BISHOP GIORGIO LASCARIS AND THE STUARTS

by

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In 2022 National Museums Scotland published the present author's book *Bonnie Prince Charlie – His Life, Family Legend*. It seems that as soon as an author has gone to press, he discovers something he wished he had included. That is why this essay looks at a discreet man who stood at the centre of a small but tightly-knit and highly significant group, and played a far from insignificant role in the lives of the last generations of the Stuarts.

1

In 1738 the Venetian nobleman Bishop Giorgio Lascaris (1702-1795) (*Fig.1*) travelled from Rome to the city of Lwow in Poland [1]. There he remained for no less than ten years. He had been given various tasks by King James VIII & III relating to the inheritance of his father-in-law, Prince James Sobieski, who had just died and whose vast estate of Zolkiew (*Fig.2*) was located to the north of Lwow. Zolkiew was then inherited in 1739 by King James' sister-in-law Princess Charlotte Sobieska, the wife of the Duke of Bouillon, who immediately sold it to

her cousin Prince Michael Radziwill (1702-1762) (*Fig.3*). He was the grandson of King John Sobieski's sister Catherine. And that made Radziwill the Stuarts' closest Polish cousin.


2


3

Once in Poland Lascaris immediately won Radziwill's friendship. As a result, in 1741, he was appointed Parish Priest and Protonotary Apostolic of Olyka, Radziwill's main residence (*Fig.4*) [2]. His consecration took place at the Collegiate Church (*Fig.5*), at the hands of the Armenian-Catholic Archbishop of Lwow, James Augustynowicz. And in 1748 Lascaris became Abbot of Radziwill's recently-acquired Zolkiew. Again it was Augustynowicz who ceremoniously led him to the Collegiate Church there (*Fig.6*). [3]


4

After his decade in Lwow, Lascaris returned to Rome. At that time, in August 1749, a serious argument broke out between King James and his younger son Prince Henry, Cardinal York. It concerned the latter's passionate relationship with a young priest called Giovanni Lercari - a heated dispute which lasted over three years. Throughout, Lascaris used his diplomatic talent to appease matters. As a result he became James's chief adviser, accompanying him to Albano where he negotiated Henry's return from Bologna to Rome in late 1752. Lascaris became James's minister, secretary and trusted friend, whilst Henry, when appointed Archpriest of St Peter's in 1751, chose Lascaris as his vicar. In January 1753 Henry

Fitzmaurice, complained that King James '*hardly listens to my advice any more, since the Prelate Lascaris is now the only one favoured'*. [4]


5 6


Lascaris remained intimate with the Stuarts in Rome and in 1772, when Prince Charles's daughter Charlotte Stuart arrived to protest her father's marriage to Princess Louise zu Stolberg-Gedern, it was again Lascaris who mediated. When thanking him for his efforts, Charlotte asked Lascaris, her uncle Cardinal Henry's acting treasurer, '*not to refuse my demand for exchanging my convent in Meaux for one in Paris*'. Lascaris obliged and successfully persuaded the infuriated Henry to agree.

Lascaris was considered the Roman Curia's expert on all matters Polish and in 1764 was appointed a member of the Congregation for Polish Affairs. He maintained relations with the Polish community in Rome and corresponded with his friends in Poland until the end of his life. In 1796, during an episcopal visitation for the Cathedral of Luck, it was recorded that three paintings by the Polish artist Thaddaeus Kuntze, had been commissioned and paid for in Rome by Lascaris. And when Kuntze painted frescoes for Cardinal Henry at Frascati in 1775-77, it was at Lascaris' recommendation. [5]

