 1993); *idem*, *Muza gdańska Janowi Sobieskiemu 1673–1693* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1985).

- 2 Juliusz Nowak-Dłużewski, „Staropolska okolicznościowa literatura polityczna w rękopisach, jej charakter i postulaty wydawnicze”, w *Z historii polskiej literatury i kultury. Studia* (Warszawa: Instytut Wydawniczy PAX, 1967), 143. Szerzej na ten temat: Janusz Pelc, „Problemy badań literatury okolicznościowej Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej”, *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce* (25) 1990: 91–106; Teresa Michałowska, „Literatura okolicznościowa”, w *Słownik literatury staropolskiej (Średniowiecze – Renesans – Barok)*, pod red. T. Michałowskiej (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1990), 420–424.
- 3 Edmund Kotarski, *Kultura medialna średniowiecza* (Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Semper, 2017).
- 4 *Idem*, *Media i kultura polityczna szlachty polskiej XVI wieku* (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego 2025); *idem*, *W Gdańsku XVI–XVII wieku. Szkice* (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Gdańskiego, 2025).

ujawnianą „w żywym słowie, piśmie i druku”⁵. Przypomnieć wypada, że wiele lat wcześniej autor sformułował definicję publicystyki staropolskiej, doceniając „nieliterackie” i doraźne akty twórcze, niezwykle mocno osadzone w rzeczywistości historycznej⁶.

Wydana właśnie książka *Media i kultura polityczna szlachty polskiej XVI wieku* podsumowuje dotychczasowe prace Kotarskiego, starając się pokazać tytułowe zagadnienie systemowo, w kontekście stanu kultury staropolskiej i jej instytucji, powszechnie znanych i wykorzystywanych języków czy relacji wypowiedzi ideowej z literacką oraz związków retoryki z publicystyką. Autor zakłada, że

media oralne, media pisma i druku... odgrywały niebagatelną rolę w systemie komunikowania się jednostek i zbiorowości, a wybór nośnika przekazu z punktu widzenia szesnastowiecznego szlachcica nie był kwestią marginalną ani przypadkową. Ponadto partner rozmowy, dyskusji, debaty czy dysputy cenił respektowanie dobrych obyczajów medialnych...⁷

Edmund Kotarski prezentuje bardzo ciekawe podejście do badania przeszłości. Ważne dla niego są oczywiście źródła, ale nie mniej ważna pozostaje kwestia zróżnicowanej narracji, realizowanej przez określone środowiska. W swoich badaniach historycznych zorientowanych na kulturę i jej przejawy prezentuje szerokie spojrzenie i szuka nowych metod interpretacyjnych. Pokazuje z jednej strony wybrane i reprezentatywne według niego gatunki oraz „sposoby przekazu” tekstów, a z drugiej modele ich odbioru.

Autor dostarcza czytelnikowi wielu przykładów ilustrujących wprost, jak działały ówczesne instytucje medialne, oraz pokazuje, jakie formy publicystyczne stosowano w tym czasie. Kotarski upatruje narodzenia się kultury politycznej w kontekście pewnych tzw. „stałych kulturowych”, które pobudzały ówczesnych do poznawania rzeczywistości oraz jej interpretowania. Jako badacz skupia się na genezie twórczości, jej związkach z istotnymi wydarzeniami rangi państwowej, miejskiej czy prywatnej. Według Kotarskiego powstające wtedy teksty i przekazy uzasadniały oraz kolportowały konkretną wizję wartości kształtującą kulturę, także tę polityczną. Podkreśla, że kultura polityczna szlachty w XVI wieku rozwijała się głównie w relacji do: monarchii, porządku polityczno-społecznego, jej prerogatyw wobec stanów niższych, ładu parlamentarnego,

5 *Idem, Media i kultura polityczna szlachty polskiej XVI wieku*, 11.

6 *Idem, Dziedzictwo i tradycja. Szkice o literaturze staropolskiej* (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo Morskie, 1990), 126.

7 *Idem, Media i kultura polityczna szlachty polskiej XVI wieku*, 18.

norm prawnych, etycznych i obyczajowych oraz aktualnych problemów państwa⁸.

Edmund Kotarski zestawia tworzone w konkretnych okolicznościach mowy polityczne z powstającymi licznie wierszowanymi wypowiedziami na tematy polityczne. Posługując się przykładem *Odprawy posłów greckich* Jana Kochanowskiego, wskazuje, jak ważną rolę odgrywał humanistyczny dramat polityczny. W końcu sięga także po emendacje i parenezy jako powszechne formy w komunikacji staropolskiej, posiadające znaczenie pouczające i dydaktyczne. Uwaga Kotarskiego koncentruje się również na kwestiach kontekstu interpretacyjnego, uwzględniającego istnienie rytuału, oraz metafory – jako przejawów wypowiedzi artystycznej. Według autora punktem odniesienia politycznych tekstów okolicznościowych są zróżnicowane formy: zwłaszcza proza kaznodziejska i oratorska, spektakle teatralne i inscenizacje parateatralne, a nawet architektura, malarstwo i grafika czy numizmatyka (Kotarski konsekwentnie eksponuje powinowactwo literatury okolicznościowej oraz sztuk plastycznych).

Podkreślić trzeba, że autor traktuje:

media oralne, skryptyalne i drukowane w roli nośników doraźnych prze-myśleń politycznych (w prozie i poezji), ale i emendacyjnych oraz parene-tycznych, powstał[ych] zarówno w strukturach państwa, jak i poza nimi, [...] jako wytwory szlacheckiej kultury politycznej, a zarazem jako czyn-niki uczestniczące w procesie jej kształtowania⁹.

Praca Edmunda Kotarskiego jest niewątpliwym przykładem szacunku dla słowa i tekstu, historycznej spuścizny piśmienniczej XVI-wiecznej Rzeczypospolitej we wszystkich jej przejawach. Ewidentnej pasji badawczej, otwartej na „słowo i pismo” reprezentującej czasem trudne i niedoceniane obszary staropolskiej twórczości. Umiejętność wyłuskania drobnych czasem przykładów, a przecież reprezentujących komunikację konkretnych zbiorowości Kotarski konfrontuje z szerokim ujęciem kulturowym. Analizuje polską kulturę szlachecką i polityczną w kontekście europejskiej kultury dawnej i mobilizuje czytelnika do zastanowienia nad przemianami „medialnymi” istotnymi dla ówczesnej Europy. Penetrując „zapomniane” obszary piśmiennictwa staropolskiego, szuka jego relacji z literaturą obcą i wskazuje wprost na ich zakorzenienie w rodzimej i europejskiej tradycji kulturowej.

8 *Ibidem*, 18–19.

9 *Ibidem*, 24.

Powtórzmy za autorem:

Media były dziełem człowieka i człowiekowi służyły. Istnienie i funkcjonowanie mediów oralnych, skryptualnych i druku oraz mediów wizualnych, bez udziału człowieka (partnera rozmowy, nauczyciela, kapłana, aktora, malarza, rzeźbiarza) było (i jest) wykluczone. Człowiek swoim działaniem zainicjował przełom w kulturze medialnej renesansu, i to nie tylko, co trzeba podkreślić, medialnej. Można mówić o przełomie w dziejach kultury w ogóle¹⁰.

Ta diagnoza wydaje się oczywista, jednak analizy, które pokazywałyby tak wieloaspektowo jej sens i skuteczność w określonym środowisku i czasie, nie są już tak powszechne, tym bardziej cenne są przykłady przytoczone przez Edmunda Kotarskiego.

