

The issue of Marie Casimire d'Arquien Sobieska's stay in Rome between 1699 and 1714 is getting increasingly well understood.¹ Still, many areas of the queen's activities in

FOUNDATION OF THE MONASTERY OF BENEDICTINE NUNS OF PERPETUAL ADORATION OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT IN PALAZZO ZUCCARI IN ROME IN THE CONTEXT OF THE RELIGIOSITY OF QUEEN MARIE CASIMIRE D'ARQUIEN SOBIESKA

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- ¹ Broadly on this topic, see C. Re, 'La dimora romana di Maria Casimira regina di Polonia', *Capitolium*, vol. 2, 1926–1927, pp. 160–167; M. Loret, *Życie polskie w Rzymie w XVIII wieku* (Roma, 1930), pp. 176–195; W. Roszkowska, 'Maria Casimira Sobieska a Roma', in: *Polonia e Italia. Rapporti storici, scientifici e culturali* (Roma, 1977), pp. 43–46; M. Komarzyński, *Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska królowa Polski (1641–1716)* (Kraków–Warszawa, 1984), pp. 213–222; id., *Piękna królowa. Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien-Sobieska* (Kraków, 1995), pp. 266–277; id., 'Il viaggio trionfale di una regina di Polonia in Italia', in: *Viaggiatori polacchi in Italia*, eds E. Kanceff, R. Lewanski (Genève, 1988), pp. 153–163; H. Verneret, *Marie de La Grange d'Arquien (1641–1716). Une Nivernaise règne sur Varsovie et Rome* (Paris, 1997); G. Platania, *Gli ultimi Sobieski e Roma. Fasti e miserie di una famiglia reale polacca tra Sei e Settecento (1699–1715)* (Roma, 1989); id., *Corrispondenza di Maria Kazimiera Sobieska regina di Polonia con Carlo Barberini protettore del regno (1681–1699) e ile soggiorno romano di una famiglia polacca in esilio* (Viterbo, 2016); id., 'Ancora alcune considerazioni su Maria Casimira regina di Polonia', *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne*, vol. 71, 1982, pp. 77–84; id., 'Una pagina inedita del soggiorno romano di Maria Casimira Sobieska', *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne*, vol. 86, 1987, pp. 81–113; id., 'Viaggio in Italia di una dama polacca: Maria Casimira Sobieska', in: *Viaggiatori polacchi in Italia*, pp. 165–181; id., 'Il viaggio politico di Maria Casimira Sobieska', in: *Donne in viaggio*, eds M.L. Silvestre, A. Valerio (Bari, 1999), pp. 130–142; F. de Caprio, 'La corte di Maria Casimira si fa turista', in: *Viaggio e paesaggio*, eds N. Boccara, G. Platania (Viterbo, 2005), pp. 195–212; ead., 'Maria Casimira Sobieska e una guida antiquaria di Roma', *Studi Romani*, vol. 59, 2013, no. 1–4, pp. 244–269; ead., 'L'accoglienza di Maria Kazimiera Sobieska a Roma e il precedente di Cristina di Svezia', *Eastern European History Review*, 2020, no. 3, pp. 127–153; A. Markuszewska, *Festa i muzyka na dworze Marii Kazimiery Sobieskiej w Rzymie (1699–1714)* (Warszawa, 2012); ead., 'Rzym i teatr operowy królowej Marii Kazimiery Sobieskiej (1699–1714)', *Barok. Historia – Literatura – Sztuka*, vol. 10, 2003, no. 2(20), pp. 121–140; ead., 'Z repertuaru prywatnego teatru królowej Marysieńki w rzymskim Palazzo Zuccari: dramma per musica „Tolomeo et Alessandro” Domenico Scarlatti (1685–1757)', *Muzyka*, 2005, no. 3, pp. 29–55; ead., 'Muzyka ku chwale Jana III na rzymskim dworze Marii Kazimiery Sobieskiej', in: *Primus inter pares. Pierwszy pośród równych czyli opowieść o królu Janie III Sobieskim*, ed. D. Walawender-Musz (Warszawa, 2013), pp. 187–191; ead., '“W Rzymie tego roku nie zabraknie rozrywek”. Listy Marii Kazimiery Sobieskiej do syna Jakuba', *Barok. Historia – Literatura – Sztuka*, vol. 26, 2019, no. 1(51), pp. 153–163; G. Vincenti, 'The Exiled Queen Maria Casimira Sobieska in Rome', in: *Gender, Culture and Politics. Advances in Gender and Cultural Research in Business and Economics*, eds P. Paolini, R. Lombardi (Rome, 2018), pp. 3–11; I. Seraffini, 'La Memoria di Maria Casimira Sobieski nei Musei Capitolini. Una storia lunga due secoli', *Atti dell'Accademia Polacca*, vol. 8, 2020, pp. 117–189; J. Pietrzak, 'Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska w życiu publicznym Wiecznego Miasta w świetle awizów i gazet drukowanych', *Klio. Czasopismo Poświęcone Dziejom Polski i Powszechnym*, vol. 64, 2022, no. 4, pp. 31–61; id., 'Rzymski dwór Marii Kazimiery d'Arquien Sobieskiej w latach 1699–1714 w świetle metrykaliów i danych źródłowo-biograficznych', in: *Dwór kobiety w Rzeczypospolitej XVII i XVIII wieku*, eds B. Popiołek, A. Penkała-Jastrzębska, K. Pyzel (Kraków, 2021),

the Eternal City deserve attention and investigation. The subject of this study are the circumstances surrounding the foundation of the monastery of Benedictine Nuns of Perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament (the so-called Sacramentines) in Palazzo Zuccari.² The problems that must be addressed first, however, are those of the queen's religiosity and devotional practices; only then the analysis will proceed to the question of the establishment of the monastery. The reasons for Marie Casimire's decision to engage directly with Pope Clement XI, also through members of the Albani family and cardinals of the Roman Curia, will be presented. This will be followed by a discussion of the queen's correspondence with the French nuns, matters relating to bringing the nuns to Rome, the consecration of the monastery and the nuns' ceremonial ingress in 1702. This section will close with the question of the number of nuns and a presentation of the liturgical life and fate of the order following its dissolution in 1708 and the queen's departure for France six years later.

The title of the present essay includes the concept of religiosity. There is no single generally accepted definition of this term.³ A narrow understanding

pp. 33–85, and studies in the volume *I Sobieski a Roma. La famiglia reale polacca nella Città Eterna*, eds J.A. Chrościcki, Z. Flisowska, P. Migasiewicz (Varsavia, 2018).

- 2 From 1699 to 1704, the queen and her court occupied part of Duke Livio Odescalchi's palace at Piazza SS. Apostoli. Marie Casimire d'Arquien Sobieska's father, Cardinal Henry Albert d'Arquien, resided in the Cibo Palace adjacent to the Odescalchi Palace. The queen later acquired two villas: one, in July 1701, from the Marquis de Torres and the other, in 1702, at Porta Pia. In the same period, Marie Casimire received papal permission to take possession of certain parts of Palazzo Zuccari, where she resided from 1704 to 1714. For more on the topic, see Marie Casimire d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieski, Rome, 9 July [1701], Nacyanalny Gistaryčny Archiū Belarusi (hereinafter: NGAB), fond 695, op. 1, no. 277, fol. 54v.; ead. to id., Rome, 19 May [1702], *ibid.*, no. 286, fol. 32v.; cf. W. Körte, *Der Palazzo Zuccari in Rom, seine Freskenschmuck und seine Geschichte* (Leipzig, 1936); W. Roszkowska, 'Polskie dzieje Palazzo Zuccari i Villa Torres-Malta w Rzymie', *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki: Teoria i Historia*, vol. 9, 1964, no. 2, pp. 139–153; Ch.L. Frommel, 'Der Palazzo Zuccari Vom Künstlerhaus zum Max-Planck-Institut', *Jahrbuch / Max-Planck-Gesellschaft*, 1982, pp. 37–57; *id.*, 'Il Palazzo Zuccari e gli altri edifici dell'Instituto', in: *Bibliotheca Hertziana – Max-Planck-Institut: storia, edifici, attività* (München, 1986), pp. 35–50; E. Kieven, 'La regina Maria Casimira Sobieska e il Palazzo Zuccari', in: *I Sobieski a Roma*, pp. 176–200; ead., H. Schlimme, 'Der Palazzo Zuccari: Bau, Geschichte, Funktionen', in: *100. Jahre Bibliotheca Hertziana*, vol. 2: *Der Palazzo Zuccari und die Institutsgebäude 1590–2013*, ed. E. Kieven (München, 2013), pp. 72–137; P. Migasiewicz, '„La regina di Polonia, signora di vita esemplare”. Der romaufenthalt der Königinwitwe Marie Casimire Sobieska (1699–1714) und seine künstlerischen Folgen', in: *Frauen und Päpste. Zur zur Konstruktion von Weiblichkeit in Kunst und urbanistik des römischen seicento*, eds E. Leuschner, I. Wenderholm (Hamburg, 2017), pp. 221–239; F. Curti, 'Nuovi documenti su palazzo Zuccari: proprietà e ristrutturazioni edilizie dal XVII al XIX secolo', *Römisches Jahrbuch der Bibliotheca Hertziana*, vol. 39, 2009/2010, pp. 329–391.
- 3 On the understanding of the term 'religiosity', see E. Ciupak, *Kult religijny i jego społeczne podłoże. Studia nad katolicyzmem polskim* (Warszawa, 1965), pp. 38, *passim*; U. Borkowska, 'Badania pojęć i postaw religijno-moralnych w oparciu o źródła historyczne', *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, vol. 22, 1974, fasc. 2, pp. 5–11; M. Aleksandrowicz, 'Z badań nad dziejami religijności wiernych na przykładzie archidjako-natu

of the term, referring to a world-view, devotional practices and activities on behalf of the Church, has been adopted for the purposes of this essay.

In contrast to Queen Marie Casimire's political and economic activities, her spiritual life is an unexplored sphere.⁴ It was only partially mentioned in several studies, including those devoted to the religiosity of her husband King John.⁵ In particular, it is important to look at cult activities associated by the queen with the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament. This practice stemmed from theological thought formed in France in the second half of the seventeenth century, a time undeniably imbued with a developing mysticism, following a period of religious impoverishment caused by the religious wars. Thanks to such figures as St Vincent à Paulo, St Francis de Sales, St Jean Eudes, St Francis de Laval, St Jeanne Françoise de Chantal, Blessed Marie of the Incarnation (Marie Guyart), Blessed Mary of the Incarnation (Barbe Jeanne Avrillot), Caroline Le Sergent or Armand Jean

gnięźnińskiego w początkach XVIII wieku', *Roczniki Humanistyczne*, vol. 24, 1976, fasc. 2, pp. 5–34; K. Górski, *Od religijności do mistyki. Zarys dziejów życia wewnętrznego w Polsce*, part 1: 966–1795 (Lublin, 1962); S. Litak, 'Ze studiów nad religijnością niższych warstw społecznych w Rzeczypospolitej w XVIII wieku', *Przegląd Humanistyczny*, vol. 40, 1996, no. 1, pp. 163–173; T. Wiślicz, *Zarobić na duszne zbawienie. Religijność chłopów małopolskich od połowy XVI do końca XVIII wieku* (Warszawa, 2001), pp. 19–22, *passim*; id., 'Religijność wiejska w Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej. Problemy i trzy przybliżenia', *Barok. Historia – Literatura – Sztuka*, vol. 11, 2004, fasc. 2(22), pp. 99–113; B. Popiołek, 'Wartości religijne w mentalności kobiet pogranicza Rzeczypospolitej w czasach saskich', in: *Religijność na polskich pograniczach w XVI–XVIII wieku*, ed. D. Dolański (Zielona Góra, 2005), pp. 287–300; *Kultura staropolska – poszukiwanie sacrum, odnajdowanie profanum*, eds B. Rok, F. Wolański (Toruń, 2013).

