The *Pazzi* Family in Lithuania: Myth and Politics in the European Court Society of the Early Modern Age

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The Florentine patrician Pazzi family, who were rich bankers and distinguished in their patronage of Renaissance art in fourteenth-century Florence, are very well-known in European culture. But their link to Lithuania may appear strange and unusual. However, various historical sources of the seventeenth century, particularly Italian texts and correspondence of the second half of this period, also mention a Pazzi family in Lithuania. Therefore, the intriguing question arises: what are the connections between the Florentine and the Baltic Pazzis?

The "relationship" of the Florentine Pazzi family with the Lithuanian noble family of the Pacas[1] is mentioned in the historiography from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century: especially in Italy, mostly in the genealogies of noble families of Tuscany;[2] but also in French[3] and German[4] historical texts. A sup-

[1] Lithuanian: *Pacas*, plural: *Pacai*; Polish: *Pac*, plural: *Pacowie* (henceforth: the Pacas family or the Pacai). According to the study of Józef Wolff, the earliest written sources about the Pacas family originate from the fifteenth century, out of the period of Casimir Jagellone (1440–1492). Following Wolff, the ancestor of the family was Pacas Daukševičius (Pol. *Pac Dowkszewicz*) or Daukšaitis from whom the name was taken over for the whole family; see J. Wolff, *Pacowie. Materyjały historyczno-genealogiczne* [The Pacas family. Historical–genealogical materials] (Petersburg: F. Suszczyńskiego, 1885), 1–6 (henceforth: Wolff, *Pacowie*). However, recent researches on the Lithuanian nobility in the Middle Ages by Rimvydas Petrauskas date the beginning of the Pacas family to the end of the fourteenth century, the period of Vytautas the Great. For Petrauskas the first ancestor of the Pacas family was Kimantas (Kymunt), grandfather of the aforesaid Pacas Daukšaitis, mentioned in a privilege of Grand Duke Vytautas from 1388; see R. Petrauskas, *Lietuvos diduomenė XIV a. pabaigoje – XV a.: sudėtis-struktūra-valdžia* [The Lithuanian nobility at the end of the fourteenth century and in the fifteenth century: composition–structure–power] (Vilnius: Aidai, 2003), 71.

[2] E. Gamurrini, *Istoria genealogica delle famiglie nobili Toscane et Umbre*, t. 3 (Florence, 1673; repr. Bologna: Forni, 1972), 133 (henceforth: Gamurrini, *Istoria*); G. B. Mitarelli and A. Costadoni, *Annales Camaldulenses ordinis Sancti Benedicti quibus plura intersereruntur tum ceteras Italico-monasticas res, tum historiam ecclesiasticam remque diplomaticam illustrantia* t. VIII, *complectens res gestas ab anno Christi 1515 ad annum 1744* (Venice, 1764), 373 (henceforth: Mitarelli and Costadoni, *Annales*); F. Zamponi, *Per le nozze del si-*

posed kinship of these two noble families was emphasised in the Lithuanian historiography of the nineteenth century too.[5] In Polish historical texts of this period the kinship of the Pacas family with the Florentine Pazzi was also traditionally stated.[6]

Supposed filiations of the two geographically distant noble families were also often mentioned later, that is, in the historiography of the twentieth century: particularly in art historical and cultural historical studies, as in the researches on Baroque architecture and iconography in Lithuania and in Poland. In those studies, the significance of an ostensibly Italian descent of the Lithuanian nobles Pacai that linked them to the Florentine Pazzis, was seen as a reason for the ori-

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gnor Pazzino dei Pazzi colla signora Elena Forini, scritta il dì 24 Aprile 1873 da Florido Zamponi, 32, note 25, in *Archivio di Stato di Firenze* (henceforth: *ASF*), f. Raccolta Sebregondi, filza 4097, ins.: *Pazzi (de') (famiglia guelfa dichiarata dei grandi 1292)*; G. D. Tiribilli, *Sommario storico delle famiglie celebri toscane*, t. 3 (Florence: Melchiori, 1872), 30–3; G. B. Crollalanza, *Dizionario storico-blasonico delle famiglie nobili et notabili italiane estinte e fiorenti*, vol. 2 (Pisa: Arnaldo Forni editore, 1886), 299; B. Zaydler, *Storia della Polonia fino agli ultimi tempi*, t. II (Florence: V. Batelli e Figli, 1831), 144; S. Ciampi, *Notizie di medici, maestri di musica e cantori, pittori, architetti, scultori ed altri artisti italiani in Polonia e polacchi in Italia* (Lucca: Jacopo Balatresi, 1830), 118; S. Ciampi, *Bibliografia critica delle antiche reciproche corrispondenze: politiche ecclesiastiche, scientifiche dell'Italia colla Russia, colla Polonia ed altre parti settentrionali*, t. 1 (Florence: Leopoldo Allegrini and Giovanni Mazzoni, 1834), 200.

[3] F. P. *Dalairac, Les anecdotes de Pologne ou memoires secrets du regne de Jean III du nom*, t. 2 (Amsterdam, 1699), 319 (henceforth: Dalairac, *Les anecdotes*); F. G. Coyer, *Histoire de Jean Sobieski, roi de Pologne*, t. 1 (Amsterdam, 1762), 311 (henceforth: Coyer, *Histoire*); *Notices sur les familles illustres et titrées de la Pologne: suvies de trois planches coloriées contenant les armes des familles mentionées dans ces notices* (Paris: A. Frank libraire, and Brussels & Leipzig A. Lacroix, 1862), 136–7 (henceforth: *Notices*); M. Fournier, *Les Florentins à Lyon – les Florentins en Pologne* (Lyon: Librairie ancienne de Louis Brun, 1894), 244; F. F. De Daugnon, *Gli italiani in Polonia dal IX secolo al XVIII: note storiche, con brevi cenni genealogici, araldici e biografici*, t. 1 (Crema: Plausi and Cattaneo, 1905), 223–36 (henceforth: Daugnon, *Gli italiani*).

[4] Joseph Frank, a professor of medicine at Vilnius University, stated in his memoirs, published at Leipzig in 1848, that the origin of the noble Lithuanian family Pacas was in Tuscany and affirmed their relationship with the Florentine Pazzi family; see J. Frankas, *Atsiminimai apie Vilnių* [Memoirs about Vilnius], tr. into Lithuanian from *Mémoires biographiques* by G. Dručkutė (Vilnius: Mintis, 2001), 54.

[5] W. Przyałgowski, *Żywoty biskupów wileńskich* [The life of the bishops of Vilnius], t. III (Petersburg: Jozafat Ohryzki, 1860), 25.

[6] K. Niesiecki, *Herbarz polski* [Polish armorial], t. 7 (Leipzig: Breitkopf and Haertel, 1841), 219 (henceforth: Niesiecki, *Herbarz*); T. Żychliński, *Złota księga szlachty polskiej* [The golden book of the Polish nobility], 5 (Poznań: Heroldium, 1883), 201–2 (henceforth: Żychliński, *Złota*); S. Małachowski, *Wspomnienie o generale Ludwiku Hr. Pacu* [Memorial about the general Count Ludvig Pacas] (Poznań: Jan Konstantego Żupańskiego, 1878), 6 (henceforth: Małachowski, *Wspomnienie*). Also J. Wolff (see note 1) tried to affirm the Italian origin of the Pacas family and their kinship with the Florentine Pazzi (Wolff, *Pacowie*, 1–6).

gin and the development of Italian Baroque style in the architecture of both Lithuania and Poland.[7]

However, this supposed relationship between the Pacai with the Pazzi was only based on fabulous stories and was not researched thoroughly for quite some time. Furthermore, it is important to state that the link between these families in the seventeenth century was created with the help of historical facts and cultural elements deriving from the Middle Ages. Therefore, the aim of this article is to analyse the legend and its versions about the kinship between the Lithuanian nobles with the Italian noble family to show its derivations, peculiarities of its development, as well as its historical meaning.

