

Anna Wincenta Sapieha, née Fredro – a forgotten benefactress

The specificity of female patronage¹ – and in particular the question of founding and charity activities of women from noble families of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, is among the least-developed issues in the current historiography.² Quantity, diversity, as well as the dispersion of preserved source materials means that the to-date research have mostly focused

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² The most valuable research findings regarding the specificity of women’s patronage include: B. Popiołek, *Dobrodziejki i klienci. O patronacie kobiecym w XVIII w.* in *Patron i dwór. Magazyn Rzeczypospolitej XVI–XVIII w.*, ed. E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, J. Urwanowicz, Warszawa 2006, p. 385–395; eadem, *Kobiety świat w czasach Augusta II. Studia nad mentalnością kobiet z kręgów szlacheckich*, Kraków 2003; K. Maliszewski, *Relacja poczmistrza toruńskiego Jakuba Kazimierza Rubinkowskiego z „królową bez korony i pierwszą damą Rzeczypospolitej” Elżbietą Sieniawską w latach 1716–1728* in *Gospodarka, społeczeństwo, kultura w dziejach nowożytnych. Studia ofiarowane Pani Profesor Marii Boguckiej*, ed. A. Karpiński, E. Opaliński, T. Wiślicz, Warszawa 2010, p. 122–127; D. Makiła, „Dwór” i „patronat”. Dwa historyczno-socjologiczne pojęcia w historyczno-prawnym naświetleniu in *Patron i dwór...*, p. 179–186; P. Buchwald-Pelc, *Mecenat nad piśmiennictwem i książką w dawnej Polsce* in *Z dziejów mecenatu kulturalnego w Polsce*, ed. J. Kostecki, Warszawa 1999, p. 33–90. S. Kettering, *The Historical Development of Political Clientelism*, “Journal of Interdisciplinary History” 1988, no. 18/3, p. 419–447; B.M. Stephenson, *The Power and Patronage of Marguerite De Navarre*, *Women and Gender in the Early Modern World*, Aldershot–Burlington 2004; S.A. Hickson, *Women, Art and Architectural Patronage in Renaissance Mantua: Matrons, Mystics and Monasteries*, *Women and Gender in the Early Modern World*, Farnham–Burlington 2012; *Women and Art in Early Modern Europe: Patrons, Collectors, and Connoisseurs*, ed. C. Lawrence, Pennsylvania 1997.

on those figures whose activities in the field of patronage are best documented. Valuable works regarding the patronage of Elżbieta Sieniawska, née Lubomirska (died in 1729),³ the activity of Anna Radziwiłł, née Sanguszko (died in 1746)⁴ or of Barbara Sanguszko, née Dunin (died 1791)⁵ proved further research on this subject – also for those women who could not compete with them in matters of political and property legitimacy. The figure of Anna Wincenta Salomea Sapieha, née Fredro (died in 1733) appears extremely rarely in the current research works. In spite of two good marriages – for the first time to Michał Franciszek Czartoryski (died in 1690), and after his death to Kazimierz Władysław Sapieha (died 1703), the activities of the provincial governor of Troki province were so far at the margins of historians' interests. Meanwhile, as a well-equipped provincial governor of Troki, Sapieha actively participated in the management of property, influenced the policy of her son Jan Fryderyk Sapieha in a significant way and faithfully continued her father's work, being a generous helper for the sacred foundations he created.

The previous biographical findings regarding Anna Wincenta, née Fredro are extremely limited. We only know that she was the daughter of provincial governor of Podole, poet Andrzej Maksymilian Fredro and Katarzyna, née

3 Elżbieta Sieniawska, née Lubomirska – Castellan of Cracow, wife of Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski (died in 1726); see A. Słaby, *Rządzicha oleszycka. Dwór Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej jako przykład patronatu kobiecego w czasach saskich*, Kraków 2014; B. Popiołek, *Królowa bez korony. Studium z życia i działalności Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej, ok. 1669–1729*, Kraków 1996; R. Nestorow, *Pro domo et nomine suo. Fundacje i inicjatywy artystyczne Adama Mikołaja i Elżbiety Sieniawskich*, Warszawa 2016.

