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THE COGNITIVE AND RELIGIOUS DIMENSION OF THE WRITER
AND THE GRAND MARSHALL OF LITHUANIA IGNACY POTOCKI'S
STAY IN ROME AND HIS EDUCATIONAL VOYAGE
IN THE YEARS 1765–1771

Key words: education, polish nobles, *Grand Tour*, anthropology of journey

What turned out to be an intellectual foundation and the turning point in the life and career of Ignacy Potocki (1750–1809), the Grand Marshall of Lithuania, a member of the camp of political reforms, an activist of the Commission of National Education and a co-author of the Constitution of 3 May, was his educational journey all over Europe, which he began as a fifteen-year-old young man¹. The young magnate, the son of the general of the Lithuanian artillery Eustachy Potocki, was connected with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania by a number of positions he held in the state². At the age of 23 Ignacy Potocki was appointed, after Józef Mikołaj Radziwiłł, to the office of the Grand Notary of Lithuania (appointed on 29 May 1773). He held the position for ten years until he was promoted to the position of the Court Marshall of Lithuania (20 December 1783). On 16 April 1791 he was reached one of the highest official positions in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania – he was appointed the Grand Marshall of Lithuania. However, he held the office only for a year (until 4 July 1792) for political reasons; he was the penultimate marshall of Lithuania in the times of the First Polish Republic³. He held Lithuanian offices altogether for almost two decades.

There have appeared numerous studies⁴ concerning the figure and life of Ignacy Potocki, a well-known persona in Polish historiography. Nevertheless, his

¹ Zofia ZIELIŃSKA, *Potocki Roman Ignacy Franciszek*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny* (further: PSB), vol. 28, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź 1984–1985, pp. 1–17.

² See: Barbara GROSFELD, *Potocki Eustachy*, [in:] *ibid.*, vol. 27, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź 1983, pp. 804–807.

³ *Urządnicy centralni i dygnitarze Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego XIV–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, prep. Henryk LULEWICZ, Andrzej RACHUBA, Kórnik 1994, p. 75 (no. 431); p. 80 (no. 469); p. 133 (no. 999).

⁴ From a wide range of literature of the subject matter let us give several examples of works by Zdzisław JANEZEK (*Działalność polityczna Ignacego Potockiego w okresie Sejmu Wielkiego*, [in:]

foreign journeys, which constitute an absorbing subject for research analysis, have not been explored yet. His first foreign sojourn was described in his biography⁵. In this study we will attempt to familiarise the reader with the course of the trip made by Ignacy Potocki in Europe. It had an important intellectual element and far-reaching effects on the choice of his future career and shaped his erudition and artistic taste. We shall focus mainly on the cognitive aspects – learning about the world that surrounds the traveller (in this case – Ignacy Potocki). The cognitive issues⁶ incorporate political and socio-economic questions along with artistic, scientific and national aspects revealed in his travel diaries and letters. He also referred to contacts and acquaintances he made along the way. The intellectual concerns constitute the main element and effect of the so-called traveller's world-view⁷. In other words, they result from the observations and presentation of reality by the traveller who creates his own personal vision of the world based on his own sensitivity, calques of the imagination, cultural filters and literary conventions⁸.

As Ignacy Potocki's journey could be divided into a few stages, described differently in various sources, the cognitive questions underlined in the original stage of the journey shall be presented in chronological order as they appeared in Potocki's accounts. The religious problems connected with his stay in Rome shall be treated separately. The cognitive dimension of his travels in Europe (1770–1771) shall be shown by presenting individual issues, which is possible thanks to the homogenous description of the journey included in the diary. The subject of the analysis shall not be the Roman studies, which are included in the separate issue of Old-Polish education of magnates and clergy.

The objective of the Ignacy Potocki's travels which took place in the mid-1760s was to continue and extend the studies commenced in Poland. His further activity in the field of education allowed the researchers to place him among the famous Poles studying in Rome, along with Grzegorz Piramowicz and Hugo Kołłątaj⁹. The course of Ignacy Potocki's studies in the Apennine Peninsula and his voyage

Cztery lata nadziei. 200 rocznica Sejmu Wielkiego, ed. Henryk Kocój, Katowice 1988, pp. 135–162; *I. Potocki wobec spraw ustrojowych i „Rządów sejmikowych” w Polsce w latach 1790–1792*, Przegląd Humanistyczny, vol. 33: 1989, no. 4, pp. 19–31; *Działalność polityczna Ignacego Potockiego w latach 1793–1794*, [in:] *Zwycięstwo czy klęska? W 190 rocznicę powstania kościuszkowskiego*, ed. Henryk Kocój, Katowice 1984, pp. 50–75), Jadwiga RUDNICKA (*Biblioteka Ignacego Potockiego*, Warszawa 1953) and Bożena MICHALIK (*Działalność oświatowa Ignacego Potockiego*, Wrocław 1979).

⁵ Zdzisław JANECZEK, *Ignacy Potocki, marszałek wielki litewski (1750–1809)*, Katowice 1992, pp. 17–24.

⁶ See: Dariusz ROTT, *Determinanty poznawcze podróżnika. Rekonosans badawczy*, [in:] *Staropolskie teksty i konteksty. Studia*, vol. 2, ed. Jan MALICKI, Katowice 1994, pp. 134–46; Adam KUCHARSKI, *Theatrum peregrinandi. Poznawcze aspekty staropolskich podróży w epoce późnego baroku*, Toruń 2013.

⁷ See: *Staropolski ogląd świata. Materiały z konferencji Wrocław 23–24 października 2004 r.*, ed. Bogdan ROK, Filip WOLAŃSKI, Wrocław 2004.

⁸ Hanna DZIECHCIŃSKA, *Świat i człowiek w pamiętnikach trzech stuleci: XVI–XVII–XVIII w.*, Warszawa 2003, p. 42.

⁹ Henryk BARYCZ, *Spojrzenia w przeszłość polsko-włoską*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1965, p. 387.

through Europe was depicted in a few sources. They are extensive fragments of three diaries kept in the collections of the Main Archive of Old Files in Warsaw¹⁰ and most of the preserved travel correspondence¹¹.

The classification of the journey itself remains an interesting question. The main aim of the trip was philosophical-theological and canonical study in order to prepare the young magnate to take holy orders and a career in the Church. Despite abandoning these plans, the first few years of his journey and sojourn in the Holy See followed the typical course of pilgrimages undertaken by the Polish clergy, for whom the most essential route was the road to Rome¹². This is why three clear-cut stages of the trip may be distinguished here. The first stage includes the journey to Rome in 1765 combined with a short visit to Silesia, Bohemia, Austria (Vienna) and northern Italy. The second stage, which was the longest part of the journey, involved studying in Rome (1765–1770) interrupted only by short recreational trips to small towns near Rome and an excursion to Naples in 1769. The last stage, preceded by a short pilgrimage to Loreto, took the form of a tour through the countries of Western Europe (1770–1771).

It is hard to say whether Potocki would have prolonged his journey and visited several European countries had he taken holy orders. Eventually, Potocki visited Silesia, Bohemia, Austria and, having left Italy, he went on to visit to France, Spain and Germany. His journey fulfilled all the criteria of the classic *Grand Tour*. The inclusion of the most important European cities (Paris, Rome, Vienna, Lyon, Leipzig) in terms of culture, civilisation and politics allows his journey to be referred to by the term *Grand Tour*. However, taking into account the fact that the itinerary omitted countries such as the Netherlands (mainly Holland) and England, a slightly modified terminology should be applied – namely *kleine Tour*, which in literature meant a shorter version of the *Grand Tour*, limited to the territories of Central Europe¹³. Taking into consideration the Polish situation, Ignacy Potocki's journey may be regarded as *Grand Tour* in a somewhat reduced form.

¹⁰ Diaries titled *Dyaryusz wojażu do Loretu roku 1770*, *Wojaż z Rzymu do Francji roku 1770* (further: *Wojaż z Rzymu do Francji roku 1770*), *Podróż z Paryża do Gdańska Hrabi Ignacego Potockiego Marszałka Wielkiego Litewskiego w roku 1771* (further: *Podróż z Paryża do Gdańska 1771*) and *List ciekawego Polaka do swego Przyjaciela i Mecenasa* (further: *List ciekawego Polaka*) are to be found in the Main Archive of Old Files in Warsaw (Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie, further: AGAD), in the Public Archive of the Potocki family (Archiwum Publiczne Potockich, further: APP), 273, vol. 1, pp. 215–305 (*Dyaryusz wojażu do Loretu roku 1770*, *Wojaż z Rzymu do Francji roku 1770*, *Podróż z Paryża do Gdańska 1771*) and in the second volume of the same manuscript, pp. 275–286 (*List ciekawego Polaka*).

¹¹ The National Archive in Cracow (Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie, further: ANK), Department I (Wawel), The Krzeszowice Archive of the Potocki family (Archiwum Potockich z Krzeszowic, further: AKPot), 3220, 3228 and in: AGAD, APP, 318, vol. 1–2; APP, 273, vol. 1–2 along with single letters in the Roskie Archive.

¹² Bogdan ROK, *Staropolscy duchowni na szlakach turystycznych Europy w XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Spoleczny wymiar turystyki*, ed. Elżbieta KOŚCIK, Wrocław 2011, pp. 13–14.

¹³ Marek BRATUŃ, *Grand Tour: narodziny – rozwój – zmierzch*, [in:] *Polski Grand Tour w XVIII i początkach XIX wieku*, ed. Agata ROĆKO, Warszawa 2014, p. 23.

The educational and cognitive nature of the journey constituted one of the main indicators of their legitimacy. The journey of the young magnate was to affect his education, to generate his heraldic legends, in which education and intellectual competences acquired abroad (particularly in Rome) played a fundamental role: “Having learnt French and Latin before leaving Poland, he acquired abroad the Italian language, the knowledge of Roman antiquity, philosophy, the rights of nations, architecture, theology and religious law”¹⁴.

The young Polish magnate left Warsaw in June 1765 accompanied by a few other travellers. The guardian of the young man was the priest Giovanni Brunati¹⁵, King Stanisław August Poniatowski’s agent. The second tutor was Giovanni Stefanini, an Italian clergyman who had worked in the Apostolic Nunciature in Warsaw.