The Pacai, as mentioned above, were in Italian sources of the seventeenth century often called *Pazzi in Lituania*.[8] They were one of the most influential Lithuanian noble families of this period, not only in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania[9] but also in the entire Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.[10] They had a strong

[7] H. Kairiūkštytė-Jacinienė, *Pažaislis, ein Barockkloster in Litauen*, Abhandlung zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der philosophischen Fakultät I der Universität Zürich, Tauta ir žodis, Nr. 6 (Kaunas: Spindulys, 1930), 14; tr. into Lithuanian: Kairiūkštytė-Jacinienė, *Pažaislis baroko vienuolynas Lietuvoje* [Pažaislis, a Baroque cloister in Lithuania], tr. N. Žvirgždienė, A. Motiejūnas, J. Ludavičienė, and I. Katilienė (Vilnius: Vilniaus dailės akademija, 2001), 21 (henceforth: Kairiūkštytė-Jacinienė, *Pažaislis*); P. Reklaitis, "Mykolas Arkangelas Palloni. Italų freskininkas Lietuvoje XVII amžiuje," [Michele Arcangelo Palloni. An Italian wall-painter in Lithuania in the 17th century] in *Prarastosios Lietuvos pėdsakų beieškant: straipsniai iš lietuvos dailės ir kultūros istorijos, rašyti 1954–1990 m. Vokietijoje* [In pursuit of the traces of lost Lithuanian: articles on art history and cultural history, written during the years 1954–1990 in Germany], ed. V. Jankauskas (Vilnius: Vilniaus dailės akademijos leidykla, 1999), 125; M. Matušakaitė, *Portretas XVI–XVIII a. Lietuvoje* [The portrait in 16th-17th-century Lithuania] (Vilnius: Mokslas, 1984), 41; I. Vaišvilaitė, *Baroko pradžia Lietuvoje* [The beginning of Baroque in Lithuania], (Vilnius: Vilniaus dailės akademijos leidykla, 1995), 15; M. Karpowicz, *Działalność artystyczna Michelangela Pallonego w Polsce* [The artistic activity of Michele Arcangelo Palloni in Poland] (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1967), 33 (henceforth: Karpowicz, *Działalność*); J. Tazbir, *Rzeczpospolita i świat: studia z dziejów kultury XVII wieku* [The Commonwealth and the world: studies in the cultural history of the 17th century] (Wrocław [et al.]: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1971), 110 (henceforth: Tazbir, *Rzeczpospolita*); J. S. Bystroń, *Dzieje obyczajów w dawnej Polsce wiek XVI–XVIII* [History of traditions of Old Poland in the 16th-18th century] (Warsaw: Państwowy Instytut Wydawniczy, 1994), 185 (henceforth: Bystroń, *Dzieje obyczajów*); S. Mossakowski, *Orbis Polonus: studia z historii sztuki XVII–XVIII wieku* [*Orbis Polonus*: studies in the art history of the 17th-18th century] (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo "Dig", 2002), 60–1 (henceforth: Mossakowski, *Orbis*).

[8] A. Baniulytė, "I *Pazzi* di Lituania nella corrispondenza italiana del XVII secolo: storia e onomastica," in *Res Balticae: Miscellanea Italiana di Studi Baltistici*, t. 11 (Livorno: Books & Company, 2007), 127–44 (henceforth: Baniulytė, "I *Pazzi*").

[9] Henceforth: Grand Duchy or Lithuania.

[10] Henceforth: Poland-Lithuania or Commonwealth.

impact on politics, culture and patronage in Poland-Lithuania during the seventeenth century[11].

Many historians who analysed various aspects of this period, such as the British scholar Robert I. Frost in his studies about the Northern Wars in the sixteenth to seventeenth centuries,[12] showed the diplomatic role of the Pacas family in the politics of the Commonwealth. Zbigniew Wójcik, studying the history of Poland's diplomacy with Russia and Turkey, emphasized the particular significance of this Lithuanian noble family in the diplomatic relations of the Polish-Lithuanian State with Muscovy.[13] Meanwhile, the Italian historian Gaetano Platania noticed their role in the links of the Commonwealth with the Apostolic See.[14]

The court of the Lithuanian noble family Pacas, established among the political elite of Poland-Lithuania in the second half of the seventeenth century, was known for its important contacts with other European states and dynasties, such as France or the Imperial House of the Habsburgs;[15] they held particularly

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[11] A. Codello, "Hegemonia Paców na Litwie i ich wpływy w Rzeczypospolitej 1669–1674," [The hegemony of the Pacas family in Lithuania and its influence on the Commonwealth during the years 1669–1674] *Studia historyczne*, r. 13, z. 1/48 (1970): 25–56 (henceforth: Codello, "Hegemonia Paców"]; M. Karpowicz, *Sztuka Warszawy drugiej połowy XVII w* [The art of Warsaw in the second half of the 17th century]. (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1975), 208–25; Mossakowski, *Orbis*, 60–1, 298–300.

[12] R. I. Frost, *After the Deluge: Poland-Lithuania and the Second Northern War 1655–1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993) (henceforth: Frost, *After the Deluge*); idem, *The Northern Wars: War, State and Society in Northeastern Europe, 1558–1721* (Harlaw-London-New York: Longman, 2000), 257.

[13] Z. Wójcik, "Z dziejów organizacji dyplomacji polskiej w drugiej połowie XVII wieku," [The history of the organization of Polish diplomacy in the second half of the 17th century] in *Polska służba dyplomatyczna XVI–XVIII wieku*, ed. Z. Wójcik (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1966), 257–482; Z. Wójcik, "Dyplomacja Polska w okresie wojen drugiej połowy XVII w. (1648–1699)," [Polish diplomacy during the war period in the second half of the 17th century (1648–1699)] in *Historia dyplomacji polskiej*, t. II, *1572–1795*, ed. Z. Wójcik (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1982), 163–330; Z. Wójcik, *Rzeczpospolita wobec Turcji i Rosji 1674–1679: studium z dziejów Polskiej polityki zagranicznej* [The Commonwealth against Turkey and Russia in 1674–1679] (Wrocław-Warsaw-Crracow-Gdańsk: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk, 1976), 25–228; Z. Wójcik, "Pacowie wobec kandydatury rosyjskiej na tron Polski w latach 1668–1669 (Misja Połkowa na Litwie, 1668)," [The Pacas family against the Russian candidate to the Polish throne in 1668–1669 (The mission of Polkow to Lithuania in 1668] *Przegląd historyczny*, t. LX, z. 1 (1969): 144–50.

[14] G. Platania, *Venimus, vidimus et Deus vicit. Dai Sobieski ai Wettin: La diplomazia pontificia nella Polonia di fine Seicento* (Cosenza: Periferia, 1992), 43, 201 (henceforth: Platania, *Venimus*); idem, *"Rzeczpospolita",* in *Europa e Santa Sede tra intese ed ostilità (Saggi sulla Polonia del Seicento)* (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2000), 134; idem, *Viaggi, mercatura e politica. Due lucchesi nel regno dei Sarmati europei nel XVII secolo: Pietro e Tommaso Talenti* (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2003), 104–5.