4 Anna Katarzyna Radziwiłł, née Sanguszko, Lithuanian chancellor, wife of Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł (died in 1719); see W. Karkucińska, *Anna z Sanguszków Radziwiłłowa (1676–1746). Działalność gospodarcza i mecenat*, Warszawa 2000; J. Dygdała, *Codzienne kłopoty, wielkie interesy i podwójna elekcja. Korespondencja radziwiłłowskich urzędników z księżną Anną z Sanguszków Radziwiłłową i jej synem Michałem Kazimierzem z 1733/1734 roku*, Warszawa 2013.

5 Barbara Sanguszko, née Dunin, marshal of Lithuania, wife of Paweł Karol Sanguszko (died in 1750); see M. Butkiewicz, *Barbara z Duninów Sanguszkowa jako mecenas w schyłkowej epoce polskiego baroku*, "Lubelski Rocznik Pedagogiczny" 2015, vol. XXXIV, no. 1, p. 105–122; A. Jakuboszczak, *Sarmacka dama. Barbara Sanguszkowa (1718–1791) i jej salon towarzyski*, Poznań 2008; I. Rolska-Boruch, *Fundacje Sanguszków w Lubelskiem w 2 połowie XVIII wieku in Wokół Sanguszków. Dzieje – sztuka – kultura. Materiały I Ogólnopolskiej Konferencji Naukowej, 29–30 czerwiec 2006*, ed. J. Skrabski, B. Bułdys, Tarnów 2007, p. 163–178; J. Skrabski, *Działalność artystyczna Barbary z Duninów Sanguszkowej. Przyczynek do roli kobiet w XVIII wieku in Studia nad sztuką renesansu i baroku*, Lublin 2007, p. 233–243; K. Stasiewicz, *Aktywność kulturowa dworu księżnej Barbary z Duninów Sanguszkowej in Dwory magnackie w XVIII wieku. Rola i znaczenie kulturowe*, ed. T. Kostkiewiczowa, A. Roćko, Warszawa 2005, p. 159–170.

Gidziński. The Fredro family had six children – two daughters⁶ and four sons.⁷ The elder of the boys – Jerzy Bogusław after reaching the age of full legal capacity became the crown hunter at first, then to take the office of castellan of Lviv. However, his political career, did not go hand in hand with his personal happiness. Two unsuccessful marriages were to make Jerzy Bogusław decide to enter the priesthood.⁸ The second of Anna's brothers – Stanisław Józef, took over the office of the castellan of Lviv after him.⁹ Anna was married to Michał Franciszek Czartoryski.¹⁰ The relationship was short – Czartoryski already died in 1690. Little is known about marriage itself. Among the preserved source records, only rare and concise indications survived, mainly referring to the property dispositions of the deceased spouse.¹¹ Later sources allow to establish that the Czartoryski family had two children – son Jakub and daughter Teofila.

The second marriage of Anna Wincenta has much better documented source, though equally unknown in the literature of the subject as the other. A noblewoman married a widower, later a provincial governor of Troki, Kazimierz Władysław Sapieha (died in 1703).¹² The union was concluded in 1691,

⁶ Teresa Anna Łączyńska, née Fredro was the sister of Anna Wincenta Sapieha, née Fredro.

⁷ I would like to thank prof. dr hab. Dorota Żołędź-Strzelczyk for the tips on the Fredro genealogy; see *Ojcowskie synom przestrogi. Instrukcje rodzicielskie (XVI–XVII w.)*, introduction and explanations D. Żołędź-Strzelczyk, M.E. Kowalczyk, Wrocław 2017, p. 349–351.

⁸ J. Barcik, *Fundacja klasztoru franciszkanów w Kalwarii Paclawskiej*, "Prawo Kanoniczne. Kwartalnik prawnohistoryczny" 1973, no. 16/1–2, p. 115.

⁹ Stanisław Józef left two children. One of the daughters joined the convent, the other was unfortunately married to Stanisław Rupniewski the carouser renowned in the Commonwealth; see A. Penkała, *Przeciw prawu, tradycji i obyczajowi. Sprawy procesowe szlacheckich małżeństw w księgach sądów grodzkich z terenu województwa krakowskiego w czasach saskich*, Kraków 2017, p. 161–162.