The register of travelling expenses of the years 1765–1766 helps to establish a few facts concerning the material conditions of the journey. The clothes were purchased in Warsaw and the pilgrims used the posting transport service¹⁶. From Warsaw to Cracow Potocki travelled in his own coach; in Cracow he changed his means of transportation and took a four-horse stage-coach. In one of his letters he recounted the frequent accidents and overturning of the “calash” which, after a few repairs, no longer worked and the purchase of a new vehicle was planned for 40 red zlotys¹⁷. The term “calash” suggests that it was a light four-wheel horse vehicle, which allowed the travellers to enjoy the warm weather of early summer and to admire the sights around them. At least from the departure from Cracow, Potocki was accompanied by the castellans’ son of Polotsk Aleksander Brzostowski, who covered the cost of hiring two horses and a post coach¹⁸.

Right from the outset there were opportunities for sightseeing. They visited Cracow for a few days, but this stay was not properly documented in Potocki’s diary or his travel correspondence. However, it is known that Grzegorz Piramowicz, accompanying Ignacy Potocki’s wife during the journey to Italy in 1779, took his time to get to know the monuments of Cracow and the city’s surroundings¹⁹. Thanks to a longer break in the journey, he managed to see the castle in Pieskowa Skała. In Cracow he saw the architectural complex in Wawel and the Jagiellonian Academy²⁰.

¹⁴ Teodor ŻYCHLIŃSKI, *Złota księga szlachty polskiej*, vol. 14, Poznań 1892, p. 66.

¹⁵ Kazimierz Marian MORAWSKI, *Ignacy Potocki*, vol. 1: 1750–1788, Kraków–Warszawa 1911, p. 3.

¹⁶ “Pour le voyage on poste a quatre chevaux”; AGAD, Archiwum Gospodarcze Wilanowskie, Anteriora, sign. 220. The cost of the transport amounted to 317 ecus, which constituted about 160 red zlotys.

¹⁷ ANK, AKPot, 3220, pp. 209–212; Ignacy Potocki to mother, Marianna Potocka, née Kątska, 6 July 1765, Vienna.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 212.

¹⁹ *Korespondencja Ignacego Potockiego w sprawach edukacyjnych (1774–1809)*, prep. Bożena MICHALIK, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1978, p. 49.

²⁰ Grzegorz PIRAMOWICZ, *Powinności nauczyciela oraz Wybór mów i listów*, prep. Kamilla MRO-

The cognitive aspects of the first stage of Ignacy Potocki's journey were described in the report titled: *List ciekawego Polaka do swego Przyjaciela i Mecenasa* [English: A letter from a curious Pole to his Friend and Patron]. This account written for an unknown reader who might have been his father Eustachy, the bishop Ignacy Krasicki or, least probably, the Piarist Stanisław Konarski, includes a more in-depth analysis of the socio-economic situation and makes an impression of a document written later after the events had been carefully thought out. Heading towards the Apennine Peninsula, Potocki had an opportunity to get to know better the Silesian and Bohemian reality and to visit Vienna. This fragment of his travelling impressions outnumbered his political or economic remarks. Ignacy Potocki gave it a form of a theoretical treatise, in which he discussed mainly the nuances of the social-economic situation in the aforementioned territories. He also commented on the political division of the German Reich indicating the positive effects in the effective rulings of a dozen of dukes, bishops and town councils, which were only symbolically subordinated to the emperor. Going along the borders of the Silesian lands he concentrated on the question of the reconstruction of the country after the Silesian wars, the order and wealth of Silesia's inhabitants and the description of the Prussian military situation. He also reminded the fact that in the past the country had belonged to Poland²¹.

When crossing Moravia, he once again revealed his tendency to look at the world with the "eye of a good host". He was impressed by the fortifications of Olomouc, the high standard of agriculture, the considerable population density and good living conditions among the peasants as a result of state protectionism²². Potocki expressed his praise for the Austrian Cameralism which involved mobilising the resources of the rural population and creating favourable conditions for economic development in the areas of agriculture and trade. The observations became the foundation for Potocki's comparisons between the "German economy" (Potocki used this term since Silesia belonged to Prussia and Bohemia belonged to the Empire) and the Polish reality and his appeals to improve the conditions of peasants in the Rzeczpospolita. Passing through Silesia, Bohemia and Austria gave Potocki a great opportunity to observe the situation of the peasants in those countries. It naturally provoked him to make comparisons with Poland. Potocki was a declared advocate of the idea of Physiocracy. In his travelling account he openly criticised the lot of peasants in Poland comparing their legal-economic situation to slavery. He maintained that it was one of the main reasons for the stagnation or even regression of the economy of the Rzeczpospolita. He stipulated that the situation should change and criticised the feudal system in the Polish countryside²³. The general consciousness of the Polish noblemen as reflected in the diaries of the

ZOWSKA, Wrocław 2005, pp. 188–193.

²¹ *List ciekawego Polaka*, pp. 275–277.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 277.

²³ B. MICHALIK, *op.cit.*, pp. 28–29.

epoch is characterised by a deep belief that the representatives of the noble social strata should first of all take care of their own interests, which was visible in their quest for offices and privileges, whilst the well-being of the state was of secondary importance²⁴. In this way, Potocki's concern for the wealth of his country distinguishes him from other Polish noblemen. He even did not hesitate to announce the controversial truth about the equality of all people before the law, despite the fact that he also considered the existing disproportions and social divisions as a necessary and natural phenomenon. He advocated not only reforms to repair the state, but also supported conferring upon peasants rights protecting them against lawlessness²⁵. Taking into account his later activity in the public arena and great merits in reforming the country, it is clear that his views did not result from juvenile idealism; instead, it was a well thought-out program of positive changes, the aim of which was to save the country from collapse and to help its economy flourish like those of other European states.

Undoubtedly, the first stage of his journey provided him with a great range of aesthetic impressions, for the biggest tourist attractions of Vienna were thoroughly reviewed. Ignacy Potocki was enchanted with the Gothic architecture of St. Stephen's Cathedral, in particular with the embellishments of the façade and its slender, beautiful openwork tower. He also admired the emperor's pantheon in the Capuchin church with the gold and silver figures on the tombs, which constituted a masterpiece of sepulchral art along with the collections of books and other curiosities in the emperor's library. He also went to the military academy in Wiener Neustadt²⁶. The capital of the Empire astounded Potocki by its wealth and beauty. He was impressed by the effective organisation of trade – which yielded high profits – and the well-maintained roads. He admired the emperor's court – rich and full of splendour; yet, he criticised the excessive fiscalism under the reign of Maria Theresa. The wealth of the inhabitants and the extravagant lifestyle of the aristocracy was for him a natural consequence of balanced economic development and a reward for the efforts made. He ironically commented on the Polish magnates who in Warsaw boasted about “the splendour in their courts, food, service, tables and feasts”, which in fact was the cause of the bankruptcy of many families²⁷.

The main element of his journey was his five-year-long sojourn in Italy (July 1765 – June 1770). Potocki's first contact with Italy occurred in July 1765 in Venice after he had crossed the Alps. His first impressions of Italy were dominated by the weather. Ignacy Potocki noticed a climatic change at the foot of the Alps, where the air from the south encounters the massive wall of tall mountain peaks, which “chill

²⁴ Dariusz ROLNIK, *Portret szlachty czasów stanisławowskich, epoki kryzysu, odrodzenia i upadku Rzeczypospolitej w pamiętnikach polskich*, Katowice 2009, pp. 200–201.

²⁵ *List ciekawego Polaka*, p. 278.

²⁶ ANK, AKPot, 3220, pp. 210–211; Ignacy Potocki to mother, Marianna Potocka, née Kątska, 6 July 1765, Vienna.

²⁷ *List ciekawego Polaka*, pp. 280–281.

the Italian heat”²⁸. It must be underlined here that Venice, situated on the route to Rome most commonly used by Poles, was on the majority if Polish tourist routes. Not all Polish travellers devoted enough attention to presenting the colour and specificity of the town and region, which to the Poles was the real “gate to Italy”²⁹. As far as Ignacy Potocki was concerned, it must be underlined that he was a mature observer who skilfully formulated conclusions. By giving historical examples, he proved the historical-cultural importance of the Alps, which acted as a protection barrier for the Roman civilisation against the invasions of barbarians from the north.

Travelling under the “warmer sky” Potocki arrived in Venice. Recalling the fishing origins of the settlement, he analysed the reasons for the commercial strength of Venice, which in his times had started to suffer an economic crisis due to the wars with Turkey. As Potocki noticed, Venice’s monopoly was undermined by the colonial expansion of Portugal and the discovery of the road to India – “for opening the road to Asia near Africa”³⁰. Despite some misfortunes, Venice had managed to maintain its powerful position thanks to observing the law and the special role of doges ruling in this oligarchic republic. Potocki considered the Venetian political system to be a model. According to him, the centralised administration eliminated such pathologies of political-social life as corruption and struggles among aristocratic factions. He was very enthusiastic about the Venetian republican system. He was moved by the picturesque sights of the city situated by the sea, canals functioning as streets where gondolas sailed, its port with a charming panorama full of ships’ masts³¹. He continued his journey across the Apennine Peninsula. Heading for Rome, he visited “empty” Padua and Bologna. He was not very enthusiastic about the cities. The most precious objects for him were not architectural works, but dignified scientific institutions – famous universities originating in the Middle Ages. The briefness of his account might have been caused by the fact that the universities of Padua and Bologna, extremely popular among Polish students until the 17th century, had lost their status³². Now, the universities were the destinations of short visits rather than places of study. Yet, Potocki remarked that comparing those two cities “Bologna is much more populated, more beautiful and better off”³³.

The tone of the Polish traveller changed when he reached the Duchy of Tuscany, where he visited Livorno, Pisa and Siena. Although he appreciated the archi-

²⁸ Ibid., p. 281.