[15] Frost, *After the Deluge*, 112, 122, 162–4, 169, 172; V. Trumpa, "Paskutiniai V. Gosiauskio metai," [The last years of V. Gosievkis] in *Vincas Trumpa. Apie žmones ir laiką*, ed. G. Rudis (Vilnius: Baltos lankos, 2001), 17–50; V. Kamuntavičienė, "LDK kanclerio Kristupo

close contacts to the House of the Medici as well as the Apostolic See.[16] The legend of the family's descent from Italy and their supposed kinship with the Florentine Pazzi, presumably born at the beginning of the seventeenth century, inspired those relations with Italy as well as with the other European countries.[17]

The main sources for the study of the legend's origin and its development are the rich correspondence of this period, pertaining to the court of the Medici, which includes various reports and announcements of court envoys that are preserved in the Medici family archive. Other sources include reports of papal nuncios, diaries and memoirs of nobles, personal documents, eulogies, encomium-occasional, funeral poems and other texts belonging to the Pacas family used for court propaganda.[18]

The origin of the legend that linked the Lithuanian nobles to the Florentine Pazzi family can be without doubt attributed to Steponas Pacas[19] (1587–1640), Lithuanian treasurer and vice chancellor. During his travels through Europe in 1624–1625, accompanying Prince Ladislaus IV, he also visited Italy. He described the impressions from these travels in a diary: *Obraz dworów Europejskich* ... (The Image of the European Courts ...).[20]

Zigmanto Paco santykis su Lenkijos ir Lietuvos valstybės valdovais ir jų dvarais," [Relations of the Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania Kristupas Zigmantas Pacas with rulers of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and their courts] in *Lietuvos istorijos metraštis*/*The Year-Book of Lithuanian History* 1998 (Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 1999): 24–36.

16 A. Baniulytė, "Lietuvos didikų Pacų ryšiai su Mediči̇ais XVII a. antrojoje pusėje," [Relations of the nobles Pacai of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania with the Medici Court in the second half of the 17th century] in *Lietuvos istorijos metraštis/Year-Book of Lithuanian History* 2002/2 (Vilnius: Lietuvos istorijos institutas, 2004): 47 –51 (henceforth: Baniulytė, "Lietuvos").

17 A. Baniulytė, "Pacai ar *Pazzi*? Nauja Palemono legendos versija LDK raštijoje," [Pacai or *Pazzi*? New interpretation of the Palemon legend in the historical literature of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania] in *Senoji Lietuvos literatūra*, kn. 18, *Istorijos rašymo horizontai* (Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 2005), 157–8 (henceforth: Baniulytė, "Pacai ar *Pazzi*?").

18 More detailed information about the sources for this study, see A. Baniulytė, "Lietuvos didikų Pacų itališkųjų ryšių kultūriniai kontekstai XVII a. antroje pusėje," [The cultural context of the Italian relations of the Lithuanian nobles Pacai in the second half of the 17th century] PhDiss. (Kaunas: Vytauto Didžiojo universitetas, 2006), 18–30 (henceforth: Baniulytė, "Lietuvos didikų").

19 Pol. *Stefan Pac*; Lat. *Stephanus Pac* or *Pacz*; It. *Stefano Pazzi*.

20 S. Pac, *Obraz dworów Europejskich na początku XVII wieku przedstawiony w dzienniku podróży królewicza Władysława syna Zygmunta do Niemiec, Austryi, Belgii, Szwajcaryi i Włoch w roku 1624–1625, skreślony przez Stefana Paca* [The image of the European courts at the beginning of the 17th century represented in the travel diary of Prince Ladislaus, son of Sigismund, to Germany, Austria, Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy during the years 1624 – 1625, written by Steponas Pacas], ed. J. K. Plebański (Wrocław: Z. Schletter, 1854) (henceforth: Pac, *Obraz*). Another edition of this diary: *Podróż królewicza Władysława Wazy do krajów Europy Zachodniej w latach 1624–1625 w świetle ówczesnych relacji* [The travel of Prince Ladislaus Vasa to the Western European countries during the years 1624–1625 in the

In this diary, Steponas Pacas depicted many visits of Prince Ladislaus IV to various European courts as well as their stay in Florence at the court of the Medici. The master of ceremonies of the Medici court, Cesare Tinghi, also described this sojourn in his diary: *il sign. Stefano Pazi del ducato di Lituania.*[21]

In Florence, Steponas Pacas visited the house of the Pazzi family. There, as he wrote in his diary, he was accepted as a relative: "In the evening we were in ballet at the Florentine nobles Pazzi. They knew that their ancestors once fled (retiring from interior confusion) to those Lithuanian parts. They stressed that I was out of their family's *stirps* to which I did not contradict because I knew *per traditionem* from my own elders that our house descended from Italy. I made their acquaintance gladly. They showed deference to me as well and organized a feast in my honor."[22] Actually, Stepanos Pacas visited the house of Cosimo de'Pazzi,[23] where he was treated as a "relative."

Some decades later Cosimo's son Lorenzo Domenico de'Pazzi got to Lithuania to the court of the Pacas. He also maintained close relations to the sons of Steponas Pacas: Kristupas Zigmantas Pacas (1621–1684),[24] Lithuanian grand chancellor, his younger brother Mikalojus Steponas Pacas (1623–1684),[25] bishop of Vilnius, and their cousin Mykolas Kazimieras Pacas (1624–1682),[26] Lithuanian grand hetman, to whom Lorenzo Domenico de'Pazzi had particularly close contacts.[27]

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light of the reports of this time], ed. A. Przyboś (Cracow: Wydawnictwo literackie, 1977) (henceforth: *Podróż)*

[21] *Il diario di Tinghi cerimoniale della Corte Medicea (1623–1637)*, in *ASF*, f. Miscellanea Medicea, sign. 11, ff. 104r–115v. Some fragments of this diary are published by A. Solerti, *Musica, ballo e drammatica alla corte medicea dal 1600 al 1637: notizie tratte da un diario con appendice di testi inediti e rari* (Florence: R. Bemporad e figlio, 1905), 178–97 (henceforth: Solerti, *Musica*).

[22] *W wiecór byliśmy u szlachty florenckiej panów Paców na balecie, którzy mając tę informacyją, że przodkowie ich kiedyś w te kraje litewskie (ustępując przed domowymi mieszaninami) zaszli byli, tego rozumienia byli, żem ja był ex stirpe [z rodu] ich, czemu ja nie niekontradykował, mając teżto per traditionem [przez tradycję] od starszych swoich, że dom nasz ze Włoch wyszedł, i radem z nimi przyjaźn wziął, oni mi też tam honor wszelaki czynili i gwoli mnie fest ten sprawili byli*. See Pac, *Obraz*, 143; *Podróż*, 348.

[23] Solerti, *Musica,* 180.

[24] Pol. *Krzysztof Zygmund Pac*; Lat. *Christophorus Sigismundus Pac*; It. *Christoforo Pazzi.*

[25] Pol. *Mikołaj Stefan Pac*; Lat. *Nicolaus Stephanus Pac, Paz or Pazz*; It. *Niccolò Stefano de'Pazzi.*

[26] Pol. *Michał Kazimierz Pac*; Lat. *Michael Cazimirus Pac* or *Michael Paz* or *Pazz*; It. *Michele Pazzi.*

[27] From the letter of Lorenzo Domenico de'Pazzi to the grand duke of Tuscany, Cosimo III, written on 23 July 1666 from Warsaw, it is possible to know that L. D. de'Pazzi was promoted to the duties of Captain of the Regiment of Horse Guards: *La carica, che in questi giorni il S. re Pazzi General di Campo di Lituania si è compiaciuto promettermi di Capitano Raitori nel Reggimento delle sue guardie aggiunta all'intenzioni datemi di magiori avanzamenti*…; see *ASF*, f. Mediceo del Principato: 1529–1753, filza: 4489, ins.: *Co Pazzi*, f. 323 r. More detailed information about the activity of Lorenzo Domenico de'Pazzi in the

According to the Polish scholars Adam Przyboś and Stanisław Mossakowski the stay of Steponas Pacas in Florence was important for the beginning of a supposed kinship between the Lithuanian family and the Florentine Pazzis.[28] However, with regard to the origin of the legend it is necessary to note the travel through Europe of Steponas Pacas in his youth (1609) which may have had a significant influence. During this journey he also visited Italy. He enrolled at the University of Padua and studied for some time in Bologna.[29] But the most important matter during this travel was his acquaintance with Maffeo Barberini,[30] born in Florence, who later became Pope Urban VIII (pontificate 1623–1644).[31]

At his later visit to Italy with Prince Ladislaus IV in 1624–1625 Steponas Pacas was received at an audience of the same Pope Urban VIII. Pacas described it in the following way: "When I kissed him, the pope told me, that he was glad of my origin of the Florentine family *Signori Pazzi*; … and I did not contradict him."[32]

Without any doubt, the visits of Steponas Pacas to Italy had an influence on his cultural orientation as well as on his subsequent decision to send his two suns, Stanislovas Pacas[33] and his younger brother Kristupas Zigmantas Pacas, to study at the University of Perugia.[34] Moreover, his travels to Italy might have meant the beginning of the legend on the kinship of his family with the Florentine Pazzi.

