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THE ROLE OF CARDINAL PROTECTORS OF THE POLISH CROWN IN EMBASSIES OF OBEDIENCE IN THE 16TH CENTURY. PREPARATIONS FOR MISSIONS, CEREMONIES AND DIPLOMACY[1]

ABSTRACT
Ever since the Middle Ages, embassies of obedience were sent to Rome to take an oath of fidelity to the pope on behalf of Catholic rulers. In the 16th century it became a courtesy visit and a pretext to pursue political goals. Most importantly, such missions had a huge propaganda significance and served as an opportunity to manifest the power of a kingdom and its ruler in Rome. Every embassy of obedience was received in Rome in accordance with the same principles of the papal ceremonial. The organisation of a mission sent to the pope was a very complicated undertaking. Meeting all the requirements for obedience envoys was a major challenge and required the support of the Holy See. Polish monarchs did not keep permanent representatives in Rome, so cardinal protectors of Poland were the key figures during embassies of obedience. Taking care of the representatives of rulers and making sure that they were appropriately introduced and honoured at the papal court were some of the basic duties of cardinal protectors. Their care was visible at every stage of such an embassy, which is reflected by the parts of this paper. The first part is devoted to the protectors' participation in preparing an embassy before leaving for Rome; the second part presents the cardinals' contribution to the ceremonial part of the embassy; the third part describes the assistance that protectors provided to envoys in relation to their diplomatic activity.

KEYWORDS: Cardinals protectors of Poland; Embassies of Obedience; Papal ceremonial; Diplomacy; Polish relations with the Holy See.

Ever since the Middle Ages, embassies of obedience were sent to Rome to take an oath of fidelity to the pope on behalf of Catholic rulers. Such a mission could be caused by a change on the Apostolic Throne of St. Peter and all newly crowned monarchs were obliged to declare obedience to the head of the Church. Obedience was also declared when new land was incorporated into a kingdom[2].
This custom had been adopted in the 12th century and was reinforced at the time

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2 Marian Banaszak, *Z dziejów dyplomacji watykańskiej. Poselstwa obediencyjne w latach 1534-1605*, 3 voll. (Warszawa: Akademia Teologii Katolickiej, 1975); Hanna Osiecka-Samsonowicz, *Ceremonie e feste polacche nella Roma baroccha 1587-1696* (Roma: Accademia Polacca delle Scienze Biblioteca e Centro Studi, 2014).

of the Western Schism, when the torn papacy wanted rulers to confirm its power[3]. Siding with one of the popes entailed paying homage to him, which is why it was referred to as following the Avignon Obedience, the Roman Obedience or the Pisan Obedience[4]. When the authority of the Holy See was restored in the 15th century, embassies turned into lavish celebrations. In the next century, the declaration of obedience became a courtesy visit and a pretext to pursue political goals. Most importantly, such missions had a huge propaganda significance and served as an opportunity to manifest the power of a kingdom and its ruler in Rome. As written by Maria Antonietta Viscelia, in the modern period the Eternal City was a place of rivalry and the formation of an international hierarchy[5].

In the discussed period, Polish rulers sent fifteen embassies of obedience to Rome. It was started by Alexander Jagiellon, on whose behalf Erazm Ciołek declared obedience to the pope two times: he paid homage to Alexander VI in 1501, when Alexander Jagiellon was the Grand Duke of Lithuania, and four years later to Julius II, when Alexander was the King of Poland. Sigismund I the Old also tried to fulfil this duty towards the papacy. In 1513, he sent Primate Jan Łaski (John à Lasco) to Leo X and a quarter of a century later he sent Tomasz Sobocki to Paul III. Pope Farnese accepted the declaration of obedience made by Sigismund Augustus two more times. In 1545, Mikołaj Myszkowski was sent to make a declaration of obedience to the pope when Sigismund was the Grand Duke of Lithuania and three years later, after his ascension to the Polish throne, he sent Marcin Kromer to Rome. The last king of the Jagiellonian dynasty conscientiously fulfilled his duties, sending embassies to the following bishops of Rome: Julius III (Andrzej Czarnkowski, 1550), Paul IV (Stanisław Maciejowski, 1556) and Pius IV (Adam Konarski, 1560). For elective kings, embassies of obedience were the perfect opportunity to have their rights to the Polish throne confirmed by the papal authority. Stephen Báthory delegated his envoys to Rome three times: two times to meet Gregory XIII (in 1579, Paweł Uchański and four years later, after a victory in a war against Moscow, Stephen's nephew Andrew Báthory paid homage to the pope because Livonia had been incorporated into the Kingdom of Poland) and once to meet Sixtus V (in 1586, when Jan Dymitr Solikowski was sent to Rome). In 1590, at the end of the pontificate of the Felice Peretti pope, Bernard Maciejowski paid homage to him on behalf of Sigismund III Vasa. A few months later, Maciejowski paid homage to Gregory XIV, the newly elected pope. The last embassy in the discussed period arrived in Rome in 1594. It was then that the declaration of obedience to Clement VIII was made by Stanisław Miński on behalf of Sigismund III. When the above-mentioned envoy returned from his mission, he wrote a guide for his successors, which is an excellent

3 Gaetano Moroni, *Dizionario di Erudizione Storico-Ecclesiastico*, vol. 82 (Venezia: Tipografia Emiliana, 1857), 17.

4 Banaszak, Z *dziejów*, vol. 1, 27.

5 Maria Antonietta Visceglia, Catherine Brice, "Introduction", in *Cérémonial et rituel à Rome (XVIe-XIXe siècle)* (Rome: École française de Rome: 1997), 6; Banaszak, *Z dziejów*, vol. 3, 198; Stefano Andretta, "Cerimoniale e diplomazia pontificia nl XVII secolo", in *Cérémonial et rituel à Rome*, 201-222.

source on the organisation of such missions[6].
Every embassy of obedience was received in Rome in accordance with the same principles of the papal ceremonial. The first and the most impressive part of the mission was the envoy's triumphal entry into Rome and the reception of his entourage at the city gates. It ended in the envoy's temporary residence[7]. A few days later the envoy's entourage was welcomed by the pope and cardinals in the Apostolic Palace at a consistory, where the envoy gave a speech and made a declaration of obedience. This was the end the main part of the mission, related to the official presentation and the papal ceremonial. Then the envoy, who was a representative of the ruler, continued to fulfil courtesy duties, such as paying visits to the pope and members of the College of Cardinals. At these meetings, the king's envoy was engaged in diplomatic activity, trying to perform the tasks entrusted to him by the ruler, and when they were completed, he went back to the country.
The organisation of a mission sent to the pope was a very complicated undertaking. Meeting all the requirements for obedience envoys was a major challenge and required the support of the Holy See. It needs to be emphasised that Polish rulers did not keep permanent representatives in Rome, they just periodically sent envoys to stay there for some time. This is why they tried to acquire trusted cardinals from the Sacred College. At the turn of the 16th century, the practice of appointing cardinal protectors by European rulers gained popularity in the Holy See. For adequate remuneration, they defended the rulers' interests before the pope. During the reign of John I Albert and Alexander Jagiellon, Polish diplomats kept in touch with Giovanni Battista Orsini, Juan Lopez and Giovanni Battista Ferrari, but the first historically confirmed protector of Poland was Pietro Isvalies (1505-1513), the former papal nuncio to Hungary and Poland[8]. His successor was Achille de Grassi (1513-1523), who also used to be a nuncio in countries ruled by monarchs of the Jagiellonian dynasty[9]. The next two protectors came from the influential Pucci

6 *Stanisława Mińskiego (1563-1607) Sposób odprawowania poselstwa,* ed. Józef Korzeniowski (Kraków Akademia Umiejetności 1889), 437-65.

7 Henryk Damian Wojtyska, *Papiestwo-Polska 1548-1563, dyplomacja* (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 1977), 301-03; *Historia Dyplomacji Polskiej*, vol. I, red. Marian Biskup (Warszawa: PWN, 1980), 747-51.

8 Krzysztof Rafał Prokop, "Od kiedy kardynał Pietro Isvalies był protektorem Polski w Kurii Rzymskiej?", *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne*, 126 (1999): 89-99; Michał Hirsch, "Z dziejów kontaktów dyplomatycznych między Polską a papiestwem na przełomie XV i XVI w. – pierwszy kardynał-protektor Polski", *Koło Historii*, 18 (2016), 46-8; Id., "Kardynałowie promotorzy, koronni relatorzy – o początkach polskiego protektoratu narodowego w Kolegium Kardynałaów na tle europejskim", in *Sztuka roztropności. Dyplomacja Stolicy Apostolskiej wobec Rzeczypospolitej, Europy i świata w epoce nowożytnej i XX wieku, zbiór studiów*, eds. Krzysztof Ożóg and Ryszard Skowron (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 2020), 33-52.