4 This issue has been the topic of several studies, see Maria Kazimiera Sobieska (1641–1716). *W kręgu rodziny, polityki i kultury*, eds A. Kalinowska, P. Tysza (Warszawa, 2017); M. Serwański, 'Rola Marii Kazimiery w stosunkach polsko-francuskich w czasach panowania Jana III Sobieskiego', *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne*, vol. 146, 2019, fasc. 2, pp. 509–516; J. Pietrzak, 'French Princess and Polish Queen. Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska's Strategies of Power 1674–1698', in: *Strategic Imaginations: Women and the Gender of Sovereignty in European Culture*, eds A. Gilieir, A. Defurne (Leuven, 2020), pp. 201–228; A. Skrzypietz, 'Maria Kazimiera wobec elekcji po zgonie Jana III', in: *Z dziejów XVII i XVIII wieku: księga jubileuszowa ofiarowana Profesorowi Michałowi Komarzyńskiemu*, ed. J. Kwak (Katowice, 1997), pp. 106–16; ead., '„Regentka” Polski – fakty i mity w biografii Marii Kazimiery', in: *Kobiety i władza w czasach dawnych*, eds B. Czwojdrak, A.A. Kluczek (Katowice, 2015), pp. 380–392; D. Rychel-Mantur, 'Queen Marie Casimire Forming a Network of Affinities – an Attempt to Pursue Dynastic Politics', in: *Queens within Networks of Family and Court Ceremonies*, ed. A. Skrzypietz (Böhlau, 2022), pp. 83–99.

5 N. Richard, 'Autour d'une lettre de Marie-Casimire Sobieska au Saint-Office (1692). Le „Chrétien intérieur” de Jean de Bernières, le quietisme et la spiritualité de la Reine', in: *I Sobieski a Roma*, pp. 126–138; A. Skrzypietz, 'Publiczna i prywatna religijność królowej Marii Kazimiery', *Studia Historyczne*, vol. 62, 2021, no. 1(245), pp. 25–40; cf. M. Sobieraj, 'Mecenat rodziny Sobieskich nad zakonami', *Summarius. Sprawozdania Towarzystwa Naukowego KUL*, 1976, no. 5(25), pp. 147–150; E. Piszcz, 'Religijność Jana III Sobieskiego', *Przegląd Powszechny*, 1983, no. 12/748, pp. 13–18; D. Rosińska, 'Jana Sobieskiego życie religijne', in: *Z dziejów XVII i XVIII wieku*, pp. 65–84; J. Pietrzak, 'Kult loretański w kręgu rodziny Sobieskich – między religijnością a propagandą', *Studia Wilanowskie*, vol. 21, 2014, pp. 103–117.

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le Bouthillier de Rancé, there was a revival of the old ideals associated with asceticism and contemplation in the Benedictine and Carmelite spirit, leading to the development of the cults of the Virgin Mary and the Passion of Christ. Believers sought to achieve perfection by adoring the essence of God and developing faith in the realm of the 'heart', and to achieve salvation through the sanctification of thought and total entrustment of the affairs of the temporal world to God.⁶ The deepening of these ideals was made possible owing to the Institute of Benedictine Nuns the Blessed Sacrament, founded by Mother Mechtilde of the Blessed Sacrament and approved in 1653.⁷ The ideal of the congregation became to renew the

6 J. Le Brun, *Histoire spirituelle de la France* (Paris, 1964); J. Bergin, *Church, Society, and Religious Change in France, 1580–1730* (Cornwell, 2009); F. Bluche, *Życie codzienne we Francji w czasach Ludwika XIV*, trans. W. Bieńkowska, H. Igalsen-Tygielska (Warszawa, 1990), pp. 117–143.

7 The congregation was founded by Catherine de Bar. In 1631, she joined the Nuns of the Annunciation at Bruyères, taking the religious name Catherine of St John the Evangelist. In 1638, from the monastery destroyed by the Swedish army she moved with her sisters to the Benedictine nuns in Rambervillers, where she took her vows and assumed the monastic name of Mechtilde. In 1640, she moved with a part of the community to Saint-Mihiel and finally to the monastery on Montmartre in Paris. While there, she personally met St Vincent à Paulo and St Louise de Marillac. After several further relocations, in June 1643 she settled in Saint-Maur-des-Fossés on the outskirts of Paris. Together with other nuns, she began the practice of cloistered life. Her spiritual guide at the time was Father Chrysostom of Saint-Lô, who belonged to the community of the Third Order Regular. In Paris, on 25 March 1653, Mechtilde founded a new congregation whose permanent charism became the uninterrupted adoration of the Blessed Sacrament exposed on the altar. In 1659, the budding community moved to a new house at Rue Cassette in Paris, and Queen Anne of Austria assumed patronage over it. It was on her initiative that monasteries were successively founded at Caen, Nancy, Toul, Rambervillers, Rouen, Dreux, Châtillon-sur-Loing and Warsaw. For more on the life and activity of Mother Mechtilde, see J. Daoust, *Catherine de Bar, mère Mectilde du Saint-Sacrement* (Paris, 1979); J. Stabińska, *Ogień na ołtarzu. Katarzyna de Bar – Matka Mechtylda od Najświętszego Sakramentu 1614–1698* (Warszawa, 1996); M. Borkowska, *O prawo dla Boga: spotkanie z matką Mechtyldą de Bar* (Kraków,

cult of the Eucharist and to popularise Christ's spiritual sacrifice in the context of compensating God for the suffering and death for the sins of mankind, reciprocating his love, restoring his glory and receiving his mercy.⁸ These goals were supposed to be achieved by the perpetual adoration of the Blessed Sacrament by nuns as an expression of adoration and contemplation of the essence of God.⁹

2019); W. Andral, *Paradoks ziarna pszenicy. Droga życia wewnętrznego Katarzyny de Bar – Matki Mechtylady od Najświętszego Sakramentu (1614–1698)* (Kraków, 2015); Y. Poutet, *Catherine de Bar (1614–1698) Mère Mectilde du Saint-Sacrement* (Paris, 2013); G. Hoffbeck, *Le désir éperdu de Dieu. Une vie de Mectilde du Saint-Sacrement* (Paris, 2019).

8 In the seventeenth century, the Benedictines of Val-de-Grâce, among others, sought to incorporate perpetual adoration into the liturgical cycle by recommending the exercise of prayer. Perpetual adoration was desired by the Benedictine nuns at the Abbey of Chasault under the leadership of Mother Antoinette de Varennes Pagu and the Cistercian nuns of the Abbey of Port-Royal, see Stabińska, *Ogień na ołtarzu*, pp. 68–69; G. Descamps, 'L'adoration du Saint-Sacrement à Port-Royal', *Chroniques de Port-Royal*, 1994, no. 43, pp. 25–39.

9 The cult of the Blessed Sacrament had been developing in the universal Church since the Council of Nice in 325 in connection with the liturgy of the Eucharist and Holy Communion of the sick. In the late twelfth and the early thirteenth century, the preservation of the Blessed Sacrament gave rise to further forms of celebration of Eucharistic worship in the form of visits to the Blessed Sacrament, processions during Holy Week and Corpus Christi, the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament and blessing with it, as well as the forty-hour devotions and holy hours. The forty-hour service was actually the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament lasting 40 hours or 3 days with night breaks. In the thirteenth century, members of confraternities adored the Blessed Sacrament, placed in the Holy Sepulchre, from Maundy Thursday until midday on Holy Saturday. The 40 hours of adoration were supposed to draw on the tradition of the body of Jesus Christ resting in the tomb. The practice of vigil and prayer became established in the tenth century. Pope Urban VIII in 1623 extended the obligation to celebrate the service to the whole Church. Forty-hour adoration began with a votive Mass for the Blessed Sacrament on display, during which a thematic sermon was preached. After the Mass, there was a procession in the church, followed by placing the monstrance on a dais and reciting the appropriate prayers. The entire service concluded with another Mass, procession and blessing with the Blessed Sacrament. Perpetual adoration, on the other hand, is the uninterrupted veneration of the Blessed Sacrament exhibited on the altar by individuals or religious, parish or monastic communities. A form of this cult developed in Italy between 1520 and 1537 through the Milanese Capuchin monk Fr. Joseph de Fermo and initially covered Umbria, Lazio and Sicily. This celebration was used over time by the Jesuits and the Oratorians, and, in the era of the wars with Turkey, it was a form of propitiation for sins and a request for victory over the infidels. In the sixteenth and seventeenth century, the service enjoyed great popularity in France and was used in anti-Protestant propaganda; see A. De Santi, *L'orazione delle Quarant'Ore* (Roma, 1919); W. Schenk, 'Adoracja wieczysta', in: *Encyklopedia katolicka*, vol. 1 (Lublin, 1973), col. 104–105; id., 'Czterdziestogodzinne Nabożeństwo', in: *ibid.*, vol. 3 (Lublin, 1979),



Fig. 2

Pierre Drevet, Catherine de Bar (Mother Mechtilde of the Blessed Sacrament, 1614–1698); © Trier City Archives

There are many indications that Queen Marie Casimire took a keen interest in the renewal of spiritual life and intended to deepen her own religious fervour. Evidence of this can be seen in her defence of the works of Jean de Bernières, which were placed on the index of prohibited books in 1692. The content of the religious reflections published by this theologian, who consulted his ideas with Mother Mechtilde, referred to the trend of quietism, emphasising the attainment of mystical inner peace and trust in the God's grace. It cannot be ruled out that Marie Casimire's intervention with Cardinal Fabrizio Spada was due to the queen's actual devotion to meditation and contemplation of the soul.¹⁰

Religion and spirituality were visibly manifested throughout Marie Casimire's entire life. The queen attended morning, after-dinner and evening services in Warsaw churches, listened to Masses, went to confession and received Holy Communion alone and in the company of her husband, children or sister-in-law, Katarzyna Radziwiłłowa née Sobieska.¹¹ When the king's health deteriorated, services attended by the royal couple were held in the royal apartments and chapel both at the Royal Castle in Warsaw and in Żółkiew (today: Zhovkva).¹² The queen gave expression to her piety during her stays in Warsaw, Żółkiew, Kukizów, Jaryczów (today: Yarychiv) and Lvov (today: Lviv).

Marie Casimire had a special veneration for the Blessed Sacrament, which she adored in the churches of the Benedictine Nuns of Perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament, the Dominicans in Żółkiew, or the Franciscans on Lvov.¹³ When adoration in church became impossible due

kol. 923; A. Podleś, 'Dzieje czterdziestogodzinnego nabożeństwa w Polsce', in: *Studia z dziejów liturgii w Polsce*, ed. W. Schenk (Lublin, 1982), pp. 253–284; L. Pintel, 'Kult Najświętszej Eucharystii', *Roczniki Liturgiczno-Homiletyczne*, vol. 57, 2010, pp. 205–225; M.S. Weil, 'The Devotion of the Forty Hours' and Roman baroque illusions, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes*, vol. 37, 1974, pp. 218–245; B. Dompnier, 'Un aspect de la dévotion eucharistique dans la France du XVII^e siècle: les prières des Quarante-Heures', *Revue d'Histoire de l'Église de France*, vol. 67, 1981, no. 178, pp. 5–31; V. Langlais, 'Le pain et l'eucharistie dans les retables flamands du Saint-Sacrement (1550–1600)', *Le Verger*, Bouquet XV: *Le Pain à la Renaissance*, 2019, pp. 5–31.

