

BOGDAN ROK

University of Wrocław, Wrocław

INTERPERSONAL CONTACTS OF POLISH TRAVELING CLERGYMAN IN THE 18TH CENTURY¹

The research on travels in early modern Poland has been greatly revived and many interesting relevant topics have been addressed. Naturally, various types of travels intensified in early modern times across Europe². At that time, journeys influenced mobility and broadened the cognitive horizons of the then society³, familiarising the travellers with what was foreign (other) and foreigners (the others)⁴. At this point we will highlight the possibility of exploring an interesting research problem, i.e. the presentation of interpersonal contacts of the then travellers. During a journey, those on the road not only encountered unfamiliar places (like today), but also came across (like today) various types of people with whom contact was necessary. More often than not, such meetings occurred as a result of different accidental circumstances; sometimes, of course, they were pre-planned visits⁵. Such considerations should pay attention to all kinds of travel relationships of people of the clerical state of the early modern era. The authors of the archival editions, in accordance with the publishing rules, offer information about the characters mentioned in the texts in footnotes⁶. Already at the beginning, using such findings of the publishers, we can map out the wider or narrower social circles of a particular traveller. However, we find many unidentified people in sometimes difficult source texts. The task of successive historians will therefore be to find and describe also those previously undefined contacts. In this respect, it is still possible to make very interesting new discoveries when completing the networks of interpersonal connections. Besides, a lot of records about accidental fully anonymous characters recalled on the pages of travel accounts should be noted, and these records should be looked at to better represent the travellers' personal interactions.

¹ The text was written within the framework of the National Program for the Development of Humanities (NPRH) no. 11H 12 0286 81: "Travelling in Modern Poland as a Form of Social Communication".

² P. Rietbergen, *Europa. Dzieje kultury*, Warszawa 2001, p. 261ff.

³ See A. Kucharski, *Theatrum peregrinandi. Poznawcze aspekty staropolskich podróży w epoce późnego baroku*, Toruń 2013.

⁴ See e.g. A. Żal-Kędzior, *Obraz Ziemi Świętej w polskim piśmiennictwie geograficznym i podróżniczym w XVIII w.*, Toruń 2010, Seria Staropolski Ogląd Świata w Wydawnictwie Adam Marszałek; Z. Benedyktowicz, *Portrety "obcego". Od stereotypu do symboli*, Kraków 2000.

⁵ See m.in. B. Rok, "Życie towarzyskie Teofili z Radziwiłłów Morawskiej w europejskiej podróży latach 1773-1774", in: *Władza i prestiż. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI-XVIII wieku*, ed. J. Urwanowicz in collaboration with E. Dubas-Urwanowicz and P. Guzowski, Białystok 2003, pp. 639-649.

⁶ See B. Rok, "Uwagi nad problemem edytorstwa relacji podróżniczych czasów wczesnonowożytnych", in: *Teoria i praktyka edycji nowożytnych źródeł w Polsce (XVI-XVIII w.)*, ed. A. Perłakowski, Kraków 2011, pp. 159-167.

This text makes use of a number of eighteenth-century travel diaries that have appeared in print or are being prepared for publication. Most of them have been preserved in the manuscripts of church archives. Only the most valuable descriptions were chosen in this regard, ones that present a particular kind of events and report on these very different meetings on the road. It seems that already at this stage of familiarity with travel accounts we can make some sort of typology of these contacts.

Clergymen set out on journeys to farther destinations for various purposes. At this point it can only be pointed out that these journeys were made for the purposes of further education in foreign centres, on different church business and for the care of young people going to study across Europe. In fact, these were always pilgrimages. During their travels, then, clergymen entered different shrines to strengthen their spiritual formation. Very often they also showed interest in learning about all the other highlights they encountered along the way⁷.

The remarks offered in this text are based on a few more extensive accounts of Polish clergymen from the 18th c. These were extant itineraries of Franciscans of the Strict Observance setting out to general chapters of the Friars Minor: Antoni Węgrzynowicz (1658-1721) of 1706⁸, Symforian Arakielowicz (ca. 1678-1742) of 1723 to Rome⁹, Protazy Neverani (1702-1743)¹⁰ of 1740 to Valladolid, Spain, Remigiusz Zawadzki (1702-1775)¹¹ and Stanisław Kleczewski (1714-1776)¹² of 1750 to Rome. We also know of an account written by Juwenalis Charkiewicz (1720-1788) of his trip to the 1768 chapter in Valencia, Spain¹³. Three accounts of trips to chapters of the Capuchins from the 18th c. have come out in print, e.g. that by Stanisław Filipecki (1742-1803) of 1789 to Rome¹⁴. A separate issue are the accounts of envoys from Gniezno leaving for Rome in 1768 to hold a case before the local

⁷ B. Rok, "Staropolscy duchowni na szlakach turystycznych Europy w XVIII w.," in: *Spoleczny wymiar turystyki*, ed. E. Kościak, Wrocław 2011, p. 9-23. [Wrocławskie spotkania z historią gospodarczą. Spotkanie VI].

⁸ A. Węgrzynowicz, *Itinerarium Hispanicum (1705)*, introduction and ed. M. Chachaj, B. Rok, transl. D. Piwowarczyk with the collaboration of M. Chachaj and B. Rok; *Staropolskie podróżowanie*, ed. B. Rok and F. Wolański, Kraków 2016, *Peregrinationes Sarmatarum*, vol. 4, pp. 17-39, hereinafter quoted as: Węgrzynowicz.

⁹ S. Arakielowicz, *Itinerarium Romanum (1723). Podróż Rzymska (1723)*, introduction and ed. B. Rok, transl. D. Piwowarczyk, Kraków-Wrocław 2016, *Peregrinationes Sarmatarum*, vol. 6, p. 14, hereinafter quoted as: Arakielowicz.

¹⁰ Archives of the Franciscans of the Strict Observance in Krakow, MS file no. 248. P. Neverani, *Diarium viae Hispanicae*. The diary edited for print in the series *Peregrinationes Sarmatarum*. Translation of the Latin text by D. Piwowarczyk, hereinafter quoted as: Neverani (with the page numbers of the manuscript). See G.A. Wiśniowski, "Neverani Protazy", in: *Słownik polskich teologów katolickich*, vol 3, Warszawa 1983, p. 200. The author of the bio note provides no information about this manuscript.

¹¹ R. Zawadzki, *Diarium itineris... Romam pro capitulo generali peregrinantis (1750) Diariusz podróży... pielgrzymującego do Rzymu na kapitułę generalną (1750)*. Read from the manuscript and edited by M. Chachaj. Introduction A. Szeinke OFM, B. Rok. Transl. M. Chachaj and M. Czapińska, Kraków-Wrocław 2014, *Peregrinationes Sarmatarum*, vol. 2, pp. 180, hereinafter referred to as: Zawadzki.