9 Janusz Smołucha, "Działalność Achilessa de Grassisa jako kardynała protektora Polski przy Stolicy Apostolskiej w latach 1511–1523", *Nasza Przeszłość*, 87 (1997):

family of Florence, one of the closest collaborators of the Medici family. Lorenzo Pucci (1523-1531) was replaced by his nephew Antonio Pucci (1531-1545). The next protector was Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, the grandson of Pope Paul III. He took care of Polish affairs in the Holy See for the next 44 years. He was one of the most influential cardinals, who served as Vice-Chancellor of the Church and Dean of the College of Cardinals for almost half a century[10]. He promoted a custom of appointing cardinals known as Vice-Protectors, who replaced him in his service on behalf of Polish rulers. In over 40 years, there were five of them: Francesco Sfondrati (1545-1550), Bernardino Maffei (1550-1553), Giacomo Puteo (1553-1563), Giacomo Savelli (1562-1587) and Enrico Caetani (1589)[11]. At that time, the protectorate started to resemble an organised institution, as a result of which a congregation for Polish affairs was established in the Sacred College. Miński mentions this institution in his guide for envoys: «When it comes to Polish affairs, you need to communicate with your cardinal protector and vice-protector, as well as with those [cardinals] who are *de la consulta et de la congregatione di Polonia*»[12]. Apart from the protector, the organisation included mainly cardinals vice-protectors, former nuncios and friends of the kingdom. The last protector of Poland in the 16th century was Cardinal Alessandro Peretti di Montalto, cardinal-nephew of Sixtus V, who held this position until his death in 1623[13].

The topic of Polish embassies of obedience in the modern period has been thoroughly studied in Polish historiography. Missions from the years 1534-1605 were discussed in detail in a three-volume work by M. Banaszak and the topic was continued by H. Osiecka-Samsonowicz, who discussed missions organised up to 1696[14]. Separate monographs were devoted to individual embassies from the 17th century[15]. When it comes to literature on cardinal protectors, only a few

147-65.

10 Stefano Andretta, "Farnese, Alessandro", in DBI, vol. 45 (1995) [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/alessandro-farnese_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/ , (access: 3.03.2020)].

11 Wojtyska, *Papiestwo-Polska*, 273-97.

12 Korzeniowski, *Stanisława Mińskiego (1563-1607)*, 460. It is worth noting that "the Congregation for Polish Affairs" has not yet been examined in Polish historiography.

13 Joseph Wodka, *Zur Geschichte der nationalen Protektorat der Kardinale ad der romischen Kurie* (Innsbruck-Leipzig: Verlag Felizian Rauch, 1938), 77-124.

14 Hanna Osiecka-Samsonowicz, *Polskie uroczystości w barokowym Rzymie (1587-1969)* (Warszawa: Instytut Sztuki PAN, 2012); Ead., *Cerimonie e feste polacche nella Roma barocca 1587-1696* (Roma: Accademia Polacca delle Scienze Biblioteca e Centro Studi, 2014).

15 Tomasz Makowski, *Poselstwo Jerzego Ossolińskiego do Rzymu w roku 1633* (Warszawa: Biblioteka Narodowa, 1996); Gaetano Platania, "Il viaggio politico. Il caso di Michele Casimiro Radziwill, principe polacco, a Vienna e Roma nella documentazione d'archivio", in *Il viaggio in testi inediti o rari*, ed. Fernanda Rocetti (Roma: Istituto Nazionale di Studi Romani, 1998), 69-139; Dominika Walawender-Musz, *Entrata księcia Radziwiłła do Rzymu, czyli triumf po polsku*

European countries have comprehensive studies on this topic[16]. Polish literature on the activity of national cardinal protectors is scarce[17]. Therefore, it seems that in Polish and European historiography, the participation of cardinal protectors in the organisation and course of embassies of obedience in the 16th century has not been adequately specified.

At the papal court, protectors fulfilled functions similar to those of diplomats from foreign countries: they served as the informers of their principals, negotiated on their behalf and, which needs to be emphasised, represented them[18]. It seems that the latter task included the obligation to take care of envoys, so due to the fact that protectors were the highest ranking representatives of Poland in the Holy See, they played a crucial role during embassies of obedience. Their care was visible at every stage of such an embassy, which is reflected by the parts of this paper. The first part is devoted to the protectors' participation in preparing an embassy before leaving for Rome; the second part presents the cardinals' contribution to the ceremonial

(Warszawa: Muzeum Pałac w Wilanowie, 2009); Hanna Osiecka-Samsonowicz, "Nieznane poselstwo obediencyjne biskupa Pawła Wołuckiego do papieża Pawła V w 1613 r.", in *Od Kijowa do Rzymu. Z dziejów stosunków ze Stolicą Apostolską i Ukrainą*, eds. Mariusz R. Drozdowski, Wojciech Walczak, Katarzyna Wiszowata-Walczak (Białystok: Instytut Badań nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy, 2012), 183-97.

16 Joseph Wodka, "Deutschordensprotektorat und Protektorat deutscher Nation", *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte – Kanonistische Abteilung*, 34 (1947): 318-25; Oliver Poncet, "The Cardinal-Protectors of the Crowns in the Roman Curia During the First Half of the Seventeenth Century: The Case of France", in *Court and politics in papal Rome*, eds. Gianvittorio Signorotto and Maria Antonietta Visceglia (Cambridge University Press 2002) 158-77; Michael Cotta-Schonberg, "Cardinal Enea Silvio Piccolomini and the Development of Cardinal Protectors of Nations", *Fund og Forskning*, 51 (2012): 49-76; *Gli "Angeli Custodi" delle monarchie: i cardinali protettori delle nazioni*, eds Matteo Sanfilippo and Péter Tusor (Viterbo: Sette Citta, 2017); William E. Wilkie, *The Cardinal Protectors of England. Rome and the Tudors before the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1974).

17 Józef Drabina, "Kardynał protektor Polski w czasach Władysława Jagiełły", *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 89/4 (1982): 665-72; Michał Hirsch, "Z dziejów kontaktów dyplomatycznych", 46-8; Krzysztof Rafał Prokop, "Od kiedy kardynał Pietro Isvalies był protektorem Polski w Kurii Rzymskiej?", *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne*, 126 (1999): 89-9; Janusz Smołucha, "Działalność Achilessa de Grassisa jako kardynała protektora Polski przy Stolicy Apostolskiej w latach 1511–1523", *Nasza Przeszłość*, 87 (1997): 147-65. Michał Hirsch, "Działalność Antonio Pucciego jako kardynała protektora Polski w świetle dziennika podróży do Włoch 1540-1541 Jana z Ocieszyna Ocieskiego", *Nasza Przeszłość*, 129 (2018): 39-65.

18 Bertrand Marceau, "Cardinal Protectors and National Interests", in *A Companion to the Early Modern Cardinal. Brill's companions to the Christian tradition*, red. Mary Hollingsworth, Miles Pattenden and Arnold Witte (Leiden Boston Brill 2020), 198-211.

part of the embassy; the third part describes the assistance that protectors provided to envoys in relation to their diplomatic activity.

1. THE PROTECTORS' PARTICIPATION IN PREPARATIONS FOR THE DEPARTURE OF AN EMBASSY OF OBEDIENCE

Before envoys were sent to Rome, Polish rulers often approached protectors and asked them to help organise the mission. They sought advice on matters related to the person chosen to be the envoy or asked protectors about the planned form of the embassy and whether it would be deemed appropriate by the Holy See. After the tumultuous double election in Poland and the imprisonment of Archduke Maximilian II, Sigismund III Vasa wanted to make a declaration of obedience to Sixtus V as soon as possible to confirm his rights to the throne. Stanisław Reszka, a special envoy, had been sent to Rome beforehand to explain the situation in Poland.

On 9th May 1586 at private audience, the pope declared that Sigismund III was the rightful king of Poland, but he also concluded that only the appearance of an obedience envoy from Poland at a public consistory could prevent the Habsburg faction, whose members did not recognise Vasa as king, from objecting[19]. However, due to difficulties with finding a suitable candidate for the mission, Sigismund III proposed that it should be done by Stanisław Reszka, who was staying in Rome. In accordance with the king's will, Reszka discussed this proposal with the pope and the cardinal protector. Apart from political reasons, it was also a matter of ceremony, because according to the rules, envoys who resided in Rome were not entitled to an official entry into the city. At the request of Sixtus V, Cardinal Farnese convened a commission of cardinals (Tolomeo Gallio, Girolamo della Rovere, Enrico Gaetani, Gaspare Mattei). The protector revealed to Reszka that in his opinion he should be the one to make the declaration of obedience. However, the pope and the Sacred College did not accept a more modest version of the obedience and decided that an official embassy needed to be sent from Poland[20].

