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THE IMAGE OF A FOREIGNER IN THE TIMES OF JAN SOBIESKI, KING OF POLAND, THROUGH THE DIARIES OF KAZIMIERZ SARNECKI (1629–1696)

1. THE AUTHOR AND HIS PATRON

Kazimierz Sarnecki's diary is one of the most frequently used sources of reference for the epoch of Jan III Sobieski. His observations at the court of Jan III, acting on behalf of the Grand Chancellor of Lithuania, Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł, enrich the picture which is well-known from the diaries left by Philippe Pierre de Noyers¹, Philippe Dupont², François–Paulin d'Aleyrac and the Secretary of the French Embassy, Cavalier de Mongrillon³. They

¹ *Listy Piotra des Noyers, sekretarza królowej Maryi Kazimiry, z lat 1680–1683, rzeczy polskich dotyczące* [Letters of Pierre des Noyers, Secretary to Maria Kazimiera, 1680–1683, relating to Polish Matters, Published by Ludwik Nabelak], (1867), p. 38.

² Ph. Dupont, *Pamiętniki historii życia i czynów Jana III Sobieskiego* [The Diaries of the History of Life and Deeds of Jan II Sobieski, introduced by D. Milewski, transl. by B. Spieralska, (2011).

³ M. de Mongrillon, *Pamiętnik sekretarza ambasady francuskiej w Polsce pod koniec panowania Jana III oraz w bezkrólewiu i wolnej elekcji po jego zgonie (1694–1698)* [The Diary of the Secretary of the French Embassy in Poland at the

also distinguish themselves because Sarnecki's patron was a nephew of the monarch, the son of Katarzyna Sobieska a Zasławska (from first marriage) and a Radziwiłłowa (from second). We owe to Kazimierz Sarnecki a detailed picture of the everyday life of Jan III and his family in the last years of the King's life (1691–1696)⁴.

Roles such as Sarnecki's became popular in the second half of the 17th c., testifying to the considerable rise in the significance of magnates – oligarchs, who were dividing the Republic of Poland to an increasingly great extent into their own *latifundia* – small semi-independent states – and were exerting an increasingly strong influence on internal politics. The recipient of Sarnecki's written reports – the Vice-Chancellor, and later Grand Chancellor of Lithuania, Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł – was known to be a law-abiding man of conciliatory character and therefore would act many a time as a mediator reconciling quarrelling magnates.

Sarnecki's reports are not of a private character though, since Radziwiłł required penetrating observations on the political life of the Republic of Poland. Accordingly, Sarnecki set down current news connected with Jan III's wider family, the style of the monarch's life, his health and frame of mind, the course of sessions at the *Sejm* and the senators' councils, as well as visits paid by foreign diplomats. Thus, the meeting point of the worlds of 'our own' and 'foreign' is found here on several significant planes, i.e. politics, diplomacy and war, culture and art, everyday life and customs. The author of the diary even recorded trifling rumours in circulation at court and sensational news like that typical of a crime

end of Jan III's rule and in during the Interregnum and Free Election following his Death (1694–1698)], transl. and ed. by Ł. Częściak, (1983).

⁴ K. Sarnecki, *Pamiętniki z czasów Jana Sobieskiego. Diariusz i relacje z lat 1691–1696* [*Diaries of the Time of Jan Sobieski: diary and reports of the years 1691–1696*], ed. by J. Woliński, (1958).

section in a modern newspaper. And even though his style can hardly be considered particularly colourful and absorbing, in many cases we owe to him an image of the royal couple and their relations with each other beyond 'received opinion'. This source was appreciated a long time ago by researchers dealing with the politics of Jan III, his military expeditions and family life⁵.

Equally interesting, however, is the picture of the magnates' contacts with foreigners. Sarnecki casts some light on this accidentally through linking it with the characteristics of the mentality of the nobles. Attitudes toward foreigners were to a great extent shaped by politics, and it is in this context that both xenophobia and xenophilia took on very distinctive forms. The latter phenomenon stood a better chance of being found among magnates who were so well known to Sarnecki. After all, it was there that Jan III's outlook had taken shape before he became king.

2. FOREIGNERS AT THE COURT OF JAN III

Jan III inherited from his father – Jakub Sobieski, the Castellan of Kraków – openness of character, communicative skills and wide intellectual powers. In contrast to his father, however, he became interested in the virtues of a strong monarchy fairly early in life. This was fuelled by his stay within the sphere of influence of the

⁵ See among others: W. Ziembicki, *Zdrowie i niezdrowie Jana Sobieskiego* [*The health and ill-health of Jan Sobieski*], "Archiwum Historii i Filozofii Medycyny", 11/12 (1931/1932), (1931); by the same author: *Wstrzymanie wyjazdu Jana III na Sejm w grudniu 1693* [*Withholding Jan III's departure for the Sejm in December 1693*], "Kwartalnik Historyczny", 47, 4 (1933), p. 576–580; M. Komarzyński, *Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska królowa Polski (1641–1716)* [*Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska, Queen of Poland (1641–1716)*], (1983).

court of Jan II Kazimierz and his French wife – Marie Louise Gonzaga. For a long time, Jan Sobieski also remained faithful to the pro-French orientation, yet although he was constantly attracted to French culture, he was also under the strong influence of Russian and oriental patterns⁶.

Thanks to their father's concern, the brothers Marek and Jan Sobieski had plenty of opportunities to get acquainted with the traditions and cultures of other countries. They stayed in France primarily, but during two years of travel visited Germany, England and had the chance to get to know the Netherlands thoroughly. The benefits from their early travels abroad were many and corresponded to a customarily established element of the education of any magnate as a prospective participant in public life. Thanks to such contacts the nobleman gained and perfected the art of using foreign languages. Jan III was fairly fluent communicating in Latin which was still useful, but at the behest of his father he also learnt German, Italian and Turkish in his youth⁷.