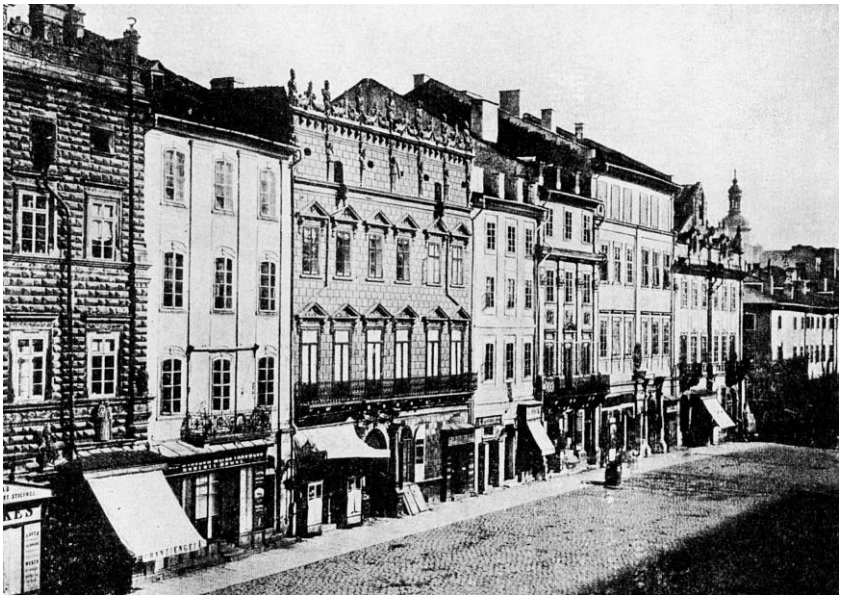
Lascaris died at the age of eighty-nine in Rome on 11 December 1795. But his family's connection with Poland continued, because when he travelled to Lwow in 1738, he took with him his nephew Teodoro. In 1763 Teodoro Lascaris became a lieutenant-colonel in the Polish army and married the Polish aristocrat Anna Zabiello. He retired from the army in 1781 with the rank of major-general and died in 1785, leaving a daughter and three sons, two of whom became Polish officers. Thus did the Lascaris family survive in Poland until at least the first half of the twentieth century, their surname polonised as Laskarys. [6]

What does this tell us? It tells us that Bishop Lascaris was an intimate and trusted friend of the Stuarts in Rome from 1738 at the latest, until his death in 1795. Indeed, no fewer than 115 of his letters survive in the Stuart Papers. It also tells us that Lascaris became a friend of the Stuarts' closest Polish cousins, the Princes Radziwill, and that until the very end of his life he remained closely connected to Poland and matters Polish. Yet, how well did the Stuarts actually know their Polish cousins?

Prince Michael Radziwill was one of the richest aristocrats in Europe who, from adolescence, had been a friend of Louis XV and the Duke of Bouillon, the husband of King

James' sister-in-law Charlotte Sobieska. Then, when old Prince Sobieski died in 1737, the Stuarts and Radziwills were bound together by the complications of the Sobieski inheritance which lasted for years. And in 1742, when Radziwill wanted to establish an abbey at Zolkiew, of which Lascaris became abbot in 1748, it was King James in Rome who successfully lobbied the Pope on Radziwill's behalf. Shortly before, on 27 November 1746, just after Prince Charles' return to France from Scotland after the '45, he wrote these words to his father in Rome with regard to a marriage for his brother Prince Henry: '*If Prince Radziwill has any daughters of age, I should not think one of them to be an unfit match*'. Then, during Charles' scarlet pimpernel years, Pope Benedict XIV's correspondence records that the Stuart prince was staying with the Radziwills on their country estate in May 1752 [7]. So yes, the Stuarts did know the Radziwills, and knew them very well indeed.

When in 1738 Lascaris was sent to Lwow, it was not actually the first time he'd been there. Nor was helping the Stuarts with the Sobieski inheritance the main reason for the ten years he spent in that city. Lascaris was a Theatine employed by the Congregation of *Propaganda Fide*. And it was they who sent him to Poland, to become prefect of the Theatine Pontifical College in Lwow. As a Theatine, the central focus of his years spent in Poland was the Armenian-Catholic Church, whose cathedral was in Lwow. Because the Theatines were responsible for cementing the relatively recent union between the Armenian-Catholics and the Vatican.