¹⁰ Michał Franciszek Czartoryski (died in 1690), starost of Krzemienice. When Anna Wincenta married Czartoryski, she received sixty thousand zlotys of dowry; see National Archives in Krakow (hereinafter: ANKr I), Chodkiewiczów Młynów Archives (hereinafter: AMCh), no. 1003, p. 40. M. Wagner stated that on June 25, 1688, the Kamieńce province was passed from Michał Franciszek to his uncle – Michał Czartoryski; see M. Wagner, *W służbie wojny i pokoju. Działalność publiczna Michała Jerzego Czartoryskiego w latach 1649–1691 in Wobec Króla i Rzeczypospolitej. Magnateria w XVI–XVIII wieku*, ed. E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, J. Urwanowicz, Kraków 2012, p. 735–755.

¹¹ See Anna Sapieha, née Fredro (hereinafter: A. Sapieha) to Jan Fryderyk Sapieha (hereinafter: J.F. Sapieha), Jarosław, 5 VIII 1711, Central Archives of Historical Records (hereinafter: AGAD), Archives of Radziwiłłs (hereinafter: AR), dept. V, no. 13885, p. 10–11; in the letter Anna mentions the need to return the heraldic possessions that belonged to her first spouse.

¹² Kazimierz Władysław Sapieha (died 1703), Castellan of Troki, later provincial governor of Troki. The first wife of Kazimierz Władysław Sapieha was Franciszka Sapieha, née Kopeć (died in 1690).

just one year after the death of the first wife of the nobleman – Franciszka Sapieha, née Kopec (died in 1690). Thanks to a favorable marriage Sapieha soon after her marriage she began to call herself the provincial governor of Troki, and the established property status of her husband significantly influenced her social and economic activity. The preserved correspondence of Anna Wincenta from the period of her second marriage indicates that even during prolonged absence, her husband managed the estate, and she relied heavily on the instructions and recommendations that were provided to her. The woman did not deal very well with these matters, which she had to supervise herself, and she stubbornly waited for her husband's dispositions. In the letters, she asked Kazimierz Władysław for help, because – as she emphasized – she had considerable difficulties in managing the entire estate. She therefore complained that: “I have no one but God and brother who advises me, please, my heart [...] send more people, so that I would not be deprived of everything [...] because I'm unhappy, I am not able to deal with this.”¹³ Taming her responsibility for her husband and relatives was, in her opinion, the only guarantee of success in managing property matters.

The years of marriage with Kazimierz Władysław Sapieha and the dispositions in her husband's will brought Anna, née Fredro a very favorable property settlement.¹⁴ The provincial governor wrote down the act of last will in 1703, securing the interests of the descendants of the first marriage in it (both children born in the second marriage died prematurely),¹⁵ and Anna – as his

The spouses had several children – including sons: Jan Fryderyk, Mikołaj Franciszek (died in 1716) and daughters: Justyna Anna Kraszińska, née Sapieha (died 1744), Helena Ludwika (nun in Staniątki), Konstancja and Cecylia Zofia Chodkiewicz, née Sapieha (died in 1762); see A. Penkała, „Cysienka”: listy Cecylii z Sapiehów Chodkiewiczowej jako relacja trudnej drogi dojrzewania do samodzielności in *Kobiece kręgi korespondencyjne w XVII–XIX wieku*, ed. B. Popiołek, A. Słaby, U. Kicińska, Warszawa–Bellerive-sur-Allier 2016, p. 91–102. Jan Fryderyk Sapieha (died in 1751), castellan of Troki, later Grand Chancellor of Lithuania and husband of Konstancja, née Radziwiłł played the most important role among K.W. Sapieha's sons; Z. Zielińska, *Sapieha Jan Fryderyk in Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 35, Warszawa 1994, p. 12–16.

¹³ A. Sapieha to Kazimierz Władysław Sapieha, Lublin, [rev.], ANKr I, AMCh, no. 991, p. 188.

¹⁴ Kazimierz Władysław Sapieha died in 1703. More about his funeral: K. Obremski, *Kaznodziejski dokument podwójnej gry politycznej. Mowa księdza Benedykta Rusieckiego na pogrzebie Kazimierza Władysława Sapiehy*, “Wschodni Rocznik Humanistyczny” 2009, vol. VI, p. 81–91.