The virtues of intensive contacts with foreigners included the benefits of socializing, and broadening knowledge of traditions and cultures. Knowledge of a 'foreigner' acquired in this way enabled comparison of one's own achievements with those of others. The 17th c. poet, Maciej Kazimierz Sarbiewski wrote, for instance, that inasmuch as a Pole is – by nature – takes advantage

⁶ John Sobieski's interests are discussed in detail by Irena Komasa in *Jan III Sobieski. Miłośnik ksiąg* [*Jan III Sobieski. A Lover of Books*], (1980); K. Targosz, *Jana Sobieskiego nauki i peregrynacje* [*Jan Sobieski's Teachings and Peregrinations*], (1985); idem, *Jan III Sobieski mecenasem nauk i uczonych* [*Jan III Sobieski a patron of sciences and scientists*], (*Monografie z Dziejów Nauki i Techniki* 149, 1991).

⁷ Długosz, *Jakub Sobieski 1590–1646. Parlamentarzysta, podróżnik i pamiętnikarz* [*Jakub Sobieski 1590–1646. A Parliamentarian, Traveller and Diarist*], (1989), p. 142.

of the right to freedom of speech, which he is entitled to by law, a Spaniard is a theologian, and an Italian – a philosopher.

Sarnecki noticed the growing interest in the new language of diplomacy in the second half of the 17th c., i.e. French. He inserted an amusing anecdote about Jerzy Sapieha, the Lithuanian *Stolnik*, who – while making friends with one of the most influential women in Warsaw – took advantage of the acquaintance to learn this language. The diarist added maliciously that before returning home, the ambitious magnate ordered that he be wrapped up snugly in fur while seated in his sledge so that the biting winter wind should not wipe off the newly-acquired language gained through the night spent with this lady. This was undoubtedly an allusion to French customs which were gradually gaining popularity at the court, but which had been criticized for a long time. The French lifestyle would affect the diarist himself, occasionally causing him unexpected problems. For example, in 1693, Sarnecki excused himself before Radziwiłł who had reproached him with failing to deliver a letter to his wife. He explained that she had not accepted the correspondence since the titles in the address were not rendered in French. In contrast to Jan Chryzostom Pasek, who complained that there were too many Frenchmen in Warsaw, that they were propagating political corruption on a broad scale and were allowed to have nearly everything their own way⁸, Sarnecki did not offer any definitive judgments and did not show French visitors in a negative light in his reports, although he could not resist offering certain remarks.

In Sarnecki's diary, one foreigner at Jan III's court turned out to be a valuable source of scientific news. The monarch, contrary to the majority of the nobility, showed an interest in this and will-

⁸ J. Ch. Pasek, *Pamiętniki (wybór)*, [*The Diaries (A Selection)*], elaborated by F. Przyłubski, (1952), p. 102.

ingly surrounded himself with people who were considered authorities in the world of science. In an entry made in 1693, Sarnecki quotes an incident when a preserved human foetus, placed in a glass vessel, was presented to the King by the Jesuit Frederick, Baron von Lüdingshausen. It was done according to instructions given by Alberti, the resident of the Polish Republic in Venice.

In comparison with the diaries left by Jan III's courtier – François Paulin d'Aleyrac, and those kept by Queen Maria Kazimiera's courtier – Philip Dupont, the reports prepared by Sarnecki give an impression of being fairly objective, though sometimes one can discern traces of the author's personal beliefs.

The French, who were already not liked by the nobility in the times of the Vasas, were mentioned very often on the pages of Sarnecki's diaries and as a rule were presented in a rather unfavourable light. Foreign customs were not always fully accepted, however there was a conviction that a well-brought-up Pole should know them so as not to appear a simpleton or an ignoramus. Foreigners' behaviour was considered, in turn, to be sometimes at variance with Polish standards of upbringing. The nobility thought, frequently against foreigners' opinions, that being Polish was distinguished by modesty, and the frankness and openness – so much valued by foreigners – should not be mistaken for excessive freedom of utterance. Such criticism was voiced in the case of a Frenchman accompanying a certain Mrs Wesołowiczowa, the wife of an official under the Grand Marshal of the Crown: the man was beaten by some assailants who avoided being punished for the act (although everybody knew on whose orders they had acted). Sarnecki noted with satisfaction that the lesson was effective and the foreigner had been given a good lesson in 'modesty' which he had not been taught at home⁹.

⁹ Sarnecki, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

In everyday life, though, a magnate did not have to be as scrupulous as an ordinary nobleman who would normally follow the principles of a good upbringing more exactly. The anonymous and well-informed author of *A Relation of the State of Polonia*, from the 17th c., wrote about the Polish nobility that “they are polite and even excessively kind”¹⁰. Humility certainly had a place in contacts between senators and ordinary noblemen. Kissing a dignitary’s hand was regarded as a mark of distinction, or even an honour. The anonymous Englishman also wrote that Poles, although proud by nature – they adored seeing their greatness in other people’s humility¹¹.

Sarnecki did not avoid referring to rumours and superstitions that were popular at the court then. This is shown by the incident of the suicide of a Frenchman. The man, Hosan, unknown by his first name, hanged himself in one of the chambers of Warsaw Castle in 1693. Sarnecki recorded the lack of respect, typical of the epoch, for the dead body of someone who had died in this way. Maria Kazimiera ordered sentries to keep guard over the body and it was two days before the corpse was taken off the rope where it had been hung: “[...] a dogcatcher dragged it outside the town like a dog”¹². Later parts of that man’s history, however, were only rumour. Thus Sarnecki quoted a story that he had heard about the repeated appearance of the dead Frenchman among the living. The first time he was supposed to have appeared to sentries, then to raftsmen returning from Gdańsk when they moored their boats on the Vistula near a gallows on the outskirts of Warsaw –

¹⁰ A. Mączak, *Nierówna przyjaźń. Układy klientalne w perspektywie historycznej* [*An Unequal Friendship. Client Systems in Historical Perspective*], (2003), p. 186.

