
MATERIALS

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Educational journeys of noble sons in the light of Jakub Dunin's correspondence from the travel around Europe in 1699-1703

Abstract

The article aims to show the issue of educational travels of noble youth in the modern era. Its source basis is the correspondence of Jakub Dunin from his journeys around Europe in the years 1699–1703, addressed to his father Franciszek Świętosław. These letters (preserved in the National Archives in Krakow in the Tomkowicz Archive from Kobiernice) are the source of important information referring to the reasons for the travel, expenses related with travelling or companions in the excursion.

Particularly noteworthy are the colourful descriptions of social life at European royal courts. For example, the author visited the Versailles of Louis XIV, from which he reported in detail on the celebration of various ceremonies and courtly entertainment events. Foreign journeys made it possible to encounter foreign cultures, political system or army, which encouraged sons of the nobility to reflect, which reflections they shared then with relatives in the country. As a result, correspondence from the peregrination always abounds in individual interpretations, for example, on the political situation taking place on the international arena at that time, which when confronted with the actual state will be an additional asset of the publication.

Keywords: journey, correspondence, education, traditions, place

Epistolary sources are an invaluable cognitive material for researchers of cultural and social phenomena, both in terms of interpersonal relations and with regard to specific events of social nature¹. Undoubtedly, such facts include all kinds of journeys, which over

¹ See MALISZEWSKI, K., *Komunikacja społeczna w kulturze staropolskiej. Studia z dziejów kształtowania się form i treści społecznego przekazu w Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej*, Toruń 2001; *Epistolografia w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, vol. VI (stulecia XVI–XIX). *Nowa perspektywa historyczna i językowa*, eds. P. BOREK, M. OLMA, Kraków 2015; *Kobiece kręgi korespondencyjne w XVII–XIX wieku*, eds. B. POPIOŁEK, U. KICIŃ-

the centuries have left traces in the form of diaries, travel instructions, lists of financial expenditures and, most importantly, a series of letters carrying important information².

People of the Old Polish period, especially those from the highest-class milieu, appreciated the role of education as an indispensable element of their functioning in their social stratum. Elementary education was usually obtained at a family home with the help of specially employed tutors (often foreigners). What's more, they were educated in schools run by Jesuit or Piarist orders³. It was also necessary for the education of a young man to stay at the royal court, or more often in the magnate circles, where proper habits and skills useful in the social sphere were acquired. In addition, they were trained there in the diplomatic service and learned the arcana of politics of that time.

An extremely popular form of teaching used among the youth of Old Poland was foreign travel. The reasons for undertaking these enterprises seem to be very multifaceted because they are a combination of several important elements, namely: school education, self-education and practical skills acquired in their course⁴. The noblemen were not always satisfied with the level and the course of the education offered in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, that's why they sent their sons abroad to acquire knowledge in famous European universities⁵. In addition to learning in the strict sense, the youth was also supposed to learn about new milieu, customs, socio-political relations, improve their command of foreign languages, and what is most important from the individual side – meet new people, make contacts and make friends⁶.

SKA, A. SŁABY, Warszawa 2016; *Źródła do dziejów staropolskich podróży edukacyjnych*, eds. D. ŻOŁĄDŹ-STRZELCZYK, M. E. KOWALCZYK, Wrocław 2017.