¹² S. Kleczewski, *Itinerarium Romanum [1750]. Podróż rzymska [1750]*, introduction B. Rok, ed. M. Chachaj and B. Rok, transl. M. Chachaj, D. Piwowarczyk, B. Rok, Kraków 2016, *Peregrinationes Sarmatarum*, vol. 5, p. 390, hereinafter referred to as: Kleczewski.

¹³ J. Charkiewicz, *Dyjariusz podróży hiszpańskiej z Wilna do miasta Walencji na kapitułę generalną Zakonu Mniejszych Braci Św. Franciszka, to jest Bernardynów, odprawionej w roku 1768*. Introduction and ed. B. Rok, Wrocław 1998, hereinafter referred to as: Charkiewicz.

¹⁴ I.S. Filipecki, *Opisanie podróży rzymskiej na kapitułę generalną...*, introduction and ed. B. Rok, in: B. Rok, *Świat kultury staropolskiej, teksty źródłowe i studia*, Toruń 2014, pp. 40-126, hereinafter referred to as: Filipecki. See B. Rok, *Podróże staropolskich kapucynów do Rzymu – poznawczy charakter podróży*, in: idem, *Świat kultury staropolskiej, teksty źródłowe i studia*, Toruń 2014, pp. 197-216.

courts of law: a member of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre Jakub Lanhaus¹⁵ and Canon of Gniezno Baltazar Pstrokoński (1713-1796)¹⁶. Moreover, the text makes use of accounts of clergymen accompanying Polish magnates travelling across Europe: Michał Witosławski's¹⁷ of 1738 and Franciszek Ksawery Bohusz's (1746-1820)¹⁸ of 1777-1778 and 1781-1782.

* * *

When we start to define the personal contacts of traveling clergy, we will first point out that they very often went on a journey in the company of others to ensure their own safety during their journey's hardships. More information about this is provided by several surviving diaries of Friars Minor. According to the Rule of the order, two friars would be dispatched from the province as delegates (usually provincial and custodian). They were always accompanied by duly chosen persons. In the introduction to Protazy Neverani's account we encounter some general indication in this regard. The author wrote that the friars heading to the chapter should take one confrere as a companion. It was also worthwhile to be in the company of a tertiary, who "should know at least German, if not French or Spanish". Such an interpreter could prove very useful during the trip¹⁹.

In all the surviving Franciscan accounts that describe trips to successive general chapters of the order, we can find ample information about these companions. Sometimes the friars also set out in larger groups. We can first point to a company of envoys to the Chapter of Rome in 1723 from the Province of Małopolska. The delegates included the author of the *Itinerarium*, province custodian Symforian Arakielowicz, and naturally provincial Wiktor Lichacki. They had two companions, Fr. Felicjan Majer and lay brother Józef (Christian name Wojciech) Narajowski (Naraiewscius). Two other journeymen were lay persons. One was a student who even donned a habit in Rome but took it off on his return home. The other was a certain bricklayer from Lublin who accompanied the delegates from Małopolska to Padua, where they parted ways; he arrived in Rome with other pilgrims and then returned home by himself. There were probably some complications with these laymen on the way, as the author of the *Itinerarium* wrote a general remark on the subject: "It should be pointed out that it is always better for us to make our way without lay people, because sometimes both lay people and our brothers are received by convents and other religious, so that they carry some money for us and are our porters, which has disturbed me in many places, and that is why I have repeatedly sent this bricklayer away from me. But because I would not

¹⁵ J. Lanhaus, *Opis podróży. Itinerarium (1768-11769)*. Introduction, annotations and edition by B. Rok and M. Chachaj. Read from the manuscript by B. Rok and M. Chachaj in collaboration with M. Forycki, Kraków-Wrocław 2014, *Peregrinationes Sarmatarum*. vol. 1, p. 550, hereinafter referred to as: Lanhaus.

¹⁶ B. Pstrokoński, *Pamiętniki*, chapters VIII, IX, X, in: J. Lanhaus, *Opis podróży. Itinerarium (1768-1769)*..., p. 429-452, hereinafter referred to as: Pstrokoński.

¹⁷ M. Witosławski, *Peregrynacja podróży rzymskiej (1738-1739)*. Introduction and ed. M. Chachaj and B. Rok, in: "Staropolskie podróżowanie...", *Peregrinationes Sarmatarum*, vol. 4, pp. 42-83, hereinafter referred to as: Witosławski. Michał Witosławski, Canon of Przemyśl, was the tutor of the young sons of the Voivode: Gabriel and Franciszek Podoski.

¹⁸ F.K. Bohusz, *Dyariusz podróży*, introduction and ed. Filip Wolański, Kraków-Wrocław 2014, *Peregrinationes Sarmatarum*, vol. 3, p. 322, hereinafter referred to as: Bohusz.

¹⁹ Neverani, MS, p. 3 r.

like to be dishonest, I allowed him to walk with us as far as Padua, from where the road to Rome is already easier"²⁰.

The extant diary of Protazy Neverani of 1740 indicates that the Province of Małopolska (Lesser Poland) of the Friars Minor was represented by him, in lieu of the sick provincial Ildefons Żelaszkiewicz, and the province custodian. They had companions but he does not dwell on them. He did mention, however, that the Wielkopolska (Greater Poland) Province of the Bernardines was represented by its provincial, the custodian, a lay brother as a companion, and a certain tertiary. Due to inclement weather in December 1739, the envoys from Małopolska made a stopover in the friary in Regensburg and then the envoys from Wielkopolska came here. The delegates from Małopolska, not wanting to be a burden for the monastery, had earlier set out on their difficult journey. After a few days, as Neverani wrote, "we caught up with the friars from Wielkopolska" near Munich and we walked together for half an hour²¹. We learn from the Friar Minor's diary that both groups of delegates chose the route via Lunéville, of which more below. Neverani also briefly mentioned the meeting near Munich with the Capuchin delegates from Lorraine heading to the Chapter to Rome²². He moreover wrote that shortly before Ulm, he met the custodian of the Lithuanian Bernardines Franciszek Sawicz: "we agreed with this friar to walk via the parts of the heretics [southern Germany], which we did and this benevolent man, doing us a lot of good, accompanied us as far as Valladolid"²³. The other delegate of Lithuanian Bernardines, father provincial, fell ill and remained in Wrocław. No wonder the lonely monk was looking for company.