¹¹ Sarnecki, op. cit., p. 178.

¹² Ibidem, p. 24.

the same from which the body of the suicide had been hung¹³. There was a macabre story of the man falling into a pot of kasha and then about 'drowning' the corpse in the river. These were not commented on any further by the diarist, neither did they take him by surprise, being regarded as fully believable.

The 'Grey Eminence' at Jan III's court, frequently mentioned by Sarnecki, was Carlo Maurizio Vota, an Italian Jesuit, philosopher, scientist and diplomat, a supporter of Galileo, who had fairly wide experience as an architect as well. From 1682, on the order of Pope Innocent XI, he had been at the side of Jan III. His diplomatic successes included arranging a marriage between Prince Jakub and Jadwiga Elżbieta, a sister of Emperor Leopold I's brother-in-law, Charles III Philip of the house of Wittelsbach; as well as saving the alliance between the Republic of Poland and Austria. According to Dupont, Carlo Maurizio Vota had extensive and versatile knowledge. Sarnecki himself portrays him several times as an ardent debater, especially fond of discussing theological topics within the narrow circle of Jan III's closest entourage. In 1693, he writes, for instance, about a dinner for the King, his wife Maria Kazimiera, and a French envoy, for whom three large carp from ponds at Tarnopol were prepared: after the dinner an envoy of Louis XIV had an opportunity to discuss theology with Jan III and Vota¹⁴. Sarnecki comments on the Jesuit's knowledge in a letter of 1693, addressed to Radziwiłł, when having received Vota's scholarly speech, he states plainly: "Trusting his theological skills I haven't read it [...]" Vota also arranged for the ailing monarch's life to be more attractive: in 1693, he presented the King with eight mares from Naples, a number of paintings and architectural designs, entertained him with post-prandial discussion

¹³ Sarnecki, *op. cit.*, p. 31–32.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 75.

on the history of the Roman state, and playing games of chess or draughts. Together with his inseparable companion – the French envoy – he helped the King, as his health was recovering, to design the new residence at Kukizova.

The official character and requirements of diplomatic etiquette remained in stark contrast with the private relations between the King and the foreign envoys who made themselves at home at his court. There was a conviction that a well-behaved Pole should know foreign etiquette so as not to appear boorish or an ignoramus¹⁵. *Repetition* Foreigners' conduct was closely watched in this respect. Sarnecki criticizes, for example, the controversial manners of the Emperor's envoy Charles Julius, Count Sedlnitzky, who, while paying a visit to Prince Jakub Sobieski's wife – sat down at her bed. That was considered distasteful by Maria Kazimiera who deemed that the diplomat had taken too great a liberty. The boldness of his gesture would have been smoothed over had he been introduced to her earlier¹⁶. That incident had a serious impact on the Habsburg diplomat's failure to gain a private audience with the Queen. Sarnecki expresses his deep nobleman's esteem for envoys who accepted the principle of respecting foreign customs. He describes, expressing this recognition, for instance, the moment when Maria Kazimiera was hailed by an envoy of the Khan: the Tartar, against his customary conduct, took off his cap when seeing the Queen on her way to take part in a church service¹⁷. The Queen soon returned that gesture of respect: she stopped in front of the envoy's quarters and nodded her head towards the Tartar who was coming out. He, this time not taking the cap off,

¹⁵ B. Fabiani, *Na dworze Wazów w Warszawie [At the Court of the Vasas]*, (1988), p. 158.

¹⁶ Sarnecki, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 52.

returned the salutation with a “Tartar’s compliment”¹⁸. Then both parties exchanged gifts. Sarnecki notes that upon having greeted the King on the Khan’s behalf in the Tartar language, went on to talk in Polish.

It was a generally observed rule to offer a kind reception to foreign envoys and present them with lavish gifts to secure the success of political goals. The monarch, considered in the later years of his life to be a real miser, sometimes would have his *Żółkiewski* treasure vault opened to bestow souvenirs including – as Sarnecki notes – on foreign envoys. For instance, in 1694, he presented the diplomat – the Bavarian Baron, Mark Christopher Meyer – with one of his Turkish saddles, a *dywdyk* (a long decorative silk cloth under the saddle, placed on a horse for parades), a sabre, horse tack encrusted with pearls, rubies and turquoises. Sarnecki’s comments in 1693 concerning the Tartar envoy Dervish Kaza Murza, whom Jan III ordered to be accommodated comfortably at Wilanów, thanks to which – as the diarist notes – “[...] the Tartar enjoyed himself immensely, dancing and drinking well with other Tartars”. The kind and generous treatment of that diplomat was in stark contrast with the often brutal treatment offered to foreign envoys in Istanbul and the Crimea. In those days, the Orient was associated with paganism, thus – with barbarian manners and ‘tyrant’s rule’. Despite this, in 1694, Jan III took leave to tell a joke addressed to his beloved daughter Teresa Kunegunda, the future wife of Maximilian II Emanuel, elector of Bavaria. The King joked that he would rather give her away to the Crimean Khan, since he would not have to arrange for her dowry and would get a present of thousands of extra soldiers himself.

The characteristics of other nationals made at that time contained obvious stereotypes, malice and open dislikes, however

¹⁸ Ibidem, p. 56.

complimentary opinions were found as well. A work entitled *Obyczaje i przymioty osobliwych narodów europejskich z różnych autorów* [*Customs and Virtues of European Nations by Various Authors*] was one the best-known devoted to this subject. In it, a Spaniard was bold and vain, a Frenchman – obstinate and reckless, an Italian – witty, yet proud and vengeful, a German – quick-tempered or staid, a Lithuanian – pious and loud, a Hungarian was a rebel, and a Pole – a loafer, although, according to other opinions – was known to be generous, magnanimous, courageous and hospitable¹⁹. The stereotype of a Pole also included simple-heartedness, sincerity and being committed to freedom, idleness and haughtiness, an inclination towards drinking and gluttony, as well as anarchy. In Sarnecki's diary, only occasionally do there appear terms such as “infidels” or “fanatical enemy” used with reference to “Muslims”. It happened, for example, in 1695, when Sarnecki beseeched God to reverse their luck and fortune²⁰.