Swoją analizą Kotarski potwierdził, że piśmiennictwo staropolskie to nie tylko nekropolia nazwisk i tytułów prac, ale również perspektywa atrakcyjnych badań, które to, oparte na interdyscyplinarnym ujęciu metodologicznym i uogólniających koncepcjach badawczych, owocują erudycyjną opowieścią o renesansowych środkach komunikacji w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej.

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10 *Ibidem*, 465.

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***Compendium of Computational
Theology, vol. 1: Introducing
Digital Humanities to Theology,*
ed. Christopher A. Nunn,
Frederike van Oorschot
(Heidelberg: heiBOOKS, 2024),
482 pp.**

Pierwszy tom *Compendium of Computational Theology* to pionierska próba uporządkowania pola wspólnego dla teologii i humanistyki cyfrowej. Redaktorzy tomu, Christopher A. Nunn i Frederike van Oorschot, traktują teologię obliczeniową nie jako nowy nurt doktrynalny, lecz jako obszar pracy badawczej, w którym teologowie mogą świadomie korzystać z narzędzi i metod cyfrowych. Publikacja liczy 482 strony i składa się z pięciu części obejmujących zarówno refleksję ogólną, jak i praktyczne przykłady. Zawiera rozdziały o digitalizacji źródeł, edycjach cyfrowych, analizie tekstu, obrazu, dźwięku i filmu, wizualizacji danych, zarządzaniu informacją badawczą oraz komunikacji naukowej. Zespół autorski tworzą badacze reprezentujący różne dziedziny nauki, dzięki czemu tom ma wyraźnie interdyscyplinarny charakter.

We wstępie redaktorzy formułują dwa zasadnicze cele: uporządkować pole badań, tworząc wspólny język i podstawowy zakres kompetencji

cyfrowych potrzebnych teologom, oraz pokazać, że metody obliczeniowe mają sens wyłącznie jako narzędzia wspierające rozumienie piśmiennictwa i tradycji. We wprowadzeniu Christopher A. Nunn i Frederike van Oorschot szkicują genezę projektu i jego założenia. Omawiają podstawy humanistyki cyfrowej, w tym przygotowanie danych, korpusy, metadane i udostępnianie wyników. Wskazują jednocześnie, że te same wyzwania dotyczą teologii wykorzystującej teksty, nagrania dźwiękowe oraz obrazy. Autorzy, opisując projekt TheoLab w Heidelbergu, podkreślają potrzebę otwartości, współdzielenia danych i weryfikowalności wyników. Pola badawcze dopiero się rozwijają, stąd też tak istotne są obecnie wypracowanie standardów, wymiana doświadczeń i nowoczesna infrastruktura.

Część *PROJECT AND DEFINITION* otwiera artykuł Michaela Piotrowskiego zatytułowany *Schism or Renaissance? On the Relationship Between Computational Humanities and Digital Humanities*. Autor analizuje w nim relację pomiędzy dwiema tradycjami badań nad kulturą cyfrową – humanistyką cyfrową (*digital humanities*) oraz humanistyką obliczeniową (*computational humanities*), wskazując przy tym na różnice metodologiczne. Nie przeciwstawia tych podejść, lecz uznaje je za komplementarne, służące wspólnemu celowi, jakim są badania nad tekstem, językiem i kulturą w środowisku cyfrowym. Piotrowski podkreśla potrzebę ich integracji, łączenia refleksyjności typowej dla humanistyki ze ścisłością metod obliczeniowych. W tym duchu umieszcza także teologię obliczeniową jako pole wymagające współdziałania metod ilościowych i interpretacyjnych. W konkluzji artykułu autor podkreśla, że obliczenia wspomagają rozumienie, ale go nie zastępują.

W opracowaniu *Doing Theology with Videogames – Insights for Computational Theology* Erin Raffety przekonuje czytelnika, że gry i gracze mogą być źródłem wiedzy teologicznej, a zabawa – miejscem jej tworzenia. Punktem odniesienia autorki jest projekt *The Spiritual Loop* zrealizowany w środowisku Minecraft we współpracy z osobami z niepełnosprawnościami i neuroatypowościami. W wirtualnej wiosce z kościołem uczestnicy wykonują zadania zaprojektowane tak, by sprzyjały współuczestnictwu i wspólnemu domykaniu działań. Badania pokazały jednak, że część mechanik gry wzmacnia rywalizację i tzw. kulturę *maker*, co osłabia zakładany cel kooperacji. W odpowiedzi autorka proponuje przesunięcie akcentów z konkurencji na współdziałanie, zapewnienie dostępności oraz podtrzymanie elementu swobodnej zabawy. Tak rozumiany układ ma stabilizować proces współpracy i kierować energię uczestników ku wspólnym, a nie indywidualnym celom.

Rozdział Christophera A. Nunna *On the Practice of Computational Theology* przedstawia teologię obliczeniową jako sposób na szukanie odpowiedzi na pytania teologiczne metodami obliczeniowymi. Autor porządkuje obszary pracy: przygotowanie i kodowanie materiałów, edycje cyfrowe i korpusy, eksplorację i analizę tekstu, analizę sieci oraz wizualizację danych. Zwraca uwagę na znaczenie rzetelności i powtarzalności, a także na rolę zaplecza instytucjonalnego oraz współdzielenia zasobów w osiągnięciu tych celów. Podkreśla, że dane nie są neutralne, a narzędzia współkształtują pytania badawcze i interpretacje wyników. W ujęciu Nunna metody obliczeniowe wspierają proces rozumienia, o ile każdemu etapowi pracy towarzyszy przejrzysta i dostępna dokumentacja.

Część *MULTIMEDIA ACCESS IN THE DIGITAL HUMANITIES* poszerza perspektywę, ukazując teologię obliczeniową w kontekście różnych typów danych: tekstowych, wizualnych, dźwiękowych i audio-wizualnych. We wprowadzeniu redaktorzy zaznaczają, że nie chodzi o proste rozszerzenie materiału o różne media, lecz o zbadanie, w jaki sposób mogą one wzbogacać badania teologiczne i poszerzać analizę zjawisk religijnych. Podkreślają przy tym, że teologia obliczeniowa, wychodząc poza dominację tekstu, zyskuje nowe perspektywy interpretacyjne i uwzględnia obraz oraz dźwięk jako integralne elementy refleksji nad wiarą i kulturą religijną.

Otwierający tę część rozdział Daniela Stöckla *Ben Ezry Text Digitization* ma charakter techniczno-metodyczny. Autor przedstawia kolejne etapy cyfryzacji tekstów – od przygotowania materiału i skanowania, przez rozpoznawanie pisma (OCR/HTR), analizę układu strony i kolejności czytania, po segmentację treści. Zwraca uwagę, że cyfryzacja nie jest neutralna: każda decyzja dotycząca formatu, podziału czy korekty współkształtuje rezultat i późniejszą interpretację. Błędy rozpoznawania, różnice językowe i skryptowe oraz fizyczny stan źródeł sprawiają, że edycja cyfrowa pozostaje zawsze modelem danych, a nie wiernym odwzorowaniem oryginału.

W artykule *Image Digitization* Hubertus Kohle analizuje zastosowanie narzędzi cyfrowych w historii sztuki, koncentrując się na procesie digitalizacji obrazów i jego konsekwencjach dla badań wizualnych. Omawia etapy pracy z materiałem graficznym – rejestrację, opracowanie metadanych i organizację baz wizualnych – podkreślając znaczenie standardów i interoperacyjności danych. Zwraca uwagę, że cyfrowe reprodukcje nie są jedynie kopiami, lecz stanowią samodzielny materiał badawczy, który pozwala na analizę formy, koloru i kompozycji dzieła na szeroką skalę, obejmującą całe kolekcje. Autor akcentuje także potrzebę współpracy

i otwartego udostępniania danych w środowisku badań nad sztuką cyfrową.