²⁹ Andrzej LITWORNIA, *I Polacchi sulle strade del Friuli-Venezia Giulia*, [in:] *La Porta d’Italia. Diari e viaggiatori polacchi in Friuli-Venezia Giulia dal XVI al XIX secolo*, a cura di Lucia BURELLO, Andrzej LITWORNIA, Udine 2000, p. 54.

³⁰ *List ciekawego Polaka*, p. 281.

³¹ Ibid., p. 282.

³² *Archiwum nacji polskiej w uniwersytecie padewskim*, vol. 1: *Metryka nacji polskiej w uniwersytecie padewskim (1592–1745)*, prep. Henryk BARYCZ, Wrocław–Kraków 1971, pp. 194–208; Riccardo LEWAŃSKI, *Storia delle relazioni fra la Polonia e Bologna*, Bologna 1951, passim.

³³ *List ciekawego Polaka*, p. 282.

tectural beauty of the sites, the towns did not inspire him to reflect more deeply. This may be surprising especially in relation with Siena (he devoted more attention to this place during his trip to France) – a town which since the Middle Ages had been the centre of the Polish-Italian cultural cooperation. Nevertheless, in the 18th century the cooperation weakened³⁴. It was Florence that aroused the greatest admiration of the traveller. He loved the picturesque Tuscan landscape with its characteristic hills. Potocki's opinion about Florence does not differ from the opinions expressed by other Polish travellers staying there in the 16th–18th centuries. Ignacy Potocki visited the town again in 1770 on his way to France, and for the third time in 1783³⁵. He was enchanted with Florence as the capital of Italian culture and art. According to Potocki it was the House of Medici who had raised the town to such a high level looting Rome from antique monuments whose export they had prohibited. Potocki regarded the chapel of St. Lawrence in the church of San Lorenzo as a monument worthy of the highest glory. He also appreciated the merits of the Medicis in the field of economy proving that the sensible policy of the grand dukes of Tuscany in terms of agriculture, craft and industry helped Florence flourish³⁶.

Having reached Rome Ignacy Potocki stayed for five years, interrupted only by small trips. Educated in the Piarists Collegium Nobilium in Warsaw, he started studying at Rome's most prestigious Piarist school – Collegium Nazarenum. He was considered the most outstanding Polish student of the school owing to his future service for Poland and the academic achievements in Rome³⁷. His choice of schools was affected by Konarski, whose intellectual influence was later acknowledged in the pedagogical thought of Ignacy Potocki, in his correspondence, personal and official contacts with the Piarists³⁸.

His scientific interests were realised in a few areas. The basic element was his education in philosophy, history logic, rhetoric, drawing, Latin, Italian and the basics of canonical law. From his notes we know that the main book Potocki read during his stay in Rome was the history of the city from the time it had been founded by Titus Livius. This famous historical treatise, which Potocki studied thoroughly, was a mine of quotations and examples with whose help he illustrated the past and current political situation of Rome. He glorified the bravery and honour of the heroes of ancient Rome such as Gaius Fabricius Luscinus or Manius Curius Dentatus immortalised by Roman historians such Livius and Tacitus³⁹. He also

³⁴ Marian CHACHAJ, *Związki kulturalne Sieny i Polski do końca XVIII wieku. Staropolscy studenci i podróżnicy w Sienie. Sienieńczycy i ich dzieła w Polsce*, Lublin 1998, p. 131.

³⁵ Małgorzata WRZEŚNIAK, *Florencja – muzeum. Miasto i jego sztuka w oczach polskich podróżników*, Kraków 2013, pp. 127–128.

³⁶ *List ciekawego Polaka*, p. 283.

³⁷ Maciej LORET, *Życie polskie w Rzymie w XVIII w.*, [Rzym 1930], p. 173.

³⁸ Roman STĘPIEŃ, *Zasługi Księży Pijarów dla nauki i kultury polskiej w dobie Oświecenia*, [in:] *Wkład pijarów do nauki i kultury w Polsce XVII–XIX w.*, ed. Irena STASIEWICZ-JASIUKOWA, Warszawa–Kraków 1993, p. 543.

³⁹ *List ciekawego Polaka*, pp. 283–284.

read the writings of the Italian grammarian Veneroni. In the educational project *Thoughts about education and instruction in future Poland* [Polish: *Mysli o edukacji i instrukcji w Polsce ustanowić się mającej*] in 1774 Potocki drew from current European works from the period written by Rousseau, Locke and Fénelon to be found in his library⁴⁰. Probably at least some of the books were purchased during his educational journey.

An important cognitive role was played by issues connected with the field of geography, whose evidence was the purchase of six maps. Apart from learning the subjects which were part of the traditional education of noblemen and magnates, Ignacy Potocki exhibited intellectual inclinations towards science. The evidence for this is the receipt for the payments of 3 Dutch ducats in Rome for admission to a show of experimental physics⁴¹. In his letters he revealed the knowledge of the works of the leading early modern scientists: An Italian Girolamo Cardano and a Dutch physicist Pieter van Musschenbroek⁴².

In Rome, Potocki met with the clergy of the highest rank. He established political-social contacts mainly during audiences at the Pope Clement XIII, parties and luncheons given by dukes and ministers along with church officials. At the beginning of his stay he informed his mother that after the arrival he had seen the Pope and had been blessed by him⁴³. The plans to take holy orders and to hold church offices started to materialise two years after his arrival in Rome. Thanks to the protection of the bishop of Warmia Ignacy Krasicki, Potocki was appointed to a church position which was to commence his career in the Church. In September 1767 he was granted conditionally the position of bishop coadjutor in Warmia thanks to the positive opinion given by Krasicki. He was admitted only having fulfilled a number of conditions, one of which was taking holy orders⁴⁴.

His stay in Rome took place during a difficult period for the Church. The secularisation of the Jesuits was about to occur, which did not prevent him from establishing a lifelong friendship with a Polish Jesuit Grzegorz Piramowicz. This friendship exerted a considerable intellectual and moral influence in Potocki. The family relations facilitated the development of the friendship. Grzegorz Piramowicz as a preacher and professor of moral theology in the college in Krzemieniec became a tutor of Ignacy's cousins. The sons of the Lviv castellan Józef Potocki: Paweł, Jan and Kajetan departed on an educational journey to Italy and France under the supervision of Piramowicz in the years 1767–1770. They spent a long time

⁴⁰ J. RUDNICKA, op.cit., pp. 62–63.

⁴¹ "Pour la contribution a l'Academie des experiences de physique"; Biblioteka Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich in Wrocław, manuscript 1860, fol. 2v.

⁴² AGAD, APP, 273, vol. 1, p. 102; Ignacy Potocki to Dionizy Kuczkowski, 1767, Rome.

⁴³ ANK, AKPot, 3220, pp. 213–215; Ignacy Potocki to mother, Marianna Potocka, née Kątska, 10 August 1765, Rome.

⁴⁴ Zbigniew GOLIŃSKI, *Kalendarz życia i twórczości Ignacego Krasickiego*, vol. 1, prep. Magdalena GÓRSKA, Poznań 2011, pp. 242–243.

in Rome, where the castellans' sons studied at the Jesuit college⁴⁵. He informed his aunt about the education of her sons complaining mainly about the decline in the level of teaching in the Jesuit college in Rome, which he knew from his own experience: "the place where I am right now has collapsed"⁴⁶.

In Rome Potocki frequently met other Poles, among whom there were both clergymen and lay students along with travellers. He made friends with the priest Michał Sołtyk, who was a nephew of the Cracow bishop Kajetan Sołtyk. Soon after he had taken holy orders, Sołtyk took over the Cracow canonry and was sent by his uncle to Rome to study, where he also played the function of the official representative of the Cracow bishop in the Holy See⁴⁷. The considerable number of Poles in Rome in the 1760s resulted from the Polish-Italian bilateral relations during the Enlightenment period. A considerable number of Italians, particularly artists under the patronage of the courts or magnates, visited the Rzeczpospolita. On the other hand, the leading representatives of the Polish Enlightenment more and more willingly travelled to Italy⁴⁸. Apart from men, some female magnates also started to travel. About 1770 Anna Jabłonowska née Sapięha visited Rome, and a few years later, in 1779, Ignacy Potocki's wife Elżbieta Potocka née Lubomirska went to Rome in the company of Grzegorz Piramowicz⁴⁹.

Potocki also came across other Poles by accident in the streets. He met in this way Jakub Lanhaus, a canon regular of the Holy Sepulchre, who was staying in Rome to fix some businesses of his Order. While walking along the street, he saw Potocki on a coach, who greeted the Poles "beautifully"⁵⁰. In the summer of 1768, a Lithuanian Franciscan observant friar Juwenalis Charkiewicz stayed in Rome on his way back from the general chapter of his order in Valencia, Spain. He could have met Potocki, but this is hard to confirm since in his diaries Charkiewicz mainly described Roman churches⁵¹. There was a close and substantial group of Polish artists whose stay in Rome overlapped with the stay of Potocki; they studied at Rome's Academy of St. Lucas⁵². The friendship with the architect Stanisław

⁴⁵ Elżbieta ALEKSANDROWSKA, *Piramowicz Grzegorz Wincenty (1735–1801)*, [in:] PSB, vol. 26, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1981, p. 530.

⁴⁶ AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, box XLIX, no. 6, p. 5; Ignacy Potocki to Pelagia Potocka, 16 September 1769, Naples.

⁴⁷ Józef ŚMIAŁOWSKI, *Sołtyk Michał*, [in:] PSB, vol. 40, Warszawa–Kraków 2000–2001, pp. 414–415.

⁴⁸ Bronisław BILIŃSKI, *Figure e momenti polacchi a Roma. Strenna di commiato*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1992, pp. 15–16.

⁴⁹ Alojzy SAJKOWSKI, *Włoskie przygody Polaków. Wiek XVI–XVIII*, Warszawa 1973, p. 205.

⁵⁰ Jakub LANHAUS, *Opis podróży. Itinerarium (1768–1769)*, the introduction, comments and complements by Bogdan ROK, Marian CHACHAJ, Kraków–Wrocław 2014, p. 131.