The Holy See was interested in who would be chosen to be the obedience envoy. What mattered was his ancestry, titles granted to him in Poland, experience gained during diplomatic missions and his position at the royal court[21]. In 1550, Wawrzyniec Warmuntowski, a courtier and a confidant of Protector Farnese, wrote to the cardinal from Poland that Andrzej Czarnkowski had been chosen to be the envoy. Due to his excellent ancestry, merits and education in Italy, the Polish monarch believed that he would be warmly welcomed by the pope and the cardinal protector[22]. Similarly, in 1555 Sigismund Augustus regularly informed Alessandro Farnese about preparations for the embassy of obedience that was supposed to be sent to Paul IV and asked Vice-Protector Giacomo Puteo (del Pozzo) to help achieve

19 AAV, Nunziatura di Polonia, vol. 30, f. 96; Banaszak, *Z dziejów*, vol. 2, 199-200.

20 *Stanislai Rescii Diarium 1583-1589. Archiwum do Dziejów Literatury i Oświaty w Polsce*, vol. 15, ed. Jan Czubek (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1915), 243-249.

21 Korzeniowski, *Stanisława Mińskiego (1563-1607)*, 446-47; Banaszak, *Z dziejów*, vol. I, 68-75.

22 Augustin Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae gentiumque finitimarum historiam illustrantia […]*, vol. II (Romae: Typis Vaticanis, 1861), 570.

the objectives of the embassy[23]. In 1589, the mission was still being delayed due to Sigismund III Vasa's problems with finding an appropriate envoy. Alessandro Peretti di Montalto, who was the protector of Poland at that time, wrote to nuncio Annibale di Capua, who was staying in Poland, to urge the king to send an embassy, regardless of whether the envoy would be a clergyman or a layman[24].

When an envoy was finally chosen, he was given a number of documents before going to Rome. First of all, the king's envoy obtained a detailed instruction, credentials to the pope and recommendation letters to influential people residing in Rome, who could help organise the entry into the city and fulfil the diplomatic purposes of the mission[25]. Naturally, the addressees of such correspondence were cardinal protectors, vice-protectors and members of the Congregation for Polish affairs.

In the instruction given to Tomasz Sobocki in 1537, he was ordered to visit trusted cardinals who could act as intermediaries in matters entrusted to him. The envoy was supposed to contact protector Antonio Pucci to discuss some political subjects[26]. In an instruction issued in 1545, Mikołaj Myszkowski was ordered to visit protector Farnese before and after his audience with the pope. Moreover, the document specified the manner in which the envoy was supposed to greet the cardinal[27]. In 1548, Marcin Kromer received credentials to the pope and protector and was obliged to consult Alessandro Farnese[28]. Two years later protector Farnese was residing outside of Rome due to his conflict with Pope Julius III[29]. He appointed vice-protector Bernardino Maffei, as his deputy. According to the instruction and letters of recommendation from King Sigismund, Maffei and friend of Poland cardinal Marcello Crescenzi were supposed to watch over Andrzej Czarnkowski[30].

Another strategy was adopted by king Stephen Báthory, who in 1597, gave Paweł

23 AGAD, MK, LL, vol. 12, f. 102v, and vol. 16, f. 185v.

24 AAV, Nunziatura di Polonia, vol. 23, f. 342.

25 The instructions for the legations have been preserved: Tomasz Sobock 1537 in AGAD, MK, LL, vol. 6, ff. 4-13v; Mikołaj Myszkowski 1545/46 in BCz, Ms.285, f. 31-71v; Marcin Kromer 1548 in *Uchańsciana seu Collectio documentorum illustrantium vitam et res gestas Jacobi Uchański Archiepiscopi Gnesnensis […]*, vol. II, ed. Teodor Wierzbowski (Drukarnia J. Bergera Warszawa 1885), n. 7, 12; Andrzej Czarnkowski 1550 in AGAD, MK, LL, vol. 12, f. 282v-304; Stanisław Maciejowski 1556 in AGAD, MK, LL, vol. 14, f. 299-300v; Paweł Uchański 1579 in AGAD, MK, LL, 21, f. 232-237v, and Wierzbowski, *Uchańsiana*, vol. III, 292-98; Andrzej Batory 1583 in *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. 5: *Alberti Bolognetti Nuntii Apostolici in Polonia epistolae et acta 1581-1585*, ed. Edward Kuntze and Czesław Nanke (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności 1923-1933), 525-27; Bernard Maciejowski in AAV, Nunziatura di Polonia, vol. 30, f. 191v, and Banaszak, *Z dziejów*, vol. I, 76-81.

26 AGAD, MK, LL, vol. 6, f. 4-13v; Banaszak, *Z dziejów*, vol. II, 20-7.

27 BCz, Ms. 85, f. 33v-34.

28 Wierzbowski, *Uchańsciana*, vol. 2, n. 7, 12.

29 Wojtyska, *Papiestwo-Polska*, 278.

30 AGAD, MK, LL, vol. 13, f. 89. Only a letter to Cardinal B. Maffei survived.

Uchański a number of letters to cardinals and several were left without specific addressees[31]. It was the usual practice of the royal chancery in 16th century, which gave the envoy an opportunity to try to win over influential cardinals in Rome[32]. When Stanisław Maciejewski was sent to Rome in 1590, he had delegated his secretary Paweł Wołucki to the Eternal City before he departed himself because he wanted Wołucki to prepare everything for his arrival. Because of that, he wrote a letter to Cardinal Protector Alessandro Perreti di Montalto, asking him to help his servant make preparations for the arrival of the embassy[33].

One of the most important matters that an envoy had to settle before his departure was securing a temporary residence in Rome. Apart from rudimentary residential functions, it had to meet adequate representative requirements. Stanisław Miński wrote that an envoy's palace should have a large ballroom, a smaller dining room and an audience room with an adequate number of antechambers. Polish envoys had to look for appropriate premises on their own. In a letter from 1583, addressed to Giovanni Andrea Caligari, nuncio to Poland, Cardinal Tolomeo Gallo explained that papal legates were not accommodated for free in Poland, so there was no reason to do things differently when Poles visited Rome[34]. Therefore, the cost of renting a palace had to be covered by the envoy, and the required sums were substantial. In 1573, Stanisław Reszka wrote that it had cost 360 scudi a year to rent a palace for Hosius in Rome[35]. A few years later, Paweł Wolski, who came to Rome as the ambassador of the king of Poland, paid 550 ducats for a 12-month lease[36]. The problem was that Romans did not want to rent palaces by the month and the shortest possible term was six months, but it was preferable to rent premises for the whole year and pay in advance. Stanisław Miński advised envoys to look for houses which had already been rented but were then left early by the tenants[37].

This is where cardinal protectors of the Kingdom of Poland came to the rescue because they were the best suited to look for residences. Roman cardinals often

31 AGAD, MK, LL, vol. 21, f. 232. Among the known addressees were Cardinals Giulielmo Sirleti and Stanisław Hozjusz.

32 Włodzimierz Stanisław de Broel-Plater, *Zbiór pamiętników do dziejów polskich*, vol. I (Drukarina Gazety Codziennej Warszawa 1858), 122-24. Such a practice was used in diplomatic contacts by Zygmunt Stary with Erazm Ciołek, who was staying in Rome.

33 AAV, Nunziatura di Polonia, vol. 31, ff. 254, 487; Augustino Theiner, *Vetera Monumenta Poloniae et Lithuaniae*, vol. III (Romae Tipis Vaticanis 1863), 170.

34 *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. VI: *Alberti Bolognetti nuntii apostolici in Polonia. Epistolae et acta 1581-1585*. Pars II: *1583*, (Polska Akademia Umiejętności, Kraków 1938), 673-74.

35 *Z dworu Stanisława Hozjusza: listy Stanisława Reszki do Marcina Kromera, 1568-1582*, ed. Jadwiga Ambrozja Kalinowska (Olsztyn: Towarzystwo Naukowe im. Wojciecha Kętrzyńskiego, 1992), n. 45, 54-5.

36 *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. 4: I. *A. Caligarii nuntii apostolici in Polonia epistolae et acta 1578-1581*, ed. Ludovicus Boratyński (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1915), 306.

37 Korzeniowski, *Stanisława Mińskiego (1563-1607)*, 447-48.

had a number of residences in the city. Apart from owning family palaces, which was a matter of honour for every respectful Roman family, cardinals were also given residences assigned to cardinal titles and other functions they performed[38]. It is confirmed by a message written by nuncio Caligari in 1579, in which he asked protector Alessandro Farnese to prepare an apartment for a Polish envoy in the palace of the archpriest of St. Peter's Basilica or in the palace in Campo dei Fiori, as was customary[39]. It seems that staying in the protector's palace was free. Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius spent a decade in Italy and for several years he stayed in the palace of the archpriest of St. Peter's Basilica for free, by courtesy of Cardinal Protector Farnese. Hosius also stayed for shorter periods of time in Farnese's family palace in Campo dei Fiori.[40]

An exceptional situation took place in 1583, when Andrew Báthory, the nephew of King Stephan, was invited to stay at the Apostolic Palace in the Vatican by Gregory XIII. Báthory's mission was special in many respects. The envoy was in Rome to pay homage to the pope because Livonia had been incorporated into the Kingdom of Poland and when the obedience did not cover all the lands of a given country. It was usually treated as less official and envoys were refused certain privileges. However, in this case it was compensated by the fact that the envoy was a close relative of the ruler, which was highly appreciated in Rome. The special treatment of Andrew Báthory was also evident due to the pope's promise to appoint him cardinal[41].