¹⁵ See A. Rachuba, *Sapieha Kazimierz Władysław in Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 35, Warszawa–Kraków 1994, p. 40.

spouse – was guaranteed the rights to manage a large part of the estate.¹⁶ According to her husband's will, the provincial governor was supposed to take care of his burial in the Sapieha necropolis in the Kodeń church, making sure that her husband was buried "without any fanfare in the world."¹⁷ In gratitude for the shared years of life, spent – as the provincial governor assured: "in love and respect," Anna received from him a guarantee to keep all the goods that were previously covered by a life contract at her disposal.¹⁸ In order to avoid any financial claims from relatives, in Kazimierz Władysław's will, it was once again clearly underlined that the assets covered by the life contract included, inter alia, the profitable Chernobyl goods. After the death of the principal, they were to remain at the sole disposal of the provincial governor.¹⁹ Sapieha also freed his wife from the obligation to pay twenty thousand Polish zlotys for him, which Anna undertook to do before marriage and what was never realized.²⁰ Thanks to favorable testamentary records, as a "lifelong and bound lady," the provincial governor was supposed to manage the vast Sapieha estate henceforth. Thanks to good property protection, the woman could afford a variety of charity activities and her own financial support policy for certain sacral objects.

After the death of her husband, the most faithful helper of Anna was the son of Władysław Kazimierz Sapieha, from his first marriage with Franciszka Sapieha, née Kopeć. Jan Fryderyk Sapieha (died in 1751) held the office of the referendary of the Crown, the starost of Brzesko, Castellan of Troki, and then the Chancellor of the Grand Lithuanian.²¹ Anna Wincenta always called him

¹⁶ ANKr I, AMCh, no. 990, p. 17–25.

¹⁷ Ibidem, p. 17.

¹⁸ Ibidem; more on the functioning of life contracts in the Crown Law: U. Kicińska, *Umowa dożywocia jako przykład regulacji majątkowej małżonków w dawnej Polsce*, "Rocznik Lubelskiego Towarzystwa Genealogicznego" 2014, vol. 5, p. 266–283; A. Penkała, „Panięskie ochędóstwo”. *Kwestie posagowe i wienne w małżeństwach szlachty województwa krakowskiego w czasach saskich*, Kraków 2016, p. 116–123; J. Kuchta, *Spór o dożywocie po Liborym Kordyszu jako przyczynek badań nad dziejami małżeństw XVII–XVIII wieku*, "Annales Academiae Paedagogicae Cracoviensis" 2007, Studia Historica IV, folia 43, p. 163–170.

¹⁹ According to the note in the will, after the death of Anna Sapieha, née Fredro, all goods – including Kodeń and Chernobyl – were to be divided equally between the sons of Kazimierz Władysław Sapieha. Only the Olszański estates were to be sold, and the funds obtained in this way were to be used as a dowry for the daughter of Kazimierz Władysław – Justyna (later Krasińska), the ogovernor of Troki; see ANKr I, AMCh, no. 990, p. 19.

²⁰ ANKr I, AMCh, no. 990, p. 25.

²¹ Jan Fryderyk Sapieha contributed to the expansion of the Sapieha headquarters in Kodeń. He was also a benefactor for the Kodeń church, which he funded; see Z. Zielińska, *Sapieha Jan*

her son in the letters she sent to him and treated him as her most trusted confidant, counting on his help in dealing with current property matters. The support of the referendary was soon necessary because the sons of Władysław Kazimierz after the death of their father began to seek to amend the testamentary dispositions. Ensuring that widow could manage the profitable Kodeń and Chernobyl goods that were covered by the life contract, clearly did not coincide with the interests of his descendants. Therefore Sapieha's sons made a proposal to repay the provincial governor in exchange for her willingness to waive life-long goods. Anna's correspondence from this period reveals a complete lack of knowledge about property matters and difficulties in assessing the significance of her rights. The widow directly asked Sapieha for help in determining the price she should demand for the waiver of the life-long rights, stressing that she wanted to carry out the transaction "for my children without harm."²² In one of the letters, she asked the referendary, "as I am asked for a real expression of what I would like to get for my life-long use, so without pretending or assuming large amount, I express a formal amount of sixty thousand Polish zlotys." She further asked for advice in this matter and a real assessment of her financial capabilities, adding – "I do not know if [interested – A.P.-J.] will be content with my ease."²³ Knowing that the rights to the Chernobyl territories were worth more, Sapieha was postponing negotiations and transactions for years. A few years later, in one of the letters to Jan Fryderyk, she mentioned the amount of eighty thousand Polish zlotys, which she was ready to discount up to ten thousand. At the same time, she emphasized that she was counting on receiving a high sum, and that he would not be able to "wish her so much damage in orphaned state, because if I take it once, I will have to live off this money to the death."²⁴ The money from the transaction was to be used not only to maintain the remaining property, but also to realize Sapieha's individual interests.