Other extant diaries of Friars Minor offer information about groups of delegates on their way to chapters of religious orders. In 1706 Węgrzynowicz as deputy minister provincial was accompanied on his way to the Spanish town of Vitoria by the then custodian Krzysztof Klimecki and friar Dominik Cętawski. To help them on the journey there was at least one companion, friar Maurycy²⁴. We can moreover reconstruct the group of Friars Minor departing for the 1750 chapter, although the diary authors Zawadzki and Kleczewski did not elaborate on their companions. The Małopolska province was represented by custodian Zawadzki and provincial Antoni Kociński. The chapter fathers were from the start accompanied by two companions: Zawadzki's companion was Br. Karol Majewski, and Kociński's Michał Grotowski, a Franciscan tertiary, a hermit from Działoszyn near Wieluń, who paid for the trip. In Vienna they were joined by two friars: Jakub Wolski, guardian of Konin and Piotr Skoczynski, province secretary. Kleczewski as the definitor of the Russian Custodia of Friars Minor was accompanied by the then deputy custodian Florian Domański (1704-1776) and one tertiary. Unfortunately, the Russian custodian did not mention his name but only recorded a journey of the three men. Remigiusz Zawadzki's diary, too, indicates that the Friars Minor from the Russian province were assisted by only one tertiary²⁵.

It is worth noting other information on the subject in question, extracted from a comparison of two surviving diaries from 1750 depicting the journey to Rome of delegates of Friars Minor

²⁰ Arakielowicz, p. 61.

²¹ Neverani, MS, p. 8 v. and 10 v.

²² Neverani, MS, p. 13 r.

²³ Neverani, MS, p. 14 r.

²⁴ Węgrzynowicz, pp. 30-31.

²⁵ Zawadzki, p. 116. Zawadzki gives information about such a tertiary when listing friars travelling together on a barge from Venice to Ancona.

from the Province of Małopolska and the Russian Custodia. We can find there a short record of the contacts of these envoys during the journey taken roughly at that time. Both groups met in Venice. Zawadzki's diary records his gondola cruise with the Russian custodian Florian Domański (1704-1776) to the Friars Minor Convent of San Francesco del Deserto in Venice²⁶. From Venice the group of Polish monks decided to take a joint boat trip to Ancona. Both diarists observed that their group was joined by representatives of the Bernardines of the Russian Province, father provincial (Jan Kapistran Kwolek) and a custodian with one tertiary²⁷. Regrettably, neither Zawadzki nor Kleczewski provide a more extensive account of the meeting. Zawadzki wrote moreover that they met the delegates of the Russian Custodia in Terni, close to Rome²⁸. Again, no more extensive description follows.

The diary of the Bernardine friar Juwenalis Charkiewicz of Vilnius indicated a companion, Urban Jelcyn, "a religious brother [...], a tertiary", tasked with "dispensing of alms", i.e. minding the expenses²⁹. Unfortunately, we know nothing more about the role of this travel companion of the Lithuanian provincial.

We learn from the accounts of Capuchin Ignacy Stanisław Filipowski at the very beginning that the friar "assumed the role of companion and guide of brother Ozwald". Further on this friar was instrumental in establishing useful contacts. In Munich the Capuchin delegate visited the home of an acquaintance of Br. Ozwald, a Carmelite provincial, where the two travellers had lunch. The provincial, a "noble" friar, as Filipecki wrote, "was very kind and most hospitable to us". Then in Augsburg the travellers visited twice a relative of the brother companion. We also know from Filipecki's account that Br. Ozwald was a cook to the delegate to the chapter, at least in Rome³⁰.

In his diary Filipecki provides information about his companion. During a barge cruise along the Danube he wrote about Br. Ozwald's concerns: "during this passage, brother Ozwald, recalling his erstwhile near drowning in this water, was in shreds". On the return journey, near Mikulov, their coach capsized and Br. Ozwald was rather severely injured, which the Polish provincial also recorded in his diary³¹. Brother Ozwald, Filipecki's companion, was most likely a German by origin, and with his compatriots extended the network of Capuchin friaries in the Republic. During the Polish delegate's trip to the chapter, he proved particularly useful and that is why Filipecki recorded many events involving him. We have a kind of interesting picture of the active work of the companion. Most certainly, in other cases too his participation in overcoming problems emerging on the route was sometimes significant. All of this information may be evidence of close relations between the two pilgrims. The hardships of the road probably brought them closer together.

We learn from the diary of Canon Bartłomiej Pstrokoński that he took with him "a butler two years in my service, a Pole who, like me, can only speak Polish". In this case, the canon had basically only a servant to help with simple services on the way. He probably

²⁶ Zawadzki, p. 114.

²⁷ Kleczewski, p. 246; Zawadzki, p. 116.

²⁸ Zawadzki, p. 144.

²⁹ Charkiewicz, p. 19.

³⁰ Filipecki, p. 43, 55, 56 and 106.

³¹ Filipecki, p. 47 and 119.

also provided him with some kind of company. Unfortunately, we know nothing more about this companion³².

Some priests set out by themselves, naturally counting on the help of those encountered along the way. A case in point is Jakub Lanhaus, who had the support of his family and friends on the way in Bohemia. Fortunately, nothing particularly dangerous happened to him and he successfully travelled the entire route on his own³³.

The above shows that the travelling clergy of the time were able to cope on the road even alone. However, for safety reasons they often travelled in small groups. This was particularly true of monks travelling on foot, such as the Reformants mentioned above. Unfortunately, there are no more extensive comments on the relations between the participants in these expeditions. We can deduce from the succinct notes that they were travelling in concord in the often harsh circumstances that they encountered en route.

* * *

Many clergy at that time, like other travellers, used different means of transport. First of all, it is important to point out the comments they were interested in about carters (Italian *vetturini*) which offered transport in individual carriages. We find particularly interesting information about these carriers in the diary of Jakub Lanhaus. First, in Grodzisk Wielkopolski the monk rented the services of a Czech carter, who drove him as far as Kutna Hora. The Czech often drank too much and provoked sometimes dangerous situations. For instance, during their short passage via the Prussian State, he chanted slogans in favour of Empress Maria Theresa³⁴ and yet this was a time of heightened tension between the two states.

The monk of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre wrote also briefly about the carter he rented in Vienna. It is worthwhile to quote his sentences about the *vetturino* who “sang about a Gypsy stealing hay and called his horses: ‘ari, ari’. When they wanted to pee, he whistled and cried: ‘wsz, wsz; wsz, wsz’”. On another occasion he pointed out: “in addition, my *vetturino* was pious as he sang a preface in the morning and a litany «de B.V.M.» in the evening”³⁵.