Furthermore, the mention of Pacas' surname in various historical documents adds to this assertion, which can be found mostly in the correspondence of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Generally, in the texts of this period

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court of the Lithuanian grand hetman Mykolas Kazimieras Pacas, see Baniulytė, "Lietuvos," 47–51; eadem, "Lietuvos didikų," 113–33.

[28] *Podróż*, 19; Mossakowski, *Orbis,* 61.

[29] W. Czapliński, "Pac Stefan (1587–1640)," [Pacas Steponas] in *Polski słownik biograficzny* (henceforth: *PSB*), t. 24, z. 4 (Wrocław-Cracow: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1979), 748.

[30] For this information I would like to thank Irena Vaišvilatė, professor at the Department of Theory of History and Culture at Vilnius University; see Baniulytė, "I *Pazzi*", 134.

[31] H. D. Wojtyska, *Acta Nuntiaturae Polonae*, t. 1, *De fontibus eorumque investigatione et editionibus Instructio ad editionem Nuntiorum series chronologica* (Rome: Institutum Historicum Polonicum Romae. Fundatio Lanckoroński, 1990), 250, 257–9.

[32] "*Mnie, kiedym mu nogę całował rzekł, że się cieszył z tego, żem ja był z familii włoskiej, floreńskiej panów Paców, jego Pacezanów, jako on rozumiał, a jam też nie zaprzeczał…*;" see Pac, *Obraz*, 138.

[33] Stanislovas Pacas (Pol. *Stanisław Pac*), died in 1643; see Wolff, *Pacowie,* 150; W. Czapliński, "Pac Stefan", 749.

[34] The researchers of the Pacas family emphasize the education of Kristupas Zigmantas Pacas. He studied at the universities of Krakow, Padua, Graz, and Leiden, visited France, Spain, Italy, England, Holland, Austria and other European countries and knew many foreign languages: Polish, Latin, French, Italian, and Russian; see T. Wasilewski, "Pac Krzysztof Zygmunt (1621–1684)," [Pacas Kristupas Zigmantas] in *PSB*, t. 24, zesz. 4, 710–711 (henceforth: Wasilewski, "Pac"); Wolff, *Pacowie*, 150–1.

the spelling of this surname varies. In Polish historical texts it was always written as *Pac*. However, in the Latin texts of this period the following versions are used: *Pactis*, *Pactius*, *Paccius*, *Pacius*, *Pacio*, *Pacis*, *Pax*, *Pacz*, even *Puz*. In the French documents of the seventeenth century mostly *Patz*, sometimes *Paç* or *Pacus*, occurs, in the Italian texts *Pax*, *Pacz*, *Paz* or *Pazz*[35]. However, one can notice that after the travel of Steponas Pacas to Italy in 1624–1625, a new version emerged in the documents, that was *Pazzi.* As an example, a letter written in Italian by Steponas Pacas to Cardinal Cosimo de Torres on January 6, 1630 may be mentioned. He thanks the cardinal for favors and signs as *Stefano Pazzi*[36].

It has to be remarked that in the first half of the seventeenth century the version *Pazzi* was used only in isolated cases[37]. In the second half, however, one may find it not only in the Italian correspondence, but also in various other texts: in Latin documents often as *de Pazzis*, *de Pazis* and in the French texts as *des Pazzi.*[38]

According to the opinion of the historian François Foucault du Daugnon, who tried to explain the origin of the legend about the kinship of the Lithuanian Pacai with the Florentine Pazzi, the similarly sounding surnames might have determined the development of this legend.[39] This was also noticed by one of the courtiers of the Poland-Lithuanian Queen Maria Casimira (1674–1696), François Paulin Dalairac (1626–1689), in *Les anecdotes de Pologne*…, published in 1699 in Amsterdam.[40] He affirmed in his memoirs: "*Quoique l'on croye qu' il n'y a aucun parenté entre ces deux Maisons, mais seulement une conformité dans les noms*…"[41] Moreover, the two surnames could be written identically in Latin: *Pacis, Pazis, and Pactis.*[42]

However, the wordplay of two similar surnames, established through the use of Latin, had some historical basis. A few of the Florentine Pazzis had to leave Italy after a conspiracy in 1478, when they and some other Florentine

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[35] For a more detailed analysis about the writing of the Pacas' surname, see Baniulytė, "Pacai ar *Pazzi*?" 157–8; eadem, "I *Pazzi*," 131–2.

[36] *Elementa ad fontium editiones* (henceforth: *EFE*), vol. V, *Repertorium rerum Polonicarum in Archivo Dragonetti de Torres in civitate aquilina*, ed. P. Collura (Rome: Institutum Historicum Polonicum Romae, 1962), 64.

[37] Baniulytė, "I *Pazzi*," p. 132.

[38] Baniulytė, "Pacai ar *Pazzi*?" 158-9; eadem, "I *Pazzi*," 131–2.

[39] Daugnon, *Gli italiani*, 224–33.

[40] Dalairac, *Les anecdotes*.

[41] Ibidem, 319.

[42] In fifteenth-century Latin documents some members of the Florentine Pazzi family were mentioned as: *Antoni et Petri de Pacis*, *Petri de Pacis*, *Petri et Jacobi de Pazis*, *Guillelmi et Joannis de Pactis*; see *EFE*, vol. I, *Polonica ex libris "Obligationum et solutionum" Camerae Apostolicae ab a 1373*, collegit J. Lisowski (Rome: Institutum Historicum Polonicum Romae, 1960), 180, nr. 457; 181, nr. 459; 190, nr. 476; 190, nr. 481; 191, nr. 489. For more detailed information, see Baniulytė, "I *Pazzi*", pp. 131–2.

families had tried to overcome the Medici domination in Florence[43]. Following the diary of Steponas Pacas, the Pazzi family knew that their progenitors were forced to leave Florence and it might have been that some of them settled in Lithuania.[44] Later, in the eighteenth century, this fifteenth-century event led to another version of the kinship legend.[45]

The propagation of the kinship of the Pacai and the Pazzi was also connected with the envoys of the Medici court to Poland-Lithuania, mainly clerks and merchants who settled in the most influential courts of the Polish-Lithuanian nobility including the Pacas family.[46] A number of their reports, *avvisi*,[47] testify to their activity in the Commonwealth[48] and contributed to the spread of the legend about a Florentine origin of the Lithuanian Pacai.[49]

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[43] Ch. F. Black, *Early Modern Italy: A Social History* (London and New York: Routledge: Taylor & Francis Group, 2001), 7; Ch. Hibbert, *The House of Medici. Its Rise and Fall* (New York: Morrow Quill Paperbacks, 1980), 128–43 (henceforth: Hibbert, *The House of Medici*).

[44] Pac, *Obraz*, 143.

[45] According to this version of the legend, the Pacas family descended directly from medieval Italy, when several members of the Florentine Pazzis fleed to Lithuania from the cruelty of the Medici; see Mitarelli and Costadoni, *Annales*, 373; *Notices*, 136; Małachowski, *Wspomnienie*, 6. This type of the legend, sprung forth from French historiography, was diffused also in the nineteenth century. Its development can be related to the last member of the Pacas family, Liudvikas Pacas (1780–1835) (Pol. *Ludwik Pac*), who was general in Napoleon's army in 1806–1807; see Wolff, *Pacowie*, 308–309; S. Kieniewicz, "Pac Ludwik (1780–1835)," [Pacas Liudvikas] in *PSB*, t. 24, z. 4, 718–9.