⁵¹ See: Juwenalis CHARKIEWICZ, *Dyjariusz podróży hiszpańskiej z Wilna do miasta Walencji na kapitułę generalną zakonu mniejszych braci św. Franciszka, to jest bernardynów, odprawionej w roku 1768*, prep. Bogdan ROK, Wrocław 1998, pp. 168–177.

⁵² Maciej LORET, *Gli artisti polacchi a Roma nel settecento*, prefazione di Corrado RICCI, Milano–Roma 1929, pp. 25–31.

Zawadzki, whom Potocki met in the Hospice of St. Stanislaw, turned out to be very valuable for him. After they returned to Poland, Zawadzki cooperated with the Potockis in the construction of several buildings⁵³.

It is worth taking a closer look at the question of the emotions and religious attitudes of Ignacy Potocki, which were revealed in the preserved notes of the author. In his travel diaries, several examples of Ignacy Potocki's piety may be noted. After he arrived in Rome, he wrote about his observations concerning the Italian liturgical customs: "when music is played everybody looks not at the grand altar, but at the choir, and then the Holy Sacrament is brought from the sacristy"⁵⁴ [transl. by Agnieszka Chabros]. In the autumn of 1766 he participated in a three-day religious retreat for alumni of the Piarist college. In the letters to his mother he stressed his piety. He held the Pope Benedict XIV (Prospero Lambertini) from Padua in grand esteem; he wrote about him while passing Padua: "a great man, and a great pope"⁵⁵. He was deeply moved by the death of Clement XIII at the beginning of February 1769. He attended the ceremony of moving the Pope's body from his palace to the chapel in Vatican. He commented on the funeral ceremonies in the following way: "One expects to encounter many people holding honourable offices; and I can say that I had the great fortune to be there at that time"⁵⁶ [transl. by A.Ch.]. The funeral ceremonies connected with the Pope's funeral and the election of his successor were described also by Jakub Lanhaus, who emphasised the crucial role of the Camerlengo⁵⁷.

Ignacy Potocki was happy to report the results of the papal conclave of 1769 and the election of Clement XIV. He presented him as a man sent from heaven who was capable of solving the problems of the church; he wrote that the Pope was "a Franciscan of not noble background, noble-minded in terms of virtue, politics and piety that Rome is generally content with him"⁵⁸. He hoped the Pope to defend the Jesuits against secularisation. He was partly right since the new pope did want to deploy a compromising solution and reform the Jesuit Order. He intended to depoliticise and subordinate the Society of Jesus to the local church authorities⁵⁹, by means of which he hoped the European courts to renounce the demand to secularise the order. Describing the beginnings of the secularisation of the Jesuits monasteries in the Republic of Venice, Potocki looked for the means to stop such

⁵³ Ryszard Mączyński, *Architekt Stanisław Zawadzki w Rzymie. Realia – fascynacje – profity*, *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki*, vol. 57: 2012, no. 3, pp. 72–74.

⁵⁴ ANK, AKPot, 3220, pp. 213–215; Ignacy Potocki to mother, Marianna Potocka, née Kątska, 10 August 1765, Rome.

⁵⁵ *List ciekawego Polaka*, p. 282.

⁵⁶ ANK, AKPot, 3228, pp. 121–122; Ignacy Potocki to Katarzyna Kossakowska, née Potocka, 2 February 1769, Rome.

⁵⁷ J. LANHAUS, *op.cit.*, p. 304.

⁵⁸ ANK, AKPot, 3228, p. 133; Ignacy Potocki to Katarzyna Kossakowska, née Potocka, 20 May 1769, Rome.

⁵⁹ Leopold VON RANKE, *Dzieje papieżstwa w XVI–XIX wieku*, vol. 2, transl. Jan ZARAŃSKI, Zbigniew ŻABICKI, Warszawa 1981 (2nd edition), p. 387.

a course of events in the pope's attitude, who, as he wrote, was "aware of everything and brave" [transl. by A.Ch.]⁶⁰.

Nevertheless, it seems that it was the stay in Rome that considerably influenced the young magnate's decision to choose a secular career. He enumerated the reasons for this, emphasising his fear of not fulfilling the obligations arising from being a member of the clergy and his desire to devote his life to public service: "Being an honest man, a good citizen, a good relative, a good friend, how else would I contribute to my country and the world by being a priest?"⁶¹. It is probable that the decision to renounce his plan to take holy orders was determined by the ambience of conflict and uncertainty connected with the choice of a new pope in 1769 along with the prospects of the secularisation of the Society of Jesus. In the 1760s there took place a massive offensive of the European courts aiming at abolishing the Society of Jesus in their metropolitan and colonial estates. Following the example of Portugal, the royal acts introduced such a change in several countries (France – 1764, Spain – 1767, Naples – 1767) despite Pope Clement XIII's attempts to oppose this. His successor Clement XIV postponed the decision to secularise the Society of Jesus although his electors had been convinced that he would do it⁶². Potocki's view on the problem of the liquidation of the Jesuit Order was quite moderate. Observing the course of events on the political scene he understood perfectly what the end would be and that liquidation was imminent. However, he feared the consequences of this move: "I am not the person to judge whether it is good or bad to do it. Time will show the effect of this storm; if Rome successfully avoids it, it will be a great stroke of fortune, if unexpected" [transl. by A.Ch.]⁶³. In Potocki's life the Roman period of his journey turned out to be a turning point marked with a personal tragedy, for at the beginning of 1768 he received a message that both his parents had died.

Renouncing a clerical career did not mean giving up on religious practices. Before he left Italy for France, Potocki went on a pilgrimage to Loreto taking advantage of the beautiful weather. Passing through Terni, Spoleto and Tolentino he reached Loreto, where he took part in a service. He visited the sanctuary twice, the second time on his way back from the papal town Ancona. The description of spiritual sensations were overshadowed by the complaints about the conditions of roads and unfavourable weather⁶⁴. His audiences with the Pope, participation in liturgies and frequent visits in the churches prove his deep attachment to Roman

⁶⁰ ANK, AKPot, 3228, p. 137; Ignacy Potocki to Katarzyna Kossakowska, née Potocka, 10 June 1769, Rome.

⁶¹ AGAD, APP, 273, vol. 2, p. 265; Ignacy Potocki to Katarzyna Kossakowska, née Potocka (Rome, after February 1768).

⁶² Marian BANASZAK, *Historia Kościoła katolickiego*, vol. 3: *Czasy nowożytne 1758–1914*, Warszawa 1991, pp. 8–9.

⁶³ ANK, AKPot, 3228, pp. 131–132; Ignacy Potocki to Katarzyna Kossakowska, née Potocka, 7 May 1769, Rome.

⁶⁴ *Diariusz wojażu do Loretu roku 1770*, pp. 217–220.

Catholicism. In Bologna he took part in a procession with the Virgin Mary's picture in the streets, which was part of the pilgrimage of the holy image. In Venice he experienced the Day of the Ascension and looked forward to participating in liturgic ceremonies⁶⁵. On his way to France he visited the nun Anna Maria Felice Bertarelli⁶⁶ in Viterbo. The numerous manifestations of religiousness were not religious fanaticism, but resulted from his Catholic education received in the Piarist college, his understanding of the social strata he belonged to, and a desire to fulfill the obligations put forward for him by his parents and his aunt Katarzyna Koszakowska.

Rome, which, according to Potocki, outshone all other cities with its "beauty", occupied in his accounts a separate place owing to the length of time he stayed in the city. As Potocki wrote, Rome was quintessential for the image of Italy: "it seems to me that it is the same thing to be in Italy and not to see Rome, and to be in Rome and not to see the pope"⁶⁷. This remark is accurate both today as it was in the past since in the 18th century meeting the pope (directly or indirectly) was considered an important point on the itinerary of a trip to Rome⁶⁸. Taking into account the previously mentioned factors, it must be noted that Ignacy Potocki stayed in Rome during a very special period of time – he had the opportunity to see the pontificates of two popes: Clement XIII and Clement XIV. He witnessed not only liturgical services given by, and in the presence of, the pope, but also the scandalous struggle for the throne of St. Peter, which were deeply affected by politics. He lamented over the simony, corruption and political servitude among the cardinals. The prolonged conclave revealed the variety of coteries which fought against one another; Potocki was particularly critical of the "Bourbon" faction, which was totally subjected to the interests of the authorities of France and Spain. As he wrote: "they seem to be more cardinals of Paris or Madrid than of the Roman Church" [transl. by A.Ch.]⁶⁹.

In the view of the fact that the actual diary of Ignacy Potocki concerning his stay in Rome remains unknown, much information about his reception of the Roman reality is provided by his travel correspondence. What receives most attention in his letters are his political-economic interests, the fruit of which are the records on the current political-social and military situation of the Papal State. Potocki may be described as an acute observer of the Roman and papal political scene. In his letters to his parents, and later to his aunt Katarzyna Koszakowska he frequently gave news of the plans of the papal diplomacy. There is also a Polish element – his letters give information about the arrival of a pretender to the English throne;

⁶⁵ *Wojaż z Rzymu do Francji roku 1770*, p. 224.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 221.

⁶⁷ *List ciekawego Polaka*, p. 283.

⁶⁸ Bogdan Rok, *Rzym papieski w relacjach Polaków XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Polski Grand Tour w XVIII i początkach XIX wieku*, pp. 318–321.

⁶⁹ ANK, AKPot, 3228, p. 131; Ignacy Potocki to Katarzyna Koszakowska, née Potocka, 7 May 1769, Rome.

he was the son of James Edward Stuart and Maria Klementyna Sobieska – John III Sobieski’s granddaughter, who died in 1735⁷⁰. The maturity of this dexterous analyst of the European politics is confirmed by the manner in which he presented the question of the possible support of the Vatican given to the pretender. Ignacy Potocki recounted the various arguments present in the political debate indicating the possibility of retaliatory repression of English Catholics by the English authorities⁷¹.