² See POPIOŁEK, B., *Na marginesie ważnych spraw. Listy kobiet epoki saskiej*, in: *Rola i miejsce kobiet w edukacji i kulturze polskiej*, vol. 1, eds. W. JAMROŻEK, D. ŻOŁĄDŹ-STRZELCZYK, Poznań 1998, pp. 89–108; ROK, B., *Opis podróży Wacława Sierakowskiego (1741–1806) po Europie w latach 1763–1769*, in: *Z badań nad Rzeczypospolitą w czasach nowożytnych*, ed. K. MATWIJOWSKI, Wrocław 2001, pp. 131–148; PENKAŁA, A., “*Nowiny ślę pewne i dobre*”. *Szlacheckie podróże w świetle wybranej małżeńskiej korespondencji XVII i XVIII wieku*, in: *Via viatores quaerit. Mobilność społeczna w dziejach krajów Grupy Wyszehradzkiej*, eds. A. TETERYCZ-PUZIO, L. KOŚCIELAK, E. ŁĄCZYŃSKA, Słupsk 2016, pp. 167–176; ŻOŁĄDŹ-STRZELCZYK, D., “*Refleksje synowi wyjeżdżającemu do Widnia*” – *Feliksa Czackiego wskazówki dla syna*, in: *Staropolskie podróżowanie*, eds. B. ROK, F. WOLAŃSKI, Kraków 2016, pp. 271–280.

³ Education organized by religious orders generally concentrated on secondary education. In addition to philosophy or theology, the subjects such as grammar, poetry, rhetoric were taught. In addition, they cared about the spiritual and moral development of pupils. Since the suppression of the Jesuit order by Pope Clement XIV in VII 1773 and the establishment of the National Education Commission (14 X 1773), former religious colleges were taken over by the government administration, allowing for a thorough reorganisation (PUCHOWSKI, K., *Europejski rodowód kolegiów szlacheckich w Rzeczypospolitej. Rekonesans*, in: *Staropolski ogląd świata - problem inności*, ed. F. WOLAŃSKI, Toruń 2007, pp. 183–200).

⁴ ŻOŁĄDŹ-STRZELCZYK, D., “*Podróże edukacyjne w staropolskiej myśli pedagogicznej*”, *Chowanna*, vol. 2, 1998, p. 32.

⁵ *Przestrogi i nauki dla dzieci: instrukcje rodzicielskie (XVIII w.)*, eds. M. E. KOWALCZYK, D. ŻOŁĄDŹ-STRZELCZYK, Wrocław 2017.

⁶ ŻOŁĄDŹ-STRZELCZYK, D., *Idealy edukacyjne doby staropolskiej. Stanowe modele i potrzeby edukacyjne szesnastego i siedemnastego wieku*, Warszawa–Poznań 1990, p. 65.

The idea of educational journeys was already known in the Middle Ages, and became popular in the modern era, which was associated with the renaissance concept of comprehensive education and curiosity of the world. Foreign journeys have not lost their importance over time or due to the ongoing cultural changes, only their concept and directions of peregrination have changed⁷. Western Europe was visited the most, especially Italian and German countries, France, the Netherlands and less often England. Generally speaking, in the Old Polish era, there were two most important types of journeys. The first is called *pergrinatio academica*, or scientific journeys, undertaken for education in specific European educational institutions. The second, more famous, can be described as the *Grand Tour*, because it was planned to ensure that, regardless of the length of the escapade, visit as many places as possible and get to know foreign societies from a multidimensional perspective⁸.

The 18th century is considered the first century of great tourism, also because the specificity of travelling is changing. Social mobility is becoming a common phenomenon. What is more, the flow of information depends on the smooth work of mail services⁹. The prolonged absence at the family home meant that sons of noblemen staying abroad tried to send regular news from their trip, and also expected news about the life of their close relatives. Many issues of private, cultural, political, social and economic nature have been addressed in this type of correspondence, which provides a very interesting account of the realities of the time.

The correspondence of the Dunin family¹⁰, preserved in the National Archives in Krakow (Branch I), perfectly matches the trends of Old Polish epistolography. Among the hundreds of letters covering matters that are important not only for the family, but also for the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, one of the most noteworthy are the accounts of travel in Europe in 1699–1703, written by Jakub Dunin (died in 1730)¹¹ to his father Świętosław Franciszek (died in 1706) deserve attention¹².

⁷ Ibidem, p. 66.

⁸ MAĆZAK, A., *Peregrynacje. Wojaże. Turystyka*, Warszawa 1984, p. 126.