Knowledge about foreigners that was acquired during armed conflict easily took on a stereotypical form. A Capuchin and missionary – Michel Febure – passed an unfavourable comment on Turks who were characterized – in his opinion – mainly by criminal traits such as cruelty, insincerity, greed, adherence to superstitions and sloppiness²¹. A similar opinion was popular in King Sobieski's circle: a Tartar and a wolf are one and the same these days, he will strike hardest when you least will expect it²².

¹⁹ J. Tazbir, *Szlaki kultury polskiej* [*The Routes of the Polish Culture*], (1986), p. 9.

²⁰ Sarnecki, op. cit., p. 366.

²¹ K. Targosz, *Jan III Sobieski mecenasem nauk i uczonech* [*Jan III Sobieski a Patron of Sciences and Scientists*], (*Monografie z dziejów nauki i techniki* 149, 1991), p. 149.

²² Marek Matczyński's letter to Andrzej Wardenński, the Governor of Pomerania, of 29 September 1675, sent from the camp near Litatyn, Archiwum

Polish noblemen's conviction that their lifestyle was characterized by modesty, and that sincerity and openness should not be mistaken for excessive freedom of speech can be recalled in the case of the above-mentioned Frenchman who was beaten up in Warsaw by hired attackers. Dislike could be fuelled by the noblemen's fear of foreign counselling in socio-political matters. The role of envoys varied, since it was connected not only with strictly diplomatic duties, foreign visitors made semi-private contacts with Polish noblemen, which contributed to earning favours from the latter. Sarnecki presents French diplomats as being firmly settled at Jan III's court and received by the royal family with unusual kindness. Their mission was to win favours from influential personages in the arena of politics for the policy of Louis XIV. As an example, in 1694 a French envoy passed information to Radziwiłł through Sarnecki that there was a gold watch waiting for the magnate in France. Many magnates were given not only presents, but also salaries by foreign courts, and foreign diplomats were perceived as a source of cash, though not entirely reliable. In 1695, Sarnecki passed to his employer information from Rachel Kryszpinowa (of the Brzostowski family) that the French envoy did not have any money, so could not be counted on in connection with some issue unknown to us today. Such contacts were aided by the receptions, so frequently mentioned by Sarnecki, organized by French diplomats who were very keen on making contacts especially with senators and members of parliament.

Apart from information of a serious nature comments were made relating to the behaviour of representatives of Russia in private contacts. In February 1696, Sarnecki noted a brawl which

took place during a reception given by the Grand Chancellor of Lithuania, Prince Dominik Mikołaj Radziwiłł. The row was started by the Russians present there, most probably accompanying the Tsar's envoy. As a result of over-drinking they broke the table, beat one of the Prince's servant heavily with knouts while stealing his velvet cap. This was not overlooked in the report. Such stories could obviously potentially strengthen the stereotypical conviction about the savagery and barbaric Russian character (also associated with 'tyrant's rule' by Polish noblemen). Still, Sarnecki gave similar examples from the Polish and Lithuanian-Russian reality, which gives his diary an objective quality.

3. THE FOREIGNER AMONG THE KING'S SUBJECTS

In the epoch of Jan III, the sense of belonging to a given religious faith outweighed that of ethnicity, and the 'foreigner' did not need to be a foreigner at all.

A report, which appeared at that time under the title *Relation historique de la Pologne*, written by Sieur de Hateville who came from Provence, contained severe criticism of the nobility who were getting rich at the expense of peasants and vassals in an un-Christian way²³. A magnate was, undoubtedly, the sole sovereign of his *latifundium* in the administrative, economic and legal senses. His merciful or cruel treatment of individuals or communities subject to him depended to a large extent on his personality and the economic condition of his property. Jan III's favourite, Grand Treasurer to the Crown, and then Voivode of Russia – Marek Matczyński – while acting on behalf of the King applied the practice of treating all subjects in the same way, ir-

²³ Targosz, *Jan III Sobieski*, p. 100.

respective of their nationality²⁴. That was surely meant to contribute to the proper development of the latifundium economy. Supporting Jews and Armenians was to stimulate trade between towns and the countryside, and also to protect the former from losing their urban character, a frequent phenomenon following wars in the 17th c.

Some of Jan III's subjects remained within the King's close circle on a permanent basis. The deteriorating condition of the monarch's health over time meant that medical doctors played an increasingly important role in his life. Medication taken on journeys was of a conventional character, yet the King and his entourage had the opportunity to get familiar with medicines from the East. After the battle of Vienna, Jan III got hold of the Vizier Kara Mustafa's medicine-chest. It was then that Poles could admire, among others, the famous *mumio* – according to belief then – a wonderful medicine to cure many ailments²⁵.

The King's physicians were in many cases individuals of outstanding ability. Some of them worked as secretaries for the King as well, and their social and ethnic backgrounds varied. Among the court doctors, Abraham Ben Joszijahu, a physician of Jewish origin who was popularly called Doctor Jonas, enjoyed the monarch's absolute trust. Indeed, the King must have placed a lot of trust in him since, for instance, as Sarnecki wrote, the Queen's decided to send Doctor Jonas to her royal spouse in 1693 with the request that her husband take care of his health and not to plan

²⁴ Marek Matczyński's letter to Marcin Zamoyski, the Voivode of Braclaw, of 3 September 1680, sent from Jaworów, AGAD: Archiwum Zamoyskich, No. 480, no catalogue number.

