

Zdzisław Noga

Institute of History and Archival Sciences, Pedagogical University of Cracow

ITALIANS IN THE CITY OF CRACOW'S AUTHORITIES IN THE SIXTEENTH TO EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

Abstract

The article discusses the participation of Italians in the town council and the judicial bench being local government authorities of the city of Cracow in the early modern period. As many as seventy-four Italians (this standing for 14 per cent of all the councillors and 8 per cent assessors or lay judges) are identifiable for the period in question; nineteen of them concluded their careers with the office of assessors, never getting ranked to councillor. While most of them were merchants by profession, as many as five councillors held a doctor's degree. Italians were the most influential ethnic group in the council in the latter half of the seventeenth century and in the former half of the eighteenth, when in certain years the council-in-office, elected annually and consisting of eight members, featured as many as four Italians at the same time. Similarly, a considerable share of Italians in the judicial bench (almost 50 per cent) is observed for the first half of the eighteenth century; the detailed statistics is featured in the tables appended. Over 20 per cent of the families that accepted the municipal law in the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries obtained at least one of these offices. The share of Italians in Cracow's local-government administration at that time, incommensurate with the actual size of local Italian population, is explainable by their larger interest in pursuing municipal career opportunities. In the medieval period, and even under the reign of Queen Bona Sforza, a number of Italians demonstrated different economic strategies. They satisfied themselves with the royal privilege of *servitoriate*, counted on fast moneymaking and expected to return home sooner or later. In the later years, most of the Cracow-based Italians were well assimilated and preferred to settle down in the city.

Keywords: Italians, Cracow, town council, judicial bench, local government, multiethnic city

Cracow was one of the most ethnically diverse towns in Poland in the pre-industrial period. Ever since its incorporation and chartering under the Magdeburg Law in 1257, until the late Middle Ages, Germans

formed the group that was dominant in the upper stratum of burghers. However, from the beginning of the sixteenth century onwards, with the development of Polish national awareness and with support from the nobility, the importance of Poles, who gained the upper hand in the municipal authorities, grew continually. The struggle for the language of sermons delivered at the parish church of St Mary's, which led to a victory of the Poles in 1537, marked a symbolic moment. Italians were the third most important ethnic group in the town.¹

Their role in the areas of culture, arts, and trade in Cracow has already been studied by Jan Ptaśnik, Janina Bieniarzówna, Kamila Follprecht, Danuta Quirini-Popławska, Adam Manikowski, Wojciech Tygielski, and several other scholars.² The activities of the Italians with the town council in the seventeenth century and under the house of Wettin's rule in Poland (1697–1763) have been dealt with a great deal in dissertations regarding this institution.³ All the same, the participation and share of comers from Italy in the municipal government is worth revisiting once again – this time, in a longer temporal frame; and, their activities will be described herein in statistical terms.

Assessors (or, lay judges) and councillors (Pol. *rajcy*) are the object of our observation. Let us remind at this point that Cracow's town council functioned in the early modern period as a 24-member body; its members held their offices on a lifetime basis. Among these

¹ Janina Bieniarzówna and Jan M. Małecki, *Dzieje Krakowa*, ii: *Kraków w wiekach XVI–XVIII* (Kraków, 1984), 71–85; Zdzisław Noga, 'Polacy, Niemcy i Włosi w nowożytnym Krakowie', *Rocznik Krakowski*, lxxx (2014), 5–12.

² Stanisław Tomkowicz, 'Włosi kupcy w Krakowie', *Rocznik Krakowski*, iii (1900), 1–25; Jan Ptaśnik, 'Z dziejów kultury włoskiego Krakowa', *Rocznik Krakowski*, ix (1907), 1–147; *id.*, *Gli Italiani a Cracovia dal XVI secolo al XVIII* (Romae, 1909); Ptaśnik, *Italia apud Polonos mercatoria saeculo XV ineunte* (Romae, 1910); Adam Manikowski, *Il commercio italiano di tessuti di seta in Polonia nella seconda metà del XVII secolo (Lazienda di Marco Antonio Federici a Cracovia, 1680–1683)* (Warszawa, 1983); Wojciech Tygielski, *Włosi w Polsce XVI–XVII wieku. Utracona szansa na modernizację* (Warszawa, 2005); Kamila Follprecht, 'Włosi w elicie politycznej Krakowa do połowy XVII w. Topografia siedzib', in Zdzisław Noga (ed.), *Elita władzy i jej związki z miastami Europy w średniowieczu i epoce nowożytnej. Zbiór studiów* (Kraków, 2011), 251–63; Danuta Quirini-Popławska, *Działalność Sebastiana Montelupiego w Krakowie w drugiej połowie XVI wieku* (Kraków, 1970); *ead.*, 'Rola i znaczenie działalności Włochów w Krakowie od średniowiecza do XVIII w.', in Zdzisław Noga (ed.), *Kraków międzynarodowy* (Kraków, 2016), 55–8.