[46] A. Pośpiech, "W służbie króla czy Rzeczypospolitej? (Włoscy sekretarze Jana III Sobieskiego)," [Are they in the service of the king or of the Commonwealth? (The Italian secretaries of John III Sobieski)] in *Władza i społeczeństwo w XVI i XVII w.* (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1989), 151–66 (henceforth: Pośpiech, "W służbie"); Baniulytė, "I *Pazzi*," 135.

[47] More detailed information about the Italian *avvisi*, see M. Infelise, "Gli avvisi di Roma. Informazione e politica nel secolo XVII," in *La corte di Roma tra cinque e seicento "teatro" della politica Europea*, ed G. Signorotto, M. A. Visceglia, (Rome: Bulzoni editore, 1998), 189–205; P. Rabikauskas, "Sarbievijus Romoje / Sarbievius in Rom," in *Motiejus Kazimieras Sarbievijus Lietuvos, Lenkijos, Europos kultūroje* (Tarptautinės mokslinės konferencijos, skirtos poeto 400-ųjų gimimo metinių jubiliejui, medžiaga, Vilnius, 1995, spalio 19-21) / *Mathias Casimirus Sarbievius in cultura Lithuaniae, Poloniae, Europae* (Materies conventus scientifici internationalis anniversario quadringentesimo a die natali Poetae dedicate Vilnae, 19 –21 Octobris, A.D. MCMXCV), ed. E. Ulčinaitė (Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 1998), 61–62; R. Rabikauskas, *Krikščioniškoji Lietuva: istorija, hagiografija, šaltyniotyra* [Christian Lithuania: history, hagiography, primary source investigation], ed. L. Jovaiša (Vilnius: Aidai, 2002), 242–4; S. Cynarski, "Avvisi z Polski z lat 1554–1590," [The reports from Poland of the years 1554–1590] in *Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce*, t. XXXIII, (Warsaw: Semper), 81–9.

[48] Pośpiech, "W służbie," 151–66; Baniulytė, "Lietuvos didikų," 19–21.

[49] S. Cefali, *Relazione dello stato politico e militare della Polonia*, 1664, ff. 330 r, in *Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale di Firenze*, f. Biblioteca Magliabecchiana, cl. XXIV, codice 53; *Relazione anonima sulle principali famiglie della Polonia, con elenchi di dignitari dello*

Lorenzo Domenico de'Pazzi was one of those envoys of the House of Medici to Poland-Lithuania, who helped to establish the opinion about the same descent of the Lithuanian nobles with the Florentine Pazzi, and who resided in the court of the Lithuanian grand hetman Mykolas Kazimieras Pacas.[50] In his numerous letters to Grand Duke Cosimo III of Tuscany[51] Lorenzo Domenico de'Pazzi mentioned the Lithuanian nobles Pacai as *Pazzi.* This can also be found in the correspondence of many other Italian envoys to the Polish-Lithuanian State in the second half of the seventeenth century.[52] It has to be emphasized that all of them belonged to the clan of the Medici court.[53]

Thus, it is possible to state that the supposed Italian transcription of the Pacai surname as *Pazzi*, relating them to the Florentine patrician family Pazzi, was influenced by political and commercial interests of the House of the Medici in Poland-Lithuania.[54]

It can also be noticed that the papal nuncios Pietro Vidoni, Galeazzo Marescotti, and Opizio Pallavicini contributed much to the promotion of the legend of the kinship between the Lithuanian Pacai and the Florentine Pazzi. They affirmed directly in their reports to Rome, that the Pacas family was a descendent of the Florentine Pazzi family[55]. In a letter to Rome from June 29, 1654, for instance, Pietro Vidoni[56] reports about the wedding of the newly nominated Lithuanian grand marshal Kristupas Zigmantas Pacas, calling him *Christoforo de Pazzi* and adding that the latter's real descent was from Florence.[57]

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stato, sec.XVII, ff. 2 v, in *ASF*, f. Miscellanea Medicea, filza 101, *Notizie di diverse corti di Europa*, nr. 16.

[50] Pośpiech, "W służbie", 152; Baniulytė, "Lietuvos," 47–61.

[51] The correspondence of Lorenzo Domenico de'Pazzi with the Grand Duke of Tuscany, Cosimo III, is preserved in *ASF*, f. Mediceo del Principato: 1529–1753, filze: 4489; 4490; 4491; 4492; 4493; 4494.

[52] Baniulytė, "I *Pazzi*," 135; 136–7.

[53] Ibidem.

[54] Generally, the representatives of the Medici, with the help of close contacts to the Apostolic See, may be found in Poland from the beginning of the sixteenth century until the end of the seventeenth century; see R. Salmeri, "Aspetti dell'emigrazione italiana in Polonia nel medioevo (sec. XI–XV)," *Zeszyty naukowe uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace historyczne* 7. 86 (1987): 11.

[55] A. Baniulytė, "Pacai ar *Pazzi*?" 157–8.

[56] Pietro Vidoni (or Vendoni) (1610–05 I 1681), papal nuncio in Poland from 1652–1660, cardinal from 1660, from 21 VIII 1676 protector of the Kingdom of Poland and the Camaldolese order: „*cardinalis creatus a die 21 VIII 1676 protector Regni Poloniae*", see *ANP*, vol. I, 261–262; Platania, *Venimus*, 266.

[57] *…le nozze del matrimonio del S.r Christoforo de Pazzi di Lituania che reale origine da quella di Fiorenze con la S.ra Isabella di Mali dama d'honore dilla Maestà dilla Regina*, see *Lettere di mons. Nunzio di Polonia. Mons. Vidoni, 1654*, in *Archiwum Jezuitów w Warszawie*: *Papieski Instytut Studiów Kościelnych / Punkt Konsultacyjny* [Jesuit Archives in Warsaw: Papal Institute of Religious Studies / Consultative Centre], f. N. Pol. 62, microfilm n 2 C2 7.1. Orig.: *Archivio Segreto Vaticano*, f. Nunziatura di Polonia, vol. 62, ff. 323 v–324 r.

Similar information can be found in the letters of the papal nuncio Galeazzo Marescotti.[58] In one of his reports he described the Pacas family and their leader, the Grand Chancellor Kristupas Zigmuntas Pacas. He affirms that the ancestors of the family descended from Florence.[59] It is important to notice that during this period the pontificates were those of Alexander VII Chigi (1655–1667) and Clement IX Rospigliosi (1667–1669)[60], both originating from Tuscany and closely related to the Medici court.

Therefore, it is possible to presume that the supposed kinship between the Pacai and the Pazzi served the political and economic interests of the Medici as well as the papal demands in Poland-Lithuania in such *antemurale Christianitas*, that were the election of a Catholic king, the consolidation of Catholicism, and the fight against the Ottoman Empire. [61]

Meanwhile, in Lithuania, the development of the legend about the kinship of the Pacai with the Pazzi family in Florence assumed a different character and was based on the mythical story about the Lithuanians' descent from the ancient Romans. In historiography called as the legend of Palemon, the Roman *condottiero*,[62] defused among the Lithuanian nobility in the mid-sixteenth century and later on.[63]

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[58] Galeazzo Marescotti (1636–3 VII 1726), papal nuncio in Poland from 1668–1670, see *ANP*, vol. 1, 267–268; For more detailed information about his activity in Poland-Lithuania, see R. Przezdziecki, *Diplomatie et protocole a la cour de Pologne*, vol. I (Paris: Éditions les Belles Lettres, 1934), 50–9.

[59] *Relacye nuncyuszów apostolskich i innych osób o Polsce od roku 1548 do 1690* [Reports of papal nuncios and other persons in Poland from the years 1548 to 1690], vol. II, ed. E. Rykaszewski (Berlin-Poznań: Wydanie Biblioteki Polskiej w Paryżu, Księgarnia B. Behra, 1864), 399.