²⁵ J. Sobieski's letter to Maria Kazimiera of 28 September 1683, sent from San Peter, in: *Listy do Marysieńki* [*Letters to Marysieńka*], ed. by J. Kukulski, 2 (1976), p. 546.

a journey²⁶. The doctor's interventions were fairly frequent in this respect and – as a rule – effective. His tasks went beyond, however, the sphere of medicine, since he also acted as mediator in conflicts between members of the royal family. He proved these skills, for example, in 1696, when after the death of Jan III he appeased the scandalous quarrel between Prince Jakub and Queen Maria Kazimiera over the monarch's treasury. It is symptomatic that the eldest son of the royal family rejected the conciliatory mission of Primate Michał Radziejowski and senators, while he agreed to accept the mediation of the Royal Physician²⁷.

The property of the Sobieski's located in Russia, was inhabited mainly by people of Russian and Polish origin. However they also remained under a fairly strong influence from Tartar and Moldovan cultures. As early as the Middle Ages oriental colonies in Russia had become dominated by Armenians from the Crimea and Moslems²⁸. Economic records did not always allow the precise determination of the ethnic origin of subjects, although in times of trouble it was certainly made use of. In 1696, Sarnecki noted, for instance, a story of a Russian peasant passed to him in a letter from Lublin. The man was known to be a notorious swindler, who appeared successively at his parish church and, then at Dominican, Jesuit and Carmelite monasteries, promising to bring back treasure he had allegedly found in return for money to purchase horses²⁹.

Making stable the situation of his subjects and tightening links with them were conditions for the proper functioning of a lati-

²⁶ Sarnecki, op. cit., p. 72–73.

²⁷ Komaczyński, op. cit., p. 178.

²⁸ J. Tyszkiewicz, *Tatarzy na Litwie i w Polsce. Studia z dziejów XIII–XVIII wieku* [*Tatars in Lithuania and in Poland. Studies on the History of the XIII–XVIII Centuries*], (1989), p. 202.

²⁹ Sarnecki, op. cit., p. 334.

fundium. A simple way to do this was to use ‘public relations’. Making tours of his family estates was for Jan III a good opportunity to accentuate his authority there, broaden his knowledge of his subjects’ customs, and demonstrate ‘fatherly grace’ towards them. Such a role was played by the royal couple after Jan III’s return from Vienna, when some wedding guests visited him in Jaworów bringing gifts. The royal couple took part in the wedding reception – the King danced with the wedding hostess (starost), while the Queen with the wedding host (wojt). Jan III finished his visit by saying goodbye to the hosts and guests “like a father to his children”³⁰.

Taking part in folk entertainment was customary and became common practice. An instance was an event which took place in Żółkiew – a place well-known for its high number of Jewish – which was recalled for a long time afterwards. During a carnival party in 1696, Queen Maria Kazimiera danced dressed in Jewish costume³¹. Jewish music accompanied the Queen at meals, recorded by Sarnecki when he wrote about musicians of Rzeszów (Resovia) playing the dulcimer during a supper at the court³².

Jan III was fond of Ukrainian music and when he grew older he would send away French musicians and have Cossack songs sung to him with the accompaniment of bandura (a Ukrainian folk string instrument)³³. As Sarnecki wrote, the King valued Ukrainian songs more than French ones³⁴. After the King’s death, Queen Maria Kazimiera kept that tradition. In 1698, on arriving

³⁰ *Słownik Geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich* [A Geographical Dictionary of the Kingdom of Poland and Other Slavic Countries], ed. by F. Sulimierski, W. Chlebowski, S. Walewski, 1 (1880), p. 522.

³¹ Sarnecki, op. cit., p. 324.

³² Ibidem, p. 150.

³³ Ibidem, p. 76–78.

³⁴ Ibidem, p. 78.

in Venice, the courtiers (male and female) who accompanied her made a presentation of Russian dances at one of the parties, although they lacked the proper musical support not possessing the traditional instruments that create the necessary spirit³⁵.

The foreign policy of the time focussed more on religious belief as an obstacle to understanding than subjects' nationality. A significant role, as regards Sarnecki's diaries, is played by very detailed information about external threats on the south-eastern border. That concerned not only relations with Tartars and Turks as, at the time under discussion, Russia had tried to interfere in the internal affairs of the Republic of Poland, using Orthodox believers inhabiting Russian territory for that purpose. In 1694, Sarnecki informed Radziwiłł about the situation on the border. In Mohylev – a stronghold of the Orthodox – there was great joy as a result of the Tsar's order for the noblemen of Smolensk not to allow foreigners into service in their community for fear of treason. A condition for obtaining such a job was to convert to the Orthodox faith. Mohylev, in contrast to Smolensk, remained within the borders of the Republic of Poland in the second half of the 17th c., yet was under the strong influence of that church. The diarist also mentioned a peasant born in Smolensk, the son of an Orthodox priest at Spaska Orthodox church, who – in consequence of his Latin education in Vitebsk – became a Jesuit. When a seminarist, he came home and was then forced by the Voivode to convert back to the Orthodox faith and take the post of Orthodox priest succeeding his father: “[...] why – being a peasant – did you betray the Tsars?”. In the times of Jan Kazimierz, the Orthodox Church still held a dominant position in the southern and eastern Voivodeships (provinces) of the Republic of Poland, but during the reign of Jan III and Augustus II its or-

³⁵ Komaczyński, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

ganizational structure collapsed³⁶. Documents which come from the times of Jan III reflect the process of subordinating followers of the Orthodox Church to the Catholic Church.