³ Janina Bieniarzówna, *Mieszczanie krakowskie XVII wieku* (Kraków, 1968); *ead.*, 'Rada miejska w czasach saskich', *Rocznik Krakowski*, xlvi (1976), 123–35.

members, an eight-men council-in-office was elected annually; each of its members acted as the burgomaster, one after the other, according to the seniority in office. Councillors-in-office were nominated until 1677 by the Voivode (governor) of province; later on, the then-current town council, having received the right of co-option from the king, did it. To enter the council, one had prior thereto to sit on the municipal judicial bench, be member of the higher court of the Magdeburg Law at the Cracow Castle, hold the office of the municipal scribe or syndic (judge-commissioner), or hold a doctoral degree. The judicial bench, the other municipal collegial office, was composed of eleven assessors elected on an annual basis.⁴

Although Italians were present in Cracow ever since the chartered town began functioning, were not particularly active with the municipality, involving themselves instead in the ecclesiastical structures, at the monarch's court, or in the salt mines.⁵ They could also pursue trading activities as royal suppliers; so, many of them were simply not interested in local administrative career opportunities. Suffice it to say that of the 325 councillors known to have appeared between the thirteenth and the fifteenth century, merely four (i.e. 1.2 per cent) came, for certain, from Italy. No wonder: by the middle of the sixteenth century, the city's right was only accepted by eighteen Italians, albeit many more permanently resided "at the foot of the Wawel hill".⁶

The situation radically changed in the early modern period: among the 393 councillors in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, as many as fifty-five (14 per cent) were Italian. The share of Italians in the council considerably changed in time.⁷ Interestingly, in spite of considerable inflows of newcomers from Italy into Cracow in the fifteenth and the former half of the sixteenth century, the first Italian to join

⁴ Waldemar Bukowski and Zdzisław Noga, 'Ustrój miasta Krakowa w XIII–XVIII wieku', in Grażyna Lichończak-Nurek (ed.), *Kraków – europejskie miasto prawa magdeburskiego 1257–1791* (Kraków, 2007), 49–68.

⁵ Riccardo Salmeri, 'Aspetti dell'emigrazione italiana in Polonia nel medioevo (sec. XI–XV)', *Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace historyczne*, 86 (1987), 5–13.

⁶ Follprecht, *Włosi w elicie*, 251–3 (earlier relevant literature is listed/referred to therein as well); Quirini-Popławska, *Rola i znaczenie*, 55–6. For a list of the councillors of the city of Cracow in 13–15 cc., see Marcin Starzyński, *Krakowska rada miejska w średniowieczu* (Kraków, 2010), 217–301.

⁷ For a list of the officials of the borough of Cracow in sixteenth–eighteenth centuries, see Noga, *Urzednicy miejscy Krakowa, Part 2: 1500–1794* (Kraków, 2008). Quantitative analyses presented herein have been developed on the basis of this study.

Table 1. Italian members of Cracow's town council, the 16th to 18th centuries

Years	Number of Italians*	Years	Number of Italians*	Years	Number of Italians*
1540	0	1649–53	6	1723	7
1541–51	1	1654–6	4	1724–7	6
1552–9	0	1657–61	5	1728–31	7
1560–4	1	1662–4	6	1732–8	8
1565	0	1665–6	5	1739–40	7
1566–91	1	1660–9	6	1741–2	6
1592–6	3	1670–2	5	1743–4	5
1597	2	1673–4	4	1745–8	4
1598–1600	1	1675–80	5	1749–58	3
1601–5	2	1681	6	1759	4
1606–8	3	1682	7	1760–4	3
1609–11	2	1683–4	6	1765	2
1612–15	3	1685–6	7	1766	3
1616–19	4	1687–8	6	1767–8	2
1620–1	3	1689–1701	5	1769–74	1
1622–9	4	1702	6	1774–8	5
1630–8	3	1703–6	5	1779–86	4
1639	4	1707–12	4	1787–91	3
1640–1	3	1713–14	5	1792	2
1642–4	2	1715–17	6	1793	0
1645	3	1718	7	1794	3
1646–8	5	1719–22	6		

Source: Zdzisław Noga, *Urzednicy miestas Krakowa*, Part 2: 1500–1794 (Kraków, 2008).

