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"To see at Least in an Image the Semblance of a Friend ..." Representing the Family of Pacowie Between Baroque Tuscany and Lithuania

Summary. *This essay maps a Tuscan-Lithuanian gift exchange between Grand Duke Cosimo III de' Medici and Pacowie family members in the late 17th century, to reframe the Pacowie in relation to broader European dynamics by means of a transregional microhistory retracing the entanglements of objects, images, motifs and materials as intercultural thresholds mediating socio-cultural relations, and recalibrate the relationship between the Pacowie and their supposedly "peripheral" sphere with Tuscany and the Medici, conventionally considered "central" to the history of baroque Europe.*[1]

Keywords: *art, art history, art patronage, Italy, Medici, Florence, transcultural exchange.*

Writing from Florence in June 1679, Grand Duke Cosimo III de' Medici (1642–1723), penultimate ruler of the Medici dynasty in the historical territory of the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, composed the following passage expressing thanks for gifts promised, forthcoming, and received.[2]

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[2] Elena Fasano Guarini, "COSIMO III de' Medici, granduca di Toscana", Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani, viewed 21.8.2021, https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/cosimo-iii-de-medici-granduca-di-toscana_(Dizionario-Biografico)/. For grand-ducal Tuscany under the late Medici see Harold Acton, *The Last Medici* (London: Cardinal, Sphere Books Ltd, 1988). A note regarding the rendering of proper names of persons in this article: in most cases the form used in the period under study have been adopted, inlcuding predominantly Polish and Italian forms found in period sources. Regarding toponymics,

Having been notified of the devoted care which is being taken to procure for me the small *pelli di dante* I desired […] and the noble gift newly promised to me by the generous soul of My Lord the Grand General [of Lithuania], namely two large white [polar] bear pelts, which here will be a most admirable rarity – but not the first sign of favor that the General indulged in granting me. Thus my own desire grows all the more to see at least in an image the semblance of a Friend […] I await here next week My Lord the Bishop [of Vilnius] on his way to Rome …[3]

Cosimo's message was sent to Vilnius to Florentine Lorenzo Domenico de' Pazzi,[4] who served as the grand duke's Tuscan agent in court circles in the historical territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, one half of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (also known as *Rzeczpospolita*), one of Europe's largest and most diverse states.[5] Although addressed through Pazzi as middleman, the true recipient of Cosmio's letter was among the most powerful men in Lithuania: Grand Hetman (i.e., commander of the armed forces) Michał Kazimierz Pac (1624–1682), whose title the Tuscan grand duke translated as *Grande Generale* (Grand General) in Italian.[6]

In writing to Pac, Cosimo rhetorically juxtaposed anticipatory gratitude for gifts pledged but not yet received in terms of relative scale: on one hand, the difference in physical size between small *pelle di dante* – light-colored chamois leather from pelts of Eurasian deer or antelope typically made into fine gloves and shoes – and large *orso bianco* (white bear) or polar bear pelts, both luxury

in most cases state or international toponymics, rather than historical or traditional, are adopted here, by and large using contemporary titles for place names in their English version, e.g., "Vilnius," "Rome," and "Florence."

3 Florence, Archivio di Stato Firenze (hereafter ASF), f. Mediceo del Principato: 1529–1753 (hereafter MP), 4493, fol. 431r. For relevant archival sources pertaining to the exchanges taken up in this essay see records preserved in ASF, MP, 4489–4494, especially 4492, 298r-v, 442r-v, 561r, 604r, 697r; 4493, 602r-v, 603–604, 608r-v, 609r-v. See also further citations from this archive. For an overview of aspects taken up in the present study see Aušra Baniulytė, "Italian Intrigue in the Baltics: Myth, Faith, and Politics in the Age of the Baroque", *Journal of Early Modern History* 16 (2012), 23–52.

4 For Lorenzo Domenico de' Pazzi see Aušra Baniulytė, "Gli italiani alla corte dei 'Pazzi' in Lituania: mito e politica nel Seicento barocco", *Archivio storico italiano* 168 (2010), 325–48.

5 A helpful Anglophone introduction to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania is Norman Davies, *Litva: The Rise and Fall of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: A Selection from Vanished Kingdoms* (New York: Penguin, 2013). For the early modern Baltic region see David Kirby, *Northern Europe in the Early Modern Period. The Baltic World 1492–1772* (London and New York: Longman, 1990).

6 Adam Przyboś, "Pac Michał Kazimierz h. Gozdawa", *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (hereafter: *PSB*), (Wroclaw: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1979), 24: 721–28; Konrad Bobiatyński, *Michał Kazimierz Pac – wojewoda wileński, hetman wielki litewski: działalność polityczno-wojskowa* (Warsaw: wyd. Neriton, 2008).

gifts apparently promised him by the hetman.[7] On the other hand, he weighed this contrast against the emotive disparity between the lesser joy derived from beholding a promised portrait of Hetman Pac ("an image of the semblance of a Friend"), and the greater pleasure of encountering in person in Florence the hetman's cousin, recently nominated Bishop of Vilnius Mikołaj Stefan Pac (1626–84).[8] His reference to Bishop Pac underscored that as Cosimo's epistle voyaged north, the hetman's cousin was journeying south to Florence, perhaps bringing with him the portrait and precious pelts mentioned here.[9]

What Cosimo most desired was a gift nearly five years in the making: a prestigious first-class relic from the body of royal Polish-Lithuanian saint Kazimierz Jagiellończyk (1458–84), which he had solicited from Bishop Pac in 1675.[10] Jagiellończyk's remains were closely guarded by the Vilnius cathedral chapter and constituted a point of contention with bishop-nominate Pac.[11] In 1677, the chapter conceded a relic,[12] but with an important caveat: that the Medici reciprocate with a relic from Florentine Carmelite nun Caterina de' Pazzi, known as Suor Maria Maddalena (1566–1607), whose cult both the Medici and Pacowie actively promoted.[13] To Cosimo's delight the Kazimierz relic, a legbone, reached Florence just before Christmas 1678,[14] in a casket manufactured in the port city of Danzig (Gdańsk) from amber and ivory.[15] The reliquary of St. Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi containing the saint's hair and tooth was dispatched from Florence to Vilnius in 1682, made in the so-called *Galleria* (Gallery) or grand-ducal workshops in Palazzo Pitti from gold, enamel, ground rock crystal (quartz), and over 120 diamonds.[16]

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7 See *Vocabolario degli Accademici della Crusca*, 6 vols. (Florence: Domenico Maria Manni, 1729–38), 2:11.

8 Andrzej Rachuba, "Mikołaj Stefan Pac", *PSB*, 24: 738–41.

9 ASF, MP, 4493, 430v. For Palloni see Giovanni Guidetti, "Additional Information about the Sources of Michele Arcangelo Palloni's Artistic Language", *Acta academiae artium Vilnensis* 51 (2008), 75–89.

10 Sigita Maslauskaitė-Mažylienė, *Šventojo Kazimiero atvaizdo istorija XVI–XVIII a.* (Vilnius: Lietuvos nacionalinis muziejus, 2010).

11 Sigita Maslauskaitė-Mažylienė, ed., *Masterpieces of the history of the veneration of St. Casimir: Lithuania – Italy* (Vilnius: Bažnytinio paveldo muziejus, 2018).

12 Jan Kurczewski, Kościół Zamkowy, *Czyli Katedra Wileńska W Jej Dziejowym, Liturgicznym, Architektonicznym I Ekonomicznym Rozwoju*, 3 vols. (Vilnius: Nakład I Druk J. Zawadzkiego, 1908–1916), 3: 229.

13 Clare Copeland, Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi: The Making of a Counter-Reformation Saint (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016).

14 ASF, MP 4493, 492r, 608r-v, 609r-v.

15 Maslauskaitė-Mažylienė, *Masterpieces of the history of the veneration of St. Casimir, 74–6; Riccardo Gennaioli and Maria Sframeli*, eds., Sacri Splendori: Il Tesoro Della 'Cappella Delle Reliquie' in Palazzo Pitti (Livorno: Sillabe, 2014), 266–67.

16 Gennaioli and Sframeli, *Sacri Splendori*, 274–5; Maslauskaitė-Mažylienė, *Masterpieces of the History of the Veneration of St. Casimir*, 78–9; Giovanni Matteo Guidetti, "Il reliquairio di santa Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi a Vilnius e l'attività di Giovanni Comparini e

Taking Cosimo's letter as a point of departure, this essay maps this Tuscan-Lithuanian gift exchange against Medici-Pacowie self-fashioning that inflected Italo-Baltic transcultural notions, at an historical infection point when the political interests of the two Grand Duchies and their respective dynasties temporarily aligned.[17] What follows undertakes to reframe the Pacowie in relation to broader European dynamics by means of a transregional microhistory retracing the entanglements of objects, images, motifs and materials as intercultural thresholds mediating socio-cultural relations, to recalibrate the relationship between the Pacowie and their supposedly "peripheral" sphere with Tuscany and the Medici, conventionally considered "central" to the history of baroque Europe.[18]

The Pacowie's ascendancy to the upper echelons of the *szlachta* (nobility) in the Baltic paralleled that of the Medici in Italy.[19] The Pacowie's prestige was driven by a campaign of self-fashioning as inheritors of Italy's illustrious cultural legacy: they linked their noble roots to ancient Roman patricians originating from the Po river valley of Etruria, the invented *locus* of Medicean power.[20] They also asserted common parentage with the Florentine aristocratic family of Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi, a claim reinforced by the coincidence

Giuseppe Vanni per la corte di Toscana: nuovi documenti", *Bollettino della Accademia degli Euteleti della Città di San Miniato* 79 (2012), 197–215.

17 On Italo-Lithuanian relations see Aušra Baniulytė, "Italai XVI–XVII a. Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės kasdieniame gyvenime", *Lietuvos etnologija*, ed. Auksuolė Čepaitienė (Vilnius: Lithuanian Institute of History, 2005), 75–96; Daiva Mitrulevičiūtė, ed., *Lietuva-Italija: šimtmečių ryšiai* (Vilnius: Išleido Nacionalinis muziejus Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės valdovų rūmai, 2016).

18 For a review of similar recent approaches in Art History see Leah R. Clark, "Framing Transcultural Objects: New Approaches to Collecting in the Early Modern World", *Oxford Art Journal* 43 (2020), 476–9.

19 Aušra Baniulytė, "The Pazzi Family in Lithuania: Myth and Politics in the European Court Society of the Early Modern Age", *Medium aevum quotidianum* 58 (2009), 41–57. Pacowie relations with Italy and the Medici have been taken up in a number of important multilingual studies by Aušra Baniulytė and Anna Sylwia Czyż cited throughout this essay. See also Giovanni Matteo Guidetti, "Kultūriniai ir meniniai Lietuvos ir Tuscanos ryšiai XVII a. antroje pusėje: Pacų šeima ir didysis kunigaikštis Kosimas III Medičis", *Lietuva-Italija*, 439–62; and my forthcoming study: "'The Polar Winds have driven me to the conquest of the Treasure in the form of the much-desired relic.' (Re)moving relics and performing gift exchange between early modern Tuscany and Lithuania", *Gifts and Materiality: Gifts as Objects in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Gustavs Strenga and Lars Kjar (London: Bloomsbury, forthcoming).

20 Aušra Baniulytė, "Pacai ar Pazzi? Nauja Palemono legendos versija LDK raštijoje," *Istorijos Rašymo Horizontai*, *Senoji Lietuvos literatūra* 18, ed. Aušra Jurgutienė and Sigitas Narbutas (Vilnius: Lietuvių literatūros ir tautosakos institutas, 2005), 140–66; Anna Sylwia Czyż, "Włosi w kręgu rodziny Paców", in *Stan badań nad wielokulturowym dziedzictwem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, vol. 6, ed. Wojciech Walczak and Karol Łopatecki (Białystok: Instytut Badań Nad Dziedzictwem Kulturowym Europy, 2013), 175–96. See also Joanna Orzeł, "From imagination to political reality? The Grand Duchy of Lithuania as

of their family names, Pacowie and Pazzi.[21] They simultaneously cultivated an image of selfhood adherent to "Sarmatism," an ethno-cultural ideology that mythologized the Polish-Lithuanian nobility's origins from ancient Sarmatians, legendary invaders of Slavic lands, entailing the *szlachta*'s adoption of an Eastern style of costume and grooming derived from Persian and Turkish sources.[22] Sarmatist and Italophilic strategies coexisted and were discursively harnessed to different ends by the Pacowie, as evinced by their courting Italian state and religious powers including the Medici, who concurrently set their sights on Poland-Lithuania, promoting family members for royal election, and positioning Italian informants like Lorenzo Domenico de' Pazzi at Commonwealth courts.[23] Cosimo intended to participate in the 1669 and 1673 Commonwealth elections, later renouncing in favor of his brother's candidature.[24]

The Pacowie's campaign of self-fashioning was pursued through artistic patronage,[25] framing the family as wardens of the Commonwealth as bulwark of Catholic Christendom.[26] That Hetman Pac was no exception is underscored in an important recent study by art historian Anna Sylwia Czyż surveying portraits he commissioned over his career.[27] Czyż identifies a shift to a more openly militaristic mode of self-representation following his 1667 appointment as grand hetman, a tendency that grew after his role in the 1673 Polish-Lithuanian military victory against the Ottomans at Chocim (Khotyn): portraits showed him as *miles Christianus* and guardian of elite *szlachta* values against enemies of the Catholic Church.[28] Michał Kazimierz Pac instantiated his own hetmanly virtues through collecting and display of *spolia*.[29] He acquired an

a successor of Rome in the early modern historiography (15th–18th centuries)", *Open Political Science* 1 (2019), 170–81.

21 Aušra Baniulytė, "Šv. Marijos Magdalenos de'Pazzi kultas Lietuvos baroko kultūroje: atvaizdai ir istorinė tikrovė", *Darbai ir dienos* 53 (2010), 225–58.

22 Joanna Orzeł, "Sarmatism as Europe's Founding Myth," in *Polish Political Science Yearbook* 39 (2010), 149–57.

23 Baniulytė, "Gli italiani alla corte dei 'Pazzi' in Lituania."

24 Antonio Panella, "Candidati italiani al trono polacco. I Medici", *Rassegna Nazionale* (16 April 1917), 269–79.

25 Anna Sylwia Czyż, *Fundacje artystyczne rodziny Paców. Stefana, Krzysztofa Zygmunta i Mikołaja Stefana. 'Lillium bonae spei at antiquitate consectarum'* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Naukowe UKSW, 2016).

26 Paul Srodecki, Antemurale Christianitatis: Zur Genese der Bollwerksrhetorik im östlichen Mitteleuropa an der Schwelle vom Mittelalter zur Frühen Neuzeit (Husum: Matthiesen Verlag, 2015).

27 Anna Sylwia Czyż, "Wizerunki Michała Kazimierza Paca – przegląd Ikonografii Hetmana Litewskiego I Wojewody wileńskiego", *Artifex Novus* 4 (2021), 86–110.

28 Ibid., 101. On Chocim see Norman Davies, *God's playground: a history of Poland in two volumes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), 347–48.

29 Przemyslaw Gawron, "Royal horse guard: polish-lithuanian commonwealth in the vasa period, 1587–1648", in *Las caballerizas reales y el mundo del caballo*, ed. Juan Aranda Doncel and José Martínez Millán (Córdoba: Edicioneslitopress, 2016), 283–96; Austėja

influx of such objects after his triumphant return from Chocim,[30] some of which he devoted as pious votive offerings to the church dedicated to St. Peter and St. Paul that he founded in Vilnius's Antakalnis (Pol. Antokol) suburb.[31] Hetman Pac also commissioned portraiture depicting him armed and outfitted for combat, accompanied by *spolia*, on horseback, or in a battlefield setting, associating his power and military prowess with Catholic religiosity, Sarmatian values and Italian affinities.[32]

These ideas were reified in Pac's gifts traded with Grand Duke Cosimo: their exchange apparently initiated in 1675, when the hetman had his Turkish captives baptized and gave a slave boy to Cosimo as living *spolia*.[33] Other gifts included in 1677 a Lithuanian Žemaitukas (Samogitian) pony and Turkish stallion; and in 1679 the sixty *pelle di dante* and polar bear pelts mentioned in Cosimo's letter above, followed by arrangements for a live polar bear and *zibellini* (ermine or sable prized for their pelts).[34] From Cosimo came in 1676 "a [medicine] chest encrusted with stones, and filled with medicines […] for the needs of [the hetman's] soldiers in the combats of war," produced in the same Medici *Galleria* that made the Pazzi reliquary;[35] and in 1677, a Neapolitan stallion and mares, and over 100 kg of parmesan cheese.[36]

Cosimo's mention in the above letter of the hetman's portrait gestured to the fact that Medici court artist Michele Arcangelo Palloni (1642–1712), who migrated to Poland-Lithuania in 1676–77 as a Medici protégé, worked under the

Brasiūnaitė, "Stud farm of the Grand Duke of Lithuania: traditions and the importance of the horse in warfare and messenger service 14–16 century", *Ibid.*, 167–78.

30 Adam Jasienski, "A Savage Magnificence: Ottomanizing Fashion and the Politics of Display in Early Modern East-Central Europe", *Muqarnas: An Annual on the Visual Cultures of the Islamic World* 31 (2014), 173–205, at 188.

31 Rūta Janonienė, "Sapiegų rūmų Antakalnyje architektas Giovanni Battista Frediani: biografijos bruožai", *Acta Academiae Artium Vilnensis: Dailės ir architektūros paveldas: tyrimai, išsaugojimo problemos ir lūkesčiai* (Vilnius: Vilniaus dailės akademijos leidykla, 2015), 13–43.

32 Czyż, "Wizerunki Michała Kazimierza Paca". See further discussion below.

33 Aušra Baniulytė, "Italai XVI–XVII a. Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės kasdieniame gyvenime", *Lietuvos etnologija / Lithuanian Ethnology. Studies in Social Anthropology and Ethnology*. *Kasdienybė ir kultūra*, ed. Auksuolė Čepaitienė (Vilnius: Lithuanian Institute of History, 2005), 75–96.

34 For these gifts see ASF, MP, 4493, 313r, 321r, 431r, 435v; 4492, 318r-v. On the Medici's collecting of *Animalia* in this period see Groom, *Exotic Animals in the Art and Culture of the Medici Court,* Angelic Groom, *Exotic Animals in the Art and Culture of the Medici Court in Florence* (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 95–111.

35 For the medicine chest see ASF, MP, 4492, 293 r-v, 294r-295v, 297r-v, 955v. See also Ashley Lynn Buchanan, "The Politics of Medicine at the Late Medici Court: The Recipe Collection of Anna Maria Luisa de' Medici (1667 – 1743)," PhD dissertation, University of South Florida, 2018, 30–32, 128–29.

36 For these gifts see ASF, MP, 4493, 435.

Pacowie and was tasked with painting such a portrait.[37] Palloni later completed mural paintings in the church at Pažaislis monastery (present-day Kaunas, Lithuania), founded in 1662 by Lithuanian Grand Chancellor Krzysztof Zygmunt Pac (1621–84), brother of Bishop Pac and cousin of Hetman Pac.[38] Palloni's frescoes at Pažaislis included a reliquary chapel dedicated to Maria Maddalena de' Pazzi, indicating that the Pacowie were already in possession of Pazzi relics before Cosimo's gift in 1682.[39] That Palloni painted a portrait of Michał Kazimierz Pac amongst the figures in the Pažaislis murals underscores the relationship between hetman and artist.[40] Pac also engaged Palloni to execute frescoes in St. Peter and St. Paul in Antakalnis,[41] where the decorative program emphasized the hetman's defense of the *Rzeczpospolita* and Catholicism.[42] Although this attribution must remain speculative, Palloni may have authored the full-length portrait of Hetman Pac in the Antakalnis church today (see more below).[43]

Thus far this essay has sketched a number of connections between the Pacowie and Medici. All the precious offerings in their gift exchange demonstrated a

[37] ASF, MP, 4493, 430v; Czyż, "Wizerunki Michała Kazimierza Paca", 90. No such portrait has yet been identified in the Medici collections. For Palloni see Giovanni Matteo Guidetti, "Additional Information about the Sources of Michele Arcangelo Palloni's Artistic Language", *Acta academiae artium Vilnensis* 51 (2008), 75–89.

[38] Mindaugas Paknys, *Pažaislio vienuolyno statybos ir dekoravimo istorija* (Vilnius: LKTI, 2013).

[39] Eighteenth-century records for Pažaislis described a "large ebony reliquary with silver small shelves and three figurines on top, in which there are two *Vella* of S. Maria Magdalena de Pazzi, oil in an ampoule, a piece of gray habit." Vilnius, Wroblewskis Library of the Lithuanian Academy of Sciences, f. 43-9919, "Pažaislio vienuolyno ir bažnyčios inventorius, sudarytas 1797," 20–21. See Baniulytė, "Šv. Marijos Magdalenos de'Pazzi," 234; Czyż, „Włosi w kręgu rodziny Paców," 186. For the decorative program see Anna Sylwia Czyż, "Treści ideowe wystroju kościoła i klasztoru w Pożajściu," *Kameduli w Warszawie 1641–2016: 375 lat fundacji eremu na Bielanach*, ed. Karol Guttmejer and Anna Sylwia Czyż (Warsaw: Miasto Stołeczne, 2016), 305–36.

[40] Czyż, "Wizerunki Michała Kazimierza Paca", 96.

[41] For the iconographic program see Jerzy Orda, "Symbolika rzeźb kościoła św. Piotra i Pawła w Wilnie", *Alma Mater Vilnensis* 11 (1933), 17–32; Stasys and Almantas Samalavičius, *Vilniaus Šv. Petro ir Povilo bažnyčia* (Vilnius: Lietuvos pilys, 1998), 64–172; Sigita Samuolienė, "Vilniaus Šv. Petro ir Povilo bažnyčios ikonografija," *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės barokas: formos, įtakos, kryptys*, *Acta Academiae Artium Vilnensis* vol. 21, ed. Egidijus Aleksandravičius, A. Butrimas, and Rasa Butvilaitė-Petrauskienė (Vilnius: Vilniaus Dailės akademijos leidykla, 2001), 35–42; Irena Vaišvilaitė, "Vilniaus Šventųjų apaštalų Petro ir Povilo bažnyčios dekoro programa," *Ibid*, 28–32; Anna Sylwia Czyż, *Kościół świętych Piotra i Pawła na Antokolu w Wilnie* (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolineum, 2008).

[42] Czyż, *Kościół świętych Piotra i Pawła*, 205, 214, 217.

[43] Czyż, "Wizerunki Michała Kazimierza Paca", 102. Palloni is credited for the portraits of Chancellor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and father of Bishop Pac, Stefan Pac (1587–1640), and Krzysztof Zygmunt Pac; compare also to his portraits of Jan Dobrogost Krasiński and Aleksander Wyhowski.

bilateral preoccupation not only rarity and luxury but also courtly dynastic ideals, and pious self-fashioning and militaristic expressions of faith against especially the Ottoman menace.[44] By way of conclusion, this essay will plot against a pair of contemporary Pacowie-Medici portraits this notion of entanglement, the attending socio-cultural concept of reciprocity, and its morphological corollary, the notion of semblance or similitude, which was also invoked Cosimo's letter cited at the opening of this essay. The portraits in question are the so-called Antalkanis portrait of Michał Kazimierz Pac in his hetmanly costume (*post* 1673), and Cosimo's coronation portrait in his grand-ducal apparel (Baldassare Franceschini, *post* 1670).[45] Both follow compositional conventions typical for monumental baroque full-length ruler portraits and show a strikingly similar contrapposto pose, with the left arm drawing attention to their swords and the right grasping symbolic regalia: Pac gestures to a *karabela* sabre (modeled after the Turkish *kilij* or scimitar) and holds the hetman's ceremonial *buzdygan* or *buława* mace, while Cosimo reveals the jeweled filigree pommel of a sword and brandishes a scepter topped by the Florentine *Giglio* (iris).[46]

Both wear elements of Lithuanian (Baltic) origin: a *szkofia* fur hat adorned with a silver pin and feathers rests on the table beside Pac, who wears a long *żupan* tunic beneath his armor, a red velvet fur-lined *delia* cloak, and sumptuously jeweled *bazuband* or *karwasz* arm-guards.[47] These elements, together with his close-cropped hair and mustache, were representative of Sarmatist cultural ideology. Cosimo's portrait features not only over 70 ermine tails on his robe, but also white boots likely made from *pelle di dante*. That both of these luxury materials were gifted from the Pac bespeaks the Baltic source of such precious pelts and furs.[48] Both men pose in front of a background scene gesturing to their triumph over the Ottoman threat: behind Pac, a vignette commemorates his Chocim victory. Behind Cosimo, a view of the *Quattro Mori* (Four Moors) sculpture locates this portrait in the Tuscan slave and trade port of Livorno, where the Medici used thousands of mostly Moslem prisoners of war to power their ships, and also imported critical supplies of Baltic grain from primarily

[44] For example, because of their associations with breeding and fecund reproduction, horses and ermine were common symbols of dynastic continuity, while the former were also associated with war and the latter with regal and imperial ceremonies. See further discussion in the context of this gift exchange in Noyes, "The Polar Winds have driven me to the conquest of the Treasure", and below.

[45] Based on Pac's physiognomy, Czyż, "Wizerunki Michała Kazimierza Paca", 102, convincingly argues for a later dating of the portrait.

[46] Jasienski, "A Savage Magnificence", 174.

[47] Paulin Banas, "Persian art and the crafting of Polish identity", *The fascination of Persia: the Persian-European dialogue in seventeenth-century art & contemporary art from Tehran*, ed. Axel Langer (Zürich: Museum Rietberg Verlag Scheidegger & Spiess AG, 2013), 118–35, at 133.

[48] Janet Martin, Treasure of the Land of Darkness: The Fur Trade and Its Significance for Medieval Russia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

Poland-Lithuania.[49] This detail recalls Hetman Pac's gift of the Turkish slave as a living symbol of not only his own military dominance and the source of Medicean maritime power, but also Tuscany's direct connection to and indeed dependence on the Commonwealth.

Both Cosimo and Michał are shown with golden silk brocade woven with strikingly similar heraldic *fleur-de-lis* patterns evocative of the Pacowie *Gozdawa* (Lily) and Florentine *Giglio*, assimilating their authority with the fabric.[50] In both images, the cloth's technique and design strongly suggests Italian manufacture – perhaps Florence, which had a long-standing silk industry.[51] In Pac's case, the lustrous textile replaced the Turkish-style Orientalizing carpets that signified Turkish *spolia* and often adorned tables in elite *szlachta* portraits.[52] That Palloni's Pażaislis frescoes also included a rendering of a nearly identical Italian brocade fabric in the scene of "Balthazar's Feast" (1680–85), worn by the figure of the prophet Daniel who functioned as an avatar for Krzysztof Zygmunt Pac, suggests the Pacowie treasured such Italian textiles, possibly acquired as gifts from the Medici.[53] That Hetman Pac substituted his (perhaps) Florentine silk for Ottomanizing *spolia* further suggests that he may have fashioned himself the successor (or even the conqueror) of Italian splendor, effecting a transregional Italo-Baltic *translatio imperii* (transfer of rule or empire).[54]

Mapping the material and hermeneutical mutability of these objects and the gifts exchanged as religious, political and cultural indexical signs reveals the sophistication with which the Pacowie fashioned themselves as diplomatic agents and international arbiters of taste, disseminating aesthetic and

[49] Salvatore Bono, "Schiavi musulmani sulle galere e nei bagni d'Italia dal XVI al XIX secolo", in *Le genti del mare Mediterraneo*, ed. Rosalba Ragosta (Naples: Lucio Pironti, 1981), 2: 837–75; Corey Tazzara, "Port of Trade or Commodity Market? Livorno and Cross-Cultural Trade in the Early Modern Mediterranean", *Business History Review* 94 (2020), 201–28.

[50] Anna Sylwia Czyż, "Przekaz symboliczny i propagandowy programów heraldycznych w siedemnastowiecznych żałobnych drukach Pacowskich, czyli „Liliaci" i ich Gozdawa", *Przegląd Wschodni* 14 (2018), 739–65; Eadem., "The Symbolic and Propaganda Message of the Heraldic Programmes in Two 17th-Century Marriage Prints (Epithalamia) of the Pacas Family", *Knygotyra* 73 (2020), 79–93.

[51] Richard A. Goldthwaite, "An Entrepreneurial Silk Weaver in Renaissance Florence", *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 10 (2005), 69–126.

[52] Banas, "Persian art and the crafting of Polish identity;" Jasienski, "A Savage Magnificence." See also Tomasz Grusiecki, "Uprooting Origins: Polish-Lithuanian Art and the Challenge of Pluralism", *Globalizing East European Art Histories: Past and Present*, ed. Beáta Hock and Anu Allas (New York: Routledge, 2018), 25–38.

[53] Czyż, "Wizerunki Michała Kazimierza Paca," 104; Eadem., "Treści ideowe wystroju kościoła i klasztoru w Pożajściu", 318–20.

[54] Heinz Thomas, "Translatio Imperii", *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (Munich: LEXMA Verlag, 1997), 8: 944–6.

cultural programs between the Tuscan and Lithuanian courts. It also attributes agency to the Lithuanian magnates for shaping culturally distinct representation within and between evolving early modern European states, to expose the reliance of a self-styled center (grand-ducal Florence) on its so-called artistic periphery (grand-ducal Lithuania), and thus to problematize conventional understandings of cultural dynamics between Western and Eastern Europe.[55]

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[55] Along these lines see Tomasz Grusiecki, "Going Global? An Attempt to Challenge the Peripheral Position of Early Modern Polish–Lithuanian Painting in the Historiography of Art," *The Polish Review* 57, no. 4 (2012), 3–26; Hock and Allas, *Globalizing East European Art Histories.*

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Fig. 1. Portrait of Michał Kazimierz Pac

Unknown artist (Michelangelo Palloni?), Oil on canvas, post 1673. Church of St. Peter and St. Paul, Antakalnis (Vilnius), Lithuania. Photo: Wikipedia.



Fig. 2. Portrait of Cosimo III de' Medici

Baldassare Franceschini, Oil on canvas, post 1670. Royal Castle in Warsaw, Poland. Photo: Wikipedia.

Ruth SARGENT NOYES

„KAD BENT VAIZDE ĮŽVELGČIAU DRAUGO PANAŠUMĄ ...“ PACŲ GIMINĖ TARP BAROKO TOSKANOS IR LIETUVOS

Santrauka

Straipsnyje aptariamas apsikeitimas dovanomis tarp didžiojo kunigaikščio Cosimo III de Medici ir Pacų giminės XVII a. pabaigoje. Siekiama parodyti Pacų ryšius platesniame europiniame kontekste, į pagalbą pasitelkus tarpregioninę mikroistoriją, padedančią atsekti susipynusius daiktus, atvaizdus ir medžiagas kaip tarpkultūrinius slenksčius, leidžiančius atskleisti sociokultūrinius santykius ir iš naujo įvertinti Pacų ir jų tariamai „periferinės“ erdvės ryšius su Toskana ir Medici gimine, kurie tradiciškai baroko Europos istorijoje laikomi „centru“.

Reikšminiai žodžiai: menas, meno istorija, meno mecenatystė, Italija, Medici, tarpkultūriniai mainai.