4. FOREIGNERS AND THE CULTURE OF EVERYDAY LIFE

The influence of the East was visible to only a small extent in the architecture of the day. On the other hand, clothes, weapons and artistic crafts displayed evident signs of the strong impact that oriental cultures had on contemporary people³⁷. Sobieski collected exquisite and expensive objects as gifts from Moldovan, Turkish and Tartar envoys. Sarnecki writes, for example, about a gold sabre, a horse with an embroidered saddle, and gold horse tack, which were presented to Jan III by an envoy of the Moldovan *hospodar* (prince) in 1691.³⁸

The furnishings of the interiors of Jan III's residences testify to the King's interest in the cultures of the East. From the 16th to 18th c. the designs which flowed in primarily from Turkey were of paramount importance³⁹. In a chamber of Oleski Castle was a tiled

³⁶ L. Ćwikła, *Bractwo cerkiewne jako forma organizacji ludności prawosławnej na ziemiach ruskich Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVII wieku* [The Orthodox Brotherhood as a form of organization of Orthodox population in Russian lands of the Republic of Poland in the XVI–XVII centuries], "Czaszy Nowożytné", 8 (2000), p. 119–135, here p. 134.

³⁷ J. Tazbir, *Polskie przedmurze chrześcijańskiej Europy* [The Polish Bulwark of the Christian Europe], (1987), p. 9.

³⁸ Sarnecki, op. cit., p. 57.

³⁹ A. Jakimowicz, *Zachód a sztuka Wschodu* [The West and the Art. of the East], (1981), p. 102–103.

stove of Turkish make⁴⁰, while in the castle bakery there were two working Wallachian tiled stoves⁴¹.

A partial inventory of Jan III's property of 1673 includes a description of the store of linen⁴², listing 23 Turkish shirts and Persian towels decorated with a floral pattern. Such objects were the work of craftsmen of different ethnic origins. It follows from a later part of the inventory that in residences belonging to the Sobieski's they had Muscovite mirrors installed.

A large part of the King's weapon collection was made from cold steel often manufactured by Polish and Russian craftsmen, however, even in such cases the motifs used for decoration made references to oriental sources. The hilt of one of the swords, which has been preserved, was in the shape of a Turk's head⁴³. The names of weapons, shields, horse tack and harness were mainly of Turkish origin. According to a Pole living in Bakhchysarai, a horse tack of Circassian make was – in time – replaced by one in the Turkish style⁴⁴.

Part of the family's collection consisted of luxurious items of handicraft from Istanbul manufacturers, including Turkish broadswords and sabres, and a broadsword of the 15th–16thc. with a hilt of Persian make⁴⁵. In the treasury at Jaworów a large number of

⁴⁰ A. Czołowski, *Dawne zamki i twierdze na Rusi halickiej* [*The old castles and strongholds in Halicka Russia*], "Teki Konserwatorska", (1892), p. 90.

⁴¹ Ibidem, p. 94.

⁴² *Materiały źródłowe do dziejów kultury i sztuki XVI–XVIII wieku* [*Source Materials for Examination of the History of Culture and Arts of the XVI–XVIII Centuries*], elaborated by M. Gębarowicz, (1973), p. 126.

⁴³ *Tron pamiątek ku czci "Najjaśniejszego, Niezwyciężonego Jana III Sobieskiego Króla Polskiego" w trzechsetlecie śmierci 1696–1996* [*Throne of relics in honour of "His Royal Highness the Invincible Jan III Sobieski, King of Poland" on the three hundredth anniversary of his death 1696–1996*], (1996), p. 70.

⁴⁴ Targosz, *Jan III Sobieski*, p. 172.

⁴⁵ *Materiały źródłowe*, p. 71–72.

Turkish and Persian knives were deposited, a good example of which was a jasper knife set with diamonds, placed in a green sheath⁴⁶. In the above-mentioned inventory, there was also a sabre of Wallachian make with a hilt of ivory, as well as some Circassian sabres and a Tartar one. Bows were both of Tartar and Circassian make. At the court of Jan III, Armenian embroiderers and goldsmiths could easily find employment making quivers, caparisons and weapons⁴⁷. Articles of gold, and table and decorative ceramics were in fashion then. In the estate of Jaworów a well-known Armenian goldsmith Bedros Zachariowicz was employed. The diarist, Jakub Poczobutt Odlanicki, mentioned that in 1684, in the King's own collection, there were dozens of precious sabres and double-edged daggers brought from the Vienna campaign. The least valuable were assessed to be worth 15 000 zloty, whereas others – 50 to 100 000 zloty⁴⁸.

Among items of interior furnishings at Jaworów was a small Turkish table set with ivory. Some of the oriental pieces were adjusted to perform other functions. For example, in 1683, Sobieski got hold of a Turkish 'purse' made of solid gold in which the Turks kept amulets in the form of gold plates bearing magical inscriptions. Instead of the latter, Jan III carried a small picture of the Mother of God offered to him by his wife⁴⁹. Probably it is this very object which was described in the inventory of Jan III's

⁴⁶ The inventory of the private treasury of King John III at the Castle of Warsaw of 1696, in: *Materiały źródłowe*, p. 148.

⁴⁷ M. Zakrzewska-Dubasowa, *Ormianie w dawnej Polsce [The Armenians in the Old Poland]*, (1982), p. 134, 170.

⁴⁸ J. Poczobutt Odlanicki, *Pamiętnik (1640–1684) [The Diary (1640–1684)]*, elaborated by A. Rachuba, (1987), p. 317–318.

⁴⁹ A letter from Jan Sobieski to Maria Kazimiera of 28 September 1683, sent from San Peter, in: *Listy do Marysienki*, p. 546.

private treasury, made in 1696⁵⁰. This means that the amulets were preserved anyway. There is considerably less information on the appearance and content of cases which the King's favourite, Marek Matczyński, ordered to be brought to Jaworów in 1678, together with an unidentifiable Albanian and his family⁵¹. Among items in the Sobieskis' collection a cypress treasure box was listed veneered with ebony and 'Indian' wood⁵².