[60] *ANP*, vol. I, 261–7; L. T. Melgar Gil, *Popiežių istorija: nuo šv. Petro iki Benedikto XVI* [History of the popes: from St. Peter to Benedict XVI], tr. into Lithuanian from *Historia de los papas: Santos y Senores* by E. Žukauskaitė (Kaunas: Šviesa, 2008), 383–384; 386–387.

[61] S. Graciotti, L'antemurale polacco in Italia tra Cinquecento e Seicento: il barocchizzarsi di un mito, in *Barocco fra Italia e Polonia*, ed. J. Ślaski (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1977), 304; A. Tamborra, "Unione delle Chiese e 'crociata' contro il Turco alla fine del Seicento: le missioni del gesuita Carlo Maurizio Vota in Moscovia e Polonia," in *ibidem*, 381–6.

[62] According to this legend the Roman the soldier Palemon left his country together with other patricians during the reign of Nero, in another version at Attila's time, and came to the coast of the Baltic Sea. They settled there on the riversides of Neman and Dubysa and are to be seen as the first Lithuanians. The main basis of this theory was the comparison of the Lithuanian language to Latin and of Lithuanian pagan traditions to the ones of ancient Rome; see P. U. Dini, "Latino e lituano nel rinascimento. Sull'importanza del momento linguistico nel mito dell'origine romana dei lituani,", in *Italia ed Europa nella linguistica del rinascimento: confronti e relazioni,* ed. M. Tavoni et al. (Modena: Franco Cosimo Panini, 1996), 363–71; idem, "Der Paläokomparativismus und das Baltische. Bericht über die Erforschung der früheren baltischen Linguistik," in *Florilegium Linguisticum: Festschrift für Wolfgang P. Schmid zum 70. Geburtstag*, ed. E. Eggers et al. (Frankfurt/M.: Peter Lang, 1999), 69–72; M. Jučas, *Lietuvos metraščiai ir kronikos* [Lithuanian annals and chronicles], (Vilnius: Aidai, 2002), 54; J. Jurginis and I. Lukšaitė, *Lietuvos kultūros istorijos bruožai*

Thus, the expression of Steponas Pacas in his itinerary that "…I knew *per traditionem* from my own elders that our house descended from Italy…"[64] might also have meant the perception of the theory that the Lithuanians originated from the ancient Romans.

Consequently, at the same time, the Jesuit Albert Wiiuk Koialowicz,[65] who made the biggest impact on the spread of the story about the Italian descent of the Pacas family in Lithuanian sources, helped to connect the two legends.[66] In 1658, he wrote in his manuscript *Herbarz litewski…* (*Lithuanian armorial…*)[67] that the "progenitor" of the Pacas family was *Cosmus Paccius Pontifex Maximus*, who lived during the reign of Catiline[68] (108–62 B.C.). Koialowicz's narrative states that Cosmus Paccius or his relatives migrated to Lithuania together with the Roman general Palemon and with other Roman nobles from the area of Etruria, where they left the other members of the Paccius family.

(Feodalizmo epocha. Iki aštuonioliktojo amžiaus) [The features of Lithuania's culture: from the epoch of feudalism to the eighteenth century], (Vilnius: Mokslas, 1981), 97–100. – The theory developed under the influence of Renaissance culture and, from the second half of the fifteenth century onwards, it was used as the ideology of the Lithuanian State; see M. Jučas, "Théorie d'après laquelle la Lituanie et les nobles lituaniens sont originaires des Romains," in *La via dell'ambra: dal Baltico all'Alma Mater* (Atti del Convegno italo-baltico svoltosi all'Università di Bologna dal 18 al 20 settembre 1991), ed. R. C. Lewanski (Bologna: Università degli Studi di Bologna, 1994), 245–51 (henceforth: Jučas, "Théorie"); M. Jučas, *Legendos apie lietuvių kilmę* [Myths about Lithuanians' descent] (Vilnius: Vaga, 1971), 24–35; E. Kulicka, "Legenda o rzymskim pochodzeniu Litwinów i jei stosunek do mitu sarmackiego" [The legend about the Roman descent of Lithuanians and its relation with the Sarmatian story], *Przegląd historyczny*, vol. 71, no 1 (1980): 1–21 (henceforth: Kulicka, "Legenda").

[63] Jučas, "Théorie," 247–8; D. Kuolys, *Asmuo, tauta, valstybė Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės istorinėje literatūroje: Renesansas, Barokas* [Man, nation and state in the historic literature of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: Renaissance, Baroque], (Vilnius: Mokslo ir enciklopedijų leidykla, 1992), 84–109; S. C. Rowell, "Amžinos pretenzijos arba kaip turim skaityti elitinę literatūrą?," [Chronic claims or how must we read the elite literature?] in *Seminarai: straipsnių rinkinys* [Seminars: compendium of articles], ed. A. Jokubaitis and A. Kulakauskas (Vilnius: Vyturys, 1998), 7–29; Kulicka, "Legenda," 16–7.

[64] See note 22.

[65] Lit.: *Albertas Vijūkas Kojalavičius*; Pol.: *Wojciek Wiiuk Kojałowicz*; Lat: *Albertus Wiiuk Kojalowicz.*

[66] Baniulytė, "Pacai ar *Pazzi*? 143–5; eadem, "Lietuvos didikų," 66–8.

[67] *Herbarz litewski Wojciecha Kojałowicza z roku 1658* [Lithuanian armorial of Albert Wiiuk Kojalowicz], in *Biblioteka Narodowa w Warszawie* [The National Library in Warsaw], f. Biblioteka Czartoryskich w Krakowie, rpis 1352, microfilm no 16253, ff. 239 r–241 r. One of the editions of Kojalavičius' manuscript is *W. W. Kojałowicz, Herbarz rycerstwa W. X. Litewskiego tak zwany compendium czyli o klejnotach albo herbach których familie stanu rycerskiego w prowincyach Wielkiego Xsięstwa Litewskiego zażywają* [An Armorial of the knighthood of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania which is called Compendium, in which the coats of arms or heraldry of the noble families of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania are explored], (Cracow: „Czasu" Fr. Kluczyckiego i spółki, 1897).

[68] Ibidem, 52 (orig. manuscr. f. 231 r).

This legend was particularly diffused in the second half of the seventeenth century and yoked to a traditional element concerning the origin of the Pacas family, which survived until their extinction in the nineteenth century.[69] Many genealogists from the second half of the seventeenth century onwards, repeated this legend.[70]

This period coincided with the assignment of Kristupas Zigmantas Pacas to the position of Lithuanian grand chancellor in 1658.[71] His relative Mykolas Kazimieras Pacas, who started his political activity in 1659, became Lithuanian grand hetman and palatine of *Vilna* in 1667.[72] In 1666, the latter's brother, Kazimieras Pacas, was nominated Bishop of Samogitia.[73] The younger brother of the grand chancellor, Mikalojus Steponas Pacas, became bishop of *Vilna*[74] in 1671.[75] Lithuania's main political power and positions were concentrated in the hands of the Pacas family.[76] Therefore, it is possible to state that this seemingly innocent *calembour* with two similar surnames had, indeed, very serious political intentions.

The genealogical propaganda of the Italian descent of the Pacas family was not only intensified in writings like encomium-occasional literature or funeral poems, but also in the decoration of their buildings and the foundation of religious institutions.[77] These efforts, particularly of Grand Chancellor Kristupas Zigmantas Pacas, were, for instance, described by François Paulin Dalairac: [78]

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[69] Baniulytė, "Pacai ar *Pazzi*?" 145–152, 165.

[70] The first and official researcher of the genealogy of the Pacas family is considered to have been Polujanavičius (Pol. *Połujanowicz*), who wrote *Genealogia Paca* [The genealogy of the Pacas family] in 1686. However, this work is only known from historiography; see Niesiecki, *Herbarz*, vol. 7, 219; Wolff, *Pacowie*, 1–5; Żychliński, *Złota*, rocz. 5, 201.