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Poland's Lwow-based Armenian-Catholics were a small but rich and influential group. In 1782 they numbered two hundred and sixty-eight people, comprising thirty-seven families [8]. In Lwow's old market square there stand three large Renaissance houses, each with a magnificent arcaded interior courtyard: in the middle stands the Royal House. It had belonged to the last Stuarts' ancestor King John Sobieski. Two to its right is the Bernatowicz House. Two to its left is the so-called Black House (*Fig.7*). In the eighteenth century these last two belonged to the family which stood at the very apex of Lwow's Armenian-Catholics, both in terms of wealth and political connections, and held the hereditary title of chevalier of the Holy Roman Empire [9]. That was also the very family into which Charlotte Stuart's eldest daughter

Marie Victoire de Rohan (1779-1836), the demoiselle de Thorigny, was married in 1803, when the chevalier Paul de Nikorowicz (1751-1810) became her first husband [10]. But does it follow that the Stuarts' principal confidant Lascaris knew the Nikorowicz family?

Marie Victoire's husband Paul had a great uncle Deodat Nikorowicz (1684-1757). He was archdeacon of Lwow's Armenian-Catholic Cathedral and in 1750 bought a large house which he gave to the Armenian-Catholic archbishop as his residence. That was exactly when Lascaris was consecrated bishop at Radziwill's Olyka by James Augustynowicz (*Fig.8*), who was the Armenian-Catholic Archbishop of Lwow, and who led Lascaris to the church when he was appointed abbot at Radziwill's Zolkiew.


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In fact, Lascaris and Augustynowicz had known each other for years. Because during Lascaris' earlier stay in Lwow in 1735, both he and Augustynowicz taught together at the Theatine College. Their friendship is witnessed by the frontispiece of a book in the Stefanyk Library in Lwow (now the Ukrainian city of Lviv). Lascaris' inscription reads: '*J'ai donné ce livre a Monsignor l'Abbé Jacques Augustynowicz ce jour, 11 décembre 1739*'. (*Fig.9*)

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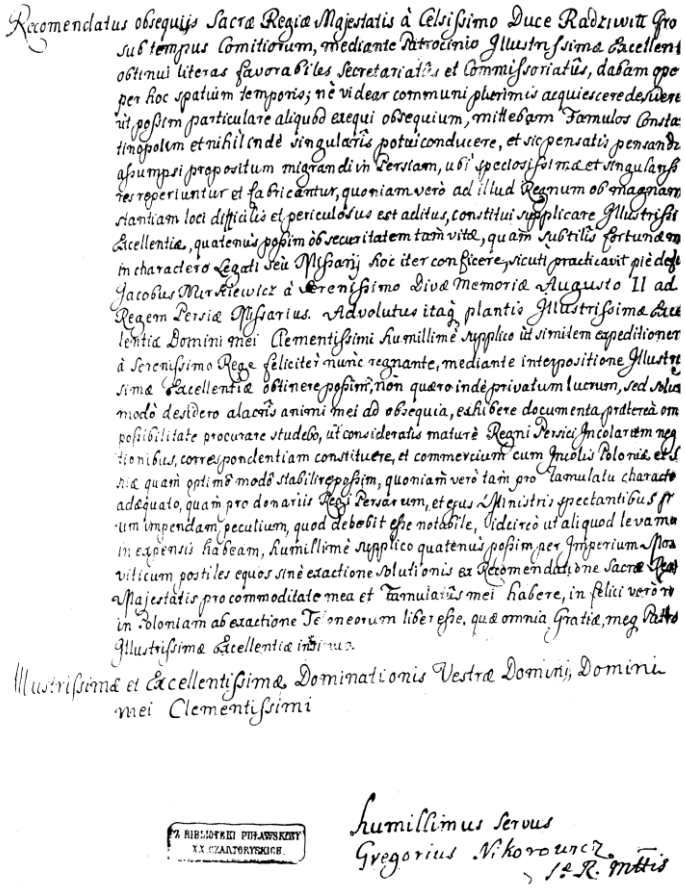
Yet, the relationship between Lascaris and Augustynowicz has deeper impications. Because the Augustynowicz and Nikorowicz families were so close, that when Charlotte Stuart's daughter married Paul in 1803, Marie Victoire acquired no less than three Augustynowicz in-laws: Dominic Nikorowicz (1729-1800) was married to Scholastica Augustynowicz; John Nikorowicz (1746-1831) was married to Sophie Augustynowicz; and Margaret Nikorowicz (†1820) was married to Florian Augustynowicz. [11]