Keeping the remaining part of the landed estate, guaranteed to Anna after the death of Kazimierz Władysław, required a wider organizational and financial

Fryderyk..., p. 12–16; D. Wereda, *Zaangażowanie szlachty i magnaterii w tworzenie sanktuarium w Leśnej Podlaskiej*, "Szkice Podlaskie" 2011–2012, no. 19–20, p. 327; *Przybytek Fundacyey nowej Słowa Bozego od [...] Jana Fryderyka [...] Sapiehy [...] Dvchowi Przenayświętższemu w Kościele Infulackim Kodeńskim S. Anny Wystawiony*, Warszawa 1718.

²² A. Sapieha to J.F. Sapieha, [rev.], 6 VI 1711, AGAD, AR, dept. V, no. 13885, p. 6.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 4–5.

²⁴ *Eadem to idem*, Stroń, 10 IX 1724, ANKr I, AMCh, no. 1009, p. 180.

commitment from the widow. Unfortunately, from the very beginning, the provincial governor did not feel comfortable in the role of the main property manager and constantly had difficulties in enforcing claims and overdue notes. Many of them remained unsettled since the death of her second husband. The provincial governor, tried to address a number of the most engaging cases directly to Jan Fryderyk Sapieha, hoping for his immediate reaction. The noblewoman explicitly admitted to the stepson that informed him about her difficult property matters, because – as she pointed out – “they had no other way to recover.”²⁵ To force a greater interest in her affairs, Sapieha directly declared her lack of the ability to manage the property on her own. At the same time, she appealed to the interests of her stepchild and emphasized: “we should defend heritage, which I possess thanks to God’s and my husband-benefactor’s grace, I am a client, but Your Lordship with your successors are heirs of.”²⁶ The provincial governor preferred to be committed to the church and to run a foundation activity rather than deal directly with the affairs concerning the landed estate. Soon, she began to assign not only urgent, but actually all economic matters to Jan Fryderyk, expecting him to settle her personal interests as quickly and as easily as possible. The provincial governor additionally charged Sapieha with many matters and responsibilities directly related to economic and legal issues, asking him not only for support and protection, but also stressing that: “I repeat my request that in this orphaned state, calming will let me live calmly.”²⁷

Analyzing the activity of the provincial governor, it is difficult to recognize as significant not only her activities in the economic or social field, but also a complete lack of commitment to matrimonial patronage – so valuable when constructing a favourable political party, as significant. The issues related to the choice of the candidate for husband of Cecylia Sapieha, daughter of Kazimierz Władysław Sapieha, as well as settling matters related to the conclusion of marriage articles and payment of the dowry, were taken by her brothers – Jan Fryderyk and Mikołaj Franciszek.²⁸ At the same time, it should be noted that they did it with the provincial governor’s total passivity. The same lack of commitment to a good marriage was evident in the case of Jan Fryderyk’s

25 Eadem to idem, Kraków, 16 VIII 1709, AGAD, AR, dept. V, no. 13885, p. 2.

26 Eadem to idem, [rev.], 3 VII 1708, ANKr I, AMCh, no. 1009, p. 153.

27 Eadem to idem, Jarosław, 22 VI 1711, AGAD, AR, dept. V, no. 13885, p. 6.

28 Cecylia, née Sapieha was married to a starost of Wieluń Jan Karol Chodkiewicz (died 1712) in 1710. The marriage articles were concluded in Kodeń on June 14, 1710; see ANKr I, AMCh, no. 181, p. 5.