When all matters related to the trip were settled, the envoy could set off for Italy. When the envoy was approaching Rome, he sent his secretary to the city to inform the protector that the entourage would arrive soon. Then the cardinal sent someone from his court to greet the envoy and gave him a carriage, which was necessary to move around Rome in a way which did not offend the dignity of a royal envoy. The journey from Poland was made on horseback and in carts filled with baggage until the entourage reached a temporary residence on the outskirts of the city, in which everyone waited for the official entry. It was usually a suburban villa rented for a short term. In 1501, Erazm Ciołek stayed in a suburban house referred to as *villa*

38 Kalinowska, *Z dworu Stanisława Hozjusza*, n. 26, 32-33. In a letter to Kromer, Stanisław Reszka wrote that at the consistory held on 9 June 1570, Hosius was awarded the title of S. Anastasio. However, the cardinal's secretary had hoped for S. Pietro in Vincoli or another title associated with a palace or a comfortable apartment.

39 *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. 4, 127. «Scrivo al Signor Cardinale Farnese, come protettore del Regno, acciò accomodi questo nuovo ambasciatore di casa o dell'archipresbiteriato di S. Pietro o del palazzo di Campo di Fiore, come e suo solito […]».

40 Kalinowska, *Z dworu Stanisława Hozjusza*, n. 35, 41-43. From his arrival in Rome in September 1569 until the summer of 1572, Hosius was staying in the palace of the archpriest of St. Peter's Basilica. It belonged to Alessandro Farnese, who was the archpriest at that time. As certified by Reszka, this residence was made available free of charge. Moreover, in summer the protector allowed Hosius to stay in his palace at Campo dei Fiori and welcomed the Pole in his residences in Grottaferata and Frascati.

41 Banaszak, *Z dziejów*, vol. II, 157-83.

Alexandri Neronis[42]. From the second half of the 16th century, the most popular place to stay was a villa built by Julius III (*villa Giulia*), located at via Flaminia. Paweł Uchański[43] stayed there in 1579 and seven years later it was occupied by Jan Dymitr Solikowski[44]. At the end of the century, the residence became neglected, which is why Miński advised envoys to find another place to stay[45].

Soon afterwards, the protector arranged the first courtesy meeting between the royal envoy and the pope. The envoy visited the Vatican incognito and saw the protector for the first time. On the evening of 4 April 1579, Paweł Uchański arrived in the Eternal City and arranged a private audience with Gregory XIII with the help of Alessandro Farnese and Stanislaus Hosius[46]. In 1594, Miński had an audience with the pope thanks to protector Montalto, who had introduced the royal envoy to the pope before he arrived[47]. It was a courtesy meeting whose aim was to establish the date and hour of the official entry into the city and the official meeting with the pope and the Sacred College at a consistory. Then the envoy would go back to his villa on the outskirts of the city. This was the end of the first part of the protector's activity, which was organisational in nature.

2. THE PROTECTORS' PARTICIPATION IN THE OBEDIENCE CEREMONY

According to the ceremonial, the right to an official entry into Rome was granted to all obedience envoys, but there were certain exceptions. This privilege was refused to ambassadors who were permanently residing in Rome and to envoys who had already had the honour of entering into the city[48]. Under this law, in 1560 Adam Konarski was refused the right to an official entry because he had been staying in Rome for a longer period of time as a representative of Sigismund Augustus. Bernard Maciejowski was another envoy who did not make an official entry into Rome when he made the declaration of obedience to Gregory XIV on behalf of Sigismund III for the second time (in 1591)[49]. An exception from this rule was the second entry into the city by Erazm Ciołek in 1505, just four years after his first official entry. However, he ineffectively demanded this privilege in 1518, when he came to Rome as an ordinary envoy of Sigismund I the Old. At that time, despite the support of Leo X and Cardinal Protector Achille de Grassis, he did not manage

42 Johannan Burchard, *Diarium sive rerum urbanarum commentarii (1483-1506)*, vol. III, ed. Louis Thuasne (Paris: E. Leroux Paris,), 120.

43 *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. 4, 158.

44 BAV, Vat.Lat. 12293, f. 237, and Vat.Lat 12326, f. 59-61; Banaszak, *Z dziejów*, vol. II, 190.

45 Korzeniowski, *Stanisława Mińskiego (1563-1607),* 448-49.

46 *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. 4, 163.

47 Korzeniowski, *Stanisława Mińskiego (1563-1607),* 449-50.

48 Banaszak, *Z dziejów*, vol. I, 95-6.

49 BAV, Vat.Lat., 12289, f. 140, and Vat.Lat., 12316, f. 220-27; Banaszak, *Z dziejów*, vol. II, 234.

to convince the master of ceremonies to grant him this privilege[50].
The first part of the official entry was the welcoming of members of the entourage in a suburban villa. In the morning on a scheduled date, the envoy welcomed anyone who wanted to honour the representative of the king of Poland. There were usually representatives of the papal court, the families of cardinals, members of households run by envoys who stayed in Rome permanently, Roman barons and nobles and Poles living in Rome. Undoubtedly, their envoys were sent by the cardinals protectors who wanted to receive the Polish ruler's retinue well. It seems that it used to be the duty of protectors. In 1501, Erazm Ciołek was welcomed by household members of cardinals Giovanni Battista Orsini and Juan Lopez, who were believed to be the friends of monarchs from the Jagiellonian dynasty in the Sacred College[51]. With time, all members of the College of Cardinals became obliged to send their representatives to welcome obedience envoys. In 1513, Leo X asked Paris de Grassis, his master of ceremonies, to encourage all cardinals to send their household members to greet envoys and to make sure that they are welcomed in the best possible manner[52]. Sometimes it was not enough to ask. Gregory XIII punished officials of the curia for absence in the envoy's entourage by depriving them of their monthly remuneration[53]. Ferdinando de' Medici, a cardinal who sided with Poland, was very angry when he learnt that twelve of his courtiers had not joined the entourage of a Polish envoy in 1583[54]. Sometimes cardinals boycotted this duty for political reasons. French cardinals and cardinals siding with France did not come to the official entry of the embassy sent by Stephen Báthory because they still believed that the rightful king of Poland was Henry of Valois[55]. Another exception was the welcoming of envoy Andrew Báthory in 1583. He was welcomed by the families of Cardinal Protector Farnese, Vice-Protector Savelli and household members of the following cardinals: Innico d'Avalos d'Aragon, Tolomeo Galli and Filippo Boncompagni. Everyone rode out to meet the envoy far away from the city walls, up to the Milvian Bridge[56].
When everyone willing to participate in the official entry into the city was present in the suburban villa, the papal master of ceremonies formed the procession in accordance with the order of precedence and then everyone headed towards the city. An official delegation made up of bishops, officials of the curia and other dignitaries, including the Swiss Guard and an orchestra, was waiting for the representative of the king at the gate. On behalf of the pope, the apostolic prefect greeted the entourage and the rest of the welcoming delegation nodded to greet the envoy and then joined the entourage. The route started at the city gate and ended in the envoy's

50 BAV, Vat.Lat., 12275, f. 305; Ałła Brzozowska, *Biskup płocki Erazm Ciołek*, (Kraków: Universitas, 2017), 182.

51 Burchard, *Diarium*, vol. 3, 120.

52 Banaszak, *Z dziejów*, vol. I, 82-112.

53 *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. 4, 163.

54 *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. 4, 158.

55 BAV, Vat.Lat. 12313, f. 522; *Monumenta Polonia Vaticana*, vol. 4, 157-58.

56 *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. 6, 686.

residence in Rome. It was led in such a way as to get as close as possible to Castel Sant'Angelo, where salvos were fired to honour the pope's guest. The cannonade continued until the procession reached the residence. The last stage of the official entry was bidding farewell to the guests. The envoy greeted them by nodding his head and standing at the entrance to the house, which was similar to the welcoming ceremony. It was customary not to organise a feast or invite guests on the day of the entry. There was only a meal for Swiss guards and servants. Still another exception was made for Andrew Báthory, who was welcomed at the Apostolic Palace in the Vatican with the following cardinals: Protector Farnese, Vice-Protector Savelli and two cardinal-nephews, Filippo Boncompagni and Filippo Guastavillani. Cardinals also accompanied him at a welcoming audience with Gregory XIII[57].