Christof Weiß w opracowaniu *Computational Audio and Music Analysis* pokazuje, jak metody cyfrowe wspierają badania nad muzyką, ze szczególnym naciskiem na muzykę sakralną. Po krótkim wprowadzeniu do danych audio autor wykorzystuje przykład *Johannespassion* Bacha i korpusu nagrań z Carus-Verlag, gdzie można śledzić zmiany tonacji i przebieg muzyki na czytelnych wykresach dźwięku. Metody obliczeniowe poszerzają wgląd badacza, ale nie zastępują interpretacji – dlatego ważna jest przejrzystość działań i współpraca muzykologów z informatykami.

Manuel Burghardt wraz ze współautorami w tekście *Computational Tools and Methods for Film and Video Analysis* przedstawia przegląd metod i narzędzi do analizy filmu i wideo, od detekcji ujęć i segmentacji czasowej po rozpoznawanie osób, miejsc, atrybutów twarzy oraz wyszukiwanie pojęć za pomocą modeli wizja-język (np. CLIP). Autorzy omawiają także platformę TIB AV-Analytics, która udostępnia te funkcje badaczom przez interfejs webowy, oraz pokazują studium przypadku na serialu *Gra o tron*. Podkreślają, że automatycznie pozyskane cechy wizualne i dźwiękowe wspierają badanie narracji, lecz nie zastępują interpretacji – stąd potrzeba ram teoretycznych i pracy hermeneutycznej badacza.

Część *FORMS OF DIGITAL TEXT ANALYSIS* stanowi metodologiczny rdzeń tomu. Zebrane tu teksty prowadzą od podstaw programowania i pracy z danymi po przegląd metod analizy tekstu: od klasycznej analizy stylu, przez techniki przetwarzania języka naturalnego, po analizę relacji i wizualizację. Autorzy skupiają się na praktyce badawczej: jak przygotować materiał, jakie kroki są typowe dla danej metody i do jakich pytań najlepiej się ona nadaje.

W otwierającym tę część rozdziale *Python or R? Getting Started with Programming for Humanists* William Mattingly wyjaśnia, dlaczego humanistom potrzebna jest podstawowa znajomość programowania. Porównuje dwa najczęściej używane języki: Python i R, wskazując ich zastosowania w pracy z danymi tekstowymi i analitycznymi oraz różnice w podejściu do przetwarzania i wizualizacji danych. Autor omawia też podstawowe środowiska pracy (takie jak Jupyter Notebook) i zachęca do zdobycia choć minimalnych umiejętności programistycznych, niezbędnych do świadomego korzystania z narzędzi cyfrowych w badaniach humanistycznych.

Po wprowadzeniu Mattingly'ego część metodyczną otwiera studium o stylometrii. W *Stylistic Analysis* Fotis Jannidis porządkuje podstawowe pojęcia i pokazuje, do czego służą metody ilościowe, takie jak m.in. atrybucja autorstwa, profilowanie, stylochronometria. Autor zwięźle opisuje typowy przebieg analizy: przygotowanie zestawu tekstów, wybór badanych elementów językowych, porównywanie ich między sobą oraz rozróżnienie między badaniami z zamkniętym i otwartym zbiorem autorów. Akcentuje przy tym granice metody i potrzebę ostrożnej interpretacji – wyniki ilościowe mają dostarczać czytelnikowi nowych narzędzi analizy i urozmaicać lekturę, a nie zastępować ją.

Caitlin Burge w *Network Analysis* prezentuje ujęcie relacyjne w badaniach nad tekstem. Autorka wyjaśnia, jak zidentyfikować podstawowe elementy, takie jak np. osoby, miejsca, pojęcia, oraz jak określić relacje między nimi. Wyjaśnia także, jak wizualizacje sieci pomagają dostrzec ogólną strukturę współwystępowania, czyli które elementy (osoby, miejsca, pojęcia) pojawiają się razem w tekście i jak często tworzą powiązania między sobą. Burge podkreśla, że analiza sieciowa ma wspierać lekturę, nie ją zastępować, i że jej celem jest uchwycenie zależności.

Rozdział Alexandra Lascha *Discourse Analysis* to przystępne wprowadzenie do jednej z kluczowych metod analizy języka w humanistyce cyfrowej. Autor ujmuje analizę dyskursu jako badanie systemu znaczeń i relacji, w którym język jest traktowany jako forma społecznej komunikacji. Omawia główne tradycje: lingwistyczną, krytyczną i korpusową, koncentrując się na tej ostatniej, pozwalającej ilościowo analizować duże zbiory tekstów. Pokazuje, jak narzędzia cyfrowe pomagają wykrywać wzorce językowe i zależności semantyczne, ale przestrzega przed utratą kontekstu przy nadmiernej automatyzacji. Tekst stanowi syntetyczne i klarowne kompendium dla badaczy szukających podstaw analizy dyskursu w środowisku cyfrowym.

Evelyn Gius w artykule *Named Entity Recognition* przedstawiła zasadę działania jednej z kluczowych metod przetwarzania języka naturalnego – automatycznego rozpoznawania nazw własnych. Autorka omawia kolejne etapy pracy: przygotowanie tekstu, tokenizację, adnotację oraz identyfikację typów nazw, takich jak np. osób, miejsc, instytucji czy dat. Wyjaśnia, jak algorytmy rozpoznają nazwane jednostki i dlaczego tak duże znaczenie ma jakość danych treningowych oraz kontekst językowy. Pokazuje też typowe błędy i ograniczenia, wynikające z wieloznaczności i różnic gatunkowych tekstu. Celem autorki jest objaśnienie działania narzędzia, które stanowi podstawę wielu późniejszych etapów analizy tekstu cyfrowego.

Kolejna autorka, Melanie Althage, w opracowaniu *Topic Modeling* wprowadza czytelnika w jedną z najczęściej stosowanych metod eksploracyjnych w humanistyce cyfrowej. Autorka omawia podstawowe pojęcia: model, korpus, iteracje, oraz kolejne etapy przygotowania materiału: oczyszczanie tekstu, lematyzację, wybór liczby tematów i interpretację wyników. Przedstawia także sposoby wizualizacji rezultatów oraz typowe trudności, takie jak niejednoznaczność tematów czy wpływ parametrów modelu na kształt wyników. Podkreśla, że *topic modeling* ma charakter wspomagający i wymaga refleksyjnego, świadomego odczytywania danych.

W rozdziale *Sentiment Analysis* Rachele Sprugnoli przedstawia w przystępny sposób jedną z podstawowych metod przetwarzania języka naturalnego – automatyczne rozpoznawanie emocjonalnego tonu wypowiedzi. Wyjaśnia, jak identyfikuje się i klasyfikuje opinie oraz emocje w tekście (pozytywne, negatywne, neutralne) na poziomie dokumentu, zdania i aspektu. Omawia główne trudności, takie jak wieloznaczność, zależność znaczeń od kontekstu, ironia i elementy charakterystyczne dla komunikacji internetowej (np. emoji). Prezentuje dwa podejścia – słownikowe i oparte na uczeniu maszynowym, w tym metody głębokiego uczenia – podkreślając znaczenie jakości danych i rzetelnej anotacji.

Rozdział Julii Nantke *Intertextuality Research* stanowi wprowadzenie do badań intertekstualności w środowisku cyfrowym. Autorka przypomina klasyczne ujęcie intertekstualności jako zespołu relacji między tekstami (cytatów, aluzji, parafraz, motywów) i pokazuje, jak analizować je z użyciem metod obliczeniowych. Omawia główne podejścia: porównywanie tekstów pod kątem podobieństwa leksykalnego i frazeologicznego, modelowanie powiązań semantycznych oraz zastosowania stylometrii do wykrywania zależności. Zwraca też uwagę na ograniczenia automatyzacji – zwłaszcza trudność uchwycenia aluzji i odniesień kontekstowych – oraz podkreśla potrzebę współpracy filologów z informatykami. Całość stanowi klarowne kompendium metod analizy relacji między tekstami.