However, Lascaris didn't just know the Nikorowicz family through the Augustynowicz's. Because during the 1740s Lascaris and Deodat Nikorowicz both lectured together to Lwow's Armenian-Catholic Benedictines. Amongst those who attended their lectures were Catherine (1701-1780) and Magdalen Nikorowicz (1723-1765), and probably also Constance (1730-1780) and Catherine Nikorowicz (1736-1786). [12]

So we see that Lascaris did know the Nikorowicz family. Indeed, Kraków University's Professor Christopher Stopka, the leading authority on Poland's Armenian-Catholics, states that it was impossible for Lascaris not to know them. But was the Nikorowicz family connected in any way to Lascaris' friends and the Stuarts' cousins Radziwill?

In the Czartoryski Collection of the Polish National Library is a letter written by Deodat's nephew, Gregory Nikorowicz (1713-1789) (*Fig.10*) [13]. It was he who in 1803 posthumously became father-in-law to Charlotte Stuart's daughter Marie Victoire.


Recomendatus obsequijs Sacræ Regiæ Majestatis à Celsissimo Duce Radziwiłł Gro
sub tempus Comitiorum, mediante Patrocinio Illustrissima Excellen
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Regem Persiæ Missarius. Advolutus itaq; plantis Illustrissimæ Exce
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à Serenissimo Rege feliciter nunc regnante, mediante interpositione Illustr
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modò desidero alacris animi mei ad obsequia, exhibere documenta, præterea om
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vilicum postiles equos sinè exactione solutionis ex Recommendatione Sacræ Re
Majestatis pro commoditate mea et Famulatûs mei habere, in felici verò re
in Poloniam ab exactione Teloneorum liberè esse, quæ omnia Gratiæ, meq; Patro
Illustrissimæ Excellentiæ indicavi.

Illustrissimæ et Excellentissimæ Dominationis Vestræ Domini, Domini
mei Clementissimi

Humillimus Servus
Gregorius Nikorowicz
J.C.R. Mittis

Gregory's letter was written in 1744, precisely when Lascaris was in Lwow and already a friend of Radziwill. Addressed to King Augustus III of Poland, his first sentence refers to Radziwill's patronage and requests diplomatic protection and tax exemptions for his 1746 trade and espionage mission to the Court of Persia, which involved travelling the enormous distance from Lwow to Isfahan to purchase '*the most beautiful and singular things*' for both the king and Radziwill. The size of the armed escort Gregory Nikorowicz employed to safeguard this rich expedition as it travelled through vast expanses inhabited by Cossacks and Turks would have been very large. It was a major undertaking. In his letter Gregory asks the king for diplomatic status '*for myself and for my servants and that I might have post horses through the Muscovite Empire, free from the burden of expense, and with my safe return to Poland that I might be relieved of the obligation of paying taxes*', justified by the need for him to personally fund '*appropriate gifts for the King of Persia and his ministers*'.