marriage, who – even though he was closest to Sapieha – he also conducted the selection of a wife candidate without her participation. The choice was politically very good for Sapieha²⁹ – he managed to win the sympathy of the Radziwiłł family and got permission to marry Konstancja (died in 1756), daughter of Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł (died on 1719) and Anna Radziwiłł, née Sanguszko (died in 1746). In the marriage articles the date of the marriage of the Castellan of Troki with Radziwiłł was set on March 9, 1717, and the wedding on May 9 of the same year.³⁰ After finalizing the marriage ceremony, the bride was to receive from her parents a generous dowry, amounting to two hundred thousand Polish zlotys. Anna Wincenta herself, during the pre-marital negotiations, took on the role of an outside observer, not engaging in the decision of a stepson. Less than a year before the final date of the wedding, she only congratulated Jan Fryderyk on successful negotiations with the Radziwiłł family. She expressed her sympathy and support for the castellan's ambitions, stressing: "I celebrate with great pleasure, that your Lordship received the declared grace of lifelong friendship from the Lord and Lady and Princess, I am greatly content with it, as I have wished it since a long time ago."³¹ The fact that provincial governor was poorly involved in marital politics is also evidenced by the fact that she did not even expect an invitation to the wedding ceremonies of Sapieha and Radziwiłł. In one of the letters, she only expressed her approval, assuring: "I will accept it even with the bigger advantage, when this act of God's grace will take its effect. Expressing my great sympathy to the Lord, I hope that you will give me that honour of being informed."³² However,

²⁹ A good marriage was the result of Sapieha's growing position. His political role increased primarily thanks to active support for August II. The growing political and property position was also evidenced by a number of founding activities of Jan Fryderyk Sapieha; see W. Bober-ski, M. Boberska, *W kręgu fundacji Jana Fryderyka Sapiehy (1680–1751) in Między Padwą a Zamościem. Studia z historii sztuki i kultury nowożytniej ofiarowane profesorowi Jerzemu Kowalczykowi*, Warszawa 1993, p. 233–262.

³⁰ The marriage of Jan Fryderyk Sapieha and Konstancja, née Radziwiłł was not happy. The couple was separated for several years, but eventually the divorce was not carried out and the spouses lived together again. See AGAD, AR, dept. XI, MS 124, p. 3; Z. Zielińska, *Rozważania nad kwestią wyposażenia szlachcianek w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w XVIII stuleciu*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" 1989, vol. 96, no. 1–2, p. 107. Radziwiłł's sister – Katarzyna Branicka, née Radziwiłł mentioned the matter of the planned divorce of Konstancja Sapieha, née Radziwiłł and Jan Fryderyk Sapieha in her letters to her mother, she wrote: "I understand that it would be best if God will give the divorce to my sister and Lord castellan;" AGAD, AR, dept. V, MS 1335, p. 203.

³¹ A. Sapieha to J.F. Sapieha, Kraków, 6 VI 1716, AGAD, AR, dept. V, MS 1388, p. 13.

³² *Ibidem*.

Sapieha's marriage was not successful, and the conflict between Jan Fryderyk and his wife quickly led to separation.³³ In letters to Jan Fryderyk sent after marriage, Sapieha rarely referred to the difficult situation between her and her husband. In one of the few letters directly related to the castellan's private life and written at the end of her life, Anna expressed only satisfaction with reunion with Radziwiłł and assured that: "I understand that in human life there is nothing more praiseful than the agreement that particularly I see in the person of You My Lord by your reunion with a spouse promised to you to the death, so I assure you that on the occasion of such a heroic act, you can infallibly experience happiness in all your actions in your relationship in the prominence of God."³⁴ The spouses actually refrained from further conflicts and after a few years of separation they returned to their life together.