* Number of Italians in the council (annually)

the council, Gaspare Gucci, was granted the office only in 1540, and remained the only representative of the local Italian merchant community until his death in 1551. Ten years later another Italian, Bartolomeo Pusz, was accepted as the council's member. However, he was conflicted with the council and was little significant for the city. Niccolò Alantsee, an influential royal pharmacist, was promoted to the council a year before his death (in 1570); he was followed by Giovanni Battista Fontanini (1580), and then by Paolo Cellary (1592); the latter resigned as he received a noble title, though, and

was replaced by Giulio Delpace, who was elected in the subsequent year.⁸ From the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards, the share of Italian members of the council grew steadily. The largest proportion is observable between 1646 almost until the middle of the eighteenth century when, save for few annual periods, at least five Italians sat on the council at a time (see Table 1).

The twelve-month term-of-office envisioned for the councillors-in-office was not merely a formality but was strictly observed. The body's composition altered significantly from one year to the next at times. In spite of significant fluctuations, a considerable contribution of Italians is observable – with almost a half of its cast consisting of this ethnic group, particularly in the first half of the eighteenth century (see Table 2).

Interesting is also comparison of the share of Italians sitting in the 'full' council versus the one 'in office'. The actual contribution of Italians to current management of the city was larger in the eighteenth century than their number in the full council would have suggested. Their involvement in the city's affairs covered various aspects. Most of them were apparently well assimilated and their command of the Polish language was pretty good, since they frequently represented Cracow at central parliament (*sejm*) or the provincial assembly (*sejmik*) sessions.⁹ They performed various functions within the municipality or city government, often assuming responsibility for public finance, getting involved (not infrequently together with their families) in managing asylums or almshouses and in charity actions.¹⁰

⁸ Zdzisław Noga, *Krakowska rada miejska w XVI wieku: studium o elicie władzy*, 293, 304, 307, 310.

⁹ Among them, Sigismondo Alantsee (1623), Filippo Huttini (1648), Sigismondo Hipolit (1648), Bonaventura Briganti (1685, 1688, 1697), Carlo Toryani (1744), Giovanni Antonio Mariani (1778), and others. There were no Italians among parliamentary (*sejm*) deputies in the sixteenth century Cf. Noga, *Krakowska rada miejska*, 84–7; Andrzej Karpiński, 'Mieszczanie krakowscy na sejmach Rzeczypospolitej XVI–XVIII wieku. Zarys problematyki', in *Spółeczeństwo Staropolskie. Seria Nova*, i: *Spółeczeństwo a polityka* (Warszawa, 2008), 48, 51; Bogdan Kasprzyk (ed.), *Poczet sołtysów, wójtów i burmistrzów miasta Krakowa (1228–2010)* (Kraków, 2010) (hereinafter: *Poczet*), 562, 611, 615, 740.

¹⁰ For instance, during holy year jubilees, see Noga, 'Dwa krakowskie jubileusz lat świętych w XVIII wieku', in Anna Sochacka and Paweł Jusiak (eds.), *Scientia nihil est veritatis imago: Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Ryszardowi Szczygłowi w siedemdziesięciolecie urodzin* (Lublin, 2014), 431–9.

Table 2. Italian members of Cracow's town council-in-office, the 16th to 18th centuries

Years	Number of Italians*	Years	Number of Italians*	Years	Number of Italians*
1540	0	1655–8	1	1723	4
1541–3	1	1659	2	1724–5	1
1544–7	0	1660	0	1726–8	2
1548–50	1	1661–2	3	1729	0
1551–9	0	1663	1	1730	2
1560	1	1664	2	1731–2	3
1561–70	0	1665–7	1	1733	4
1571–2	1	1668	2	1734	3
1573–9	0	1669	0	1735	1
1580–1	1	1670–3	1	1736	2
1582–91	0	1674	0	1737	1
1592–3	2	1675	1	1738	2
1594–7	1	1676	0	1739	3
1598	0	1677–9	1	1740	2
1599–1600	0	1680–4	2	1741	3
1601–6	1	1685–6	3	1742	2
1607–10	0	1687–9	1	1743–4	1
1611–16	1	1690–1	2	1745–7	3
1617–18	2	1692	1	1748	2
1619	0	1693	2	1749	1
1620	1	1694	1	1750	3
1621	0	1695	2	1751	2
1622	2	1696	3	1752	3
1623	1	1697–8	1	1753–62	2
1624	3	1699	2	1763	1
1625–6	1	1700–2	1	1764	2
1627–9	0	1703	2	1765–6	1
1630	1	1704	0	1767	2
1631	0	1705–6	1	1768	1
1632	2	1707–8	3	1769–70	0
1633	1	1709–10	1	1771	1
1634–5	0	1711	0	1772–3	0
1636–7	1	1712	3	1774	4