⁹ In the modern era, there was a well-developed network of European-wide postal connections. The Commonwealth was not an exception in this regard. As early as the 16th century, foreign information flow routes were established (e.g. the Cracow-Venice route), while at the end of 17th and in the early 18th century a number of important postal centres were established, namely: Krakow, Warsaw, Gdansk, Toruń, Lublin or Lviv, to which mailings from Poland and abroad were flowing. The system guaranteed the regular flow of information in the form of handwritten newspapers, ephemeral prints, Old Polish periodicals, and most importantly it allowed for the sending of all kinds of correspondence (MALISZEWSKI, K., op. cit., pp. 31–34).

¹⁰ This publication concerns the representatives of the Skrzyzynno line of the Dunins, coat of arms Swan, declaring as their family seat the village of Wielkie Skrzyzynno (also called Skrzyzynno), located in the Land of Radom (KUPISZ, D., *Rody szlacheckie ziemi radomskiej*, Radom 2009, pp. 57–70).

¹¹ Jakub Dunin of Skrzyzynno – Mayor of Radom, regent of the Crown Chancellery and Grand Crown Referendary (during the period of peregrination has not yet held any of the given public functions); see KONOPCZYŃSKI, W., *Jakub Dunin ze Skrzyzny*, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. V, Kraków 1939–1946, pp. 474–475.

¹² Świętosław Franciszek Dunin ze Skrzyzny – Ensign of Parnawa, Regent and City Judge (*iudex castri*) of Radom, Tribunes and Stolnik of Sandomierz. He had three sons from the marriage with Zofia née Manowska (dead ca. 1700): Jakub, Piotr (dead in 1737) and Jan (dead in 1733).

Dunin begins his peregrination in the spring of 1699¹³. This journey is not the result of his independent initiative, but the protection that Radziwiłł gave him, because Jakub sets off as a companion of the princes: Jan Mikołaj (1681–1729) and Michał Antoni (1687–1721), himself having probably no more than eighteen years of age. The situation that has arisen is not surprising, because it often happened that protégées coming from less affluent homes set off along with young magnates. It is worth adding that noblemen were usually bound by clientelistic relationships with the family of their protectors¹⁴. This is confirmed by the example of Jakub Dunin, who many times expressed his gratitude to the princes for the possibility of gaining education abroad under their tutelage, by mentioning that “[...] to me, by God’s grace, [...] the kindness of the Princes has not changed which I certify”¹⁵.

The route of the trip initially included getting to Berlin, where the young people were escorted by Mr. Sakowicz, about whom no further detail is known. Jakub mentions that he is currently trying to send out as many letters as possible, because “[...] the correspondence will be later more difficult and at a considerable cost”¹⁶. In addition, he mentions that he will send letters to the family together with letters sent by young Radziwiłłs to Warsaw, which is natural, as mailings from German countries were running in Saxon times along a fixed route, leading to the capital of the Commonwealth. Dunin is aware of the fact that he faces a long, maybe even several years of separation from his home, and prepares his father for it, writing: “This seems to be a long peregrination because the Princes wish to visit Spain, Portugal, Venice and other faraway States [...]”¹⁷. Thus, the aforementioned journey was in line with the principle of a 18th century *Grand Tour* with a considerable advantage for the travellers who were supposed to know the countries of Western Europe regardless of the time and costs.

During the escapade, school education was also included, as indicated by a letter dated 19 March 1700 from Paris, in which Jakub Dunin reports to his father that together with the Princes Radziwiłł, he stays at the college of Jesuit fathers “[...] which greatly satisfies me because thanks to the grace of God I can achieve faster and bigger results in French speaking that [...] from the conversation with Polish noblemen whose number [...] rises [...]”¹⁸. Jesuit schools in France were considered to be extremely elitist, and the most important ones included: *Collège de la Flèche* in Anjou and *Collège de Louis-le-Grand* in Paris. Jakub Dunin stays at the second of these institutions, founded in 1584 as the *Collège*

¹³ Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie Oddział I (hereinafter ANKr Oddział I), Archiwum Tomkowiczów z Kobiernic (hereinafter ATKob) 33, k. 1–7, Listy Jakuba Dunina do Świętosława Franciszka Dunina, Radom i Opoczno, 1699.

