

STUDIES ON FEMALE PATRONAGE
IN THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES




EDITED BY


Bożena Popiołek, Urszula Kicińska,
Anna Penkała-Jastrzębska, Agnieszka Słaby

STUDIES ON FEMALE PATRONAGE
IN THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES

Uniwersytet Pedagogiczny
im. Komisji Edukacji Narodowej
w Krakowie
Prace Monograficzne 890



**STUDIES ON FEMALE PATRONAGE
IN THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES**



TRANSLATION

Mariola Dyl-Wąsik, Paulina Mierzwa, Radosław Rozumowski

EDITED BY

Bożena Popiołek

Urszula Kicińska

Anna Penkała-Jastrzębska

Agnieszka Słaby

© Copyright by Authors
Kraków 2019

ISSN 0239-6025
ISBN 978-83-8084-271-7
e-ISBN 978-83-8084-272-4
DOI 10.24917/9788380842717

Reviewers:

prof. dr hab. Marian Chachaj
prof. dr hab. Filip Wolański

Proofreading:

Libron

Layout and cover design:

Libron

On the cover:

Portrait of Marianna Denhoff, née Bielińska by Antoine Pense,
fot. Piotr Ceraficki (Łazienki Królewskie Museum in Warsaw)
and graphics from: vecteezy.com

Project funded by the National Science Center
as part of the program no. UMO 2015/19/B/HS3/01797
“Benefactresses and clients. The specificity of women’s
patronage and clients relations in the Saxon era”

Wydawnictwo Naukowe UP
30-084 Kraków, ul. Podchorążych 2
tel./fax 12 662-63-83, tel. 12 662-67-56
e-mail: wydawnictwo@up.krakow.pl
<http://www.wydawnictwoup.pl>

Table of contents

7	Introduction
	NATALIA STARCHENKO
17	Patronage System as a Formal Power Mechanism in the Early Modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth
	NATALIA BIŁOUS
37	Clientele of Tomasz Zamoyski in the Kyiv palatinate (in the light of correspondence 1619–1637)
	RITA REGINA TRIMONIENE
59	An international noble family in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the second half of the 16 th and early 17 th century
	PIOTR OCZKO
79	Some remarks from a completely different world. Could (female) patronage take place in the Dutch Republic?
	KAROLINA KWAŚNA
91	And when he died, his widow continued the business... Widows from New England
	DOROTA ŻOŁĄDŹ-STRZELCZYK
107	Influence of women on education in the modern age – family and social contexts
	ANNA SZYLAR
119	“Let them diligently see the humors and fantasies of the founders so that they will not bring any turmoil to the monastery...” Women – founders of women’s monasteries in the 17 th and 18 th centuries. The Council of Trent reform and its consequences for the formation of cloistered monasteries
	ŁUKASZ TRACZYK
137	Helena Tekla Lubomirska, née Ossolińska’s forgotten Warsaw palace

- JAROSŁAW PIETRZAK
 151 Managers, servants and correspondents. Mikołaj Krogulecki and Jan Antoni Lamprecht under the patronage of Maria Kazimiera Sobieska and Elżbieta Sieniawska, née Lubomirska in the years 1698–1714
- ADAM KUCHARSKI
 173 Information and services. Jakub Kazimierz Rubinkowski as a correspondent and client of Elżbieta Sieniawska and Anna Katarzyna Radziwiłł
- KINGA SAJDAK
 187 The patron-servant relation on the example of Elżbieta Sieniawska, née Lubomirska and Izrael Rubinowicz
- KRYSTYNA STASIEWICZ
 199 The patronage of famous magnates over a unique client Elżbieta Drużbacka, née Kowalska
- URSZULA KICIŃSKA
 215 Patron's activity of the widow Konstancja Marianna Szczukowa, née Potocka, Lithuanian deputy chancelloress
- ANNA PENKAŁA-JASTRZĘBSKA
 233 Anna Wincenta Sapieha, née Fredro – a forgotten benefactress
- AGNIESZKA SŁĄBY
 247 Anna Franciszka Zamoyska, née Gnińska as protectress – scope of research
- KATARZYNA KURAS
 261 The women's patronage in France in the 18th century. Old patterns and new ideas
- KATARZYNA DORMUS
 277 Izabela Czartoryska's arts patronage
- LUCYNA KUDEŁA
 291 Founder of female religious schools in the nineteenth-century Galicia
- ANNA PEKANIEC
 299 Jadwiga Zamoyska, née Działyńska – a portrait of activist and writer
- 313 References