[71] Wolff, *Pacowie*, 158; Wasilewski, "Pac," 711.

[72] Wolff, *Pacowie*, 123–6; A. Przyboś, "Pac Michał Kazimierz (c.1624–1682)," [Pacas Mykolas Kazimieras] in *PSB*, t. 24, z. 4, 721–8.

[73] Wolff, *Pacowie*, 138–9; A. Rachuba, "Pac Kazimierz (dead 1695)," [Pacas Kazimieras] in *PSB*, t. 24, z. 4, 706.

[74] In the sources *Vilna* or *Wilno*.

[75] Wolff, *Pacowie*, 178–9; A. Rachuba, "Pac Mikołaj Stefan (c. 1623–1684)," [Pacas Mikalojus Steponas] in *PSB*, t. 24, z. 4, 740–1.

[76] For more detailed information about the hegemony of the Pacai family in Lithuania, see. Codello, "Hegemonia Paców", 25–56.

[77] A. Baniulytė, "Itališkieji Pacų dvaro ryšiai XVII a. antroje pusėje ir LDK miestų dailė," [Italian relations of the Pacai family in the late 17th century and the urban art in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania] in *Dailės istorijos studijos*, no. 2, *Dailė LDK miestuose: poreikiai ir užsakymai*, ed. A. Paliušytė (Vilnius: Kultūros, filosofijos ir meno institutas, 2006), 86–115; eadem, "The Court of Pacz in the Seventeenth Century: Politics, Culture, and Art," in *Канструкцыя і дэканструкцыя Вялікага княства Літоўскага,* ed. Н. У. Сліж (Minsk: Лімарыус, 2007), 170–176.

[78] Dalairac, *Anecdotes*, 319. According to G. F. Coyer "…*Cette parenté avec Sainte Magdalaine de Pazzi, avoit coûté au Grand-Chanceler prés de deux millions pour bâtir un Monastère de Camaldules, sous l'invocation de sa Parente*…" (Coyer, *Histoire*, 311).

"*… le grand Chancelier, pour s'en fair honneur, a bâti proche de Wilna*[79] *un Monastère de Religieux Camaldules, sous l'invocation de Saint Marie Magdelaine de Pazzy sa parenté*;[80] *lequel luy a coûté prés de deux millions*;[81] …".

Accordingly, it is possible to say that the foundation of the monastery and the church in Pažaislis[82] expressed not only the promotion of the cult of St. Mary Magdalene de'Pazzi, but also manifested the devotion of the Pacas family to their saintly "kinswoman" and, at the same time, stressed their kinship with the Pazzi family.[83] Indeed, the cult of the saint of the court of the Medici, St. Mary Magdalene de'Pazzi, in Lithuania can be related to the foundations of the Lithuanian Grand Chancellor Kristupas Zigmantas Pacas and the Grand Hetman Mykolas Kazimieras Pacas.[84].

The most important of these foundations is, certainly, the Church of the Visitation of the Virgin in the Camaldolese Monastery of Pažaislis, in which a chapel dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene de'Pazzi was built.[85] The church and the chapel were decorated by the Florentine painter Michele Arcangelo Palloni between 1676 and 1685.[86] He created the only surviving cycle of frescoes in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania representing the visions of St. Mary Magdalene de'Pazzi,[87] testifying to the devotion of the Pacas family to this saint.[88] In 1681

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[79] The place of the monastery of the Camaldolese order in Lithuania indicated by F. P. Dalairac is not correct. It is approximately 5 kilometers from Kaunas and not nearby Vilnius.

[80] This is the first small provisional church of the religious house, dedicated to St. Mary Magdalene de'Pazzi, built at the place where later the Camaldolese monastery of Pažaislis was erected; see M. Baliński and T. Lipiński, *Starożytna Polska* [Old Poland], t. 4, *Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie* [The Grand Duchy of Lithuania], (Warsaw: S. Orgelbrand, 1886), 342 (henceforth: Baliński, *Starożytna Polska*); Kairiūkštytė-Jacinienė, *Pažaislis*, 29–30.

[81] Although Dalairac did not indicate the currency of the two millions which the grand chancellor spent for the building of the monastery and church, it might be presumed that they were two million Polish gulden. See ibidem, 51; Baliński, *Starożytna Polska*, 342.

[82] Pol. *Pożajście*.

[83] Bystroń, *Dzieje obyczajów*, 186; Tazbir, *Rzeczpospolita*, 110–1.

[84] S. Maslauskaitė, "Šventoji Marija Magdalena de'Pazzi vizijos ir jų atspindžiai Lietuvos dailėje," [St. Mary Magdalene de'Pazzi: visions and its reflections in Lithuanian art], *Lietuvių Katalikų Mokslo Akademijos metraštis* (henceforth: *LKMA metraštis*), vol. 18 (2001), 363 (henceforth: Maslauskaitė, "Šventoji Marija Magdalena"). More detailed information about the cult of St. Mary Magdalene de'Pazzi in Lithuania, see J. Boruta, "Italų šventoji Lietuvos religinės kultūros istorijoje," [An Italian saint in the history of Lithuanian religious culture], *ibidem*, 345–350.

[85] Kairiūkštytė-Jacinienė, *Pažaislis*, 30; 44; 198–200.

[86] Karpowicz, *Działalność*, 34; G. M. Guidetti, "Novità e precisazioni sulla formazione artistica di Michele Arcangelo Palloni," in *Artyści włoscy w Polsce XV–XVIII wiek*], ed. R. Sulewska, M. Wardzyński (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Dig, 2004), 271–8; M. Paknys, "Nowe źródła o artystach w Pożajściu w kręgu mecenatu Krzysztofa Zygmunta Paca," [New sources about Italian artists in Pažaislis in the circle of the art patronage of Kristupas Zigmantas Pacas] *Biuletyn historii sztuki* [Bulletin of art history], t. 1-2 (2000): 158.

[87] Maslauskaitė, "Šventoji Marija Magdalena," 359–65.

Grand Duke Cosimo III of Tuscany donated relics of St. Mary Magdalene de'Pazzi to the chapel: "…*è un dente con alcuni cappelli*…".[89]

The Carmelite nun Mary Magdalene de'Pazzi was educated in the religious environment of the Jesuit order[90] and belonged to the court of the Medici. The Medicis made her a saint of Florence as well as the saint of their court.[91] Consequently, the cult of St. Mary Magdalene de'Pazzi, characteristic for Carmelite monasteries of the seventeenth century, particularly diffused in Baroque culture and may be seen in context with the spread of the Counterreformation in the Commonwealth,[92] as well as with the propaganda of the Medici court. Two years after she was beatified in 1628, her cult started in the Commonwealth, in Lwow and Cracow,[93] where numerous Italian merchant communities were established, mostly connected with the court of the Medici and representing their commercial and financial interests in those towns.[94] Therefore the development of the cult of St. Mary Magdalene de'Pazzi in Poland-Lithuania, linked to the Pacas family, manifested not only the political and religious purposes of the Medici court, but also their commercial interests in this region.

Another important motif expressing a relation between the Lithuanian Pacai with the Florentine Pazzi emerged even from much earlier and concerned the First Crusade. One of the first members of the Pazzi family known in the history of Florence was General Pazzo de'Pazzi, the sun of Ranieri, distinguished for his particular courage during the First Crusade in Jerusalem. Following the genealogical history of the family, written by Eugenio Gamurrini in 1673,[95] Godfrey of Bouillon, the king of Jerusalem, acknowledged the virtue and valour of the Pazzis and gave a coat of arms to the family: in the form of a

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[88] M. Paknys, "Kristupas Zigmantas Pacas ir jo aplinkos moterys," [Kristupas Zigmantas Pacas and the women in his life] *LKMA metraštis*, vol. 18, (2001): 375; J. M. Małecki, "Kult św. Magdaleny de Pazzi w Barokowym Krakowie," [The cult of St. Mary Magdalene de'Pazzi in Baroque Cracow] *Folia Historica Cracoviensia*, 4-5 (1997–1998): 177–9.