¹⁴ CHACHAJ, M., *Orszak magnata odbywającego podróż edukacyjną (wiek XVI–XVIII)*, in: *Patron i dwór. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku*, eds. E. DUBAS-URWANOWICZ, J. URWANOWICZ, Warszawa 2006, p. 177.

¹⁵ ANKr Oddział I, ATKob 33, k. 9, List J. Dunina do Ś. F. Dunina, b. m. 2 XI 1699.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, k. 10.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*.

¹⁸ ANKr Oddział I, ATKob 33, k. 13–14, List J. Dunina do Ś. F. Dunina, Paryż 19 III 1700.

de Clermont, but then known under the changed name, to emphasize the character of royal protection over it¹⁹. The traveller mentions many significant personalities who are to appear in the walls of the university, or staying there, e.g about Prince Sanguszko (probably Paweł Karol)²⁰. Furthermore, he adds that “in this college there are fifteen French princes and foreign princes, and over a thousand other boarders with whom we will sit down at the table [...]”²¹. The confirmation of the previously mentioned customer relations is a request and discreet admonition addressed to Świętosław Franciszek to send regular correspondence to the protector of his son, as he has already committed to earlier, while “[...] The Princes, and especially Prince Incisor of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania [Jan Mikołaj Radziwiłł] who remembers you and considers you one of his friends, deems a sign of lack of friendship and confidence the fact that you have failed to correspond with him at least once a month, so please send a mailing to him”²².

Dunin is an extremely ambitious person and fully appreciates the opportunities offered by a peregrination abroad. However, expenses related to education are so big that he is forced to constantly request his father for funds to cover the costs of living and paying for private teachers, while not resorting to indebtedness with moneylenders. An example of such a request is as follows:

It's difficult for me that [...] there is no decision in response to my humblest request submitted in my previous letters, and in Paris they willingly lend money but the loan must then be repaid with a lot of money, almost double the sum [...] Therefore, I have not satisfied my teachers, and another will have to be paid [...]. I am just expecting your benevolent grace of for which [...] I must beg with the humblest requests²³.

It is important for him that, as a companion of the prince, he can live in a palace rented by the Radziwiłł family, moreover he is paid a yearly salary from the patrons²⁴, allowing him to cover part of the expenses. Jakub tries to keep the parent informed about his achievements, namely he mentions exercises in French, in which he made significant progress. He also mentions: “[...] fencing with swords, art of fortification, playing an instrument, dance [...] also very necessary [...] for me, as I always visit with the Prince on various events; other martial [exercises] I am going to perfect in Italy”²⁵. The scope of education thus seems to be multifaceted. The focus was not only on acquiring knowledge but also on acquiring specific skills necessary for a young nobleman. This included training in the art of fencing or predispositions useful in social life. Moreover, each of the

¹⁹ PUCHOWSKI, K., op. cit., pp. 188–189.

²⁰ ANKr Oddział I, ATKob 33, k. 14, List J. Dunina do Ś. F. Dunina, Paryż 19 III 1700.

²¹ Ibidem.

²² ANKr Oddział I, ATKob 33, k. 33, List J. Dunina do Ś. F. Dunina, Paryż 14 VI 1701.

²³ ANKr Oddział I, ATKob 33, k. 23–24, List J. Dunina do Ś. F. Dunina, Paryż 6 VIII 1700.

²⁴ ANKr Oddział I, ATKob 33, k. 15, List J. Dunina do Ś. F. Dunina, Paryż 19 III 1700.