1638	0	1713	1	1775	1
1639	2	1714–15	4	1776	3
1640–1	0	1716–17	1	1777–86	2
1642–4	1	1718	4	1787	3
1645–51	2	1719	2	1788–91	1
1652	1	1720	4	1792	2
1653	2	1721	3	1793	0
1654	0	1722	2	1794	3

Source: Noga, *Urządnicy miejscy Krakowa*, Part 2.

* Number of Italians in the council-in-office

Italians appeared in the city's government bodies virtually until the end of Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, withstanding the storms of history. Three Italians were appointed for the town council established on 4 March 1794. After the dismissal of the city government from the Kościuszko Insurrection time, the newly elected council (set up on 15th June 1794, under the Prussian occupation) featured not a single Italian, though.¹¹

Most of the Italians were promoted to the council in line with the binding law and custom: they namely had to have a record as office trainee with the Magdeburg Law court. However, it is astonishing that only twenty-five of those promoted to councillor had chosen the path of promotion leading through the municipal court (45 per cent, i.e. two in the sixteenth, sixteen in the seventeenth, and seven in the eighteenth centuries). In parallel, as many as ten (18 per cent, i.e. two in the sixteenth and eight in the seventeenth centuries) had been active with the higher court of the Magdeburg Law at the Cracow Castle. Established by the king in mid-fourteenth century and almost continually conflicted with the council, the court was the body of appeals for all the courts abiding by the German law in Lesser Poland's towns. Thus, also the court formally opened a path to promotion, as did the office of syndic, which was held by Andrea Cortini, who was appointed to the council on 23 November 1667.¹²

¹¹ National Archives of Cracow, Records of the City of Cracow, MS 1477, 127–8.

¹² The Cracow Jagiellonian Library (*Biblioteka Jagiellońska*, hereinafter: BJ) MS 5350, 356v; Ludwik Łysiak, *Ius supremum Maydeburgense castri Cracoviensis 1356–1794. Organisation, Tätigkeit und Stellung des Krakauer Oberhofs in der Rechtsprechung Altpolens* (Frankfurt am Main, 1990), 143–65; Maciej Ziemierski, *Skład osobowy sądu wyższego*

The obligation to become well-versed in the administrative practice beforehand did not extend to candidates with a doctor's degree – and indeed, none of the five councillors with such a high education (Filippo Huttini, Carlo Like, Giovanni Antonio Mariani, Josef Toryani, Sebastiano Zacherla) never held an office with the municipality before his promotion as a member of the council. Let us immediately add that the share of Italians with a doctor's title (9 per cent) was only slightly lesser than among the councillors in their entirety (12 per cent), which testifies that access to the town's government was opened not only to affluent Italian merchants but also to learned men or scholars. Merchants accounted, naturally, for a vast majority among those holding municipal offices; the Italians were pretty influential: as many as fourteen (i.e. 25.5 per cent) joined the council without meeting the formal criteria. Three were promoted to the office in the sixteenth century; seven sat on the council in the seventeenth, and four in the eighteenth.¹³ Most of these promotions fell on the time when councillors were nominated by voivodes of Cracow, when it was easier to obtain promotion, at times, in spite of the ruling oligarchy, with use of informal means and disdaining the city's regulations. After 1677, when the council gained the right to co-opt new councillors, only five Italians were admitted to the office of councillor without appropriate administrative internship.

Italians were highly represented also in the judicial bench, the other municipal government authority. While forty-three of them altogether held the post of assessor (or, lay judge) in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries – a mere 8 per cent, given the 526 assessors in office in that period – they tended to sit on the bench for a long time, sometimes for decades. Hence, their contribution to the local judiciary was significant (see Table 3).