Matthew Wilkens w opracowaniu *Spatial Analysis, or The New Literary Geography* wprowadza czytelników do analizy przestrzennej: łączenia lektury z danymi geograficznymi, by badać, jak literatura przedstawia przestrzeń i relacje między miejscami. Omawia geokodowanie nazw, mapowanie i porównania rozkładów w większych korpusach; podkreśla konieczność rzetelnego przygotowania danych (oczyszczenie, ujednolicenie nazw, doprecyzowanie kontekstu), co umożliwia porównania ilościowe i wizualizację wyników. Zwraca też uwagę na ograniczenia podejść automatycznych, które nie oddają w pełni znaczeń kulturowych

i symbolicznych. Rozdział ma charakter metodyczny i przejrzystość pokazuje narzędzia oraz możliwości analizy przestrzennej.

W rozdziale *Computational Theology and Information Visualization* Janelle Peters omawia rolę wizualizacji w pracy badawczej – nie tylko jako formy prezentacji, lecz także jako etapu, który pozwala dostrzec układy i wzorce niewidoczne w linearnym zapisie. Tekst porządkuje podstawowe zastosowania przedstawień graficznych w projektach nad tekstami: od organizacji wyników po eksplorację zależności. Autorka kładzie nacisk na przejrzystość i adekwatność: dobór formy ma wynikać z pytania badawczego i właściwości danych, a same wizualizacje powinny pozostać czytelne i możliwe do weryfikacji.

Czwartą część tomu zamyka opracowanie Annette von Stockhausen, *Digital Edition*. Autorka porządkuje podstawy przygotowania edycji cyfrowych w standardzie TEI, wyjaśniając, jaką rolę odgrywa oznaczanie struktury i relacji między warstwami dokumentu, a także jaką funkcję pełnią metadane opisowe i techniczne. Wyraźnie podkreśla, że decyzje edytorskie mają charakter interpretacyjny i powinny być jawne – od zasad normalizacji po sposób reprezentacji skrótów czy wariantów. Wskazuje, że dobrze zaprojektowana edycja cyfrowa nie tylko udostępnia tekst, lecz także umożliwia dalszą pracę (wyszukiwanie, kwerendy, łączenie z innymi zasobami) pod warunkiem konsekwentnej dokumentacji przyjętych rozwiązań i zachowania przejrzystości procesu. Ponadto autorka zwraca uwagę na praktyczne aspekty utrzymania edycji: spójność schematów, kontrolę wersji oraz jasne opisy źródeł i zastosowanych reguł, które ułatwiają ponowne wykorzystanie danych.

Część *DISSEMINATION* przenosi uwagę na upowszechnianie i infrastrukturę badań: komunikację naukową, wirtualne środowiska badawcze, zarządzanie danymi, pisanie i redakcję tekstów naukowych wspomagane przez systemy sztucznej inteligencji, przeglądy zasobów cyfrowych oraz przemiany środowisk badawczych i form publikacji. W otwierającym tę część rozdziale *Scientific Communication and Community Building* Ulrike Wuttke omawia rolę komunikacji naukowej w środowisku cyfrowym i jej znaczenie dla budowania wspólnoty badawczej. Autorka podkreśla znaczenie mediów cyfrowych i społecznościowych dla pracy i integracji środowiska. Ważnym wątkiem jest otwarta nauka oraz standardy FAIR (wyszukiwalność, dostępność, interoperacyjność, możliwość ponownego użycia), które wymagają dostosowania do specyfiki danych humanistycznych, w tym teologicznych i historycznych. Wuttke akcentuje też kształcenie kompetencji cyfrowych. Tekst ma charakter praktyczny:

porządkuje istniejące modele i wskazuje, jak narzędzia cyfrowe realnie wspierają współpracę w humanistyce obliczeniowej.

Caroline T. Schroeder w rozdziale *Virtual Research Environments* przedstawia wirtualne środowiska badawcze jako zintegrowane przestrzenie pracy, łączące narzędzia, dane, oprogramowanie i zespoły w ramach jednej platformy — co ułatwia współdzielenie zasobów i wspólną analizę. Autorka pokazuje ich znaczenie dla projektów nad tekstami, w których trzeba integrować rozproszone dane i metadane w spójne struktury. Głównym punktem tekstu jest studium przypadku Coptic Scriptorium – projektu cyfrowego opracowania i analizy tekstów koptyjskich; służy ono pokazaniu, jak w praktyce działają VRE (standaryzacja, wersjonowanie, modułowa praca zespołowa). Aby zilustrować sieci współpracy i kształtowanie wspólnych standardów, Schroeder przywołuje też inicjatywy pokrewne, m.in. Perseus Digital Library, Trismegistos, Papyri.info, Tesserae. W dalszej części autorka porusza kwestie utrzymania infrastruktury, specjalizacji projektów, interoperacyjności oraz konieczności stałej komunikacji między informatykami a badaczami.

Tekst Jochena Apela *Research Data Management* wprowadza w zarządzanie danymi badawczymi w humanistyce i teologii. Autor definiuje dane badawcze i wskazuje ich główne typy. Przedstawia dwa ujęcia RDM: jako zestaw praktyk zapewniających użyteczność danych oraz jako organizację pełnego cyklu życia: od tworzenia i dokumentowania, przez udostępnianie, aż po archiwizację. Szczegółowo omawia zasady FAIR (wyszukiwalność, dostępność, interoperacyjność, ponowne użycie) oraz elementy planu zarządzania danymi. W konkluzji podkreśla, że badań cyfrowych nie da się prowadzić bez świadomego RDM, i wskazuje krajowe oraz europejskie sieci wspierające te działania.

Wpływ narzędzi sztucznej inteligencji na pisarstwo i dydaktykę akademicką omawiają autorzy rozdziału *AI-Supported Text Production in the University*. Johanna Gröpler, Margret Mundorf i Nicolaus Wilder opisują przejście od prostych chatbotów do systemów generujących spójne teksty oraz reakcje uczelni: powstawanie wytycznych i odchodzenie od zakazów na rzecz świadomej integracji w kształceniu. Zwracają uwagę, że sztuczna inteligencja może wpływać pozytywnie na rozwój kompetencji pisarskich i pobudzać krytyczną refleksję. Omawiają także wyzwania prawne i etyczne, takie jak np. ochrona danych czy prawa autorskie. Całość ma charakter informacyjno-refleksyjny i akcentuje odpowiedzialne, przejrzyste korzystanie ze sztucznej inteligencji w środowisku akademickim.

Ulrike Henny-Krahmer w tekście *Reviews of Digital Resources* omawia stan i wyzwania recenzowania zasobów cyfrowych w humanistyce. Na wstępie przypomina funkcje klasycznej recenzji, dotąd odnoszone

głównie do monografii i artykułów, oraz wskazuje, że wraz z przemianą cyfrową pojawiły się edycje cyfrowe, korpusy, bazy danych, oprogramowanie i środowiska badawcze – formy wciąż jeszcze rzadko oceniane. Zwraca uwagę, że ich ocena wymaga nowych kryteriów oraz dodatkowych kompetencji. Dane porównawcze pokazują niedostatek recenzji zasobów cyfrowych w stosunku do publikacji drukowanych. Jako odpowiedź na tę lukę autorka omawia inicjatywy czasopism i społeczności recenzentkich poświęconych tego typu zasobom. W podsumowaniu proponuje recenzje „wielowarstwowe”: osobno dla treści, modelowania danych, implementacji technicznej oraz projektu prezentacji/interfejsu, a także uznanie przeglądów kodu za pełnoprawny element dyskursu naukowego.