Introduction

“Is this possible to define one universal model for female patronage?” asked Dionysios Stathakopoulos in “Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte,” indicating the complexity of the problems researchers of this issue are facing.¹ Diverse financial, legal, social and family positions of women considered patrons by the historians prove how complicated a task stands before the researchers of this phenomenon. Pioneer works of Sharon Kettering concerning the specifics of female patronage in modern France provided justification for thorough investigation of actions of influential women in various spheres of everyday life.² There were few similar works in Polish historiography. Particular attention should be paid to ideas formulated by Antoni Mączak, who defined rules of the patron-client relationship in the Polish Commonwealth, indicating the complexity of relations existing among nobility.³ Works of Urszula Augustyniak are also a valuable contribution. She paid particular attention to the need to appreciate the significance of informal relationships in the clerical system of the 17th and 18th century Poland, while highlighting the difference between relations existing in them and those rooted in systems of Western

1 D. Stathakopoulos, *I Seek Not My Own: Is There a Female Mode of Charity and Patronage?*, “Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte” 2012, vol. 60, no. 1, p. 383.

2 S. Kettering, *Gift-Giving and Patronage in Early Modern France*, “French History” 1988, vol. 2, no. 2, p. 131–151; idem, *The Patronage Power of Early Modern French Noblewomen*, “The Historical Journal” 1989, vol. 32, no. 4, p. 817–841; idem, *Patronage in Early Modern France*, “French Historical Studies” 1992, vol. 17, no. 4, p. 839–862; idem, *Patronage and Kinship in Early Modern France*, “Society for French Historical Studies” 2011, vol. 16, no. 2, p. 408–435.

3 A. Mączak, *Klientela. Nieformalne systemy władzy w Polsce i w Europie XVI–XVIII w.*, Warszawa 2000; idem, *Nierówna przyjaźń. Układy klientalne w perspektywie historycznej*, Wrocław 2003; idem, *Rządzący i rządzeni. Władza i społeczeństwo w Europie wczesnonowoczesnej*, Warszawa 1986 (2nd edition Warszawa 2002).

Europe.⁴ However, it should be noted that issues concerning the specifics of female patronage in the modern Polish Republic still remain unrecognised.⁵ This monograph aims to fill that research gap, at least a little. The presented collection of studies is simultaneously an announcement of further publications that will thoroughly present the conditions, character and mechanisms of operation of ties of patronage as well as multi-facetedly understood patronage with particular focus on the position women from noble families held in it.

In European historiography, the issue of female patronage is discussed in a multi-faceted manner – authors of studies analysed various components of female activity, concerning both private and public spheres. Researchers thoroughly study primarily activity of women belonging to the most influential European families, paying attention to their financial capabilities, mechanisms for building prestige and scrupulous selection of people they considered their immediate circles. While analysing issues concerning the specifics of female patronage, Sharon Strocchia has proven that activities undertaken by women were a particularly thought-out self-creation. Female patrons deliberately used visual arts and various forms of material support as a way to establish an exceptional position and desired reputation for themselves in the society of their time.⁶ Said

4 See U. Augustyniak, *O przyjaźni. Przyczynek do badania stosunków klientalnych in Necessitas et ars. Studia staropolskie dedykowane profesorowi Januszowi Pelcowi*, ed. B. Otwinowska et al., vol. 2, Warszawa 1993; idem, *Potworne konspiracje, czyli problem zdrady w Rzeczypospolitej w czasach Wazów*, “Barok: Historia, Literatura, Sztuka” 1994, vol. I, no. 1, p. 89–103; idem, *Znaczenie pokrewieństwa w układach nieformalnych w Rzeczypospolitej w 1 poł. XVII w. na przykładzie klienteli Radziwiłłów* in *Kultura staropolska – kultura europejska. Prace ofiarowane Januszowi Tazbirowi w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, ed. S. Bylina et al., Warszawa 1997, p. 205–211; idem, „Stary sługa” jako przedmiot badań nad klientelizmem magnackim na Litwie w XVII wieku, “Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej” 2010, no. 1, p. 71–85.