The official entry of an envoy ended in his temporary residence in Rome. When it comes to 15 embassies that took place in the 16th century, we know about 9 locations in which Polish envoys stayed. Six of them were made available to envoys by cardinal protectors.

Jakub Burkhard notes that in 1501 Erazm Ciołek stayed in a house that used to belong to Georg Polikarp, former bull register master. The house was located at via Sanguinea, at the foot of Monte Giordano[58]. The location near the main residence of the Orsini family in Rome suggests that it was Cardinal Giovani Battista Orsini, one of the friends of the Jagiellonian dynasty in the Sacred College, who had found the residence for the representative of Alexander, the Grand Duke of Lithuania[59]. Four years later, the same envoy stayed at *de Maximis* house for the time of his mission[60]. During the protectorate of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese in the years 1545-1589, he provided accommodation for envoys sent by Polish rulers multiple times and in various residences under his care. In 1550, Andrzej Czarnkowski stayed in Palazzo San Giorgio, also known as Cancellaria, which was managed by Farnese as the Vice-Chancellor of the Church. This building was one of the most beautiful Renaissance residences in the Eternal City and the official seat of the Chancery of the Holy See[61]. By courtesy of the protector, in 1567 Paweł Barzi resided in the above mentioned palace of the archpriest of St. Peter's Basilica. The residence, erected during the pontificate of Paul II (1464-1471), occupied one wing of the four-sided portico in the atrium of the old basilica[62]. It was not one of the most luxurious residences, which was confirmed by Cardinal Hosius, who lived there for almost three years, but it was compensated by its prestigious location in the proximity of the basilica and the Apostolic Palace.[63] In 1579, Paweł Uchański had the honour of staying

57 *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol. 6, 686.

58 Burchard, *Diarium*, vol. 3, 120.

59 Piero Tomei, *L'Architettura a Roma nel Quattrocento*, (Fratelli Palombi Roma 1942), 40.

60 Burchard, *Diarium*, vol. 3, 379.

61 Tomei, *L'Architettura*, 231-59.

62 Tomei, *L'Architettura*, 105-09.

63 Kalinowska, *Z dworu Stanisława Hozjusza*, 10-2. In 1569, Stanisław Reszka wrote that it was quite comfortable not only for Hosius, but also for his entire

in Palazzo Farnese, one of the most beautiful Roman palaces, by courtesy of the cardinal protector[64]. The construction of the family residence had been inaugurated by Pope Paul III and finished in the 1570s by his grandson and namesake[65].
In 1586, Jan Dymitr Solikowski stayed in an unidentified residence near Monte della Trinità. A clue as to the palace in which he could have been staying can be found in an entry in the diary of Maciej Rywocki. Two years earlier, he had visited the area near the church of S. Trinità dei Monti and a Roman guide (*cicerone*) showed him a house on a piazza where Cardinal Hosius lived[66]. It was probably palazzo Gabrielli, in which two Polish envoys stayed later in the 17th century: Paweł Wołucki in 1613 and Jerzy Ossoliński in 1633[67].
The official entry into the city by Bernard Maciejowski in 1590 ended in a residence called *apud Arcum di Portagalli in via Cursus*[68]. This palace was also known as palazzo Fiano and was one of the buildings belonging to the church of St. Lawrence in Lucina. At the turn of the 16th century, this titular church was assigned to Giorgio de Costa, a cardinal from Portugal, who extended the residence. He made use of an antique triumphal arch standing next to the building, which was turned into a connector leading to his residences on the opposite side of the street. This is why the building was referred to as the palace by the Portuguese arch. In 1590, the cardinal assigned with the titular church of St. Lawrence in Lucina and the owner of the residence was Michele Bonelli, a member of the Polish congregation at the College of Cardinals and a friend of Stanislaus Hosius[69]. It was most probably by courtesy of Bonelli that the Polish envoy could stay in that residence. The last of the discussed embassies to Rome took place in 1594 and stayed in a palace of the Orsini family in Campo dei Fiori (*palatium Ursinorum in Campo Floris*) by courtesy of Alessandro Peretti di Montalto, the new cardinal protector of Poland. Most probably, this cardinal asked Virginio Orsini, Duke of Bracciano and his brother-in-law, to make the residence available to the Polish envoy[70].
Any Roman residence occupied by the representative of the king during his

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entourage because it had many rooms. An advantage of the residence was that the ailing cardinal could get inside St. Peter's Basilica without going outdoors.

64 BAV, Vat.Lat., 12313, f. 552v.

65 Clare Robertson, *'Il Gran Cardinale' Alessandro Farnese, Patron of the Arts* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), 137-48.

66 *Macieja Rywockiego księgi perygrynackie. Archiwum do Dziejów Literatury i Oświaty w Polsce*, vol. 13, ed. Jan Czubek (Kraków: Akademia Umiejętności, 1910), 44.

67 Osiecka-Samsonowicz, *Polskie uroczystości*, 73, 85.

68 Osiecka-Samsonowicz, *Polskie uroczystości* , annex n. 1, 124-25.

69 Adriano Prosperi, "Bonelli, Michele", in DBI, vol. 11 (1969) [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/michele-bonelli_%28Dizionario-Biografico%29/ , (access: 3.03.2020)].

70 Stefano Boero, "Peretti Damasceni, Flavia", in DBI, vol.82 (2015) [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/flavia-peretti-damasceni_(Dizionario-Biografico)/ (access: 3.03. 2020)].

diplomatic mission served as the Polish embassy in the Eternal City. The facade of the building was decorated with the coat of arms of the ruler and national colours. All representative rooms were supposed to be decorated with fabrics, which served as the lining for the walls and the ceiling. The reception hall was supposed to be lined with a cloth of gold and the dining room with sheets, light silk or leather, depending on the season. It was very expensive, so Miński advised envoys to buy fabrics in Naples, where they were significantly cheaper and of a better quality than in Rome[71]. It seems that in terms of interior fitting, polish envois could count on the help of Polish protectors. When in 1572 Catherine of Austria, Queen of Poland, the walls of Hosius's palace were covered with black fabrics borrowed from Cardinal Farnese and Francesco Sforza (Sti Georgii)[72]. The aim of all this was for the envoy sent by the king to retain adequate prestige. The official declaration of obedience started and ended in the residence and it was also the place in which the envoy received guests and organised parties. The houses of obedience envoys in Rome were also accessible to the public, whose members could admire the design of the rooms[73].

2.1 THE DECLARATION OF OBEDIENCE AT THE PAPAL CONSISTORY

Similarly, to the official entry into the city, the reception of Polish envoys coming to Rome to make a declaration of obedience usually took place at a public consistory. It was the highest honour for the pope's guest and such consistories were organised only in six cases: at the end of the canonisation process, when monarchs were received, for *pro fide et pace* envoys, for cardinals returning from the nunciature, for newly appointed cardinals and for embassies of obedience[74].

However, a public consistory was not allowed when only a part of the state declared its obedience. This privilege was refused to Erazm Ciołek in 1501 and to Mikołaj Myszkowski in 1546 because they were the envoys of the Grand Duke of Lithuania, and to Andrew Báthory, who came to Rome to declare the obedience of Livonia, which had recently been incorporated into the Kingdom of Poland. In such situations, envoys were received when a secret consistory was over, in the presence of cardinals, but without the participation of the public. A sensation was caused by Erazm Ciołek, who demanded to be received at a public consistory in 1518 even though he was an ordinary envoy. His efforts were supported by Cardinal Protector Achille de Grassis. However, the master of ceremonies did not find any reason to honour Ciołek in this way[75].