Several times he defended the honour of Pope Clement XIII by defending his innocence against a pamphlet which had appeared in the summer of 1766 accusing the papal minister of fraud. He also wrote about the commendable moments of the papacy – for example, the annual celebration of the envoy from Naples paying homage to the pope (5 July 1766). He also criticised the negative aspects of the Vatican’s policy. He gave account of the difficult social situation in Rome, problems with providing people with food and the high prices of bread, which created a risk of famine in Rome. Defending once again the innocence of the pope and defining the anti-Church libels as fairy tales and calumny, he stated objectively that “some cardinals are the causes of all this”⁷². He also had a predilection for Clement XIV; he underlined his great popularity among the Roman population, who considered him to be a good and just ruler. In connection with the accident of Clement XIV during his ingress into the basilica of St. John in Lateran, he wrote that the Pope had won great respect among the Romans. As Potocki wrote, the Pope’s fall from horseback, though not really dangerous, was considered to be a misfortune, which “concerned the people, who love their present pope, who seeks his subjects’ happiness showing compassion especially to the poorest”⁷³. He also reported on war projects and even various types of carnival parties. He was particularly surprised by the strict restrictions on entertainment – dance and music – imposed by the church authorities. According to him, the “paltry” Roman carnival consisted only in masquerades taking place with the use of coaches⁷⁴.

He was particularly interested in the city, its beauty, ancient traditions as well as its tough economic and political problems. This huge and highly-populated metropolis of about 150,000 inhabitants was famous for the sanctity of the tradition of the first Apostles and the prestige of the capital city of the Christian world measured by the “grandiosity in churches, the most important of which is the church

⁷⁰ Adam BROŹ, *Rzym po polsku*, Warszawa 2014, p. 112.

⁷¹ AGAD, APP, 318, vol. 2, pp. 881–882; Ignacy Potocki to mother, Marianna Potocka, née Kątska, 25 January 1766, Rome.

⁷² *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 93–94; Ignacy Potocki to mother, Marianna Potocka, née Kątska, 2 August 1766, Rome.

⁷³ ANK, AKPot, 3228, p. 156; Ignacy Potocki to Katarzyna Kossakowska, née Potocka, 2 December 1769, Rome.

⁷⁴ AGAD, APP, 318, vol. 1, p. 739; Ignacy Potocki to mother, Marianna Potocka, née Kątska, 8 February 1766, Rome.

of St. Peter”⁷⁵. Potocki inherited his beliefs from his ancestors as the characteristic feature of the Sarmatian aesthetic sensitivity of the Baroque was the fact that Polish travellers were impressed by the early modern sacral buildings and the novel solutions used in the residential construction of the city⁷⁶.

In the consciousness of Polish travellers from the 16th century onwards, Rome symbolised marvellous antique traditions (transparent to educated humanists) and the origins of the history of the Church and Christianity⁷⁷. The new intellectual and aesthetic canons of the Enlightenment meant that what was a clear expression of the cultural and artistic significance of Rome for Potocki was the antique past of the city (in fact, more imperial-republican than Christian) visible in antique obelisks, columns and monuments of the republican political system and the glory of the empire such as the Capitoline Hill or the Campus Martius. Potocki pointed out the glamour and richness of contemporary public and liturgical ceremonies. Finally, he appreciated more the spiritual-symbolic prestige of Rome and its religious importance than its great imperial past and contemporary political rank. He thought that the only trace of its grand history and evidence of its past power were Rome’s majestic antique ruins. He noticed the historical evolution of the role of Rome, which from the imperial centre converted into the religious capital of the Christian world, where the problems of “heaven were superior to earthly problems, the divine was superior to the human, and the eternal was superior to the worldly”⁷⁸.

During his stay in Rome he lamented over the omnipresent collapse of trade (“trade does not flourish”) and agriculture (“agriculture is loathed”) in the Papal State despite the fertile soil and the favourable climate. He was astonished by the predominance of foreigners in the political and economic life of Rome⁷⁹. His judgement of the economic situation of the Papal state was part of the broader European perspective. In the accounts of 18th century French travellers, similar remarks appear which refer to the financial condition, the fall in trade, the collapse of industry and agriculture and the decline in the morality of the clergy. They blamed the insufficiently farsighted administration of the Papal State, whose indolence and intrigues were to cause the material poverty and the moral decline of the city’s inhabitants⁸⁰. In the same vein Potocki evaluated those social-economic processes. He did not reveal either admiration or respect, which totally opposed his adora-

⁷⁵ *List ciekawego Polaka*, p. 284.

⁷⁶ Alojzy SAJKOWSKI, *La Rome baroque vue par les voyageurs polonais d’alors*, [in:] *Barocco fra Italia e Polonia*, a cura di Jan ŚLĄSKI, Warszawa 1977, p. 239.

⁷⁷ Bogdan ROK, *Kilka uwag o zainteresowaniach starożytnych polskich peregrynantów z drugiej połowy XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Człowiek w teatrze świata. Studia o historii i kulturze dedykowane Profesorowi Stanisławowi Grzybowskiemu z okazji osiemdziesiątych urodzin*, ed. Bożena POPIOŁEK, Kraków 2010, p. 297.

⁷⁸ *List ciekawego Polaka*, p. 283.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 284.

⁸⁰ Gabriel MAUGAIN, *Rome et le gouvernement pontifical au XVIII^e siècle d’après des voyageurs français*, [in:] *L’Italie au XVIII^e siècle. Mélanges de littérature et d’histoire*, Paris 1929, pp. 49–50.

tion of the church tradition and antique roots of Roman culture and art. In his letters he was convinced that it was ill-famed papal ministers and high church dignitaries who were to blame for the social unrest: “Neither the pope nor the court’s marshall – the pope’s grandson – causes this to happen, but some cardinals who tell unimaginable stories and spread calumny”⁸¹.

Using short breaks in his studies, Potocki visited small towns nearby, where he relaxed. He must have felt at ease there. He particularly liked Frascati and Albano, where he “relished in pleasure”⁸². At the end of 1769 he left for Naples where he spent several weeks. As Henryk Barycz rightly pointed out, there were two reasons which prompted Poles to go to Naples. The first was the beauty and the beautiful location of the city by the sea; the second one – a vivid worship of antique traditions⁸³. One may presume that an important motive for this trip were his antiquarian interests along with the desire to see the antique monuments in Pompeii and Herculaneum⁸⁴. A shortage of sources does not allow us to verify the thesis as Potocki did not write profusely about his impressions. We only know that the stay in the south of Italy taught him a great deal: “This highly populated, big and well located city entertains me a lot”⁸⁵. He spent all his time visiting the city and its vicinities over the course of three weeks. He probably also saw Mount Vesuvius⁸⁶ like most contemporary travellers.

Potocki attempted to outline the main features of the Italian personality. Using a popular list of stereotypical characteristics of individual nations he looked for analogies and differences between Germans and the inhabitants of the Apennine Peninsula. Not paying attention to the political division of Italy, he regarded its inhabitants as representatives of one nation employing consistently the names “Italy” and “Italians”. Compared with the German solidarity, Italians looked quite inferior. He formulated general conclusions about laziness, greed, negligence in the education of children, venality and the rebelliousness of the Italian nation. Underlining numerous folk uprisings in Naples – “the Italian head is restless” – he emphasised that they were the actual cause of this province breaking away from the Italian states and submitting it to the rule of the Spanish kings⁸⁷. Comparing the external symptoms and effects of the Italian temperament and rampant imagination with the German industriousness he concluded that the main virtue of the Germans

⁸¹ AGAD, APP, 318, vol. 1, pp. 93–94; Ignacy Potocki to mother, Marianna Potocka, née Kątska, 2 August 1766, Rome.

⁸² Ibid., vol. 2, pp. 70–72; Ignacy Potocki to mother, Marianna Potocka, née Kątska, 1 October 1765, Albano.

⁸³ Henryk BARYCZ, *Podróże polskie do Neapolu w wiekach XV–XVIII*, Warszawa 1939, p. 7.

⁸⁴ Angela SOŁTYS, *Podróże Polaków do Italii w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku. Kontekst neapolitański*, [in:] *Polski Grand Tour w XVIII i początkach XIX wieku*, pp. 83–86.

⁸⁵ ANK, AKPot, 3228, p. 151; Ignacy Potocki to Katarzyna Kossakowska, née Potocka, 16 September 1769, Naples.

⁸⁶ Marzena KRÓLIKOWSKA-DZIUBECKA, *Podróże artystyczne Jana Chrystiana Kamsetzera (1776–1777; 1780–1782)*, Warszawa 2003, p. 32.

⁸⁷ *List ciekawego Polaka*, p. 285.

was their love of work and order along with their natural skill for administration and craft work: "God gave to a German the most skilful hands to work and mechanical arts"⁸⁸. Interestingly, those were the German virtues frequently emphasised by Polish people in the 18th century⁸⁹.

Ignacy Potocki thought that the might of the ancient Romans had been lost and replaced by the effeminacy of contemporary Italians. Few positive aspects appear in this torrent of accusations. According to him, the Italians exhibited only musical, literary and artistic talents. However, he criticised the Renaissance tradition of placing even the smallest merits and achievements into artistic inscriptions. According to 18th century travellers and geographers, the Italians were famous for their high standard of liberal arts as well as musical and vocal talents⁹⁰. Potocki also underlined those virtues, but he presented them against the decline of their military skills: "An Italian can play and sing well, but he can't fight"⁹¹.

Most Polish travellers staying in Italy devoted a great deal of attention to Italian women⁹². It is quite symptomatic that in Potocki's accounts no descriptions of the beauty, clothes, behaviour and personality of Italian women can be found. His only remarks concerning this aspect were limited to the statement that the sound of the Italian language made him think it was a language created for women. He also discerned that more women were born in Italy⁹³. The scarce number of references to women may have been caused by his choice of a clerical career and the celibacy connected with it. On the other hand, there were many Polish priests travelling to Italy in the 18th century who, like Leon Morawski or Juwenalis Charkiewicz, frequently wrote about the customs of Italian women, their beauty or sometimes lack of it⁹⁴.

Having left Italy in the spring of 1770 Ignacy Potocki travelled to several European countries carrying out a shortened itinerary of the *Grand Tour* embracing the northern and western part of the Apennine Peninsula, France, Spain and German countries. Impressions included in two long diaries and a brief account from a pilgrimage to Loreto in the spring of 1770 constitute the quintessence of his perception of the world he saw during his tour.