5 Most important works concerning this subject: B. Popiołek, *Dobrodziejki i klienci. O patronacie kobiecym w XVIII w.* in *Patron i dwór. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej XVI–XVIII w.*, ed. E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, J. Urwanowicz, Warszawa 2006, p. 385–395; idem, „Najniższy podnózek, sługa i więzień pański” – klientalne listy prozalne czasów saskich, “Krakowskie Studia Małopolskie” 2011, vol. 16, p. 151–166; 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; A. Słaby, *Rządząca oleszycka. Dwór Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej jako przykład patronatu kobiecego w czasach saskich*, Kraków 2014; R. Nestorow, *Pro domo et nomine suo. Fundacje i inicjatywy artystyczne Adama Mikołaja i Elżbiety Sieniawskich*, Warszawa 2016.

6 S.T. Strocchia, *Abbess Piera de’ Medici and her kin: Gender, Gifts, and Patronage in Renaissance Florence*, “Renaissance Studies” 2013, vol. 28, no. 5, p. 695.

research studies were a continuation of a direction set few years earlier by Caroline Murphy, who analysed the position of female patrons in modern Europe and deemed it justified to describe at least some of them as „*super power female patrons*,” thus appreciating their influence, position and scale of their activities.⁷

Establishing and maintaining ties of patronage by women is an equally complex issue, deserving a special attention of researchers. There were various methods for establishing a loyal environment willing to fulfil tasks contracted by the patron and in certain circumstances assist in achieving goals she set for herself. Research concerning the modern era has proven that female activity successfully developed both in the household sphere and outside of it.⁸ Family relations and close social contacts were essential, not without consequence was also the loyalty of people responsible for managing the wealth. Establishing beneficial contacts, including maintaining close relations with the royal court was able to bring tangible benefits.⁹ Women gained a circle of trusted correspondents, the favour of whom could translate into direct benefits for the patron and for those who assisted her hoping for promotion or to achieve their private goals. The phenomenon of female brokering – only briefly mentioned by Polish researchers, has been a subject of a few publications made by historians from Western Europe.¹⁰ Studies presented in this tome can be considered an important suggestion on directions of research over this phenomenon, especially that concerning the Polish Commonwealth.

Results of analyses carried out for the last several dozen years allowed to prove how varied and complex was the activity of women in the modern era, not excluding the sphere of private life. Proper level of wealth allowed for active participation in politics of building the prestige of one’s family and for arranging advantageous marriages for the children. Many wealthy women were perfectly capable of moderating the “sphere of private life,” while their success

7 C.P. Murphy, *Lavinia Fontana and Le Dame della Città: Understanding female artistic patronage in late sixteenth-century Bologna*, “Renaissance Studies” 1996, vol. 10, no. 2, p. 191; idem, “*In praise of the ladies of Bologna*”: *The Image and Identity*, “Renaissance Studies” 1999, vol. 13, no. 4, p. 440–454.

8 A. Page, “*A Great Politicianess*”: *Ann Jebb, Rational Dissent and Politics in Late Eighteenth-Century Britain*, “Women’s History Review” 2008, vol. 17, no. 5, p. 744.

9 M. Yonan, *Portable Dynasties: Imperial Gift-Giving at the Court of Vienna in the Eighteenth Century*, “The Court Historian” 2009, vol. 14, no. 2, p. 177.

10 Most important works concerning this subject: S. Blank, *Patrons, Brokers and Clients in the Families of the Elite in Colonial Caracas, 1595–1627*, “The Americas” 1979, vol. 36, no. 1, p. 90–115; S. Kettering, *Brokerage at the Court of Louis XIV*, “The Historical Journal” 1993, vol. 36, no. 1, p. 69–87.

in this endeavour brought numerous advantages to a noble household. A good marriage brought various benefits for the family – from acquiring financial base to invaluable assistance in political ploys allowing for obtaining lucrative official positions and various other benefits. Influential women skilfully played this game, assisting in selection of the marriages that would be most promising for the family interests. While studying the mechanisms of 18th century matrimonial patronage, Rosemary O’Day came to conclusion, that the role of female brokers, who significantly impacted the selection of future spouses, often brought greater benefits than official political pursuits, providing the family with the anticipated status, connections and political base.¹¹