Being received at a public consistory had its political meaning, because it amounted to recognition of the legality of the power by the Holy See. It caused a lot of controversy in the case of Polish elected rulers. Gregory XIII's decision to welcome Stephen Báthory's envoy at an open meeting was opposed by Luigi d'Este and Nicolas de

71 Korzeniowski, *Stanisława Mińskiego (1563-1607),* 448.

72 Kalinowska, *Z dworu Stanisława Hozjusza*, n. 101, 117-118.

73 Korzeniowski, *Stanisława Mińskiego (1563-1607),* 450-451; Osiecka-Samsonowicz, *Polskie uroczystości*, 48-50.

74 Banaszak, *Z dziejów*, vol. I, 112-13.

75 Brzozowska, *Biskup płocki*, 182.

Pellevé, two cardinals siding with France. One day before the meeting, they went to Alessandro Farnese, the protector of Poland, and tried to convince him to persuade the pope to change his decision. They did not succeed, but they did manage to appoint a committee of cardinals (A. Farnese, G. Morone, T. Galli, F. Orsini, A. Sforza), which decided that a representative of France should be allowed to publicly protest at the consistory before the envoy arrived. However, cardinals rejected the demand for the pope to say that he accepted the declaration of obedience made on behalf of Stephen Báthory "without prejudice to the rights of the king of France"[76].
Returning to the public consistory, on the date of the solemn meeting, nobles who were supposed to join the envoy's entourage gathered in his residence at the appointed hour. According to the opinion of one of the papal masters of ceremonies, on the date of the consistory, the envoy was accompanied mainly by the friends and supporters of a given ruler, who came voluntarily. It always included the families of cardinals who had the closest ties to Poland, including members of the protector's family. Similarly to the official entry, the cavalcade went next to Castel Sant'Angelo, where salvos were fired to honour the envoy and if the route was too short, there were illuminations on the way. This was the manner of honouring Paweł Barzi in 1567, who had a very short route from the Archpriest's Palace to the Apostolic Palace[77].
During the official cavalcade of envoy Stanisław Miński in 1594, certain misconduct was observed by Cardinal Alfonso Gesualdo. He pointed out to the papal master of ceremonies that the envoy had ridden to the consistory accompanied by two lay officials rather than clergymen, as was customary. The master of ceremonies defended himself by stating that there were no suitable candidates. It was because only one bishop wanted to join the entourage and he was dressed too modestly. In this case, Cardinal Gesualdo laid the blame on Alessandro Perreti di Montalto, the protector of Poland, who should have found 8-10 notable prelates to assist the envoy on his way to the consistory[78].
Polish envoys were usually welcomed in the royal hall of the papal residence in the Vatican, but two Polish legates declared obedience in Palazzo San Marco (T. Sobocki in 1537 and Marcin Kromer in 1548), whereas one Pole did it in Lateran (Bernard Maciejowski in 1590)[79].
When the envoy arrived at the papal residence where the consistory was about to take place, he went to the apartments of one of the cardinals to change and get ready for the most important part of the ceremony: the official declaration of obedience. It usually took place in an apartment of a cardinal who was friendly disposed towards the envoy. In 1501, Erazm Ciołek stayed in the rooms of Cardinal Juan Lopez[80]. In 1567, Paweł Barzi stayed in the apartment of Vice-Protector Giacomo Savelli. In the next years, Paweł Uchański stayed in the rooms of Vice-Protector Marcantonio

76 *Uchańciana*, vol. III, 306.

77 BAV, Vat.Lat., 12312, f. 459v.

78 BAV, Vat.Lat., 12318, f. 7v.

79 Banaszak, *Z dziejów* , vol. I, 115-16.

80 Burchard, *Diarium*, vol. 3, 120.

Maffei, whereas four years later Filippo Boncompagni, a cardinal-nephew, welcomed Andrew Báthory in his apartment[81].

At that time, the pope, cardinals and other attendees were waiting for the envoy in the consistory hall, where the consistorial advocate was presenting one of the cases on the docket. When a sign was given by the master of ceremonies, four archbishops brought the envoy to the royal hall. Approaching the pope, the representative of the king bowed down three times and then climbed the ascended platform with the throne, where he kissed the foot and hand of the bishop of Rome. Then the envoy said some words of greeting and gave the pope credentials from the king, which were read out by the secretary of the Holy Father. This was the time for the culminating point of the ceremony: the official speech of obedience. The speech was usually given by king's envoy personal or professional orator. Among Polish diplomats sent to Rome in the 16th century, only two of them (Miński and Barzi) hired an orator, whereas all the others gave a speech themselves[82].

When the oration was over, the papal secretary usually gave a response, in which he stated that the Holy Father and the College of Cardinals had accepted the monarch's declaration of obedience. However, in 1560 Pope Pius IV personally responded to the speech by Adam Konarski, which was regarded as extraordinary grace. In 1579, Alessandro Farnese tried to convince Gregory XIII to honour a representative of Stephen Báthory in this way, but in vain[83].

Then the master of ceremonies gave a sign for cardinals friendly disposed towards the envoy, led by the protector, and cardinals invited by the envoy to approach the papal throne. Sources refer to them as "confidentes" or "protectores" and their presence near the papal throne was supposed to honour the envoy and the ruler who had sent him during the declaration of obedience. It was a public manifestation of support and sympathy for the monarch and his kingdom by the members of the Sacred College. The number and rank of cardinals had an impact on how the embassy was assessed. Surrounded by friends and supporters of the kingdom, the envoy approached the throne once again and kissed the pope' foot, which was resembled the entry ceremony. The pope lifted him from his knees and kissed him on the cheek. Then the pope declared that he was willing to extend his fatherly care to the king, his kingdom and the envoy.

It is worth emphasising that the first cardinal protectors of nations were appointed at public consistories, when envoys made declarations of obedience. When the declaration of obedience was made by Charles VIII in 1485, Cardinal Jean Balue was appointed the protector of France[84]. The official appointment of Francesco

81 BAV, Vat.Lat., 12314, f. 424.

82 Banaszak, *Z dziejów*, 107; Korzeniowski, *Stanisława Mińskiego (1563-1607),* 452.

83 *Monumenta Poloniae vaticana,* vol. 4, n. 161, 4.

84 «Credi jour a esté commande par le roy et de bouche a Mo Jehan Mesme l'expédicon de mons. le cardinal d'Angiers, pour poter à notere sqint père le pappe le pape l'obédience filialle quid lui doit. Item. Lettres pour ledit cardinal, pour estre protecteur en court de Romme, des droiz, fais et affaires du roy, et y avoir l'eul. Et pour ce que ledit cardinal a demande la procuracuion du roy audit Romme, et que le roy l'avoit ja donnee a l'evesque de Lesca, le roy lui a donne

Todeschini-Piccolomini as defender of interest of England in 1492 also took place at a public consistory[85]. Moreover, it is believed that Cardinal Pietro Isvalies was appointed the protector of Poland around the time when Erazm Ciołek visited Rome in 1505[86].

The first known document mentioning Polish "confidentes" comes from 1567. When the declaration of obedience was made by Paweł Barzi, the throne of Pius V was surrounded by eleven cardinals[87]. Twelve years later, Paweł Uchański asked fifteen cardinals to assist him[88]. However, he was criticised by other members of the Sacred College, who believed that 6-8 cardinals would be enough to appropriately honour the Polish envoy[89]. Nevertheless, in 1591 the throne of Gregory XIV was surrounded by twelve cardinals. Even though Bernard Maciejowski had asked five more to attend, they could not come for various reasons[90]. Three years later, Stanisław Miński invited thirteen cardinals[91]. It is worth emphasising that regardless of the number of invited "confidentes", the most important role in the group of cardinals was always played by the protector and vice-protectors.

When the declaration of obedience was made by everyone from the envoy's entourage, the pope retired into what was referred to as the parament room. If the representative of the king was a lay man, he was given the privilege of carrying the Holy Father's cape. If the representative was a clergyman, he followed the bishop of

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ladite charge de protecteur». *Procès-verbaux des séances du Conseil de régence du roi Charles VIII pendant les mois d'août 1484 à janvier 1485*, ed. Adhelm Bernier (Paris: Imprimerie Royale Paris, 1836), 126-27.

85 Wilkie, *The Cardinal Protectors of England*, 18.

86 Hirsch, "Kardynałowie promotorzy, koronni, relatorzy", 49.

87 Alessandro Farnese, Giacomo Savelli, Gaetano Morone, Gianantonio Capizucchi, Marco Sittico Altemps, Innico d'Avalos d'Aragona, Marcantonio Colonna, Guido Ascanio Sforza, Giovanni Francesco Commendone, Francesco Abbondio Castiglioni and Michele Bonelli. BAV, Vat.Lat., 12312, f. 459v;

88 Alessandro Farnese, Stanisław Hozjusz, Enrico Gaetani, Tolomeo Galli, Innico d'Avalos d'Aragona, Guido Ascanio Sforza, Gianfrancesco Gambara, Marcantonio Colonna, Flavio Orsini, Giulielmo Sirleto, Giovanni Francesco Commendone, Filippo Boncompagni, Ferdinando de' Medici, Giovanni Vincenzo Gonzaga, Andrea di Austria. BAV, Vat.Lat.,12313, f. 522v.

89 BAV, Vat.Lat., 12313, f. 522v.

90 Alfonso Gesualdo, Nicolas de Pellevé, Giulio Antonio Santori, Giovanni Antonio Facchinetti, Agostino Valier, Vincenzo Laureo, Ippolito Aldobrandini, Paolo Emilio Sfondrati, Francesco Sforza di Santa Fiora, Alessandro Peretti di Montalto, Ascanio Colonna, Federico Borromeo and invited but absent: Giovanni Antonio Serbelloni, Tagliavia d'Aragona, Gabriele Paleotti, Enrico Gaetani i Scipione Gonzaga. BAV, Vat.Lat., 12289, f. 142v.