Acting as merchant-banker to Prince Michael and his son Prince Charles Radziwill (1734-1790) (*Fig.11*), Nikorowicz acquired luxury goods for them from Turkey and Persia. He was the largest Polish importer of magnificent oriental sabres as well as of the ornamental sashes prized by the Polish nobility, and helped set up Poland's most famous sash manufactory for the Radziwills at their castle of Nieswiez (*Fig.12*). In a letter of 1767 in the Radziwill Archive in Warsaw, Gregory writes of sending a '*splendid fellow*' to Constantinople to bring back '*the wife and family of the Persian staying at the Castle of Nieswiez*' [14]. The 'Persian' in question was the manufactory's first director, John Madzarski, in fact an Armenian. [15]

12 11

As their exclusive financier in Lwow, Gregory lent the Radziwills money they couldn't always afford to repay. He wrote from Lwow in 1755 of having '*organised payment for the chest marked no. 55 from Biala*', and in 1758 sent Radziwill '*a gold sabre and a few other items which might please you* [in thanks for] *your ceaseless protection of me throughout my life*'. In 1769, after a delay of four years regarding a transaction, Nikorowicz urged Radziwill '*that at the earliest convenient moment, and without much delay, the outstanding amount of five hundred ducats be paid*' [16]. In 1778, Gregory personally settled Charles Radziwill's debt of forty-five thousand zloties with Judge Leszczynski, as a result of which Radziwill gave him the estate of Skwarzawa Nowa [17]. Such financial difficulties were the reason why that and

four other estates belonging to the Zolkiew property formerly owned by the Stuart king's father-in-law, then acquired by Radziwill in 1740, passed into the hands of Gregory's son Paul, the husband of Charlotte Stuart's daughter Marie Victoire.

Gregory tells us precisely how long he had been close to the Radziwills. In 1781 he writes of '*half a century of my life during which I have had the honour of being graced by your Serene Highness*' [18]. Including the five ex-Zolkiew properties, Gregory's son Paul ended up owning no fewer than nineteen landed estates, a palace, several manor houses, a porcelain manufactory at Glinsko which supplied the Habsburgs, almost all of an entire district (*jurydyka*) of Lwow called Lyczakow, as well as the rights to the Imperial Austrian Salt Mines in Pokucie. When the 1803 marriage was arranged between him and Marie Victoire, he may have been older than his mother-in-law Charlotte Stuart, but he was very wealthy.

Paul's brother, Mark (1749-1820) provides more evidence of the Nikorowicz family's relationship with the Radziwills. Mark was sent to Rome where he became a doctor of theology in 1775. It is hard not to believe this was organized for him by Lascaris. In the Radziwill Archive in Warsaw is Mark's letter from Rome to Radziwill, in which he writes of '*the grace and protection Your Highness has always extended to my whole family* […] *only I know how much I have benefitted thanks to you, and how many times I have had the honour of treating with you*'. [19]

At that time Paul's father Gregory had become the Director of the Lwow Trade Court, President of the Galician Bill of Exchange Court and President of the Bill of Exchange Tribunal. In other words, he stood at the apex of the regional banking system. And this is important. Because it meant he had close ties with the famous bankers Fergusson-Tepper, the Radziwills' principal financiers in Warsaw. Moreover, they were bankers to the Prince of Wurttemberg which was where Charlotte Stuart's son, Charles Roehenstart (al. Stuart), was found a privileged start in life in 1807, as a uniquely-favoured member of General Prince Alexander of Wurttemberg's family household. And of course Charles, since his sister Marie Victoire's 1803 marriage, had been Paul Nikorowicz's brother-in-law.

So the Nikorowicz's not only knew Lascaris' friends and Stuarts' Radziwill cousins, but throughout most of the eighteenth century the whole family had been on the closest of terms with them.