Equally extensive statements concerning carters can be found in the diary of the Bernardine Juwenas Charkiewicz. He had special difficulties on the way from Valencia to Rome when he rented an Italian (by the name of Batista) from Turin, who offered transport to the custodians from Turin (Observant and Reformant), who actually compromised the Pole’s negotiations with the *vetturino* about the fare. Batista, who did not have an appropriately big coach, rented in Barcelona another *vetturino* for Charkiewicz, by the name of Maurycy. However, in France the carters put up a fight and the Polish Bernardine was greatly concerned about his own life as he knew carters would often kill their passengers on the way³⁶. It was only in Turin, where the two Italian custodians remained, that Charkiewicz put the *vetturino*’s case to the trial as he was afraid to go with him alone to Rome. The court promised the Pole to reimburse the costs for the trip agreed on in Valencia. Then Charkiewicz rented another *vetturino* (known

³² Pstrokoński, p. 429.

³³ Lanhaus, *passim*.

³⁴ Lanhaus, p. 2.

³⁵ Lanhaus, p. 55 and 60.

³⁶ Charkiewicz, p. 139ff.

as Dominik de Bravo), who proved “a most honest, joyful and peaceful man”³⁷. This new carter drove his passenger to Rome, to the threshold of the Araceli monastery³⁸.

A separate category of people on the road are co-travellers in rented carriages or in larger stagecoaches³⁹. Lanhaus wrote that he first travelled from Poland to Bohemia in a rented coach with some Frenchman, whose name he mentions as Ludwik Job⁴⁰. Later he introduced his fellow travellers on the stagecoach from Prague to Vienna. A total of six passengers included: one Johannes Szertzer, three German maids and a conductor by the name of Jędrzej. One of the Germans knew the Czech language and the monk talked with her⁴¹. Finally, Lanhaus introduced a fellow passenger of the coach he rented in Vienna. It was an Italian merchant who knew a little Polish. Interestingly, Lanhaus offered an intriguing and crude portrait of his fellow passenger: “I don’t know what kind of man he was; once he was on the side of the *vetturino*, and soon afterwards he fought with him; a most disagreeable thing. During the entire journey he did nothing but sleep, smoke his pipe [...], eat like an ox, using his hand as cutlery a lot of times [...]. Sometimes we also talked, but it was difficult to understand him as he spoke Russian rather than Polish [...]”⁴². Another interesting person was a fellow passenger of the coach on which Charkiewicz went to Augsburg. He was a Black person, whom German kids who saw him considered to be devil. He was a great help to the Bernardine as he knew Polish and German and translated for the monk. This Black man had learned Polish as a servant at a Polish magnates’ court⁴³. The examples quoted show that it was quite easy for the travelling clergy to establish contacts with various randomly met people. This proves their great openness and courage, often in difficult travel conditions.

* * *

For accommodation, travelling clergymen most often chose monasteries of their own order or presbyteries, sometimes also monastery hospices. Asking for food and board in monasteries, they were appropriately received. Suffice it to mention a more extended excerpt from Charkiewicz’s diary describing his reception in a Bohemian Franciscan monastery in Ostrava. Crossing the border and leaving his homeland increased the Bernardine’s melancholy, especially that his hometown was celebrating the carnival before the Lenten season. However, he found consolation among his confreres. He wrote: “Music could be heard in various places, yet I was not joyful; similarities of customs with my homeland seemed to offer only superficial contentment. Finally, late in the day, about 10 before midnight, a Catholic parish priest arrived in this place (there are no heretics here) with two priests and a post master; they drank coffee and *rossolia* and talked to me most agreeably as they were in good relations with our confreres in Poland. They treated me to *rossolia*, i.e. a kind of vodka distilled from wine; I would not drink it, yet they persuaded me that it regenerates one’s vital forces,

³⁷ Charkiewicz, p. 150.

³⁸ Charkiewicz, p. 168.

³⁹ See M. Chachaj, B. Rok, “Kontakty interpersonalne Jakuba Lanhausa w czasie podróży i pobytu w Rzymie”, in: *Staropolskie podróżowanie...*, pp. 285-186.

⁴⁰ Lanhaus, p. 2.

⁴¹ Lanhaus, p. 29.

⁴² Lanhaus, p. 50.

⁴³ Charkiewicz, pp. 61-62.

clears the mind, etc. Therefore I drank a thimble glass and saw it of great assistance. Their conversation was entertainment for me, greater than the *rossolia*⁴⁴. The accounts abound in extensive, quasi-literary descriptions of all kinds of more memorable occurrences.

Stanisław Filipecki's notes on his stay near Assisi also turn out to be interesting. During their stay in the vicinity of Assisi, the pilgrims from Poland visited "German Capuchin tertiaries, with whom [as Filipecki wrote on the first day of his stay in Assisi] we ate delicious dinner in the refectory and had a great time, touring their cells, observing their poverty and various tools of all kinds of mortification"⁴⁵. And again we find a short description of a literary nature.

Diaries moreover furnish examples of less than hospitable reception of clergymen-pilgrims, even by their confreres. Such negative contacts were experienced by Charkiewicz, who even on the eve of Easter was asked to leave the Friars Minor Convent in Lyon. The friar then rented a place on a bateau heading to Avignon. He wanted to find a place to stay overnight during the first stopover and went to the nearby presbytery, where the inhospitable parish priest offered him no accommodation⁴⁶. It seems that there were not many such negative situations. Still, Neverani's text includes multiple remarks about the hostility of the French, including the clergy⁴⁷. The friar indicated that even in the Friars Minor convents in France they were unable to find accommodation and food. Often, on such occasions, the local friars were referred to in rather unpleasant terms.

The contacts of travellers with monastic pharmacists and all kinds of medics who helped sick pilgrims were special. We find many such examples in diaries. Neverani pointed to a Carthusian pharmacist in the Carthusian convent of Jlczyn, who took special care of the ill custodian travelling with the diarist⁴⁸. Lanhaus described in detail two medical interventions of bloodletting, performed on him at the Collegium Ecclesiasticum in Rome, where he was staying⁴⁹. In another place, further examples of contacts between the travelling clergy and the medical care providers are discussed. We should point out the great concern for the sick in many places in religious infirmaries. These contacts, of course, resulted from the unequivocal observance of the duty of providing help to the needy out of Christian mercy⁵⁰.

Sometimes the clergy found shelter in the then monastic hospices for wanderers. This possibility of accommodation en route can be found in the diary of Arakielowicz in the description of the way back home, when the monk was in South Tirol, i.e. within the territory of the empire. He pointed out the proper care taken of tired pilgrims. "These hospices offer a meal; if one returns for a meal, one gets supper and good beds, if one returns for a night, it is necessary to register what the brother of the hospice himself has given, who the visitor is, who is given a meal or supper, where he is from and how many associates he has, closing

⁴⁴ Charkiewicz, p. 27.

⁴⁵ Filipecki, p. 81.

⁴⁶ Charkiewicz, pp. 96-97.