91 Alfonso Gesualdo, Pietro Aldobrandini, Cinzio Passeri Aldobrandini, Alessandro Peretti di Montalto, Francesco Sforza di Santa Fiora, Innico d'Avalos d'Aragona, Enrico Gaetani, Tolomeo Galli, Federico Borromeo, Michele Bonelli, Odoardo Farnese, Anton Maria Salviati, Antonmaria Sauli. Cf., Korzeniowski, *Stanisława Mińskiego (1563-1607),* 453.

Rome, preceding prelates from his entourage[92]. This is how Archbishop Jan Dymitr Solikowski assisted the pope during the exit ceremony[93]. When the pope took off liturgical garments, the envoy saw him off to the door leading to his apartments. This was the end of the official meeting, but sometimes the Holy Father invited the legate for dinner when the consistory was over. This exceptional honour was enjoyed only by Andrzej Czarnkowski (1550) and Stanisław Miński (1594). The former was invited to a meal by Julius III along with vice-protectors Maffei and cardinal Crescenzi. According to the custom described by Miński, the envoy had the honour to serve the pope during the meal; he gave the pope a towel to wash his hands, got down on his knee to pour his wine and when the dinner was over, he had the right to have a private conversation with the Holy Father[94].

On the way back from the consistory to the residence, the envoy was accompanied by an entourage made up of friends and officials from the papal court[95]. Sometimes representatives of kings were invited for dinner by one of the cardinals right after the consistory or they organized the party themselves. The first case happened in 1505, when protector Pietro Isvalies hosted a dinner for the entourage of Erazm Ciołek at his palace[96]. Whereas in 1579, after returning from the consistory, Paweł Uchański invited all of his friends to a party in Palazzo Farnese, which was illuminated with fireworks. To celebrate it, Cardinal Protector Farnese gave the envoy 30 barrels of wine[97].

At the end of the official ceremony of making a declaration of obedience, the envoy had to pay a specific amount to everyone who had their share in organising the official entry and the consistory. The master of ceremonies prepared a list of officials and made sure that everyone was paid a specific amount. In 1556, Stanisław Maciejowski paid the master of ceremonies 30 scudi in gold[98]. Barzi wanted to give the master of ceremonies 100 scudi, even though he should have been given only half of this amount. To the displeasure of the master of ceremonies, Cardinal Farnese, who protected the envoy's finances, did not agree to this extravagance[99]. Protectors were also awarded for their participation in embassies of obedience. In 1537, Tomasz Sobocki gave Protector Antonio Pucci 300 florins for his help during the embassy[100]. In his guide, Stanisław Miński calculated in detail how much should be paid and to whom. In his opinion, at least 400 scudi ought to be spent on

92 Korzeniowski, *Stanisława Mińskiego (1563-1607),* 453.

93 BAV, Vat.Lat., 1246, f 61.

94 Korzeniowski, *Stanisława Mińskiego (1563-1607),* 453-54.

95 Banaszak, *Z dziejów*, vol. I, 152

96 Brzozowska, *Biskup płocki*, 118.

97 *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana*, vol.4, 162.

98 BAV, Vat.Lat., 12294, f. 133.

99 BAV, Vat.Lat., 12312 f. 459v.

100 Kazimierz Hartleb, *Jan z Ocieszyna Ocieski jego działalność polityczna i dziennik podróży do Rzymu*, (Lwów: Towarzystwo dla popierania Nauki Polskiej, 1917), 129.

tips (*manice*) for palace officials from the papal court and for cardinals. The most eminent figures received gifts brought from Poland, in particular sable fur, which was highly appreciated in Rome, other types of fur and horses. One of the best horses was given by Miński to Cardinal Protector Montalto. The envoy who visited Rome in 1594 spent a total of around 5000 scudi on gifts[101].

3. THE PROTECTORS' PARTICIPATION IN THE DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY OF THE ENVOY

In accordance with the practice followed by the Curia, at the consistory officials arranged the time of a private audience with the Holy Father, which was an opportunity for the representative of the king to explain the purpose of his mission. Then the envoy could start performing his tasks, which included private audiences with the pope and meetings with cardinals. The bishops of Rome usually devoted one evening a week to audiences with envoys who resided permanently in Rome. Ambassadors waiting for the meeting entered in accordance with the order of precedence. When there was some urgent business, Polish envoys could communicate with the pope thanks to cardinal protectors, who acted as intermediaries[102].

In the 16th century, matters which envoys were supposed to present to popes reflected the current policy of the Kingdom of Poland towards the Holy See. In the beginning of the century, it was predominantly political matters, in particular the conflict with the Teutonic Order, which was being settled in Rome. Two missions, led by Erazm Ciołek and Jan Łaski, were sent to the Eternal City to discuss that matter. The next envoys, such as Sobocki, Myszkowski and Kromer, followed the intentions of Jagiellonian rulers and tried to convince the Holy See to grant the Kingdom of Poland revenue from annates and Peter's Pence. During the reign of Sigismund Augustus, when the ideas of reformation were spreading in Poland and when there was an internal religious conflict, envoys brought up mostly religious matters. Andrzej Czarnkowski, Stanisław Maciejowski and Adam Konarski urged popes to resume the Council of Trent, asked them to send new nuncios to Poland, presented their demands for convening a national council in Poland and addressed other religious issues. For elective kings, who needed the Holy See to confirm their rights to the throne, the acceptance of the declaration of obedience was a goal in itself. This is why Paweł Uchański and Andrew Báthory were sent to Rome: the former to confirm the lawfulness of the election of Stephen Báthory and the latter to confirm the incorporation of Livonia into the Kingdom of Poland. The task of Bernard Maciejowski and Stanisław Miński was to confirm the ascension of Sigismund III to the throne of Poland and Sweden, respectively[103].

The embassy of obedience was the first contact between rulers, which is why it always served as a unique opportunity to fulfil the requests of the king, the queen, members of the episcopate and all subjects. Envoys always addressed numerous

101 Korzeniowski, *Stanisława Mińskiego (1563-1607),* 461.

102 Hartleb, *Jan z Ocieszyna*, 115. In 1540, Jan Ocieski, an envoy sent by Queen Bona, had to arrange an audience with Protector Antonio Pucci first in order to meet the pope. The cardinal presented the matter to the bishop of Rome and arranged the date of the visit.

103 Banaszak, *Z dziejów*, vol. II, 236-45.

requests related to granting benefices, privileges and indulgences, as well as minor court cases and matters related to the canonization of Polish saints. Envoys often tried to obtain benefits for themselves from the bishops of Rome.

Returning to ceremonial matters, the envoy brought into the audience hall by the cardinal protector got down on one knee to greet the pope and then, when a sign was given, sat next to the pope and started a conversation. As stated by Stanisław Reszka, if the bishop of Rome got up and started to walk around the room, the envoy had to follow him, making sure not to overtake him. When the pope made a favourable decision, it was customary to kiss his foot as soon as possible, which symbolised a confirmation of his will[104]. When it comes to benefices, Stanisław Miński advised envoys to collaborate with the cardinal protector and vice-protector, as well as other cardinals from the congregation for Polish affairs. To achieve the objectives of the mission determined by the Polish king, it was important to win the support of other influential cardinals. According to the advice given by Miński, it was necessary to pay frequent visits to the most important cardinals: cardinal-nephews, the vice-chancellor and the secretary of state. It was also in the interest of the envoy to maintain good relationships with the apostolic prefect, the papal datary and the governor of the city[105].

Courtesy duties of an envoy included visits to the most eminent figures in the Eternal City. It befitted a representative of the king of Poland to greet all members of the Sacred College and ambassadors of other kingdoms on behalf of the monarch. In Miński's opinion, visits were supposed to start with the dean cardinal and then the cardinal protector[106]. On the date of the consistory, Andrew Báthory paid his first visit to F. Boncompagni, F. Guastavillani, cardinal-nephews of Gregory XIII, T. Galli, Secretary of State, and G. Boncompagni, Governor of the City. On the next day, he visited Protector Alessandro Farnese and Vice-Protector G. Savelli and other cardinals who were friendly disposed towards him[107]. Luigi d'Este, Protector of France, did everything in his power to avoid the visit of Andrew Báthory due to the fact that Henry of Valois had protested against the election of the new king of Poland[108].