Let us turn now to Charlotte Stuart, Duchess of Albany (1753-1789) (*Fig.13*). In 1784 she moved from Paris to be with her father Prince Charles (*Fig.14*) in Florence, and from the end of 1785, in Rome. It seems inconceivable she would have told Lascaris about her illegitimate children by Archbishop Prince Ferdinand de Rohan (1738-1813), a secret kept from both her father Charles and uncle Henry. On the other hand, Charlotte and Ferdinand's friendship was widely known. After the French Revolution, Ferdinand travelled around Italy and central Europe, and at least once was in Rome, in the middle of 1795, several months before Lascaris's death. Nothing would have been more normal than for him to meet up with Lascaris, given both men's intimacy with the Stuarts, Ferdinand's relationship with Charlotte, that both were high-ranking prelates, and being in difficult circumstances, Ferdinand urgently

needed help, not least with regard to securing a future for his children, now that their mother Charlotte was dead and they were reaching adulthood.

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Ferdinand also spent time in Poland. For example, in May 1799 he was recorded in Warsaw, where the exiled French royal family were based from 1801-1804, precisely the time his daughter's marriage to Nikorowicz was arranged [20]. In Rome, did Henry Stuart's treasurer and confidant Lascaris recommend to Ferdinand the Nikorowicz family whom he knew, the trusted financiers of the Stuarts' Radziwill cousins? Ferdinand's relationships with the London bankers Thomas Coutts and Turnbull Forbes, as well as with the Russian banker Sofniev, show how crucial he considered such contacts during his difficult and financially straightened years in exile during the French Revolution. And after the collapse of the Polish state at the end of the eighteenth century, the Nikorowicz family's home city of Lwow had become the capital of Galicia, the largest province of Austria, which was then the refuge of French royalists, including Ferdinand's family of Rohan which settled there when their exile became permanent.

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To summarize and in conclusion: we have seen that the Stuarts were intimate with Lascaris and also with their Radziwill cousins; that the Radziwills themselves were friends of Lascaris and intimate with the Nikorowicz family, who were themselves close to Lascaris. It surely follows, that the 1803 marriage arranged by Ferdinand de Rohan (and by whom, if not him) for his daughter Marie Victoire (*Fig.15*) by Charlotte Stuart, to the elderly rich Polish nobleman and banker Paul Nikorowicz was no accident, but the natural consequence of the close relationships linking the Stuarts, Lascaris, the Radziwills and the Nikorowicz family from at least the 1730s and right up to the end of the eighteenth century.

Notes and Sources:

Sources are not given where previously published by the present author in:

a) *The Stuarts' Last Secret – The Missing Heirs of Bonnie Prince Charlie*, Tuckwell Press 2002.
b) *The Stuarts' Last Secret: The Children of Charlotte, Duchess of Albany*, in The Stuart Court in Rome, The Legacy of Exile, Prof. E. Corp (ed.) Ashgate Publishing 2003.
c) *Bonnie Prince Charlie – A Life*, Amberley Publishing 2010 and 2012 (revised).
d) *Bonnie Prince Charlie – His Life, Family, Legend*, National Museums Scotland 2022.