⁴⁷ Neverani, passim.

⁴⁸ Neverani, MS, p. 5 v.

⁴⁹ J. Węglorz, "Sprawy zdrowia i higieny w diariuszu Jakuba Lanhausa", in: *Staropolskie podróżowanie...*, p. 363ff.

⁵⁰ W. Wojtkiewicz-Rok, B. Rok, "Europejskie infirmeria zakonne i szpitale w opisach podróżniczych polskich duchownych XVIII wieku", in: *Historia na źródłach oparta. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Tadeuszowi Srogoszowi na 65 rocznicę urodzin*, ed. Andrzej Stroynowski, Częstochowa 2017, pp. 825-834.

the [record]: May God grant ample grace to the most illustrious Emperor, or the like, striking out day and year. There are 4 or 5 or 6 dishes given, half a pot of wine for two or whole pots for four visitors, sometimes more is given, if necessary, and certain gifts are offered to the host or his family⁵¹. Also in such cases there were positive relations with those who helped the pilgrims.

Unfortunately, the contacts in monasteries and parishes were not given too much attention in the longer narratives analysed. Monks mentioned mainly the meetings with their confreres. Often the authors of the diaries even tried to mention the names of these friars or religious brothers. Here we may refer first of all to the accounts of Friar Minor Neverani and Capuchin Filipecki, who mentioned as many as a few dozen names of monks performing different functions in the convents they visited. However, there is no information about the conversations with them. Travellers usually only stayed overnight, and even when they stayed in one place for a few days, they tried to rest after the hardships of the road. They also often rushed to see the local attractions and above all tried to see all that was connected with the sacred. The pilgrims moreover usually had a limited time to travel a given section of the road and could not stop for a longer time in the monasteries and parishes visited along the way. There were often no opportunities to talk.

* * *

Travelling clergymen wrote at length about their meetings with other Poles. Examples abound. We will first refer to the diary of Ignacy Stanisław Filipecki, who gives an account of a special meeting in an inn located near the border, in Biała, where the Polish Capuchins returning from Rome “encountered guests from Krakow on their way to Bononia, Mr. Likie and others, of which meeting both they and us were very content. They spoke a lot about Poland, we told them much about Italy and we both enjoyed it”⁵². Again, this is another interesting narrative about contacts between travellers. Here, too, we see the importance of meetings with compatriots.

As to other contacts with Poles, we can point to an interesting meeting between Remigiusz Zawadzki in Mürzzuschlag and two Dominicans from Lviv, who were already returning from Rome, where they had obtained permission to crown the painting in the Corpus Christi church. One of these Dominicans was Grzegorz Kobuz, then Ruthenian provincial. Zawadzki described the meeting quite extensively. He asked about accommodation in Rome. The Dominicans answered that they had received adequate mass intentions in the mother church in Rome. They further explained to Zawadzki about their efforts to obtain the coronation of the painting. We know from another source that the Reformant friar subsequently made efforts in Rome to have the painting in Łąki Bratiańskie crowned and the pope ultimately issued a positive decision⁵³. Thus a meeting with Poles had significant consequences.

⁵¹ Arakielowicz, p. 114.

⁵² Filipecki, p. 122.

⁵³ Zawadzki, p. 94.

Stanisław Kleczewski in turn described at length the history of a Polish Reformant friar met in Assisi, one Jan Działota, who travelled not only across Italy but also in the Holy Land⁵⁴. The meeting helped the narrator to learn about the global character of Franciscan pilgrimages.

We may also point to another event described in Filipecki's diary. On the way back home, he found help in the city of Trieste from the local merchant Ignacy Haler, a native of Krakow. The merchant received the Polish pilgrims most hospitably and recommended accommodation with the local Armenians. We can only conjecture that Haler's generosity was due to his being born in Krakow⁵⁵. The same Capuchin, on his way from Trieste, drove in a hired carriage "in the company of one Pole who fought in the Muscovite army and was captured by the Turks and having fled this captivity" was on his way to Vienna. That soldier, probably fearing for his safety, did not disclose his name and did not even get to Vienna, remaining in Graz⁵⁶.

Interestingly, there are some descriptions of meetings with Silesians related in one way or another with Poland. Let us first mention Protazy Neverani's meeting in Bayonne, France with a Silesian from Nysa, one Zygmunt. Incidentally, he showed "great mercy" to the Reformants⁵⁷. We can moreover quote the diary of Remigiusz Zawadzki, who travelled the mountains in the vicinity of Tolentino and in an inn met a pilgrim from Trzebnica, Lower Silesia, who "spoke good Polish". Asked by the monk, the pilgrim was to pay for their accommodation in the inn. A tertiary with money was to travel a bit later and was to return the debt to the Pole. Under these circumstances, the innkeeper declined to accept money from the monks for the food and board they received. The Reformants received 4 boiled eggs, bread and accommodation in separate beds. In return, they offered the innkeeper three religious images and promised to celebrate one Holy Mass in his intention⁵⁸. Their contact with a compatriot let them receive adequate alms.

Especially interesting was a meeting in Florence of Jakub Lanhaus with a Polish officer "from Silesia, 3 miles away from Jasna Góra"; Captain Strachwitz had served three decades in the army of the Duke of Tuscany⁵⁹. Two months earlier that same Pole had been met by Baltazar Pstrokoński when passing through Florence. Pstrokoński accounted for this encounter situation in an interesting narrative: "Here a particularly memorable event occurred to me. Walking down a wide street, I see a young man walking towards me. I walk in his direction and he in mine. He joyfully stretches out his hands; not knowing each other beforehand, he did so as if we had known each other. We greet each other in Polish and hug each other warmly. I tell him who I am and he tells me who he is [...]. He spoke Polish so well as if he had only left Poland that day. He asked me to join him for a chocolate yet I did not have time since the *vetturino* insisted on leaving at once as the road was almost equal to that to Venice and I also wished to do more sightseeing in Florence"⁶⁰.

⁵⁴ Kleczewski, p. 273.

⁵⁵ Filipecki, p. 114.

⁵⁶ Filipecki, pp. 115-116.

⁵⁷ Neverani, MS, p. 25 v.

⁵⁸ Zawadzki, pp. 131-132.

⁵⁹ Lanhaus, p. 93.

⁶⁰ Pstrokoński, p. 434.

Another issue may be the presentation of the contacts of travellers with Poles at the end of their journeys, in Rome. As Pstrokoński himself wrote during his stay there, as many as 70 Polish clergy, “canons, priests, seminarians, and various monks”, were present in this great city⁶¹. Unfortunately, he did not write more about meetings with them, nor did he give their names. However, based on the diary of Lanhaus, it was possible to at least partially reconstruct the wide social circle of this clergyman in Rome at that very time. This open-minded monk was able to establish many interesting contacts with his compatriots in order to systematically visit the highlights of Rome. He was also able to have fun with Poles during various meetings in theatres and other events in taverns. His diary provides a lot of vivid descriptions of these events, especially with his friends, Polish members of the Order of the Holy Spirit. In another place, these descriptions definitely warrant a more extensive analysis⁶².