⁸⁸ Ibid.

⁸⁹ Bogdan ROK, *Obraz Niemców i Niemiec w polskim piśmiennictwie geograficznym XVIII w.*, [in:] *Śląsk, Polska, Niemcy*, ed. Krystyn MATWIJOWSKI, Wojciech WRZEŚIŃSKI, Wrocław 1990, p. 107.

⁹⁰ Małgorzata Ewa KOWALCZYK, *Obraz Włoch w polskim piśmiennictwie geograficznym i podróżniczym osiemnastego wieku*, Toruń 2005, pp. 254–256.

⁹¹ *List ciekawego Polaka*, p. 285.

⁹² See: Małgorzata Ewa KOWALCZYK, „*W kościele święte, w ogrodzie jak kozy frywolne, w domu złe jako diabły, na ulicy jak anioły, a w oknach jak syreny*”. *Włoskie kobiety w opiniach polskich mężczyzn w XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Iter italicum. Sztuka i historia*, ed. Małgorzata WRZEŚNIAK, Warszawa 2011, pp. 367–379.

⁹³ *List ciekawego Polaka*, p. 285.

⁹⁴ M.E. KOWALCZYK, „*W kościele święte, w ogrodzie jak kozy frywolne, w domu złe jako diabły, na ulicy jak anioły, a w oknach jak syreny*”, pp. 369, 371.

In the descriptions of his tour, he frequently emphasised the practical dimension of the peregrination such as the bad or good condition of the roads. The topography of the territory played a major role here since he often complained about the difficulties encountered in travelling through mountainous areas. On the other hand, he praised the speed and comfort of the communication provided by the inland waterway transport through river Po and the canals between Bologna and Venice. Much as he complained about the quality of the roads, he was able to perceive positive elements such as the reparation of roads and construction of new roads near Epernay in France, where he observed the levelling of the hills. Bridges constituted a major facility in his tour. Thanks to the beauty of their monumental and stylish architecture of antique or medieval origin, he treated bridges as tourist attractions citing their local names, for example in Metz⁹⁵. He was fascinated with undertakings aimed at improving and accelerating transport and communication. What he regarded as the real masterpiece of early modern engineering was the Canal du Midi connecting the Mediterranean Sea with the Atlantic Ocean. He saw many canal mechanisms, locks, bridges and the artificial water tank of Saint-Fer-réal providing the canal with water if need be⁹⁶.

The Polish pilgrim suffered due to the Italian weather, particularly the heat which as early as late spring bothered him and caused weakness, nose-bleeds and the loss of his voice (Turin 13 June 1770). He considered the roads to be quite safe. He only mentioned one serious threat from bandits, which prompted him to employ an armed escort on his way from Piacenza to Milan. He explained it was caused by the exceptionally unfavourable topography of the forested territory adding that “the location of the road helps villains”⁹⁷. Leaving Italy by sea, he complained about ailments caused by seasickness, which prevented him from admiring the sea views.

As far as economic observations were concerned, he included information which mainly referred to the kinds of crops grown in a given area. As far as the issues touched upon by him on the way from Poland to Rome were concerned, he devoted considerable space to them also while travelling to Italy, France, Spain and Germany. He reported mainly about the kinds of crops and various types of plants typically grown in the south. He mentioned vineyards (particularly in Champagne), olive trees and citruses (in Italy and southern France). Near Barcelona he saw the cultivation of aloe: “This tree is not very high; its root improves the condition of soil, while its flowers do not smell very nice”⁹⁸. Remarks about agriculture also include references to the living standards of peasants (their housing conditions, the ownership of horse-drawn carts). Acquiring information concerning the

⁹⁵ *Podróż z Paryża do Gdańska 1771*, pp. 279–280.

⁹⁶ *Wojaż z Rzymu do Francji roku 1770*, p. 243.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 225–226.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 240.

economy and trade of agricultural products (e.g. about the real monetary value of the annual import of coriander in Baden-Baden⁹⁹) played a major role.

Economically, he also wrote about his visits to manufactures and factories, which was evidence of his interest in the early-industrial stage of the development of European economy. It is symptomatic that during his second stay in Florence (1770) Ignacy Potocki devoted four days to observing technological processes – for example, at manufactures of wall tapestry and mosaics¹⁰⁰. He spent time in Livorno perusing the bead factory, and two days later he visited a factory in Bologna. A short stay in Porto Maurizio acquainted him with the magnitude of exports and the prices of olive oil obtained from olive trees grown nearby. The intense development of the textile and ceramic industry in France is confirmed by his numerous observations of manufactures and factories of various fabrics such as cloth, linen (Nantes), cotton (Rouen), porcelain, faience, majolica and the manufacture of artistic craft in Abbeville. He was interested in various branches of industry: gun manufacture in Barcelona, mills, salt evaporation ponds near La Rochelle, and even the mines of precious ore in the Saxon town of Freiberg where he went for a few days to see “the curious silver mines”¹⁰¹. We may note in his accounts traces of his understanding of the early-capitalist labour practices, when in Caen he visited a house of forced labour and reported about how any form of idleness there was stamped upon.

He was clearly interested in the questions of sea policy and the condition of the fleet during the cruise from Genoa to France along the Ligurian coast of the Mediterranean Sea and his visits to French seaside towns. In Toulon, Potocki saw the harbour of the French maritime force, which he considered to be the only reason for the town's fame. He observed the infrastructure of the harbour, the arsenal and fortifications erected according to a project by Vauban. However, it was not until he visited Marseilles that he became aware of the real potency of the French merchant navy; he saw “in the sea a plethora of masts”, and the total number of ships exceeded one and a half thousand units¹⁰². Brest, a huge French port, made him realise the grandeur of the maritime force. There Potocki witnessed the training of marines, the military drill of soldiers, and many ships including twenty modern frigates and the representative royal ship equipped with over a hundred cannons and the Bertheaume fort situated on an island. He also visited the barracks, warehouses of food and gunpowder, and a prison for two thousand gallery slaves¹⁰³.

The journey along the western and northern coast of France, which was quite rare among typical Polish travel practice¹⁰⁴, familiarised him with the reality of

⁹⁹ *Podróż z Paryża do Gdańska 1771*, p. 286.

¹⁰⁰ *Wojaż z Rzymu do Francji roku 1770*, p. 223.

¹⁰¹ *Podróż z Paryża do Gdańska 1771*, pp. 301–302.

¹⁰² *Wojaż z Rzymu do Francji roku 1770*, p. 231.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, pp. 254–255.

¹⁰⁴ In the early modern period we may only mention the voyage of the would-be-king Augustus III of Poland under the supervision of the precept of the Livonian governor Józef Kos in 1715;

the maritime economy, the particulars of the transoceanic trade of this country, and the specific solutions implemented such as the existence of a duty-free zone in Marseille. In this aspect, Potocki acquired substantial knowledge about the colonial and Mediterranean trade. A visit to Lorient, “a town which served the trade of the India Company”, gave him a picture of the actual magnitude of French trade with American and Asian colonies. He must have been stunned by the rich and various range of luxury colonial products (spices, coffee, tea, silk and exotic kinds of wood used to make dye)¹⁰⁵. In Le Havre he noticed that mainly bricks and roof tiles were exported to America; he noted that merchants from Le Havre normally executed orders from Rouen. In Nantes he met Jean Gabriel Montaudouin, a well-known merchant and shipping agent¹⁰⁶. In Dunkirk, a powerful naval harbour abandoned owing to the decisions of the Treaty of Utrecht, he noticed an analogy with the harbour in Brest in the context of the geographical location of the merchant’s docks, where trade with England and Holland flourished.

The traveller was also genuinely interested in political issues. Apart from the previously mentioned mini treatise about the Venetian government, he made political references during his stay in France (a remark about Provincial States in Bretagne). Chaos and disorder during the debate in Rennes and the inappropriate conduct of the deputies led him to the following analogy – “A huge noise like in our Polish dietines”¹⁰⁷. The second half of the 18th century brought about the idea of a patriotic traveller, who persisted in making theoretical and practical reflections and pragmatic observations during his tour in order to acquire expertise in various fields of life of the countries he visited¹⁰⁸. The analysis of the travelling reports of Ignacy Potocki indicates that we are dealing with an Enlightenment thinker looking for economic and social solutions to employ later to reform his motherland.

The remarks made above allow us to define Potocki’s tour as a “statistical” voyage, formed on the grounds of the apademic theory of the 18th century characterised by a considerable collection of data from the field of political economics. They included remarks concerning political-legal issues, financial matters, the development of agriculture, industry and trade, in particular the early-capitalist organisation of manufacturing. A classic example of such tours were the voyages of the Mniszech brothers in the 1760s¹⁰⁹.

Ignacy Potocki took after his parents in the context of artistic sensitivity. His mother was a translator of Molière’s works, whilst his father, Eustachy Potocki, was

Podróże królewicza polskiego późniejszego króla Augusta III (Niemcy – Francja – Włochy), 1711–1717, ed. Aleksander KRAUSHAR, part 2, Lwów 1911.

¹⁰⁵ *Wojaż z Rzymu do Francji 1770*, p. 251.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

¹⁰⁸ Justin STAGL, *Eine Geschichte der Neugier. Die Kunst des Reisens 1550–1800*, Wien–Köln–Weimar 2002, pp. 294–298.

¹⁰⁹ Marek BRATUŃ, „Ten wykwinny, wykształcony Europejczyk”. *Zagraniczne studia i podróże edukacyjne Michała Jerzego Wandalina Mniszcha w latach 1762–1768*, Opole 2002, pp. 72–73.

an active founder of residential and sacral architecture along with their sculptural and pictorial decorations. The recent scientific research allowed us to formulate the thesis about the exceptional contribution made by Eustachy Potocki and Marianna Potocki née Kańska in the development of Polish culture of the mid-18th century in the fields of literature and art¹¹⁰. Potocki's remarks concerning architecture and art were frequent, but not very thorough. Still, he described in detail the collections of the Uffizi Gallery, as a result of his visits to the gallery during his two sojourns in Florence, along with the elector's collection of paintings in Mannheim. In many places he praised the beautiful architecture of palaces and polychrome facades of burghers' houses in Genoa and its vicinities. Generally, he was quite enthusiastic about architectural and artistic masterpieces. He stressed the spectacular dimension of art and construction in Italy and France – their monumentality and grandiosity, the presence of antique buildings and ruins. In Saintes (France) he saw the amphitheatre and the triumphal arch “half of which was hidden in the ground”¹¹¹. He admired marvellous marble sculptures and embellishments, elaborate paintings and “charming villas”¹¹².

As the account concerning Potocki's stay in Naples is not extensive, it is hard to say how intense his antiquarian passions were. Undoubtedly, the subsequent visit of his brother, Stanisław Kostka, to the Apennine Peninsula (1772) contributed to the intensification of his inclinations as a collector, reflected in the collections of Wilanów¹¹³. The voyage to Italy might have affected Ignacy in a similar way. The descriptions of Italian cities provide a certain portion of knowledge about how Italy and its past were perceived by Potocki, but his deliberations about antique art and architecture serve as the intellectual background for speculations on the social and economic policy of the authorities. Researchers presume that one of the first collectors of antique vases was Michał Sołtyk, who could have purchased such items during his stay in Italy during the years 1765–1770¹¹⁴. Potocki also admired antique monuments in France; the amphitheatre and the Roman necropolis in Arles, the Roman aqueduct Pont du Gard situated near Nîmes. He also saw fragments of Roman inscriptions and reliefs in Narbonne.

In the 18th century tourists in France spent in Paris more time than in any other town in this country; they were attracted by the Gothic cathedral Notre-Dame, medieval churches, and to a greater extent by the Baroque and Neoclassical architecture like the one in the Dome of the Invalides¹¹⁵. Probably Potocki's visit to France followed this common pattern, but we are not familiar with the details

¹¹⁰ Krzysztof GOMBIN, *Inicjatywy artystyczne Eustachego Potockiego*, Lublin 2009, pp. 6–8.

¹¹¹ *Wojaż z Rzymu do Francji roku 1770*, p. 246.

¹¹² *List ciekawego Polaka*, p. 285.

¹¹³ Tomasz MIKOCCI, *Najstarsze kolekcje starożytności w Polsce (lata 1750–1830)*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź 1990, pp. 34–35.

¹¹⁴ Andrzej ABRAMOWICZ, *Dzieje zainteresowań starożytniczych w Polsce*, part 2: *Czasy stanisławowskie i ich pokłosie*, Wrocław 1987, p. 100.

¹¹⁵ Jeremy BLACK, *France and the Grand Tour*, New York–Houndmills 2003, p. 4.

of his stay in the French capital. The diary provides us with information about the aesthetic perception of the traveller in other French and German towns in the period following his stay in Italy. As far as sacral architecture is concerned, Potocki's account includes a cursory description of many churches (e.g. in Avignon). He frequently mentioned churches and castles in the "Gothic style". The beautiful cathedral in Rouen of the "Gothic architecture" impressed him with its marble embellishments of the choir and the form of the main altar¹¹⁶.

The diary also includes descriptions of residential and municipal architecture, providing information about facades and buildings along with the decoration, fixtures and fittings of the palaces (expensive stones, masterpiece of art, silver crockery sets, tapestry), which shaped the taste of the epoch. In Nancy he admired architectural reminders connected with King Stanisław Leszczyński. A frequent motif appearing in the descriptions were gardens surrounding residences and their recreational and artistic dimension. Burghers' houses were characterised as well – for example, the town hall in Römer in Frankfurt am Main, the place where German emperors were elected, caught his attention with its rich collections (e.g. the Golden Bull). He wrote that burghers' houses in Toulouse were ugly; he could not discern the invisible facades of palaces, which were hidden behind high walls. He liked the architecture of the new town of Bordeaux with its beautiful and spacious squares. In Nantes he watched the detailed architectural plans and projects of the redevelopment of the town in a new style. He often wrote about the promenades and boulevards where people strolled and the social life of the city's elite flourished.

What strikes us in Ignacy Potocki's account is his skill in expressing his own subjective opinion, including elements of criticism. The Renaissance palace of the archbishop in Saverne impressed him with its monumental stairs and the glamour of the furnishings of one of its apartments. Nevertheless, his general impression of the place was quite negative: "although it is of Italian style, it is devoid of form and proportions"¹¹⁷. The appreciation of art mainly took place during his visits to galleries (e.g. in the residences of the dukes of the Reich). The collection of paintings in Rastatt only interested him because of the paintings of battles and landscapes. Nevertheless, he was quite critical of the collection as a whole: "The rest smells of old-fashioned and bad taste"¹¹⁸. In some fragments he reveals his predilection for Dutch painting. In the rich collection of paintings belonging to the Bavarian elector in Mannheim he especially liked the paintings of Rubens, the Flemish painter Johann Breughel and David II Teniers, the titles and motifs of whose works he listed¹¹⁹. His artistic taste was also revealed in his admiration of the paintings of the masters of the Italian Renaissance and Baroque in a private collection in Leipzig

¹¹⁶ *Wojaz z Rzymu do Francyi 1770*, p. 267.

¹¹⁷ *Podroz z Paryza do Gdańska 1771*, pp. 283–284.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 288–289.

(including such famous artists as Titian and Luca Giordano)¹²⁰. He was also interested in sculpture, glyptics and graphics. Ignacy Potocki's aesthetic impressions differ from the ones expressed by other Old-Polish pilgrims. Not wanting to make the mistake of overgeneralisation, it should be stated that most travel accounts of the period deal with the registration of the places seen and the reality experienced, whilst Potocki's accounts are characterised by a great deal of maturity and independence of opinion. In his accounts he invariably gave special importance to painting and architecture along with his scientific passions¹²¹.

Remarks concerning military-related questions and military architecture play a crucial role. In many cases Ignacy Potocki wrote about the existence of city walls and fortifications and provided more information about them. In his travel account, there are short comments including lists of strongholds visited along with town arsenals and citadels or a lazaret. He particularly admired the French military engineer and architect Sebastien Vauban for his reliability and the beautiful appearance of the fortifications (e.g. the citadel in Lille, which – as he noted – “is unique in military architecture”¹²²). In Mannheim he admired the fortifications designed by a well-known Dutch military engineer and architect Menno van Coehoorn. He saw the equipment and armaments of the modern army during his visit to the armouries and arsenals. Such visits gave him the opportunity to see not only the weapons currently used, but also the historical military equipment (e.g. in the Rüstammer collection in Dresden). Visiting the ruined castles on the Rhône led him to write about the separatist inclinations of medieval rulers unwilling to acknowledge the superiority of the French king. During one-week stay in Genoa he noticed the considerable potential of the fleet of this republic, which was particularly apparent during his cruise along the Ligurian coast, where in Savona the Genoa galleys¹²³ moored.

Ignacy Potocki became acquainted with European culture through, for instance, watching theatrical performances (e.g. in Mantua). The author followed the tendency of Polish travellers to be fascinated by theatre during their visits to different countries¹²⁴. In Spain the manner of acting and specific dances made theatrical performances bizarre and quite amusing, which prompted him to write: “the Spanish theatre is not polished yet”¹²⁵. He was also interested in the architecture of theatrical buildings and the look of the stages – it might seem that he was

¹²⁰ Ibid., p. 299.

¹²¹ Zdzisław JANECZEK, *Zainteresowania literackie i bibliofilskie Ignacego Potockiego*, [in:] *Studia Bibliologiczne*, vol. 3: *Biblioteka – edytorstwo – naukoznawstwo*, ed. Adam JAROSZ, Katowice 1990, pp. 38–39.

¹²² *Wojaż z Rzymu do Francji roku 1770*, p. 274.

¹²³ Ibid., p. 228.

¹²⁴ See: Alojzy SAJKOWSKI, *Z teatralnych doświadczeń podróżników polskich do Włoch od XVI do XIX wieku*, *Pamiętnik Teatralny*, vol. 18: 1969, no. 4, pp. 487–510.

¹²⁵ *Wojaż z Rzymu do Francji roku 1770*, p. 242.

less interested in the subject matter of the performances. In Lyons he wrote: “the theatre where comedies are staged is small, if quite well decorated”¹²⁶.

An important aspect of the intellectual formation were visits to cabinets of curiosities, which in the Enlightenment were referred to as museum of natural history. It was connected with a visible change in the profile of cabinets of curiosities into private scientific collections, in which exhibits were gathered to be used in educational processes, not merely out of sheer curiosity¹²⁷. Getting to know the collections of cabinets of curiosities was connected with the growing popularity of collecting antiques in the 18th century; it became an important sign of belonging to the circle of “enlightened travellers”¹²⁸. The tendency is clearly visible in Potocki’s accounts. He visited cabinets of natural history to see technical inventions, fossils and findings of scientific experiments. Cabinets of natural history with their collections of natural exhibits and heraldry charges of significant historical and artistic value remained in the focus of Potocki’s attention, particularly in France and Germany. Conversations with scientists with their own practices opened for him broader horizons for a scientific discussion; for example, in Sienna he had an opportunity to listen to comments about Italian seismology and volcanology¹²⁹. His visit to an anatomic surgery and a scientific library in Leipzig broadened his medical knowledge.

It is known that after his return to Poland, Ignacy Potocki became famous as a passionate bibliophile, collector and lover of science, who wanted to create the Academy of Sciences in Warsaw¹³⁰. His visits to natural history practices and scientific collections were particularly important in this aspect. He visited private workshops and scientific collections in Montpellier and Nîmes¹³¹. In this way he could develop his interests in glyptics, mineralogy and numismatics. In the elector’s palace in Mannheim he enjoyed a collection of medals and gemstones, while in the treasury he admired old clocks. In Lorient, famous for maritime trade, he saw a botanic garden containing the seedlings of tropical plants. His broad knowledge of European monetary systems in the western and southern part of Europe turned out to be useful. Leaving Italy, he included in his notes some detailed calculations of the exchange rates of currencies of Italy, France and Spain (the so called *Note of the ordinary exchange rate in various foreign states*)¹³².