Based on Table 3, it is apparent that in certain years, particularly in the former half of the eighteenth century, Italians formed almost a half

prawa magdeburskiego na zamku krakowskim w XVII–XVIII wieku (Kraków, 2013), 98–106 ff.

¹³ Bartolomeo Pusz (1560), Julio Delpace (1593), Niccolò Alantsee (1592), Andrea Cellari (1601) and his son Paolo Cellari (1617), Michele Leri (1615), Lodovico Bianchi (1624), Fabiano del Benigno (1622), Giovanni Benedetto Savioli (1651), Marco Antonio Federici (1682), Francesco Soldadini (1724) and Giovanni Soldadini (1730), Giovanni Nepomuceno Kaspari (1774), Francesco Xawery Willant (1794); cf. Noga, *Urzędnicy miejscy Krakowa, passim*.

of the bench's cast. When the fact is added that the function of senior assessor was held in that period almost only by Italians, then their prevalent influence on the city's judicial system is evident.¹⁴ In the second half of the eighteenth century they were not quite interested in sitting on the bench, and their number systematically decreased. Two assessors of Italian descent held the office still in 1752–8, then one in 1759–74; from 1775 onwards, there was no Italian assessor serving anymore.

Table 3. Italian members of Cracow's judicial bench, 16th to 18th centuries

Year	Number of Italians*	Year	Number of Italians*	Year	Number of Italians*
1540–50	0	1637–8	1	1700	2
1551–6	1	1639–41	0	1701–8	1
1557–8	0	1642	1	1709–11	3
1559	1	1643–5	2	1712	4
1560–1	2	1646–53	3	1713	3
1562	1	1654–7	4	1714–16	5
1563–82	0	1658–64	2	1717	6
1583–91	1	1665	4	1718–20	4
1592–3	2	1666–72	3	1721–3	5
1594–5	1	1673	2	1724–6	4
1596–1602	0	1674–9	4	1727–31	5
1603–4	1	1680–2	3	1732–8	4
1605–7	0	1683–91	2	1739–51	5
1608–12	1	1692	1	1752	3
1613	0	1693–5	3	1753–8	2
1614–16	2	1696	4	1759–74	1
1617–24	1	1697	3	1775–94	0
1625–36	0	1698–9	4		

Source: Noga, *Urządnicy miejsy Krakowa*, Part 2.

* Number of Italians at the magistrates' court (annually)

¹⁴ The following served as senior assessors: Giovanni Aloiso Luccini (1709–12, 1714, 1718, 1722), Sebastiano Zacherla (1716, 1719–21, 1723, 1727–9, 1731, 1735, 1737–9, 1741–2, 1744, 1746), Jacob Gianotti (Dzianotti) (1726, 1747), and Stanislao Fachinetti (1740); cf. Noga, *Urządnicy miejsy Krakowa*, *passim*.

As aforesaid, twenty-four assessors were later on promoted to the council; but as many as nineteen finished their clerical career at the magistrates' court (four, eight, and seven in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth cc., respectively). Jacob Dzanotti [Gianotti] was a special case in point: after a long career with the judiciary (since 1717), including as senior assessor, he was appointed an alderman (Ger. *Vogt*, Pol. *wójt*) in 1760 and kept the office – the only Italian ever to hold this post – for another thirteen years, till his death in 1773.

Italians formed family clans within the city's authorities. The Zacherl family, originating from Brescia, was present the longest – for more than a century (1646–1751) – in the main offices of the city of Cracow; three of the family reached the post of assessor and two others 'settled down' on the bench for fifty years (1646–96), effectively blocking the promotion opportunity for the assessors Dionisio Zacherla and Giovanni Zacherla. While no such obstacle was the case anymore in the time of Sebastiano Zacherla, the man spent almost forty years on the bench (1713–51), never getting promoted to the town council.