In general, however, contacts with fellow countrymen were not always good. In Lanhaus’s diary we find an interesting comment on this subject about various examples of envy between Poles in foreign countries. We can also notice his very cautious contacts with his opponent Pstrokoński; Lanhaus as much as suspected him of arranging a sophisticated stratagem with the aid of other Poles. Incidentally, Pstrokoński’s diaries do not mention Lanhaus at all⁶³.

Interestingly, Filipecki did not meet any of the Polish clergy in Rome. As the only Pole who participated in the Capuchin Chapter, he was probably strongly involved in various personal games and kept close contacts with the German, imperial Capuchins.

* * *

Jakub Lanhaus’s diary provides much intriguing information on his family meetings in Bohemia. The member of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre was a Czech by birth and during his trip to Rome on business related to his order, he made a stopover for a few weeks in Bohemia to visit there members of his burgher family. On the basis of his detailed account, we get to know several of his family members. In addition, he made many comments about his contacts with his brother, sisters, brothers-in-law, aunts, and uncle, who was an important official in Frýdlant in the Sudetenland. He paid his uncle a visit and received alms. These special descriptions can be used for research into family relationships in the Czech bourgeoisie. Detailed data in this area are also presented in a specifically dedicated study⁶⁴.

* * *

We can also draw attention to the interesting social contacts that young Podoskis and Witoslawski were able to establish during the forced quarantine in Pontebba in 1738. As the diarist wrote, this stay “which *non tam libenter quam reverenter* we had to spend in between the harsh rocky mountains in the military hospital” was made more palatable by the nice company of the many people there. First, a priest from Brno whose “various discourses” suppressed their melancholy. “Entertainment” was provided also by another Italian priest and finally, a certain “magnificent imperial secretary, who again provided entertainment by

⁶¹ Pstrokoński, p. 435.

⁶² M. Chachaj, B. Rok, “Kontakty interpersonalne Jakuba Lanhaus...”, pp. 281-322.

⁶³ Ibidem, *passim*.

⁶⁴ Ibidem, p. 282ff.

his discourses”⁶⁵. This is an example of an interesting narrative describing the considerable inconvenience encountered by Polish travellers. It should also be noted that even in very difficult moments of their travels, the pilgrims of that time found opportunities to have a good time in an accidental company.

* * *

Travelling clergymen moreover met sometimes important lay people of the day and invariably wrote with great esteem about these meetings. These people were always considered to be worth seeing and were treated with great seriousness. Finally, it can be emphasised that there is no sensational information. Let us refer to some relevant examples. A visit by Polish Franciscans to Lunéville and a meeting with King Stanislaus Leszczyński in 1740, described by the Reformant Neverani reporting on the delegates’ expedition to Valadollid in 1740, turns out to be particularly interesting in this regard. The Lesser Poland Reformants, together with the Bernardines of Greater Poland and the custodian of the Lithuanian Bernardines, “walked an extra mile” to visit King Stanislaus and obtain alms. The diary states that King Stanislaus took hosted them “like a father” and the pilgrims enjoyed in Lunéville *every convenience*. During the 17 days they spent there, *all* was “offered to them in abundance”⁶⁶. They were taken care of by two Jesuits from the court of the Duke of Lorraine, Fr. Jan Radomiński⁶⁷ and Fr. Sebastian Ubermanowicz⁶⁸. The pilgrims saw King Stanislaus and his wife (Katarzyna née Opalińska) a few times. Neverani wrote that the monarch “called them in secrecy (publicly the royal authority forbade him to talk with us) and made very honest conversations”⁶⁹. In addition, there was a special meeting of the Franciscans with King Stanislaus in Einville-au-Jard Palace near Lunéville, where the king “in a very personal grace called us to his table and driven by paternal love, offered us wine and poured it himself”⁷⁰. In a lengthy narrative about this visit, Neverani mentioned also their nice meeting with Duke Franciszek Maksymilian Ossoliński and his wife, Katarzyna nee Jabłonowska from the royal court at Lunéville⁷¹. The Franciscan delegates benefited from the generous alms granted by the Duke of Lorraine. Leszczyński financed their trip as far as Paris⁷².

We may point to a meeting described in Neverani’s diary of the delegates to the chapter with Queen Maria Leszczyńska of France⁷³ at the Versailles. Like Leszczyński himself, she gave them lavish alms. It is worth quoting a one-sentence description of the audience: “we

⁶⁵ Witosławski, p. 64.

⁶⁶ Neverani, MS, p. 16 v. and n.

⁶⁷ Radomiński Jan (1687-1756) – a Jesuit, missionary at Katarzyna Leszczyńska’s court in St. Cyr and Lunéville.

⁶⁸ Ubermanowicz Sebastian (1698-1764) – a Jesuit, since 1736 confessor and chaplain at Stanisław Leszczyński’s court in Lunéville.

⁶⁹ Neverani, MS, p. 17 r.

⁷⁰ Neverani, MS, p. 17 r.

⁷¹ Franciszek Maksymilian Ossoliński (1676-1756) Great Treasurer of the Crown, since 1733 a follower of Stanisław Leszczyński. At the court in Lunéville, together with his wife, Katarzyna Dorota née Jabłonowska, he obtained great favours from Stanisław Leszczyński. See H. Dymnicka-Wołoszyńska, *Ossoliński Franciszek Maksymilian*, PSB, vol. 24, pp. 391-394.

⁷² Neverani, MS, p. 17 r.

⁷³ See R.W. Wołoszyński, *Maria Leszczyńska*, PSB, vol. 20, pp. 5-8.

were introduced to the most illustrious queen by the reverend [Jesuit Anthony] Labiszewski; she welcomed us with all kindness and a very gentle face, and offered alms”⁷⁴.

Equally interesting visits to important people of the world at that time were made by Capuchin Filipecki and his companion. First, in Munich, they visited the widow of the Elector Maria Anna,⁷⁵ daughter of Augustus III. A description of the audience is as follows: “We had an audience of over a quarter of an hour and were lucky to make acquaintance of this pleasant and most virtuous dame, who asked many questions about Poles [...]. She concluded her gracious audience by saying that she would not wish for anything else but visit Warsaw one last time before her death”. In addition, the Capuchins were able to visit the Elector’s widow’s apartments⁷⁶.