1. F Stopniak, 'Jerzy Laskarys', in *Polski Slownik Biograficzny*, tom XVI, (Wroclaw, 1971). https://it.wikipedia.org/wiki/Giorgio_Maria_Lascaris (accessed 20.02.2022). https://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Jerzy_Hieronim_Maria_Wojciech_Laskarys (accessed 20.02.2022).
2. http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/blascg.html (accessed 20.02.2022)
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4. E Corp, *The Stuarts in Italy 1719-1766*, (Cambridge, 2011), 340—341, 349, 358.
5. M Sobczynska-Szczepanska, 'The Paintings by Thaddaus Kuntz from Kock and Lutsk', in *Artibus et Historiae*, no.84, (IRSA Cracow-Vienna, 2021), 280.
6. https://www.wikiwand.com/pl/Teodor_Laskarys (accessed 03.02.2023)
7. E de Heeckeren (ed.), *Correspondance de Benoit XIV* (Paris 1912), vol 2 1750-1756.
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9. F Wasyl, 'Ormianie w przedautonomicznej Galicji, Studium demograficzno-historyczne', in *Studia Galicyjskie*, Tom 4, see index: Nikorowicz, (Cracow, 2015). L Korwin, *Ormianskie rody szlacheckie*, see index: Nikorowicz (Cracow, 1934).
10. The present author's published works above provide sources and extensive details concerning Marie Victoire's baptismal legitimization at the château de Couzières in the Parish of Veigné near Tours in 1779 by Prince Jules Hercule de Rohan, Duke of Montbazon. However, in summary: for obvious reasons, neither Ferdinand nor Charlotte could appear as parents on their children's baptismal entries. However, Jules-Hercule could stand in as father and had the necessary qualifications, being the head of the great Rohan family and a sovereign prince in his own right. He also had the motive, loyalty. Because Ferdinand was his brother and the Rohans were legendary for their clan solidarity, as demonstrated during the 'Affair of the Diamond Necklace 1784-86'. Indeed, Professor L. L. Bongie describes Jules-Hercule in *The Love of a Prince* as 'dripping with family sentimentality'. Moreover, Jules-Hercule was a relation of the Stuarts, being married to Prince Charles' first cousin, and *aide-de-camp* to Prince Henry in 1745. Many facts indicate that Jules-Hercule was not Marie Victoire's father. Ferdinand was the youngest of the seven Rohan siblings, but when Marie Victoire was baptized in 1779 his oldest brother Jules-Hercule had been a grandfather for eighteen years with a total of five grandchildren, and his only child Henri was already thirty four. He was even older when Charlotte and Ferdinand's son was born in 1784 and again tried to baptismally legitimize an infant at Veigné, but was refused by the abbé in outraged disbelief, accusing him of 'intrigue'. Jules-Hercule then died of natural causes three years later.

Furthermore, his distinguished military career had earned him international respect and his reputation was spotless. Professor Bongie's book, the authoritative account of the brief and unique affair Jules-Hercule's wife had in 1747 with her Stuart first cousin (of which Jules-Hercule, away campaigning, remained unaware), also states: 'Nothing we know about him […] suggests that as a husband he was notoriously unfaifhful'. Had he been, gossipy Versailles would have written fulsome accounts. It is hardly credible that Jules-Hercule, in his dotage, suddenly became a sexual athlete and fathered an illegitimate daughter and then an illegitimate son at the same period, and in the same order, as Ferdinand and Charlotte, and that his daughter and theirs would both be called 'Victoire'. Loyalty to his brother and Stuart relations may have persuaded Jules-Hercule to discreetly recognize Marie Victoire at rural Couzières, but he did not go on to register the fact with the Court of France which, had the child really been his, was the usual procedure. Because that would have provoked Versailles' interest and endangered Ferdinand and Charlotte's secret. Having legitimized Marie Victoire and created her the 'Demoiselle de Thorigny', legally bringing her into the family of her biological father and giving her the same rights as his legitimate son, she never appeared in Jules-Hercule's life again. Nor did she ever claim to be his daughter which, if she had been, she would have had every reason to advertise, given that he was a sovereign prince, the head of the Rohans, a duke, a general, and one of the most distinguished men in France. For that was a social position totally acceptable at the time and incomparably better than that of a scandalously illegitimate daughter of a Catholic archbishop by the illegitimate daughter of an alcoholic prince with a dreadful reputation. Nor did Jules-Hercule's son Henri ever mention a sister. Nor has she ever been included as Jules-Hercule's daughter in any genealogy of his much-researched family, unlike other legitimized children of the Rohans. Later evidence shows that Ferdinand took a considerable interest in the future of his children, and only someone exceptionally close to Marie Victoire would have arranged her 1803 marriage to the elderly but rich Polish nobleman Paul de Nikorowicz. But not Jules-Hercule, because he died in 1788. However, Ferdinand didn't die until 1813 and was the only Rohan in Poland at the right time. Furthermore, many facts also indicate that Miss Grosset was not the real mother. Unless Marie Victoire was Charlotte and Ferdinand's daughter, there was no need for Jules-Hercule to legitimize a child of so humble a person, and no Duke of Montbazon had ever done so before. Nor go further and grant her the special title of 'Demoiselle de …', given to only three other Rohan princesses that century. Evidently, Marie Victoire was someone important. Significantly, Miss Grosset was paid off by Jules-Hercule in 1782 at his château d'Ussé for 'services rendered' in a notarial deed which makes no mention of a daughter. Nor did Marie Victoire ever refer to Miss Grosset. Nowhere is there a trace of her mother in any memoir, in her descendants' family archive in the Stefanyk Library in Lviv, in her descendants'official archive in the Hofkanzley of the Adelsarchiv in Vienna, in her descendants' official genealogy of the 1890s for the Habsburg Court in the Ossolineum in Wroclaw, in any published genealogy of her descendants, or even in orally transmitted family legend. Her mother could not be more conspicuous by her absence. However, that does make sense for the daughter of a mother who died in 1789 when she was a child, and wrote to her confidant Louis de Rohan of her 'Secret', that Charlotte Stuart was her mother. Only in one other place is there a clear reference to Marie Victoire's parentage. And that is when she appears as the de Thorigny wife of Nikorowicz on her great grandsons' official 1890s genealogy for the Habsburg Court which displays her coat of arms as the Stuart fess on a gold field, with only two minor modifications. After her baptismal legitimization, Marie Victoire did not live with Jules-Hercule. Therefore, if she had really been Miss Grosset's daughter, she would have been brought up by her in provincial French obscurity. Instead, after the French Revolution, she was living in Austria amongst exiled aristocratic French royalists when her 1803 marriage was arranged to the chevalier Paul de Nikorowicz whose family were directly linked to the Stuarts by their relationships with the Stuarts' trusted confidant Lascaris, and the Stuarts' closest Polish cousins Radziwill.