²⁵ ANKr Oddział I, ATKob 33, k. 32, List J. Dunina do Ś. F. Dunina, Paryż 22 V 1701.

travellers had the opportunity to meet many significant personalities, not only foreigners, but more importantly, their compatriots also receiving education abroad. Jakub is satisfied with the positive relationships he has established, as he writes as follows: “[...] however, the biggest profit I have is that I gained confidence and friendship from many noblemen and people of *magnorum nominum* [great names] from Poland. All this is particularly successful [...]”²⁶.

An extremely important event that aroused great emotions at Jakub Dunin is a visit to Versailles, detailed in a letter dated 21 May 1700 from Paris. The following excerpt from the correspondence shows a fragment of the colourful life that takes place at the royal court, where the guests are welcomed with the greatest honours:

[...] the French King [Louis XIV] ordered for this time [...] that the waters play from various fountains *in diversas species* [made of various materials] *cum incredibili sumptu* [at an amazing expense] expressed admirable figures [...] which cannot be written down [...]. An artificial oak [...] standing in the garden, from each leaf of which water streams were flowing ceaselessly; after seeing and playing these waters (which took about five hours, or we made royal coach rides in the garden) we went in royal boats to the second Palace in the form of a canal in that garden; therefore, as the Princes had with them [...] ladies in the company, they ordered a sugar dinner in the boats, where there were many Frenchmen as well as foreign bachelors who for the viewing of playing water assisted the Princes [...]²⁷.

Louis XIV tried to enchant the foreigners with his Paris suburban residence. The Radziwiłł Princes (and Jakub Dunin along with them) are hosted there as guests, since various entertainment is provided for them. The first of these included a ride through the gardens of Versailles, combined with the admiration of elaborately made fountains, which were called “playing waters” because they were accompanied by musical accompaniment. Next, the young people sailed on special boats (*bateaux*) to the palace itself, enjoying a sweet supper. The stay at Versailles made a huge impression on Jakub, which is not surprising, because it was the first occasion when he could come into contact with life on one of the most magnificent European royal courts. He certainly took this visit as a great honour.

Another stage of the Paris escapade was also reflected in the mentioned letter to his father. Jakub Dunin reports:

On the second day [...] I went to the Town of Saint Denis²⁸, to the anniversary of the late king of France [Louis XIII] [...] where we watched the ceremonies. We have seen various French kings, the mausolea are made from alabaster, but these are *nec umbra* [are not comparable] to those alabaster [statues] the garden of Versailles is filled with. The treasury is full of precious stones, gold and various great sacred relics. Having returned to Paris, Prince Incisor [Jan Mikołaj Radziwiłł] held on Sunday, during which music teachers played their instruments,

²⁶ Ibidem.

²⁷ ANKr Oddział I, ATKob 33, k. 17–18, List J. Dunina do Ś. F. Dunina, Paryż 21 V 1700.

²⁸ This regards the Abbey of Saint Dionysius (St. Denis), who was considered the first bishop of Paris. Since the 6th century it had been deemed an official necropolis of French monarchs.

where there were five princes including Prince [...] Gotha, a relative of the King of Poland [August II Wettin] also rather spacious apartments full of many Ladies and Foreign Envoys or several other chevaliers ; after the concert, sugar pyramids and various [magnificent] liquors were taken in²⁹.

Educational trips were also accompanied by a tourism-cognitive context, which is confirmed by the quoted description of young people visiting the mausoleum of the French kings at the Abbey of St. Denis, not only participating in the worship service on the anniversary of the death of King Louis XIII, but also visiting the interior of the temple. The impression made on Dunin by the previously visited residence in Versailles does not disappear after seeing this mystical and very important place for the history of France. Even alabaster sculptures, relics and precious jewels are not able to evoke more impression in the author than the Versailles palace and park complex.

The travellers staying in Paris were surrounded by the circle of the most eminent personalities not only from the magnate houses of the Commonwealth, but also those belonging to the foreign elite. The Radziwiłł did not spare enough resources to promote their family abroad, which was done, for example, by the concerts they organized and the receptions to invite princes du sang, ladies from higher circles and ambassadors. Jakub Dunin had at those moments an excellent opportunity to make acquaintances who could be beneficial to his future career. In addition, he learned the art of conversation, manners and habits in the court life. More importantly, however, he directed his curiosity towards the sphere of customs, diplomacy and international relations in contemporary Europe.