Visible lack of involvement in marriage policy, as well as the previously pointed powerlessness in the management of property did not prevent Sapieha from implementation of other intentions. The provincial governor preferred attachment to the question of faith and piety and the willingness to support financially the poor, religious orders and particular sacral objects to the struggle for influence and property. Such attitude was strongly associated with the life choices of a noblewoman. A few years after the death of her husband, the woman decided to move to the monastery in Jarosław. She tried to continue to supervise the Sapieha estate from there, but honestly admitting that it was difficult to do, "being so far away from these goods."³⁵ In correspondence with Jan Fryderyk, she also honestly admitted that her resignation from life-long use and remoteness from current economic affairs could bring a lot of positive effects, because "Your Starost as a bachelor is more able to keep it."³⁶ The intention of Anna Wincenta was again to transfer the obligation to administer Sapieha's goods to the stepson and to assign to him the need to look after all property matters related to other estates.

The main activity of Sapieha was to provide financial support for various sacral building. Anna Wincenta's will written in 1733 perfectly reflected the

³³ More about the marriage of Jan Fryderyk and Konstancja, née Radziwiłł: K. Łopatecki, *Inter-cyza zawarta między Janem Klemensem Branickim a Katarzyną Barbarą Radziwiłłówną jako przykład realizacji strategii rodzinnych magnaterii (1720 r.)*, "Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski" 2016, vol. 38, no. 3, p. 34.

³⁴ A. Sapieha to J.F. Sapieha, [rev.], 17 VII 1733, AGAD, AR, dept. V, no. 1388, p. 20.

³⁵ Eadem to idem, Jarosław, 22 VI 1711, AGAD, AR, dept. V, no. 13885, p. 6.

³⁶ Ibidem, p. 7.

scale of actions taken by her. The provincial governor placed in it a number of property orders, dividing the accumulated assets between several religious orders and sacral centers, and – importantly – a several notes reminding about funds allocated for religious purposes for several earlier years. In the act of the last will, the provincial governor requested that after many years of residence in the monastery she would like to be buried in a habit and a religious outfit, “as I am accepted by the third rule of the father Saint Francis, I want to be buried like this.”³⁷ Anna Wincenta Sapieha, née Fredro ordered to donate as much as sixty thousand Polish zlotys after her death to pious foundations, reparations of churches, valuable mobile assets and the help of the monasteries. Giving away such a significant part of the property for religious purposes, the widow reserved in advance: “Successors, whom I am obliged by God’s terrible judgment, are not to be interested in anything, but to what they will be given.”³⁸ In order to support as many religious orders and parishes as possible, the provincial governor divided the collected funds, allocating them for various purposes. Among the most expensive dispositions was the order to repair the roof at the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Krakow, where the testator wished to be buried. In addition, the most precious things such as ornamented mirrors and caskets were supposed to be granted to the temple. The Krakow Norbertines were to gain the gilding of the great altar in the religious church thanks to the provincial governor. The amount of over a few thousand zlotys was also to be received by Krakow Piarists and Trinitarians and churches of Saint Agnieszka and Saint Katarzyna. The provincial governor decided to transfer appropriately higher funds to the monastery in Staniątki. This decision was not accidental – these were the Benedictines where one of the daughters of Kazimierz Władysław Sapieha – Helen Ludwika was put. Thanks to the generous benefactress, the nuns were to receive additional funds for renovation of monastery buildings and a number of mobile assets for retrofitting and decorating the church. The will also included a dozen other sacral buildings and religious congregations, which were to receive several hundred Polish zlotys. In the division of the property Sapieżyna did not omit the home for widows, brotherhoods of mercy and hospitals, allocating for each purpose separately specified sum of money.

³⁷ Anna Sapieha, née Fredro wanted to be buried in the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Krakow; ANKr I, AMCh, MS 1003, p. 24.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 32–33.

The will of the provincial governor of Troki is a particularly valuable example of the source because of the indications regarding the foundation activity of Sapieha. Of course the actions which were to be taken by the successors after the widow's death were defined in the act. However, it is important for the study of the phenomenon of women's patronage that in the mentioned document many buildings which were earlier built or financed by provincial governor were mentioned, which at the end of her life she decided to support with a certain sum of money again. Such assumptions include the brick chapel in Oleszno, which the tester directly called as her own. Sapieha decided to transfer five thousand Polish zlotys for its maintenance. This amount was also intended to cover the cost of maintaining the chaplain, whose presence was to be paid periodically, so that the "holy mass would never stop" in the chapel. Separate funds were also to be received by a nearby church. The intention of the testator was that the transferred funds would be enough for the extension of the earlier foundation, for "sacristy building and church walling" and "for the walling of the above-mentioned chapel, so that the chapel would have the wall around and would be covered with tiles."³⁹ The will also included notes for the continuation of previous existing sacral investments. Among them there is the monastery in Dzików, for which Anna Wincenta separately granted ten thousand Polish zlotys. The amount transferred was to be used "for the completion of the monastery."⁴⁰