Thanks to Władysław Poczobut Odlanicki we can learn that the garden in Jaworów was arranged in the Italian style. The diarist likened it almost to "paradise"⁵³. The Sobieski's were very fond of orange trees, perhaps they had come to value them at the court of Marie Louise Gonzaga, whose well-known portrait features an avenue of those trees in the background.

A form of magnate entertainment was the collection of exotic animals. However, we know from sources that the camels and mules which belonged to Jan III were not only meant to be looked at, they were used as pack-animals too. The King also had a cassowary, a bobak marmot, a pelican, vultures and eagles in his collection⁵⁴. Jan III was also interested, which was not exceptional then, in species of animals that were not known in Poland at the time. Sarnecki mentions that at the end of his life, Jan III was presented with a salamander by Jakub Ludwik – his eldest son – and that the amphibian raised the particular interest of the King's courtiers⁵⁵.

⁵⁰ *Materiały źródłowe*, p. 150.

⁵¹ A letter from Marek Matczyński to Piotr Świeprawski, Deputy-Starost of Jaworów, sent from Lublin on 14 April 1678, AGAD: ARV, vol. 196, No. 9362, Catalogue 75.

⁵² *Materiały źródłowe*, p. 162.

⁵³ Poczobutt Odlanicki, *op. cit.*, p. 317.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁵ Sarnecki, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

Dress, of which an integral part was the covering of the head, obliged the wearer to assume a political attitude defined by law and tradition. Clothes which were associated with a nobleman's 'nation' played an important role in culture and customs. Reports furnished by Polish diarists often concentrated on foreign customs which were of concern to the nobility, for instance on striking female costume or the habit of shaving. It was feared that in the acceptance of foreign fashion, the Polish language and national political traditions could be rejected⁵⁶.

As a rule, Jan III preferred to be dressed in a robe or the costume of an ancient Polish noble, and his external appearance satisfied traditionalists' expectations. In reality, however, at the court of Jan III there were also visible influences of other cultures: French, Cossack, Tartar and Wallachian. Queen Maria Kazimiera herself succumbed to their charms as she liked elements of Tartar dress. She was also fond of Crimean accessories, such as corsets⁵⁷, and Jan III acquired the latest news relating to fashion in the Crimea from envoys which had been sent to the Khan⁵⁸.

It was not until the mid-18th c. that the taking off of hats or fur caps in private houses and public premises became customary. Earlier, Polish traditional costume had required them to be always worn, including at celebrations, banquets and balls⁵⁹. It is well-known from Sarnecki's diary that Stanisław Jakub Świącicki, the Bishop of Chełm, who joined the royal couple at a dinner, amused Maria Kazimiera by sitting, just for fun, with two caps on his

⁵⁶ J. Tazbir, *Kultura szlachecka w Polsce. Rozkwit – upadek – relikty* [*The Noblemen's Culture in Poland. The Flourishment – Decline – Relics*], (1983), p. 45.

⁵⁷ Targosz, *Jan III mecenasem*, p. 149, p. 172.

⁵⁸ Jakimowicz, op. cit., p. 107.

⁵⁹ Z. Kuchowicz, *Obyczaje staropolskie XVI–XVIII wieku* [*The Old Polish Customs of the XVI–XVIII Centuries*], (1975), p. 437.

head⁶⁰. Caps were raised while greeting one another. If both persons were doing that at the same time, it meant they were socially equal. The person who occupied a lower position would otherwise be expected to do so first. Returning the greeting was obligatory and overlooking this form of showing respect and good manners met with indignation. The customs of Eastern nationals were respected in diplomatic spheres, on the basis of reciprocity, as a matter of routine. The incident of 1693, involving the Tartar envoy taking off his cap to show respect to the Queen and the Queen's returning the kind gesture, described earlier⁶¹, was a good example of an official showing knowledge of widely differing customs, as well as performing the duty of showing good manners in diplomacy.

* * *

It was not as much the foreigners' nationality as their religion and politics that exerted the strongest influence on attitudes towards visitors to Poland, contributing to an equal extent both to xenophobia and xenophilia. Despite the dislike of the foreigner, typical of the lower strata of the nobility, in the Republic of Poland a foreigner was regarded as a 'living' newspaper, an attraction to higher society, as well as an 'oracle' on issues relating to fashion. Sarnecki's diaries confirm, however, that a positive approach to 'foreignness' would occur (with exceptions) in magnates' circles rather than within groups of the more conservative nobility. Sarnecki's aim in writing down his observations meant that national stereotypes were not given too much space in the diaries. On the other hand, the reader obtains plenty of concrete and valuable information on the many-sided characteristics of person-

⁶⁰ Sarnecki, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, p. 56.

ages in political life in the times of Jan Sobieski's reign. Thanks to this, and an analysis of the material, we are able to draw our own conclusions concerning the private views of the diarist and features which characterize his colourful epoch.

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WIZERUNEK CUDZOZIEMCA
W ŚWIETLE *PAMIĘTNIKÓW Z CZASÓW JANA SOBIESKIEGO*
KAZIMIERZA SARNECKIEGO (1629–1696)

(STRESZCZENIE)

Pamiętnik Kazimierza Sarneckiego należy do najczęściej wykorzystywanych źródeł do epoki Jana III Sobieskiego. Wspomnienia tego rezydenta na dworze Jana III, działającego z poruczenia kanclerza wielkiego litewskiego Karola Stanisława Radziwiłła, uzupełniają fakty znane z pamiętników Philippe Pierre de Noyersa, Philippe Duponta, François-Paulina d'Aleyraca i sekretarza ambasady francuskiej kawalera de Mongrillona. Wyróżniają się także dlatego, że mocodawcą Sarneckiego był siostrzeniec monarchy, syn Katarzyny z Sobieskich, *primo voto* Zasławskiej, a *secundo voto* Radziwiłłowej.