Tę część książki zamyka Clifford B. Anderson. Autor w rozdziale *Transformation of Conventional Research Environments and Publication Forms* poddaje analizie wpływ cyfryzacji na cały proces pracy naukowej, od pozyskiwania i opracowania danych po upowszechnianie wyników. W perspektywie studiów nad mediami pokazuje ciągłość między praktykami analogowymi i cyfrowymi, od ograniczeń OCR po interfejsy, które naśladują układ druku. Opisuje też przemiany komunikacji naukowej: współistnienie blogów akademickich, edycji cyfrowych i repozytoriów danych obok klasycznych artykułów i monografii, a także zjawisko bezpośredniego dostępu do kolekcji, z pominięciem tradycyjnych pośredników, oraz bariery licencyjne. W części o publikowaniu cyfrowym szkicuje przejście od świata „offprintów” do edycji hipertekstowych, omawiając zaplecze techniczne oraz ideę *minimal computing* – prostych, oszczędnych w utrzymaniu rozwiązań sprzyjających trwałości i otwartości zasobów. Jak zauważa autor, przyszłość badań zależy od pogodzenia standardów wypracowanych w druku z elastycznością form cyfrowych.

Podsumowując, analizowana monografia otwiera ważny etap w badaniach teologicznych, konsekwentnie łącząc refleksję teologiczną z praktykami i narzędziami cyfrowymi. Książka pod redakcją Christophera A. Nunna i Frederike van Oorschot wyróżnia się spójną koncepcją oraz przemyślaną kompozycją poszczególnych części. Szeroki zakres – od analizy tekstu, obrazu i dźwięku, przez wizualizację danych i metody sieciowe, po kwestie upowszechniania wyników i rolę sztucznej inteligencji, pokazuje, że technologia może wzmacniać proces rozumienia, a nie go zastępować. Redaktorzy umiejętnie utrzymują równowagę między wymiarem technicznym a teologicznym, akcentując odpowiedzialność i świadomą interpretację. Na szczególne wyróżnienie zasługuje połączenie teorii z praktyką oraz przekonujące pokazanie, że cyfrowość stała się naturalnym środowiskiem współczesnych badań. Kompetencje teologa

cyfrowego – obok znajomości tradycyjnych języków i metod – obejmują dziś biegłość w pracy z danymi, narzędziami i dokumentacją.

Jedynym słabszym punktem publikacji wydaje się pewna nierówność akcentów między tekstami oraz niedosyt szerszej refleksji antropologicznej nad tym, jak dane i algorytmy kształtują obraz człowieka i wspólnoty. Mimo to siłą tomu pozostaje otwartość i odwaga w podejmowaniu nowych tematów. Zamiast traktować technologię jako zagrożenie, autorzy pokazują jej realne wsparcie dla badań teologicznych. *Compendium* przekonuje, że cyfrowość nie upraszcza, lecz poszerza pole poznania i interpretacji. Tym samym omawiane dzieło stanowi udane połączenie tradycji z nowoczesnością.

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Stanisław Janeczek, *Quaestiones disputatae. Z dziejów nowożytnej filozofii i kultury filozoficznej* (Lublin: Wydawnictwo KUL, 2024), ss. 408

Książd prof. dr hab. Stanisław Janeczek prowadzi badania w obszarze historii filozofii, logiki i metodologii, które w interdyscyplinarnie profesjonalny sposób wplata w szeroki horyzont studiów nad kulturą. Z jednej strony zajmuje się wpływem kultury na rozwój filozofii i jej kierunków, a z drugiej strony analizuje oddziaływanie różnych prądów filozofii na kulturę zachodnią. Dowodem tego jest treść omawianego tomu, w którego *Przedmowie* autor zaznacza, że

[tom ten – przyp. JB] zawiera rozważania dotyczące wybranych elementów doktryn pierwszoplanowych filozofów, które swoiście rozbłysły w dziejach nowożytnej filozofii europejskiej, a także różnie ukierunkowanej recepcji dorobku tych geniuszy ludzkiej myśli, która jest z kolei przedmiotem historii kultury filozoficznej (s. 8).

To opracowanie o monumentalnych rozmiarach dzieli się na dwie części: *Filozofię europejską* (s. 17–221) i *Filozofię polską* (s. 225–408), zaś o jego intelektualnym potencjale najlepiej świadczą tytuły poszczególnych rozdziałów. W części pierwszej brzmią one następująco: *Zapomniana*

filozofia – nowożytny arystotelizm chrześcijański (druga scholastyka); Retoryka i logika w humanizmie renesansowym i racjonalizmie kartezjańskim; Lumière naturelle jako bon sens w ujęciu René Descartes’a; Metoda analizy i syntezy – René Descartes, Blaise Pascal, Logique de Port-Royal; „Radykalny” racjonalizm René Descartes’a? Z rozważań nad dziejami teorii nauki; Z dziejów genezy nowożytnej filozofii religii – René Descartes; Meandry nowożytnej teorii nauki – Blaise Pascal; Kultura języka a kultura logiczna w myśli Johna Locke’a; Metoda analizy i syntezy – Étienne Bonnot de Condillac; „Długie trwanie” w filozofii wieku XVIII; Filozofia w Wielkiej encyklopedii francuskiej; Prepozytywizm filozofii Jean le Rond d’Alemberta?. Część druga zawiera rozdziały: Czym była polska philosophia recentiorum w epoce oświecenia?; Podręczniki logiki w szkolnictwie Komisji Edukacji Narodowej. Rekonesans badawczy; Kontekst filozoficzny dydaktyki przyrodoznawstwa w szkołach Komisji Edukacji Narodowej; Ideały wychowawcze w szkołach Komisji Edukacji Narodowej – między „nauką moralną” a „nauką chrześcijańską”; Historyczna czy filozoficzna koncepcja religii Hugona Kołłątaja?; Wolność czy wolna wola? Jan Śniadecki – między tradycją a nowożytnością; Ojciec nasz Augusta Cieszkowskiego. Ideologia czy filozofia religijna i katolicka nauka społeczna?; Idzi Radziszewski jako filozof w kontekście poglądów Désiré Merciera; Lubelska szkoła filozofii klasycznej. Tom kończy się indeksem osobowym.

Autor zaznacza (por. s. 8), że większość powyższych rozdziałów ukazała się już wcześniej w czasopiśmie naukowych lub pracach zbiorowych. Omawiany tom nawiązuje tematycznie i ideowo do dwóch wcześniejszych autorskich przedruków: *Komisja Edukacji Narodowej. Studia i szkice z dziejów polskiej kultury intelektualnej* (Lublin: TN KUL, 2018) i *Filozofia – nauka – religia. Studia i szkice z dziejów kultury intelektualnej* (Kęty: Wydawnictwo Marek Derewiecki, 2018). Ponowne wydanie prac autor uzasadnia tym, że po części były one opublikowane w ciągu ostatniego ćwierćwiecza, a więc w okresie nieodległym jak na dokonania historiograficzne. Zdaniem autora zakładana relatywna trwałość dokonań historiograficznych usprawiedliwia braki w tomie w postaci merytorycznych aktualizacji czy uzupełnień. „Usunięto tylko oczywiste błędy, wprowadzono poprawki językowe i ujednolicono zapisy w dokumentacji zawartej w przypisach tych przedruków” (s. 8). Trzeba od razu dodać, że tego rodzaju ponowne wydanie ma sens wówczas, kiedy mamy do czynienia z bardzo wartościowymi pracami naukowymi. Janeczek jest cenionym historykiem filozofii nowożytnej, w tym szczególnie filozofii polskiej, a zarazem znawcą kultury filozoficznej polskiego i europejskiego oświecenia. Jego wieloletnie autorskie badania dotyczące m.in. Komisji

Edukacji Narodowej czy historycznofilozoficznych uwarunkowań nowożytnej koncepcji logiki zaowocowały wypracowaniem własnego warsztatu badawczego. Dokonane przez niego liczne ustalenia są nie tylko nowatorskie i odkrywcze, ale także nakreślają nowe kierunki badań, również w sensie metodologicznym. Ponowne wydanie wcześniejszych artykułów umożliwia ponadto uchwycenie tendencji badawczych, sformułowanie ogólnych refleksji i wniosków, co nie zawsze jest możliwe, gdy mamy przed sobą pojedynczy tekst skupiony na konkretnym problemie i opublikowany w jakimś czasopiśmie naukowym.