Political issues are reflected in the Dunin's correspondence dated 2 September 1700, and 22 May, 14 June and 29 August 1701. Jakub draws a lot from newspapers, and also uses the opportunities offered by his presence at the royal court. All the events observed there describe to the father in the form of letters with news, for example, he reports on the conflict between Louis XIV and Cardinal de Bouillon³⁰, which caused confiscation of his property due to disobedience of the clergyman, but "[...] Her Majesty Queen of Poland³¹ and some *Principes* [princes] maintain him with their money in Rome to insult the king"³².

²⁹ ANKr Oddział I, ATKob 33, k. 19–20, List J. Dunina do Ś. F. Dunina, Paryż 21 V 1700.

³⁰ Emmanuel Thèodose de Bouillon (1643–1715) – a cleric and diplomat (in the correspondence, referred to as Boulon). He represented Louis XIV in the Holy See, but an ideological conflict occurred between him and the king, which resulted in the Cardinal's dismissal from Rome and the confiscation of property (MAG-DZIARZ, W. St., *Ludwik XIV*, Wrocław 2004, p. 185, 193).

³¹ Probably this refers to Maria Kazimiera de la Grange d'Arquien Sobieska, Jan III Sobieski's widow and Queen of the Commonwealth in 1674–1696. Jakub Dunin could continue to title her the monarch of Poland, as her successor Krystyna Eberhardyna Hohenzollernówna (spouse of Augustus II) was not officially crowned. Moreover, Maria Kazimiera had been in Rome since 1699, and being associated with the Rome's elite could actually support the Cardinal de Bouillon. This thesis may also be supported by the fact that he fell into disgrace with Louis XIV, who forbade her to make visits to the court (RUDZKI, E., *Polskie królowe*, vol. II, *Żony królów elekcyjnych*, Warszawa 1990, p. 193).

³² ANKr Oddział I, ATKob 33, k. 25–26, List J. Dunina do Ś. F. Dunina, Paryż 2 IX 1700.

Apart from court intrigues, Jakub Dunin is more interested in the situation taking place on the European political scene. It is worth noting that during his stay in Paris, two important military conflicts are waged in parallel, which in a decisive way influenced the system of political forces on the continent, namely the Third Northern War (1700–1721) and the War of Spanish Succession (1701–1714). The first of these is conducted between the so-called North League (mainly Russia, Denmark, Saxony) and Sweden, Hetmanate and Turkey. The Commonwealth is also involved in this antagonism because of the personal union that links it with Saxony, so events related with it cannot escape Dunin's mind. The second of these conflicts, however, takes place between some of the largest European powers, that is France (supported by Spain and some countries of the Reich) and England (in coalition with the Netherlands, Austria, Portugal, Sabaudia and Prussia). Jakub collects all news coming from the theatre of military operations and immediately passes it on to his father, providing his own interpretations (sometimes not quite apt), as in the following excerpt:

As regards the Danish Treaties with the Swedish King [Charles XII] and the Prince of Holstein [Frederick IV, Duke of Holstein-Gottorp], I do not know if you received a message, which recently concluded [ended] with a significant profit for the Danish king [Frederick IV Oldenburg] which probably [strengthened] the empires of our King [Augustus II Wettin] [...]³³.

The analysis of the political situation made by Jakub Dunin in this case does not quite correspond to reality, because the Travendal Treaty described by him (19 August 1700) was the result of the defeat that Denmark suffered in the fight against Sweden in the first stage of the Great Northern War. As a defeated country, Denmark had to withdraw from the conflict, which considerably weakened, and not, as Dunin claims, strengthened Saxony, which still remained entangled in a devastating war with the stronger opponent.