Sponsoring is also worthy of attention, being a thought-out strategy for building image and legitimacy of being among the wealthy and influential.¹² In the modern-era Commonwealth, granting certain sums of money for the benefit of sacral institutions was especially effective in achieving social prestige.¹³ Members of the wealthiest families found fulfilment as benefactors, winning recognition and gratitude of their contemporaries. It is then not surprising that it was the women – especially widows – who actively participated in the church life. Dedicating significant amounts for religious needs, the wealthy ladies acquired – as described by Rosemary Raughter – “a female autonomy within the structures of the church,” providing the highborn with special role and status.¹⁴

Issues discussed in this monograph are dedicated to the key problems the studies of female patronage base upon. Authors of articles took on the difficult task of defining the specificity and form of patronage in the modern era, and characterising the complex relations established and maintained by

11 R. O’Day, *Matchmaking and Moneymaking in a Patronage Society: The First Duke and Duchess of Chandos, c. 1712–35*, “Economic History Review” 2013, vol. 66, no. 1, p. 273.

12 Cf. C.S.L. Davies, *A Woman in the Public Sphere; Dorothy Wadham and the Foundation of Wadham College, Oxford*, “The English Historical Review” 2003, vol. 118, no. 478, p. 883.

13 The issue of financial assistance and the role of female patrons in relations to church institutions has been noted by: S. Broomhall, *Devoted Politics: Jesuits and Elite Catholic Women at the Later Sixteenth-Century Valois Court*, “Journal of Jesuit Studies” 2015, vol. 2, no. 4, p. 586; M.A. Conelli, *A Typical Patron of Extraordinary Means: Isabella Feltria della Rovere and the Society of Jesus*, “Renaissance Studies” 2004, vol. 18, no. 3, p. 412; an exceptional example of nun’s patronage over a selected religious centre has been discussed by M. Dunn; idem, *Nuns as art patrons: the decoration of S.Marta al Colegio Romano*, “Art Bulletin” 1988, vol. 70, no. 3, p. 451–452.

14 R. Raughter, *A Discreet Benevolence: Female Philanthropy and the Catholic Resurgence in Eighteenth-Century Ireland*, “Women’s History Review” 1997, vol. 6, no. 4, p. 465.

women from noble families. Particular emphasis has been put on an attempt to define the female patronage, its scope, factors influencing the client base establishment process, grasping the mechanisms of creating and maintaining female patronage and sponsoring, identifying personality of the patron and her relation with her client environment, listing various methods women use to carry out patronage in modern Europe, comparison of models by which female client circles operate, defining economical basis for implementing patronage – and finally estimating the scale of the phenomenon of female courts and forms of patronage they provided.

The monograph is opened by an article of Natalia Starczenko, in which the author presents the results of studies concerning patronage she understands as form of a power mechanism functioning in the Poland of old. The author provides evidence that modern age patronage did not operate on the base of any direct coercion towards those dependent, but on the high social and economic status of the patron who united the system the he or she controlled. The sense of “noble status” determined the need to surround oneself with a group of trusted people – family, in-laws, friends and servants, that were supposed to play a key role in achieving goals intended by the patron. The author unambiguously indicates that belonging to a patron-client system was not based on any written rules and the only bonding force was the mutual trust between the parties engaged. Further articles describes the issue of patronage and clientelism in the context of family politics. A great example for this is Tomasz Zamoyski, whose patronage activity is characterised by Natalia Bilous. Analysis of extensive correspondence of the magnate allows for indicating how did he establish and maintain patronage ties and what direct benefits did he gain from such policy. The researcher’s goal was to make a list of people that can be considered his clients. Such framing of the issue allowed for painting a picture of broad ties of influence of the famous magnate. Another article – by Regina Rita Trimoniene – concerns relations within a noble family in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania from the second half of 16th to the beginning of 17th century. The researcher analyses family dependencies and economic issues related to the functioning of a noble family, utilising various sources like: Lithuanian Metrica, Samogitian circuit court books, ownership documents, and literature from 16th–17th century. The author argues that in the process of migration of nobility, certain factors had a large impact on adaptation to life in the new community, most important being education, land ownership, and establishing a family.