Poniżej przedstawimy bliżej dwa zagadnienia obecne w *Quaestiones disputatae*: metodologię uprawiania historii filozofii oraz rolę, miejsce i znaczenie tzw. filozofii zdroworozsądkowej, czyli rozumowania potocznego. Stanowią one jedne z idei przewodnich omawianego tomu.

W rozdziale *Zapomniana filozofia – nowożytny arystotelizm chrześcijański (druga scholastyka)* autor dyskutuje między innymi z krytycznym podejściem Władysława Tatarkiewicza do tzw. drugiej scholastyki (nurtu w filozofii i teologii, który rozkwitł w okresie renesansu, tj. w XVI i XVII wieku, głównie w Hiszpanii i Portugalii). Podejście Tatarkiewicza wynika z wybranej przez niego metodologii uprawiania historii filozofii, sprowadzanej do badania dokonań poszczególnych filozofów (do tzw. historii filozofów). Dziwi, zdaniem Janeczka, niechęć wielu historyków do szerszego omawiania nie tylko historycznofilozoficznego kontekstu wystąpień poszczególnych filozofów, lecz także do pomijania historii kultury wielowarstwowo postrzeganego renesansu. Była to niechęć do kulturalistycznie rozumianej historii filozofii, wynikająca z obawy, aby – jak sam Tatarkiewicz zaznacza – historia filozofii nie rozplynęła się w historii kultury. Autor tomu optuje za pośrednią formą podejścia do historii filozofii – jako historii kultury filozoficznej postulowanej na gruncie polskim przez warszawską szkołę historyków idei. Szkoła ta, rozpatrując metodologię historii filozofii w Polsce, wskazywała na znaczenie dziejów polskiej kultury filozoficznej, skupiając się nie tyle na oryginalnych i wpływowych dziełach w dziejach filozofii, ile na bogatej, szeroko rozumianej literaturze filozoficznej. I to właśnie ta literatura, nie roszcząc sobie pretensji do epokowej oryginalności, często świadczyła o niezawodnej metodzie filozoficznej, jak również stawała się inspiracją dla kultury narodowej. Janeczce chodzi zatem o typ historiografii pokazujący nie tylko rozwiązania oryginalne w dziejach filozofii, lecz także zwracający uwagę na typowe formy filozofii uprawianej w danym okresie, wraz ze sposobami jej upowszechniania, np. w szkolnictwie, wydawnictwach i księgozbiorach. Podejście takie autor dostrzega w wielu współczesnych syntezach historii filozofii, jako przykład podaje tu opracowanie

Friedricha Ueberwega *Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie* (Berlin: Ernst Siegfried Mittler und Sohn, 1920), który akcentuje dokonania czołowych przedstawicieli XVII-wiecznej filozofii, ponadto obszernie ukazuje dokonania liczniejszych, pomniejszych filozofów, zarówno w zakresie działalności badawczej, jak i podręcznikowej. Dodatkowo Ueberwegs opisuje szczegółowo specyfikę dydaktyki filozofii w różnych ośrodkach akademickich.

Koncepcje filozoficzne oryginalnych postaci ukazuje na kanwie, wydaje się szkolarskiego, przedstawienia zawartości ważniejszych pozycji w ich piśmiennictwie, zwracając uwagę na dynamikę ich recepcji czy towarzyszących im polemik (s. 21).

Podobne nastawienie do uprawiania historii filozofii Janeczek dostrzega w *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (s. 168–169, 219) i w *The Cambridge Companion of Seventeenth-Century Philosophy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), gdzie kontekst XVII-wiecznej filozofii omawia się w aspekcie instytucjonalnym, tzn. przedstawiając specyfikę danej dydaktyki filozofii, oraz ideowym (czyli filozoficzno-kulturowym), a także pokazuje się stosunek filozofii europejskiej do oryginalności filozofii Wschodu (Chiny). W takim horyzoncie *Companion* przedstawia najpierw historię zagadnień charakterystycznych dla poszczególnych działów filozofii, aby następnie wskazać znaczenie dokonań oryginalnych, głównych filozofów. Tego typu podejście wymaga wyjścia poza wąski zakres autorów uznanych za oryginalnych oraz podjęcia analizy nie tylko druków szkolnych, ale i rękopisów stosowanych w szkolnictwie, stąd nieprzypadkowo w niemieckiej historiografii nurt ten jest określany jako „filozofia szkolna” (*Schulphilosophie*)

Dyskusja nad metodologią historii filozofii, w tym także historią filozofii w Polsce, jest jednym z istotnych badań prowadzonych przez Janeczka. W szczególności wskazuje on na wartość inspirującej roli historii intelektualnej w uprawianiu historii filozofii rozumianej jako historia kultury filozoficznej. W tym celu z jednej strony odnosi się on do teorii historiografii filozoficznej Stefana Swieżawskiego, który za Étienne’em Gilsonem postulował ideę filozoficznie pojmowanej historii filozofii w formie analiz problemów filozoficznych istotnych dla uprawiania filozofii rozumianej systemowo (s. 392). Z drugiej jednak strony Janeczek podkreśla, że w teorii i praktyce badawczej Swieżawskiego można dostrzec elementy historii kultury filozoficznej (s. 391).

W omawianej pierwszej części tomu Janeczek dużo miejsca poświęca filozofii Kartezjusza: *Lumière naturelle* jako *bon sens* w ujęciu René