Four families introduced four of their members into the municipal institutions. Three citizens of Cracow from the pharmacist family of Alantsee were members of the council between 1571 and 1639 (on an off); another member of this family became just an assessor in the same period. Two decades later, the Delpace family, originally of Florence, started their administrative career in the town. Three members of the family had an office with the council over sixty years (1593–1653), with short intermissions; another Delpace was an assessor, until 1657. At that same time, the Hipolit family, coming from Pisa, was active with the town council. The family's eldest representative, Lodovico Hipolit, was appointed assessor in 1592, seven years after he was granted the city's citizenship; however, he died prematurely in 1597. His brother Paolo Hipolit was promoted to councillor only in 1612 (eighteen years after obtaining his citizenship) and remained in office until 1650, including eleven times as member of the council-in-office.¹⁵ This is why his brother Stanisław Hipolit, although the wealthiest among his siblings, concluded his administrative career as an assessor (in 1608–24), for the law banned simultaneous holding of the positions of

¹⁵ Bogusław Ratusiński, 'Hipolit, Paweł', entry in *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (hereinafter: PSB), ix (Wrocław, 1960/1), 525–6.

councillor by a father and a son or his brothers.¹⁶ All the same, Paolo Hipolit managed, when still alive, to put on the council (in 1648) his son Sigismondo Hipolit, who before the Swedish invasion of Poland in 1655) left Cracow and died in Vienna in 1656, thus remaining the last member of his family represented in Cracow's government bodies. In the eighteenth century, the family Toryani, originally from Ticino, north of Milan, had a total of four members in Cracow's authorities. Francesco Toryani, the eldest of them, arduously built his career as a member of the Council of Forty Men, referred to as the *quadragintavirate* (since 1709), then as an assessor (1712–17), and councillor (from 1718 on). Afterwards, two other members of his family sat on the council until 1778; Francesco Toryani ended his career with the position of assessor (in 1739–51).

The Italian families of Cellari, Dziañotti, Cortini, Soldadini had three representatives each in the council and the bench. Three members of the Cortini family held offices in Cracow for a rather short period of less than thirty years (1643 to 1671). Paolo Soldadini was the first member of his family to hold the position of assessor (for four years) before he was promoted to the council in 1701. From 1726 on, he sat on it together with his son Francesco Soldadini. 1730 saw the promotion to the council of Giovanni Soldadini; as a result, three members of the family were members of the council from 1730 to 1738; one of them, alternately, appeared in the council-in-office. It was already after the death of Paolo Soldadini in December 1738 that, on 11 January 1739, Francesco Soldadini joined the council-in-office for one term and then again (after a few years' break) in 1747, remaining in office till his death on 11 December 1768. The career of the Dziañotti family was commenced by Jacob Dziañotti, who was made assessor in 1717; as has been mentioned, he spent a number of years with the municipal court and was eventually appointed vogt in 1760. His brother Giovanni Dziañotti, who sat on the bench in 1721, shortly afterwards was promoted to the council (1723). Fifteen years after his demise, in 1774, Francesco Dziañotti was made councillor (1774) and kept the office until Cracow was intercepted by the Prussians and the Third Partition of Poland-Lithuania occurred.

¹⁶ *Prawa, przywileje i statuta miasta Krakowa 1507–1795*, i: 1507–1586, Franciszek Piekosiński (ed.) (Kraków, 1899), 3; ii: 1587–1696, F. Piekosiński and Stanisław Krzyżanowski (eds.) (Kraków, 1909), 162.

The Cellari should be seen as one of the families that had two officials each in the authorities of Cracow. Andrea and Paolo were councillors in 1601 to 1641, whereas Paolo Cellary, who was appointed for the council in 1592, quit the office as he was ennobled.¹⁷

Moreover, five other families – namely, Belli, Fachinetti, Federici, Luccini, and Pestalocci – successfully placed two of their members in the municipal institutions. Altogether, as many as forty-two (58 per cent) municipality officials came from fourteen families. It ought to be noted, though, that thirty councillors or assessors were the single representatives of their families in Cracow's authorities. Some of them were first-generation arrivals who were granted the city's right in Cracow.

Calculation of the average period between the receipt of the citizenship and obtaining the office may be misleading since prior to receiving the citizenship of Cracow, many of those who were to become councillors or lay judges had resided in the city for a number of years. Andrea Cellari was permanently present in Cracow since 1568, though he received the city's right eleven years later;¹⁸ in reality, then, he resided in Cracow thirty-three, rather than twenty-two, years before being promoted to the council. A few examples will serve as a good illustration. A native of Florence, Julio Delpace received the city's right in 1579 and was promoted as a council member fourteen years later – in 1593, without serving as a lay judge.¹⁹ Domenico Megliorucci from Florence received the citizenship of Cracow in 1690, was appointed assessor three years later, a councillor after another four years.²⁰ Faster promotions happened as well: one example is Lodovico Bianchi, made citizen of Cracow probably in 1623, just a year before he was nominated for the council.²¹ Flavio Marchetti enjoyed an even faster promotion: a councillor in Lublin until 1696,

¹⁷ Barbara Trelińska (ed.), *Album armorum nobilium Regni Poloniae XV–XVIII saec. Herby nobilitacji i indygenatów XV–XVIII w.* (Lublin, 2001), no. 937; Noga, *Krakowska rada miejska*, 32; Kamila Follprecht, 'Przyczynki do dziejów krakowskiej rodziny Cellarich', *Krakowski Rocznik Archiwalny*, v (1999), 70–8.