A much more meticulous account refers to other events, namely the situation taking place in neighbouring Prussia. In correspondence, Jakub again mentions his stay at the French court, where he was hosted along with Prince Jan Mikołaj Radziwiłł. Thus, he had the opportunity to gather up-to-date information, given that the prince was engaged together with the Holy See in a protest against the coronation of Frederick I Hohenzollern which he perceived a threat to domestic interests. Dunin mentions:

There, we stayed for a week, paying and receiving visits, and the reverend Nuncio thanked [...] you for making this protest against the coronation of the Duke of Brandenburg³⁴ and said that the Pope [Clement XI] following your *exemplo* [example] issued a *Breve* [document] against this coronation and sent letters to Christian monarchs [to not recognize the Duke of Brandenburg as the king] the copies of which he promised to give to you, your highness³⁵.

³³ Ibidem, k. 26–27.

³⁴ 18 January 1701.

³⁵ ANKr Oddział I, ATKob 33, k. 29–30, List J. Dunina do Ś. F. Dunina, Paryż 22 V 1701.

The political reinforcement of Prussia also caused a great stir in Versailles, but Louis XIV was already preoccupied with the preparations for the war of Spanish succession, which was perfectly noticed by Jakub Dunin as an eyewitness to these events:

[...] the French army in full readiness in the number of three hundred thousand went to Italy, the other to the Netherlands [...] certain treaties between France and Spain [...] will bring *cruentissimum* [utmostly cruel] *bellum* [war] to France and Spain with the Dutch, the Emperor, and the English. Now, the French King grants huge subsidies to the Elector and the German Dukes, amounting to thirty-six million of local currency, in order to secure their [neutrality] [...]³⁶.

The quoted fragment of the letter shows accurate observations about the genesis of the conflict, namely the treaties mentioned are nothing more than the testament of the Spanish ruler Charles II in which he appointed as his successor Philip d'Anjou, grandson of the Roi Soleil. This fact resulted in the appearance of a strong anti-French coalition whose axis were the countries mentioned by Dunin. The war was not officially declared yet, but the French army, already fully mobilized, started hostilities against the imperial forces in northern Italy³⁷. Jakub also mentions the subsidies paid by Louis XIV to countries of the Reich, but they were supposed not to ensure neutrality, but to help France in the form of military contingents, which were actually provided by Bavaria and Cologne. Another letter from Dunin to his father also contains mentions on the war, because he writes as follows: "The newspapers report only that several thousands of French King's troops went to Milan to the rescue. The Imperial and Brandenburg envoys leave the court because the Duke of Brandenburg provides troops to the Emperor troops"³⁸. In this case, this is also in line with actual events, as this information confirms the Italian campaign and the Prussian accession to the covenant against France. In view of that situation, keeping the Habsburg and Prussian ambassadors in Versailles was actually losing legitimacy, as the author of the letter rightly points out.

The stay of Jakub Dunin and the princes Radziwiłł in Paris lasted for almost one and a half year (from March 1700 to August 1701). Before setting off on a further journey, they paid many farewell visits, including at the royal court, where "[...] the King gave them a private audience during which [...] Prince Incisor [Jan Mikołaj Radziwiłł] gave a speech to which the King himself replied by thanking for their affection and ensuring that he remembered them, knowing the [greatness] of their House, keeping in mind the dignity and talents of the princes themselves [...]"³⁹. Then they went to visit Dauphin of France Louis de Bourbon and many other personalities related to the royal family. Jakub reminds that everywhere they were welcomed with great honours, because "[...] a few days before the farewell, they played waters and fountains of the Versailles Garden for the Princes where

³⁶ Ibidem, k. 30–31.

³⁷ MIŁKOWSKI T., MACHCEWICZ, P., *Historia Hiszpanii*, Wrocław 2002, p. 201

³⁸ ANKr Oddział I, ATKob 33, k. 33–34, List J. Dunina do Ś. F. Dunina, Paryż 14 VI 1701.