Descartes'a (s. 51–60); Metoda analizy i syntezy – René Descartes, Blaise Pascal, *Logique de Port-Royal* (s. 69–85); „Radykalny” racjonalizm René Descartes'a? Z rozważań nad dziejami teorii nauki (s. 87–98); Z dziejów genezy nowożytnej filozofii religii – René Descartes (s. 99–112). Autor słusznie zauważa, że Kartezjusz odrzucał zbudowaną na zdrowym rozsądku filozofię przyrody Arystotelesa i starał się ten fundament zastąpić nowożytną nauką proponowaną przez Galileusza (s. 58, 124). Szukając wiedzy pewnej, Kartezjusz głosił programowy krytycyzm. Poszukiwana wiedza miała się różnić od propagowanej przez nowożytny arystotelizm chrześcijański kultury autorytetu, opierającej się na tezie o trwałości nauki starożytnej/antycznej, której uprawianie sprowadzało się do rozważań i dyskusji w ramach spójnie rozumianego arystotelizmu. Kartezjusz dążył do zastąpienia tak rozumianej nauki badaniem przyrody dla niej samej, wskazując na jej prawa matematyczne i fizyczne. Janeczek podkreśla jednak, że dociekania Kartezjusza wpisują się w pewnym stopniu w myślenie podtrzymujące zdroworozsądkowe rozumienie *lumen naturale* (s. 52–59), które w różnym stopniu miało swoje początki w filozofii starożytnej i średniowiecznej. Kartezjusz był bowiem przekonany o właściwej wszystkim ludziom wrodzonej zdolności umysłu do odróżniania prawdy od fałszu, którą nazywał zdrowym rozsądkiem (*bon sens, sanus sens*), prawym umysłem (*bona mens*), rozumem (*raison*) czy też tradycyjnie brzmiącym przyrodzonym światłem rozumu (*lumen naturale rationis, lumière naturelle de la raison*), „który każdemu człowiekowi dany jest przez naturę” (s. 54). Zakres kompetencji „zdrowego rozsądku” sięga od sfery teoretycznej po umiejętności praktyczne i moralne. Ma o tym świadczyć często cytowane zdanie Kartezjusza: „Rozsądek jest rzeczą najsprawiedliwiej rozdzieloną na świecie” czy też „zdolnością [*puissance* – SJ] poprawnego sądzenia i odróżniania prawdy od fałszu [która – SJ] jest z natury swej jednakowa u wszystkich ludzi”, stąd „do odkrycia nawet prawd najtrudniejszych, byle tylko prowadzono nas należycie, potrzebny jest jedynie tzw. chłopski rozum [*sensus communis, dod. – SJ*]” (s. 54–56). Poszukujący nowej wiedzy (filozofii) Kartezjusz skupiał się na odkrywaniu prawdy, ufając, że poprzez nową metodologię przezwycięży płytkość scholastycznej i renesansowej kultury autorytetu.

Pozostając w opisach kartezjańskich poszukiwań nowej metodologii, Janeczek w przejrzysty sposób zestawia je z metodologią proponowaną przez Blaise'a Pascala, wskazując zarazem na rolę poznania potocznego. O ile Kartezjusz skupiał się na odkryciu metody, a tym samym prawdy, zakładając, że przezwycięży płytkość wspomnianej kultury autorytetu, o tyle Pascal wydaje się bliższy Arystotelesowi, a więc zdroworozsądkowemu poznaniu prawdy (s. 117–120). Według Janeczka celem jego analiz

metodologicznych było znalezienie sposobów udowodnienia prawd już znanych i odróżniania twierdzeń prawdziwych od fałszywych. W precyzowaniu swej metody Pascal korzystał z analiz matematycznych, pytając, co pozwala mu przyjąć określone twierdzenia pierwotne, bez sformułowania ich dodatkowego uzasadnienia.

Zdaniem Janeczka sformułowaną przez Pascala metodę można sprowadzić z jednej strony do skromnego, ale realistycznego postulatu precyzyjnego ustalenia znaczenia używanych terminów, a z drugiej strony do posługiwania się aksjomatami przyjętymi w sposób jasny i oczywisty w celu przeprowadzania dowodu i zastąpienia terminów definicjami. W praktyce nie da się jednak zdefiniować wszystkich pojęć i dowieść wszystkich zasad ze względu na niebezpieczeństwo popadnięcia w błędne koło, musimy więc tym samym dojść do terminów pierwotnych, których już nie możemy zdefiniować, oraz do zasad oczywistych. Uprawnione staje się zatem odwołanie się do zasad potocznych, którymi posługuje się umysł ludzki, a które są mocno ugruntowane w naszej naturze. Pascal ma na myśli przyjęcie bez definicji pewnych pojęć jasnych dzięki „światłu naturalnemu” (np. przestrzeń, czas, ruch, liczba, równość) i uznanie pewnych oraz jasnych powszechnie zasad, mogących stanowić oparcie dla dowodów dalszych twierdzeń. Wszystkie te wymagania urzeczywistnia geometria Euklidesa, która tym samym ma być nauką-wzorcem dla wszystkich innych nauk. Należy przy tym pamiętać, że Pascal uważał, iż realizacja powszechnego, kartezjańskiego modelu uprawiania nauki *more geometrico* napotyka na istotne ograniczenia. Dlatego usiłował szukać uniwersalnych podstaw ludzkiej wiedzy, wychodząc w pewnej mierze poza poznanie *stricte* racjonalne, postulując integralne wykorzystanie nie tylko rozumu i instynktu, ale także rozumu i doświadczenia.

Tym samym Janeczek umiejętnie pokazuje integralność ludzkiej wiedzy postulowanej przez Pascala jako zespalającej z jednej strony rozum, pojęty w sensie podmiotu dokonującego operacji dyskursywnych, z intuicją i instynktem, a z drugiej – zespalającej poznanie naturalne z wiarą. Pascal wychodzi zatem poza zestaw prawd dostępnych w poznaniu ugruntowanym na dyskursie i wyznacza szczególną rolę intuicji. Zarazem tak pojęte wyposażenie ludzkiego umysłu (*lumière naturelle*) odpowiada wiedzy ugruntowanej w sercu. Zdaniem Janeczka podejście to, opozycyjne wobec przejawów naturalistycznie pojętego racjonalizmu, wpisuje się w długi ciąg filozofii zdrowego rozsądku liczącej się z realiami ludzkiej natury. Sięga ona myśli Arystotelesa pomimo nowożytnej kontestacji jego nauki. Punktem odniesienia dla rozważań Pascala jest jednak nade wszystko epistemologia Kartezjusza podkreślającego znaczenie apriorycznych elementów poznania, traktowanych jako naturalne

wyposażenie ludzkiego umysłu, do których odwołuje się intuicja czy instynkt. Konsekwencją integralności poznania jest zatem akceptacja maksymalistycznie pojętej filozofii, nawet jeśli w nowożytności zmienił się jej paradygmat – z metafizycznego na epistemologiczny. Traktowanie ówczesnych ograniczeń w zakresie wykładu metafizyki jako przejawu minimalizmu, a nawet swoistego agnostycyzmu, nie wydaje się jednak uprawnione, dlatego że ze względu na zmianę nowożytnego paradygmatu to epistemologia była głównym terenem, na którym rozgrywały się podstawowe spory filozoficzne. Owocowały one określonymi rozstrzygnięciami światopoglądowymi, istotnymi w perspektywie ówczesnej dominacji kultury religijnej. Można nawet założyć, że właśnie to religijne *milieu* wymuszało podejmowanie wątków metafizycznych, które stanowiłyby fundament światopoglądu religijnego. W tym kontekście wymóg ten aktualizowało ówczesne szkolnictwo, preferując u schyłku okresu oświecenia szkocką filozofię zdrowego rozsądku, broniącą integralności ludzkiej wiedzy wobec przejawów filozoficznego minimalizmu, a nawet swoistego sceptycyzmu, groźnego dla ówczesnego ładu kulturowego.

Podążając za takim tokiem myślenia, Janeczek w części drugiej recenzowanego opracowania pt. *Filozofia polska* omawia rolę rozumowania zdroworozsądkowego w argumentacji filozoficznej proponowanej w pracach Komisji Edukacji Narodowej. W tym kontekście przywołuje zapomniane analizy naukowe Claude'a Buffiera (1661–1737), mało znanego jezuickiego reformatora szkolnictwa, którego postać jest prawie nieobecna w polskiej literaturze dotyczącej nauczania filozofii przez przedstawicieli KEN. Janeczek poświęca mu stosunkowo dużo miejsca w swoich *Quaestiones disputatae* zarówno w pierwszej, jak i drugiej ich części.