The same Capuchins also made contact with other magnates. In Innsbruck the travellers were hosted by the Graf and Gräfin de Taxis *as special benefactors of the Capuchins*, who celebrated three Holy Masses on the day following their arrival. The Masses were attended by the Graf de Taxis, his whole family and many servants⁷⁷. On the following day the monks once again said Holy Mass. The Graf reciprocated by offering a coach for the further section of the journey, through the mountains and towards Trent.

Sometimes meetings with the famous people of then Europe were a matter of chance. Here we can refer to the diary of Witosławski, who along with two young men in his care, the Podoskis, saw Doge Alvise Pisani of Venice. The diary entry is short: “He [the doge], when walking, after we paid him our respect, bowed his head, out of proportion to his status. Having taken a good look at the statesman’s appearance and having paid respect to him and the Republic, we headed for dinner in our quarters”⁷⁸. This short sentence so emphatically reflects the essence of this chance meeting.

It is also necessary to present special meetings of Polish clergy with the supreme pontiffs in Rome⁷⁹. The descriptions of the Reformants and Capuchins arriving for general chapters show very strict contacts with the popes occurring during the general chapters. The monks were very meticulously prepared for a brief approach to the pope. Arakielowicz’s diary indicates that already at the start of the 1723 chapter the delegates were read out the “principles of ceremony and conduct in church during the chapter and what they are to do when the pope arrives and leaves”⁸⁰. Further in the diary we find one sentence about the contact of each delegate with Pope Innocent XII. Having cast their vote for the general, “all of them, in trees, approached the pope on their knees to kiss his feet”⁸¹.

Zawadzki is more detailed as to the respect offered to Pope Benedict XIV during the 1750 chapter: “I approached with the Most Reverend Father Obrąpalski from the Friars Minor of

⁷⁴ Neverani, MS, p. 21 v.

⁷⁵ Maria Anna (1728-1797), daughter of King Augustus III of Poland, wife of Elector Maximilian III of Bavaria (1727-1777); after her husband’s death she lived at Fürstenried Palace. See Sajkowski, *Włoskie przygody Polaków. Wiek XVI-XVIII*, Warszawa 1973, pp. 26-27.

⁷⁶ Filipecki, p. 54.

⁷⁷ Filipecki, p. 58.

⁷⁸ Witosławski, p. 69.

⁷⁹ B. Rok, “Rzym papieski w relacjach Polaków XVIII wieku”, in: *Polski grand tour w XVIII i początkach XIX wieku*, ed. A. Roćko, Warszawa 2014, pp. 313-332.

⁸⁰ Arakielowicz, p. 100.

⁸¹ Arakielowicz, p. 102.

the Polish Province and the Provincial of the Observants. We were holding crosses. We held them to our chest and when kissing the Blessed's foot, we expressed the following request: 'Blessed Father, kissing the feet of Your Holiness we most humbly ask for a Privileged Altar for the dead, twice a week, at these crosses'. The Blessed replied: 'I have already assigned to Father General of the Order a Privileged Altar once a week for all the voting fathers'. Having once again kissed the foot of the Blessed, we left with greatly uplifted spirits⁸².

In his diary the Russian definator Kleczewski describes the very activity, first announced during the chapter as "The manner of conduct during the general chapter in the presence of the Holy Father", comprising eleven thoroughly described agenda items⁸³. Subsequently he briefly indicates that having cast a vote for the general, the delegates *approached the pope to kiss his feet and then returned where they wished, standing by themselves*⁸⁴.

The descriptions quoted clearly express the religious state of mind of the pious Reformants, full of trust, joy and rapture. At the same time, all the descriptions express the strict etiquette of the papal court at the time.

Let us mention moreover one other account of a papal audience, this time of Bernardine Juwenalis Charkiewicz. The Bernardine from Vilnius visited Rome in 1768 during the pontificate of the following pontiff, Clement XIII. In his diary, which has survived until today, he wrote: "Staying for 7 weeks in this city [of Rome], I was offered by God the grace of an audience with the substitute of Ch[rist] our Lord, Pope Clement XIII. I was showed into the room and introduced to the S[anctiss]mo by H.H. Msgr. Burkiezi (Italian Burchesi) – *magister domus*, archbishop and prince of Rome, where the S[anctiss]mus would not let me kneel and bade me stand up and most agreeably spoke with me, gladdening my heart, about my interests and the state of our Republic, which at that time was at war with the Muscovites. I was able to converse with him during a private meeting for up to half an hour. I was so much struck by God's grace of granting me an audience with this lord and monarch that I came back afterwards to the Aracoeli after three hours"⁸⁵. As we can see, the Bernardine from Vilnius described the audience in rapturous terms. This probably also reflected the state of mind of the pious monk. It is worth noting that he treated the audience as a kind of patriotic act.

Of course, in a number of accounts, we find another type of description of contacts with the different people met on the road. For instance, Filipecki pointed out that he made several visits to various important people in Munich alone' e.g. in the home of a certain Mr. Belgram, "a merchant who also dealt in promissory notes, who used to come to Warsaw. He treated us, Poles, to Hungarian wine and coffee and showed us around all his rooms with beautiful paintings decorated with portraits of our compatriots", probably including Prince Karol Radziwiłł "Panie Kochanku", from whom the merchant had received *a gold snuffbox with a gem-studded clock*⁸⁶. The Capuchin visited in Munich also one Mr. Lanter, "who also was most hospitable to us and showed us around his rooms. In the bedroom, there is a small bedside altar of spotted marble of the Lord Jesus tied to a pillar. He made such a sad figure

⁸² Zawadzki, p. 156.

⁸³ Kleczewski, pp. 288-289.

⁸⁴ Kleczewski, p. 301.

⁸⁵ Charkiewicz, pp. 176-177.

⁸⁶ Filipecki, p. 53.

that looking at this image they could hardly think about conjugal joy”⁸⁷. Many similar short meetings were a nice repose after the hardships suffered along the European pilgrims’ routes.

* * *

Travelling clergymen showed interest in men of science. Especially noteworthy are the contacts of Jesuit Franciszek Ksawery Bohusz, also discussed at length⁸⁸. Analysis of Bohusz’s diary reveals his contacts with the then intellectual elites of Europe. These contacts no doubt bore fruit with the development of scholarly interests in Poland⁸⁹. We must notice Jakub Lanhaus’s great concern for establishing contact with learned medics in Rome. The member of the Order of the Holy Sepulchre began to study medicine at Sapienza University and listened to lectures of medical professors. He was also in contact with a few medics from the Hospital of the Holy Ghost in Rome⁹⁰.