11. S Baracz, 'Augustynowicz' and 'Nikorowicz', in *Zywoty Slawnych Ormian w Polsce*, (Lwow, 1856).

12. D. Blazejovskyj, *Ukrainian and Armenian Pontifical Seminaries of Lviv (1665-1784)*, (Rome, 1975), 188-189. A.Zieba, *Niewiasty z pastoralami*, (Warsaw-Cracow, 2021), 140-141.
13. National Library of Poland, Biblioteka Czartoryskich, *Akta dotyczace stosunkow z Turcja 1699-1756*, sygn. 617.
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16. Archiwum Glowne Akt Dawnych, *ibid.*
17. Biblioteka Stefanyka (Lviv), *Pininski Archive*, fond 79, nr 1-2, Nikorowicz 1, Libro Contractum, vol. 14, 316.
18. Archiwum Glowne Akt Dawnych, *ibid.*
19. *Ibid*.
20. Regarding Marie Victoire, it is significant that the Nikorowicz family provided services for the exiled French royal family during their time in Warsaw. See P Pininski, *Bonnie Prince Charlie – A Life*, (2013), 204. *Bonnie Prince Charlie – His Life, Family, Legend*, (2022), 164.

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Peter Pininski was born in London in 1956 and lives in Warsaw, Poland. A graduate of Sotheby's Institute of Art and an ex-investment bank director, he has been chairman and a member of the supervisory boards of various public companies. He has lectured on the last Stuarts for institutions such as the National Trust for Scotland and been a guest speaker at the Edinburgh International Book Festival. He is the president of the Lanckoronski Foundation, Liechtenstein, a member of the advisory board of the Lviv National Art Gallery in the Ukraine, as well as the Ossolineum National Institute in Poland, a member of the Biography Committee of the Polish Academy of Learning, a landowner, and the author of various publications on the exiled Stuarts, his most recent book being *Bonnie Prince Charlie – His Life, Family, Legend*, published by National Museums Scotland in 2022.