Buffier godził empiryzm brytyjski z rodzimą, francuską tradycją racjonalistyczną. Zasadniczy trzon jego dokonań stanowią prace przeznaczone do użytku dydaktycznego, stąd KEN zalecała korzystanie z prac Buffiera w nauczaniu logiki, a jego fundamentalne dzieło polecały pijarskie Ustawy szkolne Stanisława Konarskiego (s. 234). Znaczący wpływ na całościową koncepcję reformy edukacji wprowadzoną przez KEN miały idee i metodologia propagowane przez Wielką Encyklopedię Francuską (s. 62–63). Filozofia była w niej pojmowana jako sztuka refleksji i poprawnego myślenia, co tłumaczy rolę logiki czy etyki. Zarazem ograniczeniu uległa rola arystotelesowskiej metafizyki, z której należało usunąć typowe dla scholastyki „jałowe dysputy” (według KEN), a skupić się jedynie na pozytywnym wykładzie jej podstawowych wątków z odniesieniami światopoglądowymi, jak istnienie Boga i Jego przymioty, wolność człowieka, duchowość duszy czy realność ciała.

Wolter cenił Buffiera za jego powiązania z Johnem Lockiem, stąd część jego dorobku została anonimowo przyswojona w Encyklopedii. Formalnie Buffier nie współpracował z twórcami Encyklopedii z przyczyn światopoglądowych, ale uczestniczył zarówno w naukowym, jak i kulturalnym życiu ówczesnych elit francuskich. Tym samym godził wierność doktrynie Kościoła z otwarciem na ówczesne prądy intelektualne. Nie bez podstawy jest on uznawany za jednego z pionierów filozofii zdrowego rozsądku ze względu na łączenie podejścia empirycznego z docenieniem roli wiedzy apriorycznej (s. 62–63)¹. Z jednej strony zaznaczał rolę refleksji epistemologicznej oraz traktował pioniersko na gruncie francuskim rozważania Johna Locke’a jako przejaw prawdziwej metafizyki, z drugiej podkreślał równocześnie znaczenie pierwszych prawd jako fundamentu wszelkiej wiedzy odkrywanej za pomocą swoiście rozumianego zmysłu wspólnego. W tej perspektywie metafizyka miała się skupiać na analizie natury bytu i jego rodzajów, przy czym istnienie Boga było uważane za jedną z pierwszych prawd.

Omawiane przez Janeczka zagadnienia związane z myśleniem i argumentacją zdroworozsądkową (intuicyjną, a nie tylko formalną czy intencjonalną) nabierają szczególnego, centralnego znaczenia w erze sztucznej inteligencji, a zwłaszcza tzw. generatywnej sztucznej inteligencji. Na ile systemy te mogą – jeśli nie dzisiaj, to może w przyszłości – „myśleć” i „wnioskować” w sensie zdroworozsądkowym, czyli dysponować tradycyjnie rozumianymi pojęciami, sądami i wnioskowaniami? Pytanie to wiąże się z możliwością zbudowania silnej sztucznej inteligencji, która według Johna Searle’a miałaby być świadoma na ludzki sposób. Analizy Janeczka uświadamiają nam, jak złożonym wyzwaniem okazuje się operacjonalizowanie myślenia zdroworozsądkowego (*commonsense reasoning*), a następnie stworzenie algorytmów dla generatywnych dużych modeli językowych (LLM – *Large Language Models*), chociażby dlatego, że modele te uczą się głównie z danych językowych i nie mają bezpośredniego doświadczenia fizycznego świata. Stąd analizowana przez Janeczka historia i wielość ujęć myślenia zdroworozsądkowego mogą dostarczyć kluczowych wskazówek, jak podejść do modelowania

1 Tak zwana filozofia „zdrowego rozsądku” była szkołą epistemologiczną zapoczątkowaną wprawdzie przez Claude’a Buffiera (1661–1737), ale rozwiniętą i spopularyzowaną przez myślicieli szkockiego oświecenia, w szczególności przez Thomasa Reida (1710–1796) i jego zwolenników: Dugalda Stewarta (1753–1828), Jamesa Beattiego (1735–1803) i sir Williama Hamiltona (1788–1856). Wśród zwolenników tej filozofii w XX wieku znaleźli się G.E. Moore, Alvin Plantinga i Nicholas Wolterstorff. Zob. Lisa Hill, „Common Sense Philosophy”, w *The Encyclopedia of Political Thought*, red. Michael T. Gibbons i in. (Hoboken: Wiley-Blackwell, 2014), <https://doi.org/10.1002/9781118474396.wbep0180>.

tej zdolności w sztucznej inteligencji, głównie poprzez podkreślanie, że zdrowy rozsądek to nie tylko operowanie na zbiorach zdań czy faktów, ale przede wszystkim zdolność do rozumienia kontekstu, przyczynowości i przewidywania konsekwencji w niekompletnych warunkach. Czy w ogóle myślenie takie można zamodelować i poddać algorytmizacji? W ślad za szybkim postępem w dziedzinie rozwoju sieci neuronowych duże modele językowe, chociażby takie jak BERT i ChatGPT, coraz lepiej radzą sobie z własną wersją „rozumowania opartego na zdrowym rozsądku”. Niektóre z nich wykazują w tym zakresie wydajność zbliżoną do ludzkiej. Należy jednak mieć na uwadze, że systemy te nadal zawodzą w modulacjach rozumowań, które są niejawne, kontekstowe i zawierają inne, przeplatające się wnioski, które ludzie rozwiązują podświadomie lub nieświadomie. Przykładowo Pascalskie rozumienie zdrowego rozsądku, które on sam nazwał „umysłem intuicyjnym” (*l'esprit de finesse*), stanowi niezwykle poważne wyzwanie dla obecnych systemów sztucznej inteligencji, którego nie udaje się w pełni modelować za pomocą istniejących technologii generatywnej sztucznej inteligencji. Chociaż potrafi ona przetwarzać ogromne ilości danych i wykonywać złożone obliczenia (podobnie jak „matematyczny umysł” Pascala, czyli *l'esprit de géométrie*), to generalnie brakuje jej ludzkiej, opartej na doświadczeniu intuicji i kontekstowego rozumienia, które określają koncepcję Pascala. Podobne pytania pojawiają się przy kartezjańskim *more geometrico* (rozumowaniu za pomocą logicznej analizy i systematycznych, fundamentalnych dowodów), zwłaszcza biorąc pod uwagę wątpliwości Pascala w tej materii. Chociaż dzisiaj mówi się, że kartezjańskie *more geometrico* może być – i jest – modelowane, a tym samym badane w ramach generatywnej sztucznej inteligencji, szczególnie w takich jej obszarach, jak geometryczne, głębokie uczenie się, oraz w ramach sztucznej inteligencji mogącej wykonywać formalne „rozumowanie” matematyczne.

Reasumując: recenzowany tom *Quaestiones disputatae* cechuje z jednej strony wielka dbałość o strukturalną jasność i treściową spójność, a z drugiej strony jego budowa pozwala na oddzielne czytanie poszczególnych rozdziałów. Lektura całości tomu daje wyobrażenie o horyzontach badawczych Janeczka, o jego kompetentnym warsztacie naukowym jako historyka filozofii i jako metodologa pytającego o jej uprawianie. Referując i interpretując poglądy innych myślicieli, autor podaje własne stanowiska w ramach propagowanej przez siebie obiektywno-krytycznej metody rozumienia i uprawiania historii filozofii. Omawia zatem nie tylko inspiracje filozoficzne, lecz także wskazuje na zjawiska podpadające pod szeroko pojętą kulturę i życie społeczne. Chociaż istotne miejsce w prowadzonych przez niego analizach zajmuje spojrzenie zakorzenione

w tradycji chrześcijańskiej, to nie odsuwa na bok interpretacji faktów, kiedy te w jakimś wymiarze nie są z tym spojrzeniem zgodne. Dzieło Stanisława Janeczka jest skierowane nie tylko do profesjonalnych historyków filozofii, lecz także do szerokiego grona odbiorców zainteresowanych nowożytną naukową kulturą europejską i polską.

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