¹⁸ *Poczet*, 555.

¹⁹ Aniela Kiełbicka and Zbigniew Wojas (eds.), *Księgi przyjęć do prawa miejskiego w Krakowie 1573–1611. Libri iuris civilis Cracoviensis 1573–1611* (Kraków, 1994), no. 428; Danuta Quirini-Popławska, *Pace del Julio*, PSB, xiv (1968/9), 751–2.

²⁰ Bieniarzówna, *Mieszczanństwo*, 164.

²¹ It is obvious that he did not serve the obligatory traineeship at the bench; *ibid.*, 155.

he was made member of the Cracow bench on 15 May and appointed councillor on 19 May 1696.²²

The period of waiting to receive promotion to the council from the previous office can be determined for the Italians with a much higher reliability. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, on average, five-and-a-half years would pass between taking office as assessor and promotion to the council – a shorter period than that with the councillors taken together.

Fast-paced promotions to the city's top-level offices enjoyed by those who mostly arrived from towns of northern Italy but sometimes reached Cracow stage by stage, having spent some time in other urban hubs – as was the case with Niccolò Alantsee (who had stayed in Płock) or Giovanni Benedetto Savioli (Lwów)²³ nowise mean that Cracow's governing elite was not an oligarchic structure. Usually, such first representatives of their office-holding families were fathers-in-law of councillors or spouses of councillors' widows. It is for instance known that Fabiano del Benigno from Florence got married in 1618 to a widow of councillor Michał Leri, his associate (died 1616) and was made councillor in 1622. Andrea Belli married in 1659 to Magdalena Pipan, a councillor's daughter, and was nominated for the council position three years later.²⁴ These promotions were based on family connections, personal wealth and, in some cases, education. All these factors influenced the career of Geronimo Pinocci from Tuscany, who in 1645 was appointed royal secretary and councillor (just five years after being granted the citizenship of Cracow); he was married to a stepdaughter of Rafaello Delpace, a councillor.²⁵ Dr Filippo Huttini, who had resided for some time in Poland before, obtained his citizenship in 1635 and was appointed councillor eleven years later, as a scribe with the royal chancellery; his spouse, named Katarina, was a daughter of councillor Niccolò Pernus.²⁶ Sebastiano Zacherla obtained the city's right in 1628 and was made a lay judge in 1646 and councillor later in the same year.²⁷ A list of such examples

²² Jan Riabinin, *Rada miejska lubelska w XVII wieku* (Lublin, 1931), 33; Bieniarzówna, *Mieszczanieństwo*, 163.

²³ Noga, *Krakowska rada miejska*, 293; Bieniarzówna, *Mieszczanieństwo*, 167.

²⁴ *Poczet*, 572, 582, 635.

²⁵ Karolina Targosz, 'Pinocci, Hieronim', PSB, xxvi (Wrocław, 1981), 341–3.

²⁶ *Poczet*, 611.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 613.

could go on. Some had to wait long to be appointed to the council, though. Francesco Lupi, for that matter, received the city's right in 1629 but it was only in 1658 that he became councillor. The possible reason was that he had married Anna Rynt, a non-patrician woman, chosen a career path through the higher court of Magdeburg Law at the Cracow Castle and was made its alderman in 1644.²⁸

Nepotism was overwhelming in the council, albeit appearances were kept up still in the seventeenth century: when Francesco Cortini died in 1667, he was officially replaced by Mikołaj Fabrys; however, a day earlier Francesco's brother Andrea Cortini had joined the council – officially, as a replacement of the deceased Michele Behm.²⁹ There was nothing odd or rare about 'inheriting' the offices. Paolo Cellary was elected for the council in 1617, following his father Andrea Cellary. When lay judge Stanisław Fachinetti died in 1759, his son Stanisław Giovanni Fachinetti was nominated as his replacement on 23 May that same year. Francesco Działkiewicz took in 1761 the bench over after his father Jacob who had been appointed vogt a year earlier.³⁰