Often, brief yet extensive information in diaries on these contacts with European scholars requires a separate detailed discussion. It often testifies to the broad intellectual horizons of the pilgrims-clergymen and their good education, especially in the humanities. The excerpts from the travel diaries cited, for example, also indicate the role of clergy in the early modern era in the reception of European scholarly ideas in Poland. At this point we will also refer to the peregrination of the Bernardine of Vilnius, Juwenalis Charkiewicz. On his way back home, he travelled as of Vienna in one group with a certain Conventual Franciscan, two Dominicans and a Jesuit from Lviv, who carried “mathematical instruments packed in crates”. The heavy chests laid on the cart made the journey difficult as the horses often could not manage to draw it. That is why travellers had to often walk next to the coach. The Bernardine, however, did not complain and observed: “the nice company of the six of us Poles, not having seen their compatriots in a long time, made this unpleasant journey bearable”⁹¹.

* * *

In the source material gathered, in the diaries of the envoys to general chapters, we also find, of course, information about the contacts between the delegates during these gatherings. The authors of the diaries often provide fairly detailed descriptions of the course of the successive days of these chapters. They invariably emphasise the great joy and celebration following the election of a general. However, there is a lack of relevant information about meetings outside the official proceedings. This was, of course, due to the need to maintain discretion about any unofficial contacts concerning decisions related to the order. In fact, bans on informal contacts were issued at the chapters. And so, at the Chapter of Rome in 1723, as Arakielowicz says, “strict bans were read out at the outset lest the delegates should gather for some meetings; instead, they were to stay in their chambers in the strictest silence. Guards were appointed, and the Most Venerable promised to be a guar himself, but this was

⁸⁷ Filipecki, p. 53.

⁸⁸ F. Wolański, “Ludzie nauki na szlakach podróży po Europie Ksawerego Franciszka Bohusza”, in: *Staropolskie podróżowanie...*, pp. 349-356.

⁸⁹ Ibidem, p. 356.

⁹⁰ B. Rok, “Studia medyczne bożogrobcza Jakuba Lanhausza w Rzymie w 1768-1769”, [an article in print].

⁹¹ Charkiewicz, p. 201.

what the Reformants and some Observants feared, while others, more important worked all night and never in vain"⁹². Despite the bans, clandestine discussions did take place.

However, at the 1750 chapter in Rome, as Kleczewski noted at the very start: "Before the evening, a notice was posted that the delegates were obliged to remain silent under the penalty of excommunication as well as not to leave their cells or consult anyone except their companions. Soon, guards from among the delegates were appointed for each lobby (which was simply marked by numbers), four for each hallway. Two of the Observants, two from the list of the Friars Minors, i.e. either a Recollect, Discalced Franciscan or a Reformant friar. Two, one Observant and one Reformant, watched from two to five o'clock. The other two, from five o'clock until eight"⁹³. This time, the relevant bans were even stricter.

It is therefore difficult to infer anything about the nature of the meetings between the delegates during the chapters. Nevertheless, we know that these abounded in disputes and they were most likely reluctantly reported on. However, we can find some mention of this in Neverani. At the Chapter of 1740 in Valladolid, during the election of the definitors of the Cisalpine Familia, as Neverani wrote in Polish, "they argued all day long and only in the evening, half past seven, after the third vote, they elected their definitors"⁹⁴. Other similar notes are hard to find.

* * *

All in all, the circle of people that the travelling clergy met during their journeys was relatively wide. In many cases these people were mentioned by name, yet more often than not, we can only fully identify them on the basis of their description. There are also many anonymous figures who assisted the travellers in various circumstances. In the accounts of the time, we usually find brief information about the persons. Longer narratives about such meetings as well as about these characters are rare. The pilgrims depicted often travelled in small groups. Therefore, the diaries provide short information about those fellow travellers chosen at the beginning of the journey, but also about those encountered on the route, their companions during certain stages of the journey. The authors of the diaries eagerly described their meetings with important people of the time, both clergymen and laymen. It is worth noting that these meetings made it possible for the clergy to obtain alms, i.e. the means to continue the journey. Such events always gave different kinds of personal satisfaction to travellers. Traveling clergy very often found accommodation in the ecclesiastical centres, monasteries and hospices on the way. This gave the opportunity to meet with other representatives of the clergy. Unfortunately, the authors of the accounts very rarely gave more information about these events. Many wanderers also encountered other Poles on their way, which they reported on in special narratives. Such information indicates the considerable mobility of Poles belonging to different social estates at that time. Finally, it should be pointed out that the nature of the contacts between travelling clergy during their trips was, of course, largely due to the respect that the clergy in Catholic Europe at that time enjoyed.

⁹² Arakielowicz, p. 100.

⁹³ Kleczewski, p. 290.

⁹⁴ Neverani, MS, p. 33 r.

Based on the analysis of the source texts presented, we can definitely conclude that the clergy of that time travelling on European routes were open and assertive people. They were able to establish adequate relations with the people they met. Of course, they were always very cordial and friendly to the compatriots they came across on the road. Most often, they also showed a favourable disposition towards representatives of other nations⁹⁵. We do not notice any manifestations of xenophobia.

Research based on more extensive background information can probably add to the conclusions presented above. The selection of the analysed travel records indicates that there are various references to the people met en route. It is worth pointing out, however, that some preserved old Polish accounts do not contain any information on the persons seen by the authors on the way. In such accounts we find de-personalised descriptions of the events occurring along the road and the places visited⁹⁶.

Interpersonal contacts of Polish traveling clergyman in the 18th century Summary

The text presents different types of interpersonal contacts in the course of journeys, based on Polish clergymen's travel reports from the 18th century. The clergy establish numerous contacts, primarily with other travellers of the clerical estate. Also, information about meetings with pilgrims and people on subsequent stages of the journey can be found. Interestingly, contacts include Poles and important people of that time. It is important to emphasize the assertiveness of clergy travellers and their openness towards representatives of foreign nations.

Keywords: history, 18th century, travelling

About the Author: Prof. Dr Hab. Bogdan Rok, professor at the Faculty of Historical and Pedagogical Sciences of Wrocław University.

Translated by Marcin Turski

⁹⁵ See A. Niewiara, *Wyobrażenia o narodach w pamiętnikach i dziennikach z XVI-XIX wieku*, Katowice 2000 and J. Partyka, "Rzeczypospolita, Europa i reszta świata: obraz "innego" i "obcego" w staropolskich dziennikach podróży", *Barok. Historia-Literatura-Sztuka*, 13/2006, no. 26, Warszawa 2006, pp. 129-138.

⁹⁶ An example of such an account is e.g. Waclaw Sierakowski's text. See B. Rok, "Opis podróży Wacława Sierakowskiego (1741-1806) po Europie w latach 1763-1769", in: *Z badań nad Rzeczypospolitą w czasach nowożytnych*, ed. K. Matwijowski, Wrocław 2001, pp. 131-148.