Kazimierzowi Sarneckiemu zawdzięczamy szczegółowy obraz życia codziennego Jana III i jego rodziny w ostatnich latach życia króla (1691–1696). Jego relacje nie mają jednak charakteru prywatnego, ponieważ Radziwiłłowi potrzebne były wnikliwe obserwacje życia politycznego Rzeczypospolitej. Sarnecki na bieżąco odnotowywał dla niego informacje związane z relacjami rodzinnymi Jana III, trybem życia władcy, jego zdrowiem i samopoczuciem, przebiegiem obrad sejmu i rad senatorskich oraz wizytami cudzoziemskich dyplomatów. Zetknięcie się świata „swoich” i „obcych” następuje tu na kilku płaszczyznach: polityki, dyplomacji i wojny, kultury i sztuki, życia codziennego i obyczajów.

W pamiętniku Sarneckiego cudzoziemiec na dworze Jana III jest cennym źródłem nowinek naukowych, politycznych i kulturalnych. Duży wpływ na stosunek do cudzoziemców miała nie tyle ich narodowość, co ich wyznanie i stosunki polityczne, przyczyniając się w równej mierze do ksenofobii, jak i ksenofilii. Mimo niechęci do „obcych” charakterystycznej dla niższych warstw

stanu szlacheckiego, w Rzeczypospolitej cudzoziemiec był uważany za żywą gazetę, atrakcję towarzyską, a także wyrocznię w sprawach mody. Wspomnienia Sarneckiego potwierdzają jednak, że sympatia wobec „cudzoziemszczyzny” miała szansę zaistnieć raczej w środowisku magnackim, niż wśród bardziej konserwatywnej szlachty. Stereotypy narodowe nie zajęły we wspomnieniach radziwiłłowskiego rezydenta wiele miejsca. Czytelnik otrzymuje natomiast dużo konkretnych i cennych informacji oraz wielostronnych charakterystyk postaci życia politycznego. Wnikliwie analizując ich dobór można w pewnym stopniu wysnuć własne wnioski na temat osobistych poglądów pamiętnikarza i jego barwnej epoki.

Opracowane przez Autorkę / Bearbeitet von der Verfasserin /
Prepared by the Author

DAS BILD EINES AUSLÄNDERS IM LICHTE DER *MEMOIREN*
AUS DER ZEIT VON JOHANN III. SOBIESKI
VON KAZIMIERZ SARNECKI (1629–1696)

(ZUSAMMENFASSUNG)

Die Memoiren von Kazimierz Sarnecki gehören zu den am häufigsten verwendeten Quellen für die Zeit des Königs Johann III. Sobieski. Die Aufzeichnungen dieses Gesandten am Hof Johanns III., der dort im Auftrag des litauischen Großkanzlers Karola Stanisław Radziwiłł tätig war, ergänzen die Fakten, die aus den Tagebüchern von Philippe Pierre de Noyers, Philippe Dupont, François-Paulin d'Aleyrac und vom Sekretär der französischen Botschaft, des Herrn de Mongrillon bekannt sind. Sie gewinnen eine besondere Relevanz, weil der Patron von Sarnecki der Neffe des Monarchen war, sowie der Sohn von Katharina, geborene Sobieski, *primo voto* Zasławska und *secundo voto* Radziwiłł.

Kazimierz Sarnecki verdanken wir ein ausführliches Bild des täglichen Lebens von Johannes III. und seiner Familie in den letzten Lebensjahren des Königs (1691–1696). Seine Berichte haben aber kaum individuelle Züge, die von ihm vorbereiteten tiefgründigen Bemerkungen des politischen Lebens der Rzeczypospolita waren für Radziwiłł nötig. Sarnecki hat für ihn durchgehend die Informationen über die familiären Beziehungen von Johannes III., seine Lebensart, seine Gesundheit und das Befinden sowie den Verlauf der Parla-

ments-, Senatssitzungen und die Besuche von ausländischen Diplomaten aufgeschrieben. Die Begegnung der Welten „wir“ und „die Fremden“ erfolgt hier auf mehreren Ebenen: der Politik, Diplomatie und des Krieges, der Kunst und Kultur, des Alltags und der Bräuche.

In den Memoiren von Sarnecki ist ein Ausländer, der sich am Hof von Johannes III. befindet, eine wertvolle Quelle für die Kenntnisse von wissenschaftlichen, politischen und kulturellen Neuigkeiten. Großen Einfluss auf die Einstellung den Ausländern gegenüber hatte nicht ihre Nationalität, sondern die Konfession und politischen Verhältnisse. Diese trugen gleichermaßen zu Fremdenfeindlichkeit wie Fremdenfreundlichkeit bei. Trotz der Abneigung gegen die „Fremden“, charakteristisch für die unteren Schichten des Adels, wurde der Ausländer in Rzeczypospolita als eine lebendige Zeitung, eine Attraktion sowie ein Orakel in Sachen Mode betrachtet. Die Erinnerungen von Sarnecki bestätigen jedoch, dass die Zuneigung dem „Ausländischen“ gegenüber eher im Hochadelskreis als unter mehr konservativen Adelligen in Erscheinung treten konnte. Nationale Klischees haben in den Erinnerungen des Gesandten Radziwiłłs nicht viel Platz gefunden. Der Leser erhält aber viele konkrete und wertvolle Informationen sowie multilaterale Charakteristiken von den politisch engagierten Personen. Eine sorgfältige Analyse der von dem Autor gewählten Darstellungen ermöglicht Schlüsse über die persönlichen Ansichten des Tagebuchschreibers und seine bunte Epoche zu ziehen.

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- pamiętniki; Jan III Sobieski; Rzeczypospolita Obojga Narodów; cudzoziemcy a Polska
- Memoiren, Johann III. Sobieski; polnisch-litauische Adelsrepublik; Ausländer und Polen
- memoirs; John III Sobieski; Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth; foreigners and Poles

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