Continuing the work of her father – Andrzej Maksymilian Fredro, Sapieżyna again decided to donate considerable funds to Kalwaria Paclawska founded by him.⁴¹ The funds for this purpose were to come from the dowry sum, which the noblewoman received, getting married to her first husband, Michał Franciszek Czartoryski.⁴² However, this disposition was of a special character and so different from the others. Sapieha, referring to eternal damnation and warning against the "terrible judgment of God," claimed that the executors of the will should not only have ensured that the appropriate amount of dowry sum would be paid and handed over to Kalwaria, but mainly they should have supervised the manner of spending all the money allocated for this purpose to the end. In the will, the provincial governor clearly wrote: "there

³⁹ Ibidem, p. 44.

⁴⁰ Ibidem, p. 45.

⁴¹ More about the creation of foundation, *Andrzej Maksymilian Fredro i jego Kalwaria Paclawska*, Rzeszów 1970; J. Barcik, op. cit., p. 89–128.

⁴² ANKr I, AMCh, MS 1003, p. 42–43.

are the Franciscans fathers in that place [and I reserve – A.P.-J.] not to give them money, but give the money that is needed for renovation of churches and chapels and to New Town for reparations of the rosary chapel and so that the Executors would not give anything to the Father, but, with their grace, they would give orders for renovations.”⁴³

The preserved correspondence and numerous acts of property allow us to conclude that Anna Sapieha, née Fredro did not play a significant political role, nor did she deal with the economic activity of maintaining and developing the Sapieha's estate. She did not display the ambition of dealing with the Sapieha matrimonial policy, referring the matter of the choice of life partners to the will and contacts of the sons of Kazimierz Władysław Sapieha. However, her charitable activity, focused on selected sacral buildings should be appreciated. As a benefactress she took care of her father's founding idea, taking care of the maintenance and support of the buildings he founded. The will which contains valuable indications regarding Sapieha's long-term support for specific sacral buildings is of particular significance for capturing the founding activity of the provincial governor. She devoted a huge part of her wealth to the repairing and retrofitting of several buildings, placing support and charity activities above security of the property interests of her successors. The collected source material reveals the financial possibilities of the widowed provincial governor of Troki and is a valuable example of the functioning of religious patronage as a significant and previously unrecognized sphere of activity of women from noble families in the Saxon era.

⁴³ Ibidem, p. 43; J. Barcik pointed out that the note of Anna Wincenta from 1733 was one of the most generous gifts for Kalwaria in the first half of the 18th century. The caution in leaving financial resources for the Franciscans of Kalwaria Paclawska could have resulted from the bad-fame that the order had at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The cases against the Franciscans were led by Anna Wincenta's brother – Jerzy Bogusław. The nobleman challenged monks in court for invasion on his goods. However, he submitted the most serious allegations to the consistory, where he tried to prove that the monks violated the principles included in the foundation document, showed no respect to the founder's family, contributed to the depletion of monastic buildings and expelled the hermits, so the foundation document should be annulled; see J. Barcik, *op. cit.*, p. 115–116.

SUMMARY**ANNA WINCENTA SAPIEHA, NÉE FREDRO – FORGOTTEN BENEFACTRESS**

The problem of political, cultural and religious patronage is still almost unknown in Polish historiography. Example of Anna Wincenta Sapieha, née Fredro can be treated as substantiation that further research in that theme is still required. She did not have a strong influence on political, matrimonial, financial or even economical aspects of her family life. The most important activity for her was associated with the religious aspect – foundations, charities and donations. In her last will act we can find multiple examples of donations – for local churches, convents, faith-based fraternities and other religious orders. Preserved sources – correspondence and acts of property rights – can be treated as an important base for the research concerning women's patronage in the 18th century.

Keywords: patronage, 18th century, women's history, foundation

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