Piotr Oczko tried to answer the fundamental question stated in the introduction, namely in what conditions the female patronage could even begin to exist. The researchers based his considerations on an analysis of the specifics of the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands, presenting examples of selected women activity of whom he considered as a form of patronage. The author points at the problem of validity of using the terms patronage, clientelism, or sponsorship when discussing the relations present in the Republic of the Seven United Netherlands at the time. Equally valuable findings concerning the economic position of women outside the borders of the Commonwealth are presented in the article of Karolina Kwaśniewska. The author chose widows from New England as the subject of her studies, analysing their legal and economic position. The researcher, basing her narration on an analysis of biographies of a few selected widows proves that the actual scope of activity of widowed women from New England was considerably broader and more significant than it was previously believed.

In the modern era the influence of women on children's upbringing, their education and further life choices was increasing. The phenomenon of educational patronage is presented in a multi-faceted manner by an article of Dorota Żołądź-Strzelczyk. The researcher analyses the family and social aspect of this phenomenon, and stresses the exceptional role of mothers – both in the process of educating children and in attempts to establish the best possible material conditions for them before they begin their independent life. The author also highlights an important role of women as sponsors and patrons, generously supporting numerous female monasteries. The issue of women from wealthy noble families assisting monasteries has been discussed also by Anna Szylar. In the article, circumstances leading to the establishment of foundations have been presented, as well as the scope of grants given to the monastery and expectations of the sponsors. The author scrupulously counted all foundations dedicated to female monasteries until the end of 18th century, particularly highlighting those founded in large part by women. Apart from foundation-related activities, all manifestations of women investing into arts must be followed through to understand the nature of female patronage. In his study, Łukasz Traczyk focused on collecting activities of Helena Tekla Lubomirska, née Ossolińska. Author's considerations focus on the history of the palace and the collection of artworks belonging to this outstanding patron.

The main issue analysed by the authors remains however the shaping of patron-client relations. While analysing the phenomenon of female patronage,

authors of studies did not omit the role of women, especially those active ones, who were model examples for establishing a patron-client relationship. A great example for establishing a network of patronage relationships was the activity of Elżbieta Sieniawska, née Lubomirska. The range of her influence has been proven by Jarosław Pietrzak in his article. The researcher, while analysing the patronage ties of the magnate, focused on the relations between the magnate and Mikołaj Krogulecki and Jan Antoni Lamprecht. These men belonged to a group of court officials serving both Sieniawska and Maria Kazimiera. Despite the shortage of sources concerning those figures, the researcher was able to analyse several years of their activity on the basis of correspondence that survived to this day. The author has proven that the methods used by both benefactors to shape their patronage relationships were significantly different. The most influential women of the time of Saxon ruling – Elżbieta Sieniawska, née Lubomirska mentioned earlier and Anna Radziwiłł, née Sanguszko have been mentioned in Adam Kucharski’s article. The subject of the researcher’s considerations was their relations with Jakub Kazimierz Rubinkowski. The author demonstrated the significant role of Rubinkowski as a correspondent and proven his contacts with most important Commonwealth magnates of 18th century. The described arrangement is named by this historian as informative clientelism clarifying the basis for presented relationship. The other correspondent of Elżbieta Sieniawska, née Lubomirska – Izrael Rubinowicz, is discussed in the article of Kinga Sajdak. The author analyses the manner Sieniawska managed her property, presenting the thought-out policy of the magnate in terms of selecting and supervising administrators of her property, on the example of her relations with Rubinowicz. The analysis has been carried out on the basis of their correspondence that – as the author stresses – is an exceptionally valuable source for studying the phenomenon of clientelism. The last of the series of articles dedicated to relations of Elżbieta Sieniawska concerns her client – Elżbieta Drużbacka, née Kowalska, who was presented in the article of Krystyna Stasiewicz. The researcher analysed Drużbacka’s correspondence, indicating her relations with wealthiest women of the 18th century Commonwealth – Elżbieta Sieniawska, née Lubomirska and Barbara Sanguszko, née Dunin. In the author’s opinion, that “extraordinary client” cleverly maintained relations with both patrons, skilfully adopting herself to the character and expectations of