In the former half of the eighteenth century, when the influence of Italians in the city's authorities soared, the binding law was overtly neglected. In spite of the bans imposed, Paolo Soldadini with his son Francesco, and Francesco Toryani with his son Carlo sat on the council at the same time. Added to that, Francesco Soldadini was married with Elisabeth, daughter of Francesco Toryani; Paolo Soldadini's got his daughter Elisabeth married to councillor Giovanni Działkiewicz: all this makes it apparent how dense the network of connections was. Otherwise, it extended to a majority of the councillors, regardless of their ethnicity or descent.³¹

It is not clear whether the ethnic criterion was critical for the co-optation to the council, though there are many indications that it was so – if we take into account the scale of single mentions recording who namely was replaced by the newly-appointed councillor. It is known that Lodovico Bianchi replaced in 1624 Fabiano del Benigno, who had been in office for only three years. The councillor's seat

²⁸ Ziemierski, *Skład osobowy*, 227.

²⁹ BJ, MS 5350, 356v.; Bieniarzówna, 'Kortyn, Franciszek', PSB, xiv (Wrocław, 1968/9), 122–3.

³⁰ Noga, *Urzednicy miejscy Krakowa*, 68, 72, 255.

³¹ Bieniarzówna, 'Rada miejska w czasach saskich', *Rocznik Krakowski*, xlvii (1976), 124–5; *Poczet*, 680.

emptied by Francesco Luppi, who died on 18 May 1672, was taken over, on 9 June, by Antonio Luccini. The chair at the council after the deceased Giovanni Priami was occupied since 8 December 1670 by Giovanni Cortini, son-in-law of councillor Sebastiano Zacherla. It is furthermore known that on 26 June 1699 Aurelio Federici was elected councillor to replace his dead uncle Marco Antonio Federici. After Aurelio Federici's death, his Franciszek Toryani replaced him at the council from 5 May 1718 onwards. In 1730, Giovanni Soldadini took the chair that formerly was Domenico Meglioruci's, but as Paolo Soldadini and, subsequently, Francesco Soldadini were members of the council-in-office, over the eighteen years of remaining in office Giovanni never joined this body. The seat vacated at the municipal council chamber by Carlo Toryani, who died in 1765, was taken over by Dr Giovanni Antonio Mariani.³²

The survey presented above implies that the role of Italians in the governmental bodies of Cracow was significant and disproportionate given the total number of Italian residents in the city. Altogether, seventy-four Italians were members of the municipal authorities, including fifty-five councillors (*rajcas*) and eighteen assessors/lay judges (who ended their administrative career at this level), and one vogt (*wójt*). The population in the city of Cracow was approx. 10,000 in the eighteenth century. During the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, a total of 214 Italian families received the right of the city of Cracow (fifty-five in the sixteenth, 144 in the seventeenth, and fifteen in the eighteenth centuries).³³ As many as forty-four (21 per cent) of these families were entrusted important municipal offices: this proportion best renders the importance of Italians in early modern Cracow. The share of Italian people in the municipal government of Cracow, not proportional to their local population, is explainable in terms of their increased interest in pursuing careers with the municipality. In the Middle Ages, and even in the time of Queen Bona Sforza, many Italians had various economic strategies. They would satisfy themselves with the royal privilege of *servitoriate*, counted on fast moneymaking and expected to return home sooner or later. In the later years, most of the Cracow-based Italians were well assimilated and preferred

³² Noga, *Urzednicy miejscy Krakowa*, 68, 103, 104, 121, 142, 163, 235, 255.

³³ Tygielski, *Włosi w Polsce*, 299–300; Bieniarzówna and Małecki, *Dzieje Krakowa*, ii: *Kraków w wiekach XVI–XVIII*, 567.

to settle down in the city. A vast majority of councillors and lay judges of Italian descent were merchants who had their houses in prestigious locations – mainly, at the Market Square – and who contributed the Italian tone and atmosphere to the city’s culture.³⁴ Many were promoted to the ranks of Polish nobility (which is a different issue, though).

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³⁴ This issue has been thoroughly researched; see Follprecht, *Włosi w elicie politycznej*, 251–65.

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Zdzisław Noga – medieval history; urban history in the Middle Ages and early modern times; historical cartography; professor at the Institute of History and Archival Sciences, Pedagogical University in Cracow; e-mail: nogaz@up.krakow.pl