The splendour of the envoy required appropriate servants. Some of them came from Poland and others were hired in Rome. Miński advised envoys to take along no more than 14 officials (high-ranking courtiers). They were all supposed to be characterised by good manners, the knowledge of languages and customs and to be Catholics. When it came to officials, Miński mentioned a majordomo, a master of the house (*maestro di casa*), two secretaries, a doctor and a chaplain. The following servants were indispensable: a marshal (*scalco*), a cup-bearer (*trinciante*), a cupboard-keeper (*credentier*), a carver (*dispenser*), two cellar-keepers (*cantiner, bottiglier*), a steward (*spenditor*), a servant (*scopator*), a water-carrier (*facchino*) and two drivers. Apart

104 Czubek, *Stanislai Rescii Diarium*, 30-32.

105 Korzeniowski, *Stanisława Mińskiego (1563-1607)*, 460.

106 Korzeniowski, *Stanisława Mińskiego (1563-1607)*, 454-55.

107 Czubek, *Stanislai Rescii Diarium*, 7-8. P.D. Cesi, G.F. Commedone, G. Rusticucci, F. Sforza, A. Gesualdi, G.A. Gambara, G.V. Gonzaga.

108 Czubek, *Stanislai Rescii Diarium*, 687, 6; Banaszak, *Z dziejów*, vol. 2, 175-76.

from that, it was necessary to hire ten equerries (*palafrenieri*) and ten page boys, a coachman and a solicitor who would know how to get things done in Rome[109].
All servants were supposed to wear clothes in national colours. When officials and servants were chosen, the envoy should rely on the advice of the cardinal protector, because there were many swindlers and thieves in Rome. Cardinal Hosius was well aware of this fact. During the ten years he spent in the Eternal City (1569-1579), he often dismissed cooks[110] and majordomos[111] guilty of misconduct.[112] In 1583, the matter of choosing a majordomo for the court of Andrew Báthory reached the pope himself. Stanisław Reszka, the secretary of the embassy, sought Sixtus V's advice on whether this function should be entrusted to Virgillio Crescenzi, a Roman patrician, a friend of Poland and a relative of Vice-Protector Marcello Cresenzi. The pope backed this choice and promised to support the efforts of Reszka[113].
Returning to the courtesy duties of an envoy, when he paid an official visit to a cardinal, he surrounded himself with an entourage of officials, servants, Polish nobility and curial prelates, who eagerly volunteered to accompany him[114]. The envoy rode in a carriage and the entourage followed him. The cardinal's family welcomed the guest at the gate to the residence, whereas the cardinal himself was waiting for the envoy in the sitting room or the third room from the entrance. The cardinal usually greeted the guest by nodding and they sat together in a separate room, in which they could talk freely, whereas the family of the cardinal and members of the entourage occupied a different room. On the way out, the host saw the envoy off to the last door of the residence and servants saw him off to the carriage. Visits to ambassadors and other officials were very similar. It was considered proper for a cardinal or an ambassador to visit a Polish envoy who had honoured him earlier.
As a representative of the king of Poland, the envoy could participate in a number of ceremonies at which the pope was present. A special distinction was allowing the legate to serve in liturgy. Envoys gave the Holy Father water to wash his hands during the mass or accompanied him by his throne. When the pope wanted to honour the representatives of the Polish king, he often granted them various titles. Lay men

109 Korzeniowski, *Stanisława Mińskiego (1563-1607)*, 460.

110 Kalinowska, *Z dworu Stanisława Hozjusza*, 54-5. In letters to Kromer, Reszka mentioned «the disaster of the house». The cook Tomasz, who abused alcohol and wasted food, but it was difficult to hire someone better in Rome. This is why he asked Kromer to send a good cook from Poland.

111 Kalinowska, *Z dworu Stanisława Hozjusza*, 40-1. Venturellus Metellus, the Italian majordomo at Hosius's court, wrote denouncing letters about his employer to Sigismund Augustus, describing wastefulness and extravagance at the cardinal's house. As a result, Hosius fell into disfavour with the monarch and the majordomo was fired.

112 Kalinowska, *Z dworu Stanisława Hozjusza*, 61-2. In a letter to Kromer, Reszka informed him that a thief who had stolen a silver plate and a candlestick from Hosius's court at the beginning of 1570 was caught. He was a member of the cardinal's household and nobody expected that from him.

113 Czubek, *Stanislai Rescii Diarium*, 8.

114 Czubek, *Stanislai Rescii Diarium*, 7.

were usually granted the title of a knight and clergymen the title of a protonotary apostolic.
On Maundy Thursday in 1501, Erazm Ciołek participated in a papal mass celebrated by Cardinal Orsini, during which Iwan Sapiecha was made a knight by Alexander VI. Four years later, the bishop of Płock gave the pope water during the Easter Sunday mass and he had received a palm from the pope on Palm Sunday[115]. In 1513, right after the declaration of obedience, Pope Leo X made Stanisław Ostrogski a knight of St. Peter's[116]. Tomasz Sobocki was supposed to be granted the same title by Paul III, but he could not afford a gold chain which was required to be promoted. Protector Antonio Puccini helped the envoy by buying him the chain because he believed that it was not proper to ask the pope to do that[117]. In 1556, Stanisław Maciejowski was invited by Paul IV to the first anniversary of the pope's coronation[118].
When the envoy settled all matters as instructed by the ruler, he could make preparations for his return. However, before leaving Rome, he had to ask the pope for permission to leave. Then he paid his last visits to cardinals and ambassadors and finally attended the last audience with the Holy Father. As a farewell gift, he received a special papal brief for the king and letters of recommendation from the pope and the protector. When Ciołek left Rome in 1501, Pope Alexander VI, Cardinal Orsini, Cardinal Ferrari and Cardinal Bernardino Lopez de Carvajal sent letters to prince Alexander to thank him for the declaration of obedience and to praise the envoy. It should also be noted that when envoys returned from their missions, rulers expressed their gratitude to protectors for their help provided during the embassy[119]. Sigismund Augustus sent letters to cardinal protectors Cresenzi and Maffei, in which he thanked them for their kindness and help provided to Andrzej Czarnkowski[120]. Protectors exchanged letters with the ruler in which they thanked each other. It was the last element of the protectors' activities related to embassies of obedience.

CONCLUSION

In the 16th century, cardinal protectors of Poland were the key figures during embassies of obedience. Taking care of the representatives of rulers and making sure that they were appropriately introduced and honoured at the papal court were some of the basic duties of cardinal protectors. They advised and helped Polish rulers ever since the idea of a mission was born. Rulers sought their advice on the manner

115 Burchard, *Diarium*, vol. III, 381.

116 *Il Diario di Leone X di Paride de Grassi*, eds. Pio Delicati and Mariano Armellini (Roma: Tipografia della Pace di Filippo Cuggiani Roma 1884), 4.

117 Hartleb, *Jan z Ocieszyna,* 143.

118 *Relacye nuncyuszów apostolskich i innych osób o Polsce od roku 1548 do 1690*, vol. I, ed. Erazm Rykaczewski (Berlin-Poznań: Ksiegarnia B. Behra, 1864), 29; Banaszak, *Z dziejów*, vol. II, 84.

119 *Akta Aleksandra króla polskiego, Wielkiego Księcia Litewskiego (1501-1506)*, ed. Fryderyk Papee (Kraków: Polska Akademia Umiejętności, 1927), n. 39, 38.

120 AGAD, MK, LL, vol. 14, f. 32; Banaszak, *Z dziejów*, vol. II, 69.

of paying homage and on choosing the appropriate envoy. Prior to departure, representatives of the king wrote to them to discuss renting a temporary residence in Rome, which protectors often made available to guests at their own expense. It is worth noting the hospitality of Alessandro Farnese, who hosted royal legates in his residences three times. When an envoy was approaching the Eternal City, he received a carriage from the protector, who also acted as an intermediary in arranging the first audience with the pope.

At official celebrations, when the declaration of obedience was made, protectors had to make sure that Polish envoys were appropriately honoured and advised them on the intricacies of the papal ceremonial. On the day of the official entry into the city and when the envoy was seen off to the papal palace to participate in the consistory, the protectors' courtiers were the core of the envoy's procession. Just before the meeting with the bishop of Rome and the Sacred College, the envoy prepared himself to enter into the consistory in apartments belonging to the cardinal who defended Polish affairs. Finally, when the envoy was paying homage to the pope, which was the culminating point of the ceremony, the protector and trusted cardinals surrounded the papal throne, thereby expressing their support for the Polish ruler and his entire kingdom.

When the official part of the mission was over, protectors acted as intermediaries and supported the representative of the king in his diplomatic activity. They arranged the envoy's meetings with the pope and usually took care of minor matters related to benefices and church affairs. Apart from matters related to the organisation of a mission and ceremonies, cardinals supported envoys in less formal matters, thanks to which envoys felt protected. For example, Cardinal Farnese gave Uchański 30 barrels of wine for his party and prevented wastefulness when the master of ceremonies was being paid. Similarly, Antonio Pucci bought Sobocki a gold chain required for the accolade ceremony.

ABBREVIATIONS

AAV: Archivio Apostolico Vaticano
BAV: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana
AGAD: Archiwum Główne Akt dawnych w Warszawie
MK: Metrika Koronna
LL: Libri Legationum
BCz: Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich w Krakowie
DBI: Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani

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