Ignacy Potocki’s account contains the first signs of a new tourist experience consisting in the appreciation of picturesque landscapes. A characteristic feature of how early modern travellers enjoyed nature was their great admiration of gardens.

¹²⁶ Ibid., p. 235.

¹²⁷ Patrick MAURIÈS, *Cabinets of curiosities*, London 2011, p. 185.

¹²⁸ Antoni MAĆZAK, *Peregrynacje, wojaże, turystyka*, Warszawa 2001, p. 169.

¹²⁹ *Wojaż z Rzymu do Francji roku 1770*, pp. 221–222.

¹³⁰ Zdzisław JANECZEK, *Zainteresowania naukowe marszałka litewskiego Ignacego Potockiego*, [in:] *Studia Bibliologiczne*, vol. 3, pp. 116–117.

¹³¹ *Wojaż z Rzymu do Francji roku 1770*, p. 238.

¹³² *Podróż z Paryża do Gdańska 1771*, p. 278.

In the 17th and 18th centuries Potocki's writings constituted the only example of this type of sensitivity, which was later so common in the period of Romanticism. Views of mountains and uplands did not impress travellers considerably¹³³. An analogical tendency may be observed in Potocki's account – he appreciated the beauty of gardens, but was quite reserved while describing the beauty of the mountains. He also derived aesthetic pleasure from his observations of areas situated near roads such as fields, forests or the sea. He revealed his love of hunting near Ettlingen in Baden, where he admired the marshy areas “covered with an incredible quantity of wild ducks”¹³⁴.

An exceptional moment during his trip was his visit to the popular tourist attraction in Fontaine-de-Vaucluse (Provence), where the underground river Sorgue flowed to the surface in a spectacular way. However, climbing in the rocky territory deprived him of any pleasure as he felt mostly fear rather than joy: “eventually, everything distracts the curiosity of a foreigner and changes into fear”¹³⁵.

Potocki's view of the landscape is characterised by evocative pragmatism. What prevails here is a utilitarian attitude which draws attention to visible traces of the economic activity of man who transformed the environment according to his needs. Rarely does he declare any pleasure out of mere observation of areas filled with natural phenomena. The pragmatic aim of appraising the landscape was quite typical of Polish pilgrims at least until the mid-18th century¹³⁶. The sea played an important role, but Potocki decided not to embark on his planned voyage to England for fear of seasickness caused by the unfavourable weather conditions. Many a time did he provide evidence of his objective observation of the sea, which gave him a kind of aesthetic satisfaction; he was interested in the phenomenon of tides, the considerable height of which near St. Malo cut off the roads leading to islets situated near the town at the coast. He also observed there the grounding of ships during low tides. He noticed the highest tide near Mont St. Michel; he associated it with the phases of the moon, particularly with the full moon. There he admired the charming location of the monastery on the peak of the rock and the extensive view of the sea and the surroundings¹³⁷. Another sign of his sensitivity was shell collecting – “small shells which had a nice form and colour” during his journey along the sea shore after leaving St. Malo¹³⁸.

Potocki's diaries reveal his ability to observe various aspects of reality. His picture of the world includes cognitive issues of various types: political, social-economic, scientific, religious and aesthetic. Observations of distinct branches of economics, political systems and the social life in different European countries

¹³³ Werner LINDNER, *Vom Reisen und Wandern in alter und neuer Zeit*, Berlin 1921, p. 22.

¹³⁴ *Podróż z Paryża do Gdańska 1771*, p. 286.

¹³⁵ *Wojaż z Rzymu do Francji roku 1770*, pp. 233–234.

¹³⁶ Hanna DZIECHCIŃSKA, *Pamiętniki czasów saskich. Od sentymentalizmu do sensualizmu*, Bydgoszcz 1999, p. 77.

¹³⁷ *Wojaż z Rzymu do Francji roku 1770*, p. 260.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 259.

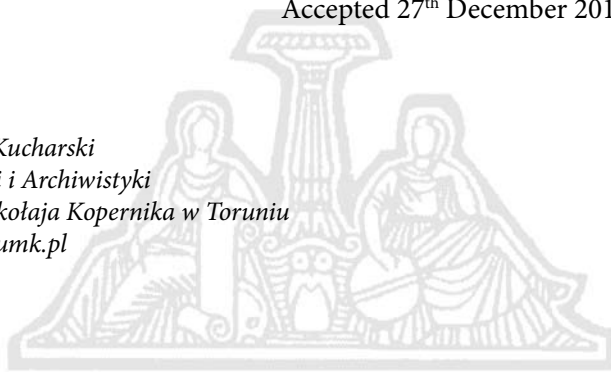
became the basis for more intense considerations concerning the improvement of the political system in the Rzeczpospolita and the introduction of social reforms. His remarks resulting from his appraisal of works of art reveal his considerable aesthetic sensitivity and ability to focus on the selected objects which he considered to be the most valuable. In his letters from abroad he presented the complex meanders of European and papal policies while updating his relatives at home. His correspondence constitutes an important document of religious life, which includes very personal confessions and existential dilemmas. The travel accounts reveal him to be a mature observer of events who was aware of the tasks he would have to face in his future public activity, in which he wanted to use his knowledge, experience and observations for the good of the country and its citizens – not only those of noble origin.

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POZNAWCZY I RELIGIJNY WYMIAR POBYTU W RZYMIE
I PODRÓŻY EDUKACYJNEJ PO EUROPIE PISARZA I MARSZAŁKA WIELKIEGO
LITEWSKIEGO IGNACEGO POTOCKIEGO W LATACH 1765–1771

Streszczenie

Słowa kluczowe: edukacja, polska arystokracja, *Grand Tour*, antropologia podróży

Wśród przedstawicieli polskiej magnaterii podróżującej po Europie wyróżnia się postać marszałka wielkiego litewskiego Ignacego Potockiego, jednego z koryfeuszów polskiej myśli oświeceniowej, słynnego z opracowania programu reform ustrojowych państwa, które znalazły najpełniejszy wyraz w zredagowaniu przez niego tekstu Konstytucji 3 maja. W młodzięcym okresie życia przebywał on za granicą, w latach 1765–1771 przygotowując się do przyjęcia święceń kapłańskich w Rzymie, które miały mu otworzyć drogę do dalszej kariery kościelnej. Ogólna sytuacja niepewności panująca w Kościele oraz rodzinny i osobisty dramat po stracie rodziców przyczyniły się jednak do zasadniczej zmiany celu jego wjazdu edukacyjnego, który ze studyjnego pobytu w Rzymie zamienił się w latach

1770–1771 w poznawczą podróż typu *Grand Tour*. Łącznie zwiedził on kilka państw wiodących wówczas prym na kontynencie w dziedzinie ekonomii, polityki i kultury (Niemcy, Czechy, Austria, Włochy, Francja, Hiszpania). Relacje z tego wyjazdu zawarte w dziariuszach i listach ujawniają wyrazisty aspekt poznawczy jego spostrzeżeń i wskazują, że Ignacy Potocki był bystrym obserwatorem sytuacji polityczno-społecznej i gospodarczej panującej w krajach, w których przebywał. Pozwoliło mu to wyciągać daleko idące wnioski o przyczynach mocarstwowości krajów dominujących w Europie oraz układać projekty możliwych reform polepszających sytuację w Polsce. Potocki okazał się również podatny na wrażenia estetyczne chłonąc piękno architektury, sztuki i krajobrazu. Dał tym samym wyraz nowej wrażliwości pozwalającej na holistyczne ujęcie oglądanych za granicą realiów.

DER AUFENTHALT IN ROM UND DIE BILDUNGSREISE DURCH EUROPA
DES LITAUISCHEN SCHRIFTSTELLERS UND GROSSMARSCHALLS
IGNACY POTOCKI 1765–1771. ERKENNTNISSE UND RELIGION

Zusammenfassung:

Schlüsselwörter: Bildung, polnische Aristokratie, *Grand Tour*, Reiseanthropologie

Unter den Vertretern der polnischen Magnatenschaft, die durch Europa reisten, ragt die Gestalt des litauischen Großmarschalls Ignacy Potocki heraus, einer der Koryphäen polnischen Denkens in der Aufklärung, bekannt für die Erarbeitung eines Programms zur Staatsreform, das seinen vollsten Ausdruck in seiner Redaktion des Texts der Verfassung vom 3. Mai fand. In seiner Jugend hielt er sich in den Jahren 1765–1771 im Ausland auf und bereitete sich in Rom auf die Priesterweihe vor, die ihm den Weg zu einer kirchlichen Karriere eröffnen sollte. Die allgemein unsichere Situation in der Kirche und ein familiäres und persönliches Drama nach dem Verlust seiner Eltern führten aber zu einer völlig veränderten Ausrichtung seiner Erziehungsreise, die sich in den Jahren 1770/1771 von einem Studienaufenthalt in Rom in eine Bildungsreise vom Typ der *Grand Tour* wandelte. Er besuchte mehrere Staaten, die damals auf dem europäischen Kontinent eine führende Stellung in den Bereichen Wirtschaft, Politik und Kultur innehatten (Deutschland, Böhmen, Österreich, Italien, Frankreich, Spanien). Die Berichte von dieser Reise sind in Tagebüchern und Briefen enthalten, offenbaren ein deutliches Bestreben, durch seine Wahrnehmungen zu lernen, und zeigen, dass Ignacy Potocki ein scharfer Beobachter der politisch-gesellschaftlichen und wirtschaftlichen Lage in den Ländern war, in denen er sich aufhielt. Das erlaubte es ihm, weitreichende Schlüsse über die Ursachen der Machtstellung der in Europa dominierenden Länder zu ziehen und Projekte für mögliche Reformen zu entwerfen, die die Lage in Polen verbessern könnten. Potocki erwies sich auch als empfänglich für ästhetische Eindrücke und sog die Schönheit von Architektur, Kunst und Landschaft in sich ein. Damit brachte er eine neue Sensibilität zum Ausdruck, die eine ganzheitliche Auffassung der im Ausland gesehenen Dinge erlaubte.