[89] Letter of Grand Duke Cosimo III of Tuscany to Bishop Mikalojus Steponas Pacas of Vilnius (It. *Niccolò Stefano de'Pazzi*), 29 VIII 1681, in *ASF*, f. Mediceo del Principato: 1529–1753, filza 4494, ins.: Diversi a S. A. S., f. 731 r: "*L'obligo che ha V. Ecc.za d'una verace devoz.ne al glorioso honore della mia Santa Maria Maddalena, ornam.nte e presidio di [que]sta Patria non meno che splendore della Sua Illustrissima famiglia cui fà credere che S. E.zza V. dovrà gradire ugualmente ogni Reliquia quantunque piccola del Suo Santo Corpo, poi che tanto serve a venerare la memoria e promuovere il culto in cod.ti popoli. L'ond'io con maggior fiducia mi sono fatto animo di mandar q[ues]ta all'E.V., che è un dente, con alcuni cappelli del'istessa Santa*….

[90] C. Catena, *S. Mary Maddalena de'Pazzi carmelitana: orientamenti spirituali e ambiente in cui visse* (Rome: Institutum Carmelitanum, 1966), 81.

[91] M. Fantoni, "Il bigottismo di Cosimo III: da leggenda storiografica ad oggetto storico," in *La Toscana nell'età di Cosimo III* (Florence: EDIFIR Edizioni Firenze, 1993), 396–7.

[92] J. M. Małecki, "Kult św. Magdaleny de Pazzi," 177–9.

[93] Ibidem, 178.

[94] R. Mazzei, *Itinera mercatorum: circolazione di uomini e beni nell'Europa centro-orientale 1550–1650* (Lucca: Maria Pacini Fazzi editore, 1999), 126.

[95] Gamurrini, *Istoria*, t. III, 110–1.

cross, representing two dolphins on blue background with small golden crosses.[96]

In the genealogies and the court literature of the Pacas family, written at the beginning of the 1680s, one finds a similar story about the liberation of Jerusalem and the contribution of the Pacas family. The funeral poem *Lilia z ciernia smierci tryumfuiąca…*("The Lily[97] triumphs over the Darkness of Death…"), was written by Balcer Dankwart in 1682[98] and dedicated to the Lithuanian Grand Hetman Mykolas Kazimieras Pacas. In the poem, it is affirmed that "in 1099 the Pacai assisted Godfrey of Bouillon, the first King of Jerusalem, in the fight against Turks and Saracens to liberate the Holy Sepulcher from pagans in the Holy Land of Jerusalem"[99].

The same statement can be found in the genealogy of the Pacas family written in 1685.[100] It not only links the Pacai again to the Pazzi, but also clearly creates a connection with the contribution of this Lithuanian family in the seventeenth-century wars of the Commonwealth with the Ottoman Empire as well as with their participation in the papacy's activity to promote the Holy League against the Ottomans.[101]

Summarizing the examination of the supposed kinship between two geographically distant noble families, the Lithuanian Pacai and the Florentine Pazzi, it is possible to determine that this legend, originating in the beginning of the

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[96] See ibid, 111; Hibbert, *The House of Medici*, 131.

[97] In this text the lily represents the coat of arms of the Pacas family that was two white geminate lilies, one of them laid up, the second one down, on red background, see J. Wolff, *Pacowie*, 4.

[98] B. Dankwart*, Lilia z ciernia smierci tryumfuiąca albo kazanie na exequiach Jaśnie Wielmożnego Iego Mći Pana P. Michała Kazimierza Paca, woiewody Wileńskiego, hetmana Wielkiego W. X. Lit. miane w Warszawie roku 1682. Przez X. Balcera Dankwarta soc. Jesu theologa* [The lily triumphs over the darkness of death, or the sermon for the exequies of the illustrious and respectful Lord Mykolas Kazimieras Pacas, Palatine of Vilnius, the Grand Hetman of Lithuania, dedicated by Balcer Dankwart, theologist of the Society of Jesus in the year of 1682, in Warsaw], (Vilnae: Typ[is] Acad[emicis] Soc[ietatis] Iesu, 1715) (henceforth: Dankwart, *Lilia*). The edition of 1682 has not survived; see *XVII a. Lietuvos lenkiškos knygos/Polska książka na Litwie w XVII w.: Kontrolinis sąrašas* [Polish books in Lithuania in the 17th century], ed. M. Ivanovič (Vilnius: Bibliografijos ir knygotyros centras, 1998), 49–50.

[99] *Roku 1099 (iuż temu lat 616) dway Pacowie Godefridowi Krolowi Jerozolimskiemu pomogli Woyny Swiętey przeciw Turkom y Saracenom, pomogli odebrania Grobu Pańskiego, ziemie S. Jerozolimskie, z rękų pogańskich*…, see Dankwart, *Lilia*, f. A r.

[100] *Parentela IW i Prześwietnego Domu Ichmm Paców w WXL* [The kinship of the illustrious and magnificent House of the gentlemen Pacai in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania], in *Lvivska Naukova Deržavna Biblioteka*, f. Ossolinscy, V, no 542, ff. 2.

[101] G. Platania, "L'Europa "di centro" e il pericolo turco nella seconda metà del XVII secolo tra conflitti e compromessi, attraverso alcune carte d'archivio inedite e/o rare," in *Conflitti e compromessi nell'Europa "di centro" fra XVI e XX secolo*, ed. G. Platania (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2001), 185–209; idem, "La Polonia di Giovanni Sobieski e "l'infedele turco" nelle inedite carte di Tommaso Talenti segretario," in *L'Euroa centro-orientale e il pericolo turco tra sei e settecento*, ed. G. Platani (Viterbo: Sette Città, 2000), 133–72.

seventeenth century, developed in the decades that followed thereafter. Under the influence of different political, social and cultural factors, the stories could be used conveniently to assist the rise of the Pacas family into the rank of top elite. A number of elements were taken over from the medieval past of the families: their participation in the First Crusade, the forced retreat of the Pazzi from Florence in the fifteenth century, the use of the Latin language in Lithuania. All of these contributed to raising the importance of the Pacai and to make it possible for them to become a "modern," Baroque, and European elite.

M E D I U M A E V U M

Q U O T I D I A N U M

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KREMS 2009

HERAUSGEGEBEN
VON GERHARD JARITZ

GEDRUCKT MIT UNTERSTÜTZUNG DER KULTURABTEILUNG
DES AMTES DER NIEDERÖSTERREICHISCHEN LANDESREGIERUNG

niederösterreich kultur

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Vorwort

Das vorliegende Heft von *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* vermittelt neuerlich die verschiedenen Ansätze und das unterschiedliche Quellenmaterial, welche sich in den Disziplinen der historischen Wissenschaften für eine Auseinandersetzung mit dem Alltag des Mittelalters sowie seiner Konstruktion und Repräsentation in der Überlieferung als relevant erweisen können. Zoran Ladić und Goran Budeč zeigen, wie im Kroatien der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts kirchliche und adelige Gebietsansprüche recht allgemeine Auseinandersetzungen, Gewalttätigkeit und Mord hervorriefen und sich ein ermorderter und heilig gesprochener Bischof zum lokalen und regionalen Kultobjekt entwickeln konnte. Madelon Köhler-Busch analysiert Muster der Rolle der Frau in der *Crône* des Heinrich von dem Türlin (c. 1220). Aušra Baniulytė weist nach, wie im 17. Jahrhundert der auf Namensähnlichkeit beruhende Konnex zwischen einer litauischen und einer florentinischen Familie auch auf legendäre mittelalterliche Verbindungen zurückgeführt wurde und dadurch mithalf, die Mitglieder der litauischen Familie zu Repräsentanten einer modernen, europäischen Elite des Barock zu machen.

Gerhard Jaritz