10 Richard, *Autour d'une lettre de Marie-Casimire Sobieska*, pp. 126–138.

11 Archives of the Warsaw Sisters of the Visitation, sign. B-23, Relation des nouvelles que nous avons reçues de notre Monastère de Varsovie, De notre Monastère de Varsovie de 1 Août 1693, b.p; K. Sarnecki, *Pamiętniki z czasów Jana Sobieskiego*, vol. 1: *Diariusz 1691–1696*, ed. J. Woliński (Wrocław, 2005), pp. 38, 39, 43, 47, *passim*; vol. 2: *Relacje 1690–1695*, ed. J. Woliński (Wrocław, 2005), pp. 348, 378, 382, 419, 520.

12 Sarnecki, *Pamiętniki*, vol. 1, pp. 84–194.

13 Worship of the Blessed Sacrament was also firmly embedded in the spirituality of the Sobieski family, with the establishment of a permanent votive Mass at the Chełm cathedral in Krasnystaw as thanksgiving for the healing of the king's brother, Marek Sobieski, in 1635, see J.R. Marczewski, 'Epizod z dziejów rodu Sobieskich. Dokumenty fundacji Mszy świętej wotywniej o Najświętszym Sakramencie w katedrze chełmskiej w Krasnymstawie (1635)', *Rocznik Lubelskiego Towarzystwa Genealogicznego*, vol. 5, 2013 (2014), pp. 212–231.

to the king's illness, the ceremony was moved to the palace premises: 'Her Majesty entertained herself with devotions in the evening, and His Majesty prepared himself for tomorrow's confession, having the Blessed Sacrament exhibited in the dining-room for the whole night; from one hour on Friday until the same hour it stands on the altar and all the ladies and courtiers in succession keep guard of it'.¹⁴ Devotion to the Eucharist culminated on the Corpus Christi, when the queen, together with her husband and children, participated in a solemn procession.¹⁵

The queen was also a generous sponsor of religious ventures. The most important from the point of view of the topic under discussion was the bringing of the Benedictine Nuns of Perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament to Warsaw combined with the erection and endowment of their church and monastery in 1687–1688 in the New Warsaw township, on the land purchased from Adam Kotowski and his wife Małgorzata. This was a consequence of the vow made by the queen at the Carmelite church at Piasek in Kraków before the Battle of Vienna, 'that she will endeavour to erect in Warsaw a church with a monastery for the nuns of Saint Benedict for the Perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament'.¹⁶ Following the victorious campaign, after 1686 the queen made vigorous efforts to bring the nuns from France, considering this a votive offering for the victory over the Turks. This intention came to fruition thanks to the support of her sister Louise Marie d'Arquien de Béthune, the French bishop and diplomat Toussaint Forbin-Janson, and Mother Mechtilde. The first nuns, coming from religious houses in Paris, Toul and Rouen, arrived in Warsaw at the end of October 1687; they were housed in the Kotowski palace and later in a timber manor that fulfilled the conditions of the cloister. At the beginning of the new year, the foundation stone was laid for the church and monastery, which were to be built to a design by Tylman of Gameren. On 4 June 1688, the queen issued a foundation diploma securing the monastery with revenues from the Jarosław estate to the amount of 8,000 zlotys. Shortly afterwards, during the octave after Corpus Christi – and on the king's name day – the Blessed Sacrament was solemnly transferred there, which was a necessary condition for its perpetual adoration. Between 1688 and 1692, the queen supervised the construction works and interfered in the activities of the nuns and the composition of the monastery, including the election of the prioress and the duties of the sisters.¹⁷ This caused frequent disagreements with both

14 Sarnecki, *Pamiętniki*, vol. 1, p. 154.

15 Ibid., p. 326.

16 Quoted after I.M. Walicka, *Kościół i klasztor Sakramentek w Warszawie. Pomnik zwycięstwa pod Wiedniem* (Warszawa, 1985), p. 11.

17 *En Pologne avec les bénédictines de France. Documents originaux, réunis et présentés par les bénédictines du Saint Sacrement de Rouen*, eds J. Leclerc, J. Doust (Paris, 1984), pp. 20–95; 'Kościół Ś-go Kazimierza Panien Sakramentek na Nowem Mieście', in: *Kościół*



Fig. 3

Warsaw, the church of the Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, before 1939; National Library in Warsaw

the mother superior of the Warsaw monastery and Mother Mechtilde.¹⁸ The queen's frequent personal visits in the company of her sister-in-law or daughter Theresa Kunegunda also contributed to the conflicts. Marie Casimire stayed at the monastery for the night on many occasions, attending prayers or indulgences in honour of St Benedict; she also used the bathtub and held audiences, receiving, among others, the voivode of Sieradz Jan Chryzostom Odrowąż Pieniążek, Izabela Sapieżyna née Tarło – the wife of the treasurer of Lithuania, or the wife of the castellan of Vilna, Teresa Słuszkowa née Gosiewska. All these events disrupted the rhythm of

warszawskie rzymsko-katolickie opisane pod względem historycznym przez Juliana Bartoszewicza. *Wizerunki kościołów i cenniejsze w nich nagrobki rytował na drzewie Michał Starkman* (Warszawa, 1855), pp. 301–316; M. Topińska, *Kościół Sakramentek* (Warszawa, 1974); S. Mossakowski, *Tylman z Gameren 1632–1706* (Warszawa, 2012), pp. 68–72; id., 'Kościół Sakramentek w Warszawie. Charakterystyka i geneza architektury', *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. 26, 1964, no. 4, pp. 227–250; *Katalog Zabytków Sztuki w Polsce, seria nowa*, vol. 11: *Miasto Warszawa*, part 2: *Nowe Miasto*, ed. M. Kałamajska-Saeed (Warszawa, 2001), pp. 56–75; Walicka, *Kościół i klasztor Sakramentek*, pp. 11–14; W. Szoldrski, 'Benedyktynki od Nieustającej Adoracji (Sakramentki) w Warszawie 1687–1960', *Nasza Przyszłość*, vol. 19, 1964, pp. 125–148; M. Kanior, 'Les origines de la Congrégation bénédictine de Pologne au XVIII^e siècle', *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*, Neue Folge, vol. 26, 1978, fasc. 2, pp. 179–197; I. Rosińska, 'Benedyktynki od Nieustającej Adoracji Najświętszego Sakramentu', in: *Zakony benedyktyńskie w Polsce. Krótka historia*, eds K. Janicki, P. Szczaniecki, H. Leszczyński (Tyniec, 1981), pp. 185–218; M. Borkowska, 'Szkola warszawskich sakramentek według zachowanych źródeł', *Nasza Przyszłość*, vol. 90, 1998, pp. 157–180; K. Targosz, *Piórem zakonnic. Kronikarki w Polsce XVII w. o swoich zakonach i swoich czasach* (Kraków, 2002), pp. 133–136.

At the similar time, the king's sister, Princess Katarzyna Radziwiłłowa née Sobieska, decided to sponsor a liturgical adoration of the Blessed Sacrament. In August 1689, she ordered Bishop Andrzej Chryzostom Załuski to make a reconnaissance among the Benedictine nuns of Nieśwież (today: Nesvizh) whether they would undertake to hold vigils and services in return for the sum of 30,000 zlotys. Money, according to the bishop, was going to be a major consideration given the amount of repairs the monastery buildings required. The Benedictine sisters readily agreed to the proposal. In 1693 a similar foundation was accepted, also through the princess, by the Benedictine sisters of Lvov, Sierpc and then Łomża, the nuns taking part in the meditations on the Passion of Christ. The prioress of the Sierpc monastery, Helena Lasocka, declared her willingness to hold vigils before the Blessed Sacrament every Thursday. The princess additionally donated 6,000 zlotys to the nuns for the reconstruction of the monastery complex, in return for which the nuns offered prayers for her soul. All that is known about the Benedictine nuns of Łomża is that they accepted 3,000 zlotys in accordance with the princess's last will. Małgorzata Borkowska sees in Katarzyna's liturgical foundation an imperfect attempt to capture a new form of piety. However, neither in Nieśwież, Sierpc or Łomża did Katarzyna Radziwiłłowa create a cult centre that would be in line with the theoretical assumptions laid out by the founder of the Sacramentine sisters, Mother Mechtilde de Bar, cf. M. Borkowska, 'Panny siostry w roli instytucji usługowej. Czego oczekiwało społeczeństwo od klasztoru żeńskiego w XVII i XVIII wieku', in: *Klasztor w społeczeństwie średniowiecznym i nowożytnym*, eds M. Derwich, A. Pobóg-Lenartowicz (Opole–Wrocław, 1996), pp. 55–66; 'Kazanowska Eleonora z Jabłonowskich', in: M. Borkowska, *Słownik księń benedyktyńskich* (Niepokalanów, 1996), p. 64; J. Pietrzak, *Księżna dobrodziejka. Katarzyna z Sobieskich Radziwiłłowa (1634–1694)* (Warszawa, 2016), pp. 414–415.

18 A trace of this can be found in the letters exchanged between the queen and Mother Mechtilde from May 1688 to June 1689, see *En Pologne avec les bénédictines*, pp. 141–167.

the nuns' lives, broke the solemnity of the place and distracted the nuns from contemplation, especially as the guests sometimes disagreed on the matters of ceremony.¹⁹

Marie Casimire also contributed to the erection of a church in honour of Our Lady of Victory in Warsaw's Marywil, where from 1695 onwards, the miraculous image of the Madonna of Loretto was to be venerated, in accordance with the queen's intention, as a visible sign of Providence's protection manifested during the defence of Vienna.²⁰ In this way, both foundations were intended as propaganda to reinforce the king's authority and as a clear sign to all those arriving in the capital of the Commonwealth that the king's majesty was protected by Divine Providence. Her last foundation was the establishment of a Dominican monastery in Krasnobród in 1690–1699. It was another votive offering, this time for the saving of the pregnant queen from the fatal effects of childbirth and the grace received thanks to Our Lady in 1680.²¹ The queen also endowed and financially supported the Carmelite monasteries in Warsaw and Lublin and many other convents.²²

Marie Casimire was famous not only as the foundress of churches and monasteries, but also as the donatrix of votive offerings, among which Jerzy Żmudziński enumerated portraits of the queen (shown alone or in the company of John III), liturgical paraments and vestments, as well as reliquaries and devotional items.²³

Marie Casimire's piety manifested until her departure for Rome was praised by an unidentified French clergyman, Father F. de S., who wrote: 'The greatest devotion of hers is to the Most Holy Body and Blood of the Lord and to St Anthony of Padua'.²⁴ Jan Władysław Poczeb-Odlanicki, in turn, who in July 1684 stayed in Jaworów during the celebrations of the strengthening of cooperation with the Empire within the framework of the Holy League and the handing of a sword consecrated by Pope Innocent XI to the king, did not

19 Sarnecki, *Pamiętniki*, vol. 1, pp. 39, 42, 61, 65, 69, 70, 72, 232, 326; vol. 2, pp. 384, 396.

20 A. Rychłowska-Kozłowska, *Marywil* (Warszawa, 1975); J. Pietrzak, 'Jak Marywil budowano. Powstanie warszawskiego kompleksu rezydencjonalno-handlowego w świetle korespondencji Ottona Fryderyka Felkersamba z Marią Kazimiłą Sobieską z 1694 roku', *Almanach Warszawy*, vol. 11, 2017, pp. 43–95.

21 M. Kościński, *Dominikanie w Krasnobrodzie (1664–1864). Dzieje kościoła i klasztoru* (Lublin, 2008), pp. 11–14; J. Żmudziński, 'Gest wotywny Marii Kazimiery', in: *Maria Kazimiera Sobieska*, pp. 242–243.

22 B.J. Wanat, *Zakon karmelitów bosych w Polsce. Klasztory karmelitów i karmelitanek bosych 1605–1975* (Kraków, 1979), pp. 634, 660; C. Gil, *Życie codzienne karmelitanek bosych w Polsce w XVII–XIX wieku* (Kraków, 1997), pp. 41, 58, 176, 185, 187. The queen's correspondence with the nuns of the various monasteries between 1676 and 1682 is worth noting; NGAB, fond 695, op. 1, no. 62.

23 Żmudziński, *Gest wotywny Marii Kazimiery*, pp. 227–247.

24 F.D.S., *Dwór Jana III w 1688 i 1689*, ed. J. Siemieński, *Czas. Dodatek miesięczny*, year 4, 1859, vol. 13, pp. 461.

omit in his memoirs to describe how the queen was honoured with the papal gift of a golden rose in appreciation of her deep faith and services to the Church.²⁵ The queen undoubtedly tried to create her image by imitating votive gestures made by French queens, for instance by Anne of Austria, foundress of an abbey at Val-de-Grâce, or Marie Casimire's compatriot on the Polish throne, Louise Marie Gonzaga de Nevers, who brought the Sisters of the Visitation, the Daughters of Charity and the missionaries to Warsaw and took a keen interest in Jansenism, maintaining correspondence with the monastery in Port-Royal.²⁶ All of the above examples show Marie Casimire as a paragon of piety that a queen should be; also, she regularly attended services, prayed, received Holy Communion and supported the poorest.²⁷ Her religiosity can thus be seen as both a contribution to the creation of her public image and a manifestation of her faith.

The queen's stay in the Eternal City between 1699 and 1714 provided her with many occasions to manifest piety. The religious climate of Rome, the centre of Christianity and the most important pilgrimage place, encouraged various forms of devotion. The queen showed herself in public at Masses accompanied by her family and Roman aristocrats.²⁸ These were usually celebrations combined with a blessing, presided over by cardinals

25 J.W. Poczobut-Odlanicki, *Pamiętnik (1640–1684)*, ed. A. Rachuba (Warszawa, 1987), pp. 314–316; Jan Kaczanowicz to Kazimierz Jan Sapieha, Jaworów, 25 July 1684, in: *Listy z czasów Jana III i Augusta II*, ed. G.B.U.W. Skrzydylka (Kraków, 1870), p. 85. Cf. M. Domin, 'Dary papieskie dla Jana III i Marii Kazimierzy', *Studia Waweliana*, vol. 9/10, 2000/2001, pp. 85–105; ead., 'Złota róża – dar papieża Innocentego XI dla Marii Kazimierzy', *Studia Wilanowskie*, vol. 23, 2016, pp. 13–28; A. Boccolini, 'La Lega Santa del 1684 e l'ambasciata straordinaria di Angelo Morosini alla corte di Jan III Sobieski tratta dalle carte conservate presso l'Archivio di Stato di Venezia', *Eastern European History Review*, 2020, no. 3, pp. 27–47.

26 Cf. K. Targosz, *Uczony dwór Ludwiki Marii Gonzagi (1646–1667). Z dziejów polsko-francuskich stosunków naukowych* (Warszawa, 2015), pp. 49–53; M. Komaszynski, 'Związki Ludwiki Marii królowej Polski z klasztorem w Port Royal', in: *O naprawę Rzeczypospolitej XVII–XVIII w. Prace ofiarowane Władysławowi Czaplińskiemu w 60. rocznicę urodzin*, ed. J.A. Gierowski (Warszawa, 1965), pp. 155–175; M. Serwański, 'Le jansénisme et la cour polonoise de Louise-Marie de Gonzague', in: *Le jansénisme et la franc-maçonnerie en Europe centrale aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, ed. D. Tollet (Paris, 2002), pp. 85–92; J.A. Chrościcki, *Kościół Wizytek. Z dziejów kultury staropolskiej* (Warszawa, 1973); M. Chodoyko, K. Guttmeyer, J. Sito, *Kościół Wizytek w Warszawie* (Warszawa, 2006); the foundation and activity of Sisters of the Visitation based in Warsaw was presented in a dedicated thematic issue of the journal *Barok. Historia – Literatura – Sztuka*, vol. 23, 2005, no. 2.

27 D. Mrówczyński, 'Wzorzec społeczny królowej w Polsce XVI wieku', in: *Spółeczeństwo staropolskie*, vol. 3, ed. A. Wyczański (Warszawa, 1983), pp. 49–70; Skrzypietz, *Publiczna i prywatna religijność*, pp. 26–28.

28 Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale Vittorio Emanuele in Rome (hereinafter: BNCVE) Avvisi Marescotti, vol. 4, sign. 790, Rome, 3 Nov. 1701, fol. 80r.–v.; ibid., Rome, 22 Aug. 1705, fol. 471r.; Biblioteca Casanatense in Rome (hereinafter: BC), Foglio di Foligno, Rome, 17 April 1700; ibid., Rome, 28 Aug. 1700; Archivio di Stato di Pesaro, Avvisi e dispacci politici documentazione concernante il Cardinale Annibale Albani di Pesaro (dalej: Avvisi, ASP), vol. 7, Rome, 1 Feb. 1710; F. Valesio, *Diario di Roma*, eds G. Scano, G. Gaglia, vol. 1–2 (Roma, 1972), vol. 1, p. 96; ibid., p. 571.

or the pope himself, occasioned by major ecclesiastical festivals such as Christmas or Easter.²⁹ According to reports, the queen was able to visit as many as seven churches in one day, as evidenced by a pilgrimage she made in 1707 to the basilicas of Rome: St John in the Lateran, St Peter in the Vatican, St Paul Outside the Walls, St Mary Major, St Lawrence Outside the Walls, the Holy Cross in Jerusalem and St Sebastian Outside the Walls, in order to obtain a plenary indulgence.³⁰ Shrines famous for miraculous images or statues of the Crucified Christ were also very popular.³¹ In addition to the papal chapel with its *vera icon* representation of Christ, accessed by the Holy Staircase,³² the queen prayed before the miraculous crucifixes in the church of Santo Spirito and in the Basilica of St Paul Outside the Walls. Finally, it should be added that the queen made longer pilgrimages as well: in 1699 and 1705, she visited the sanctuary of Loreto,³³ and in 1700 and 1707, to the cathedral of St Januarius in Naples³⁴ in order to observe the miracle of the liquefaction of the saint's blood. In 1704, she made a pilgrimage to the Marian shrine of Santa Maria della Quercia near Viterbo,³⁵ and in 1707, she travelled to Bari to venerate the relics of St Nicholas in the local cathedral.³⁶

Particularly relevant to the current topic was the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament.³⁷ Many accounts mention the presence of King John III's widow

29 BNCVE, Avvisi Marescotti, vol. 4, sign. 790, Rome, 29 Dec. 1703, fol. 291r.; *ibid.*, Rome, 31 Dec. 1707, fol. 706v.; Avvisi, ASP, vol. 8, Rome, 11 April 1711; A. Skrzypietz, 'Rzymski okres życia najstarszej córki królewicza Jakuba, Marii Kazimiery, w świetle korespondencji rodzinnej', *Studia Wilanowskie*, vol. 25, 2018, pp. 59–77.

30 J. Pietrzak, 'Cordiali rapporti tra la regina Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska e il Santuario di Loreto', in: *Due Regine Innamorate di Polonia: Bona Sforza D'aragona e Maria Casimira Sobieska: Atti della Conferenza di Loreto, 8 maggio 2021*, ed. F. Ceci (Roma, 2021), pp. 77–100.

31 BC, Foglio di Foligno, Roma, 5 Jan. 1708; Skrzypietz, *Publiczna i prywatna religijność*, p. 32.

32 Marie Casimire d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieski, Rome, 18 Feb. [1702], NGAB, fond 695, op. 1, no. 290, fols 21r.–32v.; *ead. do id.*, *ibid.*, fol. 105–108v., see *Listy Marii Kazimiery z Archiwum Sobieskich w Oławie*, vol. 3: *Listy do królewicza Jakuba z lat 1699–1703*, eds A. Czarniecka, A. Leyk (Warszawa, 2024), pp. 197–203. Cf. BC, Foglio di Foligno, Rome, 18 April 1699; *ibid.*, Rome, 4 March 1702.

33 Giacomo Cantelmi to Marie Casimire d'Arquien Sobieska, Naples, 15 Jan. 1700, Archivio Storico Capitolino in Rome, Archivio Capranica-Scarlatti, busta 1190, fasc. 4, b.p.; Marie Casimire d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieski, no date, no location, NGAB, fond 695, op. 1, no. 293, fol. 3r.–v., see *Listy Marii Kazimiery*, vol. 3, p. 299; BNCVE, Avvisi Marescotti, vol. 4, sign. 790, fol. 652r.; F. Valesio, *Diario*, vol. 3, p. 777.

34 BC, Foglio di Foligno, Rome, 7 May 1707.

35 BNCVE, Avvisi Marescotti, vol. 4, sign. 790, fol. 508r.

36 *Ibid.*, fol. 644v.; F. Valesio, *Diario*, vol. 3, p. 801.

37 Marie Casimire d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieski, Rome, 18 April [1699], NGAB, fond 695, op. 1, no. 272, fol. 6–7, see *Listy Marii Kazimiery z archiwum Sobieskich w Oławie*, vol. 2: *Listy do synów z lat 1697–1704*, eds A. Czarniecka, R. Zaborowski (Warszawa, 2021), p. 11; *ead. to Clement XI*, no date, no location, BL, Ms. Add. 8526,

with her court, sons or granddaughter at the Eucharistic prayers in the basilicas of San Pietro in Vincoli,³⁸ Our Lady in Via Lata³⁹ or the church of Our Lady at Piazza di Capitelli.⁴⁰ In 1702, when the queen was returning home after an evening adoration at Sant'Agostino, her carriage was attacked by thugs at the Square of St Anthony 'dei Porthogesi'. The bandits, however, were quickly dispersed by the guard of riders escorting her retinue.⁴¹

The queen prayed before the Blessed Sacrament not only for private intentions, but also for the prosperity of the whole Commonwealth. After Princes Jakub and Konstanty had been imprisoned in Saxony and in connection with the armed conflict then taking place in the Crown of Poland, the queen decided to offer her prayers in the Church of the Polish Nation dedicated to St Stanislaus: 'La regina di Polonia ha fatto esporre il Venerabile niella chiesa di S. Sacramento per pregare il Signore per l'afflitto regno di Polonia e per la salute de' suoi dui principi figlioli incarceratti nel castello di Lipsia'.⁴² Praying for her abandoned country and unfortunate sons made the queen appear almost a martyr raising prayers for her tormented homeland.⁴³

The religious ceremonies that most fully expressed the dignity and piety of the queen of Poland were the processions through the streets of Rome on the occasion of Easter and Corpus Christi or the patronal feasts of the churches. In the early modern period, processions became a powerful tool of the Counter-Reformation propaganda, stunning the viewers with a diversity of forms and ideological content. The Corpus Christi processions were an expression of belief in the dogma of transubstantiation. In addition, both before and after the Tridentine Reform, church processions were a counterbalance to secular celebrations, including street

fol. 32r. Prayers and adorations were also associated with exceptional events, when God's aid was solicited, as in 1701, when an operation was performed to remove gallstones from the body of Abbot Pompeo Scarlatti, a Bavarian envoy and trusted adviser to the queen, see Marie Casimire d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieski, Rome, 23 April [1701], NGAB, fond 695, op. 1, no. 286, fol. 12r–20v., see *Listy Marii Kazimierzy*, vol. 2, pp. 99–106.

38 BNCVE, Avvisi Marescotti, vol. 3, sign. 789, Rome, 8 Aug. 1699, fol. 408r.

39 F. Valesio, *Diario*, vol. 2, p. 243.

40 BNCVE, Avvisi Marescotti, vol. 3, sign. 789, Rome, 21 July 1703.

41 F. Valesio, *Diario*, vol. 2, p. 274. Similar events occurred in October 1702 after the abandonment of the church of Santa Marie della Scala and in November of the same year, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 309, 320.

42 *Ibid.*, vol. 3, p. 187.

43 As early as 1702, Marie Casimire mentioned in a letter to Prince Jakub: 'It is necessary to pray to God to save our poor kingdom of Poland, so that he does not make the change that everyone predicts for him. I tremble for it and for religion. I go to offer my wrongs to God in return for the consolations I will ask, my dearest son, as is my custom, that it may please him to bestow on you, my granddaughter, the princess her mother, all good fortune, kissing you with all the tenderness of my heart', Marie Casimire d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieski, Rome, 25 Feb. [1702], NGAB, fond 695, op. 1, no. 272, fol. 106r., see *Listy Marii Kazimierzy*, vol. 2, pp. 97, 99.

dances and theatrical performances.⁴⁴ The queen participated in many religious processions, appearing in various roles. Firstly, she joined the procession as an orante.⁴⁵ She followed it on foot, deciding against riding in a carriage or being carried in a sedan chair. Sometimes, as was the case during the Eucharistic processions: to the church of Santa Maria della Vittoria,⁴⁶ from the churches of Santa Apollonia dell'Orto and Santa Dorotea to the church of Santa Maria della Scala,⁴⁷ and during the celebration of Corpus Christi at Trinità dei Monti, the queen was preceded by monks and members of confraternities:

Si fece consueta processione del Venerabile de' piedi minimi francese della Trinità de' Monti con pompa straordinaria, precedendo il Venerabile dodici fanciulli vestiti di bianco coronati di rose con mazzi di gigli indi altrettanti fanciulli con simili abiti e gigli et in fine dodici fratti baccelli d'argento con fiori. Seguì, il Venerabile con torcia nelle mane la Regina di Polonia con sentimento con grande devozione.⁴⁸

In this way, the queen manifested her humility, penitence and willingness to suffer inconvenience for the sake of her reverence for the Blessed Sacrament.⁴⁹ On another occasion, the widowed queen accompanied the pope during a procession to celebrate the feast of the Holy Trinity.⁵⁰ Processions, as demonstrated by the above quotation, served to raise the religiosity of society, and the participation of a queen blessed by papal grace reinforced the belief that the Christian faith had triumphed. Occasionally, the queen was just an observer, as in the case of the Corpus Christi procession going from the church of San Luigi to the church of San Agostino and then through Corso on towards the church of Santi Apostoli; she watched the passing procession from the loggia of the Palazzo della Cancelleria.⁵¹ Since the architecture of Rome at the time was less dense and the buildings were lower, it was quite possible to admire the festive pomp in this manner. It also happened that Marie Casimire preferred to remain anonymous and watched the procession through the windows of a carriage, just

44 L. Fiorani, 'Processioni tra devozione e politica', in: *La festa a Roma: dal Rinascimento al 1870. Catalogo della mostra* (Roma, 1997), ed. M. Fagiolo dell'Arco, vol. 2 (Torino, 1997), pp. 66–83; I. Fosì, 'Court and city in the ceremony of *possession* in the sixteenth century', in: *Court and Politics in Papal Rome, 1492–1700*, eds G. Signorotto, M.A. Visceglia (Cambridge, 2002), pp. 31–53.

45 BC, Foglio di Foligno, Rome, 24 June 1701; F. Valesio, *Diario*, vol. 1, p. 393, vol. 2, pp. 20, 64.

46 F. Valesio, *Diario*, vol. 3, p. 385.

47 Ibid., p. 590.

48 Ibid., p. 388.

49 BC, Foglio di Foligno, Rome, 19 June 1700.

50 Avvisi, ASP, vol. 2, Bologna, 15 June 1705. Cf. F. Valesio, *Diario*, vol. 4, p. 260.

51 BNCVE, Avvisi Marescotti, vol. 3, sign. 789, Rome, 19 June 1700, fol. 494v.; BC, Foglio di Foligno, 1 June 1709.

to satisfy her own curiosity, treating it like a theatrical performance.⁵² In addition, the king's widow organised Eucharistic processions herself. On the occasion of the procession going from the Carmelite church of Santa Marie delle Vergine to the church of Santi Apostoli, the queen lent rich tapestries from her collection; which decorated the processional way and at the same time demonstrated her wealth.⁵³

The forms of devotion described above shaped the image of a queen whose piety astonished the people of Rome. Accounts of the time emphasised Marie Casimire's deep religiosity as an example for all Christians. The queen has been called 'signora di vita esemplare'.⁵⁴ Many years later, Jan Stanisław Jabłonowski added: 'This precious queen, Marie Casimire, having been a miracle of beauty and reason, has now become a miracle of devotion in Rome, where, to the admiration of the world, she lived that last her famous life. She moved to France and there soon that holy lady died in the town of Blois'.⁵⁵ The explicit attempt to glorify the queen – undertaken, a detail significant to the content of the message, by her relative – focused on the queen's repudiation of temporality in favour of divine values. This built up the readers's belief in the queen's sanctity.

During the period of her residence in Rome, Marie Casimire earned the fame of a very religious queen that was similar to her earlier reputation. In the space of the papal city, this was extremely important in order to curry favour not only with the successor of St Peter himself, but also of the local populace. It certainly also increased respect for her person, even if some failures happened in other spheres, such as those of a political or moral nature relating to the conduct of her sons the princes or her courtiers. No one could question the religiosity and fidelity of the wife of the triumphant victor from Vienna. It can be concluded that for the sake of the memory of John III, his widow sought to maintain her moral repute and set an example of piety for the ordinary inhabitants of the Eternal City. The queen benefited from this distinction and was aware of piety being a lever to build her honour: 'Corpus Christi, my dearest son, and the public audience which the Holy Father has set for me for tomorrow, do not allow me to speak to you any longer. I cannot postpone it, because two days ago the Pope wished me to be told that he was impatient to give me the honours he wanted, so it is tomorrow that

52 Marie Casimire d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieski, Rome, 17 June [1702], NGAB, fond 695, op. 1, no. 277, fol. 41r.–50v.; ead. to id., Rome, 17 June [1703], NGAB, fond 695, op. 1, no. 272, fols 141r.–142r.

53 F. Valesio, *Diario*, vol. 2, p. 190.

54 F. Valesio, *Diario*, vol. 2, p. 92. Clement XI complimented Maria Casimire on her spirituality and the example she was giving, see Aleksander Sobieski to Jakub Sobieski, no date, no location, NGAB, fond 695, op. 1, no. 138, fols 44r.–v.; BNCVE, Avvisi Marescotti, vol. 3, sign. 789, Rome, 20 Feb. 1700, fol. 462r.; vol. 4, sign. 790, Rome, 24 June 1702, fol. 140r.

55 J.S. Jabłonowski, *Traktat o familiach i koligacjach*, ed. M. Górny (Wrocław, 2015), p. 42.

I shall make a public appearance'.⁵⁶ At this point, it is necessary to recall a ceremony that took place in the church of San Bernardo a Colonna Traiana, where the Confraternity of the Holy Name of Mary, established in honour of the 1683 victory over the Muslim threat, had been gathering since 1694. When the queen appeared in the church where the cardinals and clergy and the Roman people had gathered, she was celebrated as the wife of the victor and named a miracle sent to Rome by God.⁵⁷

The image-building strategy adopted by the queen did not contradict her authentic faith.⁵⁸ As pointed out by Aleksandra Skrzypietz, Marie Casimire addressed to God the sighs associated with the sorrows that befell her, entrusted her sorrows to him, saw in him an escape from failures, offered her joys to him, entrusted the fate of her offspring to him, and saw in him the giver of grace, above all of health and long life:

The Holy Week, which begins tomorrow, is the week of His Passion, which He suffered for us. I shall try to spend it better than I spent all the others in my life, which had passed for me as if I still had done nothing. I will not forget, my dearest son, my habit of depositing you in the wounds of Jesus Christ together with me, imploring Him to pour on you and on my daughter-in-law, especially in her present childbirth, and on all my grandchildren, all the blessings I ask of Him continually for all of you, whom I kiss with all the tenderness of my heart.⁵⁹

It would be hard not to agree with Skrzypietz's view:

The frequent references to God, the declarations that she entrusted her concerns and hopes to Providence, cannot be seen as empty words or mere formal phrases. With her approach to matters of religion, Marie Casimire was in line with her era, as deep piety was a feature of many people at the time, including those belonging to the spheres represented by the queen.⁶⁰

In the context of the queen's religiosity, her foundation of the monastery of the Benedictine Nuns of Perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament in the Palazzo Zuccari in Rome appears to be a special issue. Leaving the Commonwealth at the end of 1698, the queen undertook to establish their monastery in Rome, modelled on the one in Warsaw:

Dieu aident, à Rome. Là je me promets de porter le Pape à faire une fondation de votre ordre, où vous serez demandée pour l'établir, et la hors des esprits

56 Marie Casimire d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieski, Rome, 20 June [1699], NGAB, fond 695, op. 1, no. 293, fols 91–92v., see *Listy Marii Kazimiery*, vol. 3, pp. 21, 23.

57 BNCVE, Avvisi Marescotti, vol. 4, sign. 790, Rome, 21 Feb. 1705, fol. 419v.

58 On this topic: P. Migasiewicz, *La regina di Polonia*, pp. 221–239; id., '„Pieuse intrigante”: fondations religieuses et pratiques dévotionnelles dans la vie et la stratégie politique de Marie-Casimire Sobieska', in: *I Sobieski*, pp. 140–155; Skrzypietz, *Publiczna i prywatna religijność*, pp. 25–40.

59 Marie Casimire d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieski, Rome, 8 April [1702], NGAB, fond 695, op. 1, no. 293, fols 180r.–187v., see *Listy Marii Kazimiery*, vol. 3, p. 207.

60 Skrzypietz, *Publiczna i prywatna religijność*, pp. 38.

extraordinaires, vous jouirez d'un repos que vous méritez, ma chere mère, et d'un estime très distinguée par la piété et la vie sainte que vous manez, du consentement de tous ceux qui veulent bien vous rendre justice.⁶¹

Even this early, Marie Casimire had feared that due to disputes with the nuns of the Warsaw monastery, Mother Magdalena and Mother Zuzanna of the Crucifixion, the sisters would not be able to maintain the continuity of their adoration and that the income from the Jarosław estate would not fully cover the construction of the not-yet-erected church of St Casimir. A clear concern about the endowment of the Warsaw monastery echoed in the queen's subsequent letters. It was connected with the difficulties in collecting income from the Jarosław estate, which was being administered by the wife of the voivode of Belz, Elżbieta Sieniawska née Lubomirska, and the stopping of the so-called *donum nuptiale* by Augustus II and his making its payment conditional on the consent of the Parliament.⁶² The queen made it clear that the foundation of the monastery in Rome was to be an improved version of the Warsaw foundation: 'I will establish with the pope a monastery of the daughters of the Holy Sacrament in order to make amends for all the infamies that my sisters from Warsaw committed in the incident of the deputy pantler's wife'.⁶³ Marie Casimire was referring here to the sisters' granting an asylum to Urszula Katarzyna Lubomirska née Alten-Bokum, a mistress of Augustus II.⁶⁴ On another occasion, she even prophesied that, due to the occupation of the Polish capital by the Swedes, the Capuchin, Carmelite and Benedictine monasteries might be destroyed.⁶⁵ However, she

61 De la reine de Pologne à la mère Marie de Jésus Petigot, de Varsovie 20 juin 1698, in: *En Pologne*, pp. 225–227.

62 Marie Casimire d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieski, Rome, 25 Sept. [1699], NGAB, fond 695, op. 1, no. 272, fols 185r.–188v.; ead. to id., Rome, 25 Sept. [1699], *ibid.*, no. 290, fols 109r.–114v., see *Listy Marii Kazimiery*, vol. 3, pp. 61–63; ead. to Clement XI, Rome, 13 Nov. [no year], BL, Ms. Add. 8526, fols 1–3; B. Popiołek, 'Zamiana ról. Królowa Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska i Elżbieta z Lubomirskich Sieniawska, kasztelanowa krakowska', in: *Maria Kazimiera*, pp. 167–193.

63 Marie Casimire d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieski, Rome, 23 July [1701], NGAB, fond 695, op. 1, no. 286, fols 94r.–103v., see *Listy Marii Kazimiery*, vol. 2, pp. 127–131.

64 After separating from her husband Jerzy Dominik Lubomirski and obtaining an annulment of her marriage, Urszula Katarzyna became involved with the monarch, to whom she bore a daughter. Augustus II placed his mistress in the monastery of the Benedictine Nuns of Perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament for the lying-in. This affair outraged both the public opinion and Queen Marie Casimire d'Arquien Sobieska, see E. Sieniawska née Lubomirska to Maria Casimire d'Arquien Sobieska, Warsaw, 23 June 1701, in: *Korespondencja Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej, kasztelanowej krakowskiej*, vol. 3: *Jaśnie Oświecona Mościa Księżna Dobrodziejko: rodzina, przyjaciele i klienci (wybór)*, eds B. Popiołek, U. Kicińska, A. Słaby (Warszawa–Bellerive-sur-Allier, 2016), pp. 163–164.

65 Marie Casimire d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieski, Rome, 3 June [1702], NGAB, fond 695, op. 1, no. 286, fols 113r.–121r., see *Listy Marii Kazimiery*, vol. 2, pp. 195–201.

promised to help the sisters and assured them that she was constantly thinking of them.⁶⁶

The considerations outlined above, however, do not exhaust the reasons why the queen chose to establish the Roman monastery. An analysis of the queen's religiosity in Rome reveals her devotion to contemplation and prayerful meditation in the monasteries of the Carmelite⁶⁷ and the Benedictine⁶⁸ nuns, as well as Sisters of the Visitation.⁶⁹ King John's widow attended prayers with the nuns⁷⁰ and regularly visited their monasteries, where she stayed for several days to ponder divine matters in silence: 'I left the pope at two in the morning, and getting here from St Peter's is quite a journey. For the monastery of the Carmelite nuns, where I am now, is very close to my palace'.⁷¹ As she explicitly stated, she went to the Carmelite nuns to seek respite from the world in their sanctuary, but this did not mean that she abandoned political and family matters during her period of seclusion.⁷² The queen's contact with the

66 Ead. to id., Rome, 17 Oct. [1702], NGAB, fond 695, op. 1, no. 272, fols 185r.–188v.

67 The Roman monastery of the Discalced Carmelites, known as the Monastery of Mary Queen of Heaven (Regina Coeli) at Via della Lungara 29 in the Trastevere in Rome. The fact of the queen's visits is known from her letters addressed to Prince Jakub dated 31 Oct. 1700, 27 Sept., 9 Dec., 31 Dec. 1701, 25 Feb., 1 April 1702 and 20 Jan. 1703, see *Listy Marii Kazimierzy z Archiwum Sobieskich z Olawy*, vol. 1: *Listy do synów z lat 1699–1704*, eds A. Leyk, J.J. Sowa (Warszawa, 2020); *Listy Marii Kazimierzy*, vol. 2.

68 Until the sixteenth century, there had been as many as seventeen Benedictine monasteries in Rome; later, only a few remained. These included non-cloistered monasteries: San Ambrogio della Massima in the San Angelo area, Santa Anna dei Funari in the Regola area, Santa Cecilia in the Trastevere, Santa Maria in Campo Marzio, Tor de' Specchi on Campitelli, Santa Maria dei Sette Dolori, and the cloistered Santa Susanna at Trevi, see: A. Marini, 'Monasteri femminili a Roma nei secoli XIII–XV', *Archivio Società Romana Storia Patria*, 2009, no. 132, pp. 81–108; R. Cerone, 'Il rinnovamento dei monasteri benedettini a Roma tra la fine del XII e l'inizio del XIII secolo: un'indagine preliminare', in: *Roma religiosa. Monasteri e città (secoli VI–XVI)*, eds G. Barone, U. Longo (Roma, 2018), pp. 351–370; A. Lirosi, *I monasteri femminili a Roma nell'età della Controriforma: insediamenti urbani e reti di potere (secc. XVI–XVII)* (Roma, 2010), *passim*. The queen attended services at the Benedictine nunneries at Tor de' Specchi, Trastevere and Campo Marzo, see BNVE, Avvisi Marescotti, vol. 3, sign. 789, Rome, 21 July 1703, fol. 249v.; Archivio di Stato di Roma, Fondo Corporazione Religiose Benedittine in Campo Marzo, reg. 62, p. 238; reg. 63, p. 251, 331; reg. 64, pp. 237, 240; reg. 65, pp. 266–270; reg. 66, pp. 248, 265 (with reference to purchases towards the victualling of the queen and her court on the occasion of her stay at the monastery); Valesio, *Diario*, vol. 2, p. 336; *La cronache di Santa Cecilia. Un monastero femminile a Roma in età moderna*, ed. A. Lirosi (Roma, 2009), pp. 271; A. Lirosi, 'Il corpo di santa Cecilia (Roma, III–XVII secolo)', *Mélanges*, vol. 122, 2010, no. 1, p. 1045.

69 Valesio, *Diario*, vol. 4, p. 22.

70 BC, Foglio di Foligno, Rome, 9 May 1699. Cf. BNCVE, Avvisi Marescotti, vol. 4, sign. 790, Rome, 23 Feb. 1704, fol. 307v.; Valesio, *Diario*, vol. 3, p. 312.

71 Marie Casimire d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieski, Rome, 18 Feb. [1702], NGAB, fond 695, op. 1, no. 290, fols 21r.–32v., see *Listy Marii Kazimierzy*, vol. 3, p. 197.

72 Ead. to id., at the sisters', 4 March [1699], NGAB, fond 695, op. 1, no. 260, fols 57r.–58r.

nuns was not limited to vigils, prayers and visits. She enjoyed the nuns' singing, for example at mass in the monastery church of Santa Margherita a Trastevere,⁷³ she listened to the learned sermons of Father Diego Grignani of the Celestine order in the monastery of the Saint Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary at Porta Orsini,⁷⁴ and she witnessed the consecration of nuns in the church of San Silvestro,⁷⁵ including the consecration of Cardinal Barberini's niece Camilla.⁷⁶ She also listened to the nuns' requests for material support and even instructed them on the rules of spiritual life.⁷⁷ It can be assumed that the queen intended to create a monastery in her own palace in order to devote herself uninterruptedly to prayer and not to have to leave her residence, even to go to the nearby Trastevere.

The idea of establishing a monastery in Palazzo Zuccari originated around July 1701, when the queen intended to acquire the residence and treat it as her place of abode for the duration of her stay at Rome. It should be added that her plans during this period included a trip to Venice and the purchase of a ceremonial seat there in order to be able to influence the affairs going on in the Commonwealth, the Empire and Bavaria.⁷⁸ The near future, however, verified these intentions and the queen never acquired a palace in La Serenissima:

I am purchasing a little house inside Rome close to the Trinità dei Monti, or to put it better, which is above it, in order to establish perpetual adoration there. I will bring nuns from France and set up a small apartment there, which will be connected to a small monastery with adjoining houses rented for my entourage, so that I can leave there the one or ones I do not want to take to Venice, where I shall go with only a few people, because it is neither necessary nor appropriate to have [there] all that one has here. So, I will incur less expense there and it will appear that I have two courts, along with the one I usually have.⁷⁹

Over time, the queen came to the conclusion that remaining in Rome would allow her to better watch her family interests and influence the

73 BC, Foglio di Foligno, Roma, 25 VII 1699.

74 Ibid., Rome, 17 April 1700.

75 Valesio, *Diario*, vol. 2, p. 684; Marie Casimire d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieski, Rome, 31 March [1703], NGAB, fond 695, op. 1, no. 277, fols 24r–25r., see *Listy Marii Kazimiery*, vol. 2, p. 259.

76 Marie Casimire d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieski, Rome, 27 March [1703], NGAB, fond 695, op. 1, no. 277, fol. 39v.

77 Valesio, *Diario*, vol. 1, p. 341.

78 Cf. J. Pietrzak, „Venezia è molto grande e bella” – racconto di due soggiorni della regina Maria Casimira d'Arquien Sobieska a Venezia e in Veneto negli anni 1699 e 1705', *Italica Vratislaviensia*, vol. 12, 2021, no. 1, pp. 67–85.

79 Marie Casimire d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieski, Rome, 9 July [1701], NGAB, fond 695, op. 1, no. 277, fols 51r–58r., see *Listy Marii Kazimiery*, vol. 2, p. 123. Cf. ead. to id., from Rome, 2 July 1701, NGAB, fond 695, op. 1, no. 259, fol. 43v., see *Listy Marii Kazimiery*, vol. 1, pp. 298–299.



Fig. 4

Ceiling painting with the dove of the Holy Ghost and Marie Casimire Sobieska's initials, Rome, Palazzo Zuccari, Cappella di Maria Casimira di Polonia, 1702/1714; Raum B 016

Holy Father's decisions. Having decided to found a monastery, Marie Casimire decided to involve Pope Clement XI in this initiative.⁸⁰ She believed that the Vicar of Christ would not refuse her consent because of her well-known piety, her rank, and her strong and personal conviction that he owed his election to the papal stool during the conclave of 1700 to her.⁸¹ The queen's correspondence reveals that she always humbly fell to the pope's feet, requesting him meekly to bring nuns.⁸² This suggests that the pope either neglected the matter or did not feel obliged to do anything for the queen. The latter supposition seems to be closer to the truth in the context of the behind-the-scenes steps the queen took to put pressure on the pope. The project to establish a Benedictine monastery for the adoration of the Blessed Sacrament was supported by cardinals siding with the queen and devoted to her interests: Carlo Barberini, Renato Imperiali, Giuseppe Sacripante and Giovanni Maria Gabrielli.⁸³ The queen's idea was also recognised by members of the Albani family, to which Clement XI belonged. Marie Casimire visited Cardinal Annibale Albani's mother, Maria Bernardina, at that time already a resident of the monastery of St Barbara, twice. The queen stayed at the monastery in the company of the pope's niece Olimpia Albani, soliciting her to obtain her uncle's permission for establishing a Benedictine nuns' monastery at the Skrzypietz's residence at Trinità dei Monti.⁸⁴

Parallel with her endeavours in Rome, the queen probed the opinion of the Sacramentine nuns themselves and the Archbishop of Paris, Louis Antoine de Noailles, regarding the establishment of the foundation. Not only did she invoke the will of the foundress, Mother Mechtilde herself, but she also recalled her correspondence with Catherine of Jesus (Élisabeth Guillaume), Mary of St Michael and Gertrude of the Assumption, mother superiors of the monasteries in Toul and Rambervillers. The queen explained that, inspired by the letters of the renowned reformer of religious life and spiritual guide of the Carmelite nuns of Paris, Marie of the Incarnation (Barbe Jeanne Avrillot), she decided to create a work praising God while honouring the holiness of her life.⁸⁵

80 Ead. to id., Rome, 23 July [1701], NGAB, fond 695, op. 1, no. 286, fols 94r–103v., see *Listy Marii Kazimiery*, vol. 2, pp. 127–131.

81 This issue was analysed in detail by Gaetano Platania, see Platania, *Gli ultimi*, pp. 107–128; id., *Corrispondenza di Maria Kazimiera*, pp. 163–171.

82 Marie Casimire d'Arquien Sobieska to Clement XI, 7 Oct. [1702], BL, Ms. Add. 8526, fol. 26; ead. to id., no date, no location, *ibid.*, fols 42–43.

83 Ead. to id., no location, 21 Jan. [1702], BL, Ms. Add. 8526, fol. 22.

84 BNCVE, Avvisi Marescotti, vol. 4, sign. 790, Rome, 5 Aug. 1702, fol. 151v.; BC, Foglio di Foligno, Rome, 9 April 1712; Valesio, *Diario*, vol. 1, p. 562; *ibid.*, vol. 2, pp. 133, 237, 313.

85 Da la mère Catharine de Jésus, 24 Feb. 1702, in: *En Pologne*, pp. 227–229.

The pope authorised the foundation of the monastery on 28 January 1702⁸⁶ and decided to bring the nuns under the care of Abbot Bachelier, a doctor at the Sorbonne and cathedral canon of Reims.⁸⁷ In line with this wish, in May of the same year the secretary of state, Cardinal Fabrizio Paulucci, wrote to the apostolic nuncio to the court of Versailles, Archbishop Philipp Antonio Gualtieri, to obtain from King Louis XIV the appropriate permission for the nuns' journey. On August 18, the archbishop of Paris, with the consent of Mother Superior Margaret (Marie de Jesus) Petigot, appointed two mothers, Scholastique of Jesus (Marguerite de L'Églis) and Marie-Michèle de la Conception (Michèle Hélène de Moussy) and two sisters, Marie Genevieve of the Assumption (Charlotte Tocquigny) and Marie de Saint Marthe (Barbe Boutry) to form a community in Rome.⁸⁸

The nuns left Paris in early September and, travelling via Lyon, Saint Esprit and Avignon, on September 19 arrived in Marseille, where the papal galleys awaited them. Five days after their arrival, the nuns sailed for the port of Livorno.⁸⁹ Throughout their journey, Marie Casimire worried about the health of the nuns and commended their expedition to God, praying for their safe arrival in the Eternal City: 'Giunse alle 23 hore staffetta spedita di Civita Vecchia dal cavalier Ferretti alla regina di Polonia con l'avviso che egli con la galera havea da Marseglia trasportate le monache destinate per l'instituzione del nuovo monasterio che fonda S. Maestà'.⁹⁰ The nuns, led by Mother Scholastica of Jesus, arrived in Rome on the night of 6 October 1702. The queen, accompanied by the cardinal vicar of Rome Gaspar Carpegna, welcomed them at a Mass held in the church of Trinità dei Monti, and then invited them to refreshments.⁹¹

86 Diario di questa Corte di Roma dall'anno 1700 fino al 1706, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Codice Ottoboni Latini 2655, fol. 92r.

87 Fondation de monastère de Rome 1702–1708, in: *En Pologne*, pp. 246–247. It is possible that the queen wished to thank the Pope for his approval and for this reason she asked her son Prince Jakub by letter if she could import from Gdańsk (Danzig) an altar set consisting of a large crucifix and four or six candlesticks, see Marie Casimire d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieski, Rome, 4 Feb. 1702, in: *Listy*, vol. 1, p. 329.

88 Fondation de monastère de Rome 1702–1708, in: *En Pologne*, pp. 246–247. Margaret Borkowska suggested that the queen had urged Mother Margaret herself to come to Rome, knowing of her achievements during her service as prioress at the Warsaw monastery, but that the nun refused and remained in France. From 1708 to 1718, she resided in Paris and died there, see 'Małgorzata Petigot', in: Borkowska, *Słownik ksień*, p. 117.

89 Loué soit à jamais le très Saint Sacrement, de Rome de 8^e octobre 1702, in: *En Pologne*, p. 250–251.

90 Valesio, *Diario*, vol. 2, pp. 301–303. Cf. Marie Casimire d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieski, Rome, 17 Oct. [1702], NGAB, fond 695, op. 1, no. 272, fols 185–188v.; ead. to id., Rome, 20 May [1702], NGAB, fond 695, op. 1, no. 293, fols 103r.–104v.

91 Marie Casimire d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieski, Rome, 7 Oct. [1702], NGAB, fond 695, op. 1, no. 290, fols 117–121v., see *Listy Marii Kazimierzy*, vol. 3, pp. 229–230; BNCVE, Avvisi Marescotti, vol. 4, sign. 790, fol. 169v.; Valesio, *Diario*, vol. 2, p. 303.

Marie Casimire planned for the nuns to cross the monastery cloister in a month from their arrival. By this time, she was hoping to have their monastery furnished. To this end, she obtained permission from the road authority to create an open bridge linking the palace to Villa Torres, and obtained from the owners of the ground floor of the palace, Giacomo Zuccari and Abbot Francesco Nazzari, permission to restructure the interior, although this was not without objections.⁹² The monastery was to be located on floors two to four, in the part of the palace known as the *casino*, located at the junction of *strada Felice* and *strada Gregoriana*.⁹³ The nuns were canonically installed in the new monastery at the end of October 1702, although constructions works inside the edifice, including in the chapel decorated with the dove of the Holy Spirit on the vault and with the queen's monogram in the lunettes, were still under way.⁹⁴ The nuns' stay in rooms that were unfinished and unsuitable for cloistered existence caused some of them to fall ill. The convalescents were moved to Palazzo Cibo at Piazza SS. Apostoli, adjacent to the Palazzo Odescalchi and occupied by Cardinal d'Arquien.⁹⁵ In November, with the pope's

92 The palace had been acquired by Federico Zuccari in 1590. After his death in 1609, the palace passed to his sons Ottaviano, Orazio and Girolamo, and his daughter Isabella. In 1614, the brothers sold the palace to Marcantoni Toscanelli. The new owner divided it into two parts: the *casa grande*, containing private chambers, and *casino*, serving as a studio and intended for his sister Lucida. This part was taken into possession by Marcantonio's daughter Constanza. However, the Zuccari family did not give up their rights to the entire residence. In addition, on the basis of a bequest in Lucida's last will made in 1619, the *casino* part was given to the arch-confraternity of Santissima Annunziata, operating by the Santi Quattro Coronati monastery. After a litigation against the Zuccari family in 1651, Constanza was granted the ground floor, while the upper floors were occupied by the Zuccari family. Twenty years after this affair, Vittorio Zuccari's successor, Abbot Lorenzo, and his nephews Giacomo and Filippo permanently settled in the apartments. In turn, after Constanza's death, her part in the Palazzo was taken over by her husband Count Girolamo Clementini and his nephew Girolamo Curzio Clementini. In 1692, the latter sold the ground floor to Francesco Nazzari, professor at La Sapienza and editor of the newspaper *Giornale de' Letterati d'Italia*. Queen Marie Casimire, after taking possession of the property in July 1702, began to buy more parts of the palace from their owners; this process lasted until 1707. While funding the monastery, Marie Casimire removed the members of the arch-confraternity, which angered Giacomo Zuccari. Nazzari, in turn, sternly refused to sell his part (which was the most valuable one, because it was decorated with frescoes by Federico Zuccari) to the queen, see Curti, *Nuovi documenti*, pp. 331–349.

93 BL, Ms. Add. 8526, fols 81–82 (description of the arrangement and intended use of the apartments in Palazzo Zuccari); Valesio, *Diario*, vol. 2, p. 292; Loué soit à jamais le très Saint Sacrement, p. 254; Migasiewicz, *Pieuse*, p. 154.

94 Valesio, *Diario*, vol. 2, p. 310; Marie Casimire d'Arquien Sobieska to Clement XI, no date, no location, BL, Ms. Add. 8526, fols 53–54. A similar polychrome decoration was commissioned by the queen for the Warsaw monastery, cf. Girolamo Alberti to Marie Casimire d'Arquien Sobieska, Marieville, 18 Nov. 1695, NGAB, fond 695, op. 1, no. 241, fol. 8r.–v.

95 Valesio, *Diario*, vol. 2, pp. 305, 306.

permission, the nuns were taken to the monastery of St Cecilia in the Transtevere on the occasion of the patronal feast:

Nel 1702, giorno della festa di santa Cecilia, viene avviso in detta mattina che il dopo pranzo, alli 21 hora, Sua Santità, papa Clemente XI veniva alla feste e voleva entrare al monasterio con la Maestà la Regina di Polonia, la quale mancava dentro anco dieci monache venute di Francia per la fondatione qui in Roma di un monastero dell'ordine benedettino, chiamato del Santissimo Sacramento. E per ciò la mattina di detta festa entrò per ordine di Sua Santità il signor Urbano Rocci primo furiero: fece fare nella stanza di sacrestia dove si lavora, il trono per Sua Santità et una sedia d'appoggio fuori del trono vicino al papa per la regina ed intorno alla stanza li scabbelloni dipinti, quali fece venire per sedervi li signori cardinali. Onde, mentre che dalli musici si cantava il vespero, venne in chiesali papa ed anco la regina e le dette monache francese e molti cardinali. Adorato che ebbero la chiesa si apri la porta del monastero et entro la Sua Santità con la regina, le monache e cardinali, prelati e crocifero. La madre abbadessa co n tutte le monache ricevono inginocchiate il papa e s'invio nella sacrestia dove si pose a' sedere nel trono, come anco si pose a sedere la regina e li eminetissimi cardinali. Intanto là sopradette monache francese, a due a' due, gli bagiorno il piede a'Sua Santità ed egli discorse con loro in francese intorno la loro fondatione, che per tale effetto Sua Santità prese occasione di entrare per compire il loro desiderio di parlargli intorno a' questo, seguitando tutto il tempo la regina in discorrere con Sua Santità.⁹⁶

At the end, the nuns attended mass and after the celebration, were bid farewell with a papal blessing and a kiss of peace from the cardinals. On their return to the Palazzo Zuccari, they received, through Marie Casimire, a portrait of the order's foundress, a painting of the Madonna and another of St Lucia, rosaries and a rich monstrance, as well as porcelain tableware from the queen herself. Clement XI referred to the nuns with respect and cordiality and promised them to come to a religious ceremony.⁹⁷

The pope kept his promise; at the queen's express invitation, he presided over adoration of the Blessed Sacrament in the chapel of the Palazzo Zuccari,⁹⁸ and then appeared there in connection with the celebration of Corpus Christi, leading a Eucharistic procession:

Alle hore 21 S. Beatitudine, servito in carrozza dalli dui cardinali palatini e preceduto da numerosa cavalcada, si portò al monastero delle ginnesie alle Botteghe Oscure, dove si celebra da quelle religiose con solennità la festa del SS.mo Sacramento e le consolò con ammetterle al bacio del piede e da quel luogo passò alla Trinità de' Monti alla chiesa del nuovo monastero eretto nella casa de' Zucchari dalla regina di Polonia⁹⁹.

96 *Le cronache di Santa Cecilia*, pp. 270–271; Loué soit à jamais le très Saint Sacrement, pp. 255–256; Valesio, *Diario*, vol. 2, p. 336.

97 Loué soit à jamais le très Saint Sacrement, p. 257.

98 Marie Casimire d'Arquien Sobieska to Clement XI, no date, no location, BL, Ms. Add. 8526, fols 16r–17r.; ead. to id., no date, no location, *ibid.*, fols 52r–53v.

99 Valesio, *Diario*, vol. 2, p. 615. The palace chapel then became the place where the liturgical and social life of the court was concentrated. Examples included baptisms

The queen cared for the nuns and kept a close eye on their existence, sometimes calling it 'uneven', although it is difficult to see to what this term might have been referring.¹⁰⁰ They returned the favour by praying for the Sobieski family.¹⁰¹ Marie Casimire was concerned about the daily lives of the nuns, as evidenced by her fear for them after the earthquake that struck Rome in 1703.¹⁰² She also applied for the monastery to be given monastic constitutions, thus wishing to realise Mother Mechtilde's great work of having the order officially recognised by the Pope, and to safeguard her foundation against claims from other orders, including the Minimites of Trinità dei Monti.¹⁰³ The pope was keen to provide indulgences and spiritual gifts¹⁰⁴ for the benefit of the monastery, but he also sought to endow it with exemptions and privileges. One of these was permission to draw three ounces of water from the Acqua Felice source taken at Quattro Fontane opposite the church of San Carlo.¹⁰⁵

At the dawn of its foundation in 1703, the monastery consisted of eight nuns and two maidservants; by 1704–1708 there were only six nuns and two maidservants.¹⁰⁶ The full reasons why the pope decided in September 1708 to send the nuns back to France are not known.¹⁰⁷ Officially, it

and marriages performed by courtiers and special celebrations, such as the granting of lower orders to Canon Michał Wodzicki in 1707, see Pietrzak, *Rzymski dwór*, p. 75.

100 Marie Casimire d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieski, Rome, 9 July [1703], NGAB, fond 695, op. 1, no. 277, fol. 58, see *Listy Marii Kazimiery*, vol. 2, p. 285.

101 Marie Casimire d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieski, 9 Dec. 1702, in: *Listy*, vol. 1, p. 346.

102 Marie Casimire d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieski, Rome, 20 Jan. [1703], NGAB, fond 695, op. 1, no. 272, fols 146r.–153v., see *Listy Marii Kazimiery*, vol. 2, pp. 247–253.

103 Marie Casimire d'Arquien Sobieska to Clement XI, no date, no location, BL, Ms. Add. 8526, fols. 28r.; ead. to id., no date, no location, *ibid.*, fols. 53r.–54v.; ead. to id., no date, no location, *ibid.*, fol. 82; Stabińska, *Ogień na ołtarzu*, p. 97.

104 Clement XI to Marie Casimire d'Arquien Sobieska, Rome, no date, Biblioteca Olivetana in Pesaro, Archivio Albani, sign. 2-09-186, fols 1r.–4r.

105 Registri de'Chirografi de I Sommi Pontifici Innocento XII e Clemente XI a Monsignor Lorenzo Corsini Tesoriere Generale della R.C.A., Biblioteca Corsiniana in Rome, coll. 34.G.18, fols 82v.–83v.

106 Pietrzak, *Rzymski dwór*, p. 75. The nuns, who had arrived from France, were joined by Mother Mary of St Placid, together with her two professed sisters, Sister Mary of St Martha and Mary Magdalene of St Joseph, brought from Warsaw by the order of the queen. Cf. Marie Casimire d'Arquien Sobieska to Clement XI, no date, no location, BL, Ms. Add. 8526, fols 82r.–83v.; M. Borkowska, *Leksykon zakonnic polskich*, vol. 2: *Polska Centralna i Środkowa* (Warszawa, 2005), pp. 81, 85.

107 The initial thought was to incorporate the nuns into the Benedictine Santa Maria monastery in Campo Marzo, cf. Du cardinal de Noailles, Confian, 31 Oct. 1707, in: *En Pologne*, p. 257. On the pope's later actions, see Clement XI to Mother Marie de Saint François de Paule, Rome, 11 Nov. 1708, in: *ibid.*, pp. 257–258; BC, Foglio di Foligno, Rome, 22 Sept. 1708; Valesio, *Diario*, vol. 4, p. 159.

was said that no Italian women were found willing to join this monastery, and it was difficult to bring in more French women:

Le monache fatte venire da Francia anni sono dalla regina di Polonia, che hanno per istituto l'adorazione perpetua del Venerabile e collocate dalla medesima alla Trinità dei Monti appresso il suo palazzo, non havendo sin hora ritrovato donzelle italiane che volessero entrare nel loro monastero, questa sera furono a baciare il piede di N. S. per ripassarsene in Francia sopra due galere francesi.¹⁰⁸

It can be presumed that this provision was influenced by the deteriorating relationship between the queen and Clement XI. The pope's decision put an end to the existence of the monastery. It is doubtful that we will ever know the real reasons for that. However, this was not the definitive end of the Sobieski family's contacts with the nuns. In her last will, Queen Marie Casimire bequeathed to the nuns of the Warsaw monastery a provision of 8,000 zlotys secured on the Olesko estate if the execution of this amount from the Jarosław estate proved impossible.¹⁰⁹ In addition, one of the nuns that had once stayed in Rome, Mother Marie Genevieve of the Assumption, maintained correspondence with the queen's granddaughter and namesake, as evidenced by a letter from Marie Casimire

¹⁰⁸ Valesio, *Diario*, vol. 4, p. 159.

¹⁰⁹ 'Rzymskie testamenty królowej Marii Kazimiery spisane w 1713 i 1714 roku', in: *Źródła do dziejów Sobieskich z Archiwum w Mińsku i zbiorów francuskich*, ed. K. Kossarzecki, Ad Villam Novam. Materiały do dziejów rezydencji series, vol. 7 (Warszawa, 2012), pp. 100–101. It is noteworthy that during the period of queen's residence in Rome, her granddaughter was friendly with the nuns and often dressed in the habit, at which the queen quipped laughingly: 'Your baby is fine, thank God, she sends kisses to you and her mummy. She is growing more and more like you. She enters my room dressed as a nun of the Adoration. She hid to disguise herself in this way. Ms Sardi was the only one who knew about the secret. Mother [Scholastica] of Jesus could not deny her this little entertainment. I called her God's beloved mother. She is as beautiful as day in this outfit, she is quite similar to your little portrait that is kept in Jaworów. Her eyes seem even more beautiful', see Marie Casimire d'Arquien Sobieska to Jakub Sobieski, Rome, 21 July [after 1703], NAHB, fond 695, op. 1, no. 286, fol. 45r.–v., see *Listy Marii Kazimiery*, vol. 2, p. 289. However, the queen definitely did not want her granddaughter to become a nun. However, according to Małgorzata Borkowska, after arriving from Blois, young Marie Casimire entered the Norbertine monastery in Zwierzyniec and took her vows at the beginning of 1732, assuming the monastic name Cunigunde in honour of her aunt, the electress of Bavaria. Based on monastery sources, Borkowska mentioned that John III's granddaughter died on 7 January 1751, and the dowry due to her was not transferred to the monastery until a year after her death. The question of Marie Casimire Sobieska's entry into the monastery is debatable, as Aleksandra Skrzypietz assumed that Jakub's second daughter died in 1723, and gave details of her illness, burial and last will, cf. *Leksykon*, vol. 2, p. 484 (with reference to the source base of the biographical note); Skrzypietz, *Królewscy synowie – Jakub, Aleksander i Konstanty Sobiescy* (Katowice, 2011, pp. 565–566). What is worth noting, however, is that the queen envisaged monastic future for another of her granddaughters, Marie Caroline, cf. Skrzypietz, *Rzymski okres*, p. 74; *Listy Marii Kazimiery*, vol. 2, pp. 26–27, letter no. 8, pp. 32–33, letter no. 10, pp. 62–63, letter no. 20.

Sobieska to the nun from 1716, i.e. the time of the liquidation of the late queen's affairs after her death at Blois.¹¹⁰

The foundation of the Monastery of the Benedictine Nuns of Perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament was closely linked to the Eucharistic charism, which occupied a special place in the spirituality of Queen Marie Casimire. The monastery in Palazzo Zuccari did not gain the same fame as the ones erected through the efforts of the king's wife in Warsaw. The establishment of a community at the centre of Christianity strengthened the queen's position and gave evidence of her deep piety. As well as devotion, the queen also manifested a close attachment to her French roots and identity.¹¹¹ Although the nuns mostly came from monastic houses in France, the placement of their monastery in the queen's own palace at Trinità dei Monti, i.e. the area dominated by the Gallic element, also seems not coincidental.¹¹² Finally, the foundation should be treated as unique because of its placement in a private palace. It can be assumed that the queen did not have sufficient funds to erect a separate church with monastic buildings; neither did she have a suitable plot of land, and that efforts to obtain such would have taken time and become a source of additional trouble. Let it be noted, however, that Roman residences belonging to aristocratic families had their own chapels, but not monasteries.¹¹³ Marie Casimire therefore gained something that proved to be uncommon and unique, which allowed her to stand out from other dynasts.

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- 113 With the exception of Palazzo Ginassi at Largo S. Lucia Filippini. In 1624, Cardinal Domenico Ginnasi united the church of St Lucia and the monastery of Discalced Carmelites with his residence, which was rebuilt in the 18th century and survived in this form until 1935–1940, see M. Ricci, 'Ottaviano Mascarino e l'architettura del primo Cinquecento. Note su un disegno inedito per palazzo Ginnasi a Roma', *ArchHist*, vol. 8, 2021, no. 15, pp. 33–51. Cf. P. Waddy, *Seventeenth-Century Roman Palaces. Use and the Art of the Plan* (London, 1990).

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