³⁹ ANKr Oddział I, ATKob 33, k. 37, List J. Dunina do Ś. F. Dunina, Paryż 29 VIII 1701.

[in the presence] of Polish Lords and many other foreigners we were carried in royal coaches and then we went to other palaces on the canal by bateaux richly adorned⁴⁰.

After a week's stay in Versailles, the travellers went to Saint-Germain to say farewell the dethroned English king James II Stuart, who was in exile in France⁴¹. Despite his poor health condition, the former monarch received them with great kindness. Dunin expressed his regret about the fate of the exile and his wife, who "suffer for their faith from his son-in-law [William III of Orange], dethroned and exiled [...]"⁴². This situation really had to be seen controversial by Poles, because in the Commonwealth there was no precedent at that time for the rulers to be dethroned.

During his stay in France, a momentous event took place for Jakub Dunin, namely on 22 August 1701 he became a Knight of the Order of St. Lazarus and Our Lady of Mount Carmel⁴³. This distinction was an initiative of Prince Jan Mikołaj Radziwiłł, who covered the costs of the nomination and purchased the order himself. According to Dunin's estimate, it was supposed to be a sum of about 600 thalers. To be awarded this title, Jakub had only to demonstrate his noble status, both patrilineage and matrilineage, which is why he wrote to his father about sending relevant documents⁴⁴.

Further peregrination was to include a trip to Flanders, and from there to the Netherlands and England⁴⁵. Unfortunately, no correspondence from these countries preserved, while the next letter is dated already from Venice. Jakub describes in it "[...] a spectacular event, that is the public entry of the French envoy [...] will be held on Sunday [...]; so we will have a small carnival feast here again"⁴⁶. The escapade, however, is slowly moving towards the end, because in an account from Vienna, Dunin reports that the travellers are heading to the borders of the Commonwealth, where they expect to arrive in the summer of 1703⁴⁷.

A few-year stay abroad was undoubtedly an important part of every nobleman's education. The example of Jakub Dunin's peregrination shows how enormous benefits came from direct contact with a non-native cultural circle, but it is not a solitary phenomenon. Analogous journeys with all their aspects were carried out by many representatives of the young generation of nobility and magnates, which can be concluded from the correspond-

⁴⁰ Ibidem, k. 38.

⁴¹ Louis XIV gave refuge to Stuart and his family, giving them the palace in Saint-Germain (NIE-MOJOWSKA, M., *Ostatni Stuartowie*, Warszawa 1992, p. 14.)

⁴² ANKr Oddział I, ATKob 33, k. 38, List J. Dunina do Ś. F. Dunina, Paryż 29 VIII 1701.

⁴³ Ibidem, k. 39.

⁴⁴ Ibidem.

⁴⁵ Ibidem.

⁴⁶ ANKr Oddział I, ATKob 33, k. 41, List J. Dunina do Ś. F. Dunina, Wenecja 28 IV 1703.

⁴⁷ ANKr Oddział I, ATKob 33, k. 45, List J. Dunina do Ś. F. Dunina, Paryż 27 V 1703.

ence discussed herein, where the surnames of Tarło, Sanguszko and Dłużecki are mentioned⁴⁸.

The escapade of Jakub Dunin and the princes Radziwiłł appears to be typical of the then old Polish educational standards. It was not without reason that Paris was chosen as the main centre of education, because the proximity of the royal court played an important role in forming social and moral attitudes. The peregrination has also made it possible to improve practical skills related to, for example, military art or command of foreign languages, and moreover, it initiated the analysis of the current political situation. Thanks to the contacts established and education and experience gained during the trip, Jakub Dunin could, after returning home, develop his career in public service without any obstacles, taking higher positions than other members of his own family.

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⁴⁸ ANKr Oddział I, ATKob 33, k. 14, List J. Dunina do Ś. F. Dunina, Paryż 19 III 1700. ANKr Oddział I, ATKob 33, k. 22, List J. Dunina do Ś. F. Dunina, Paryż 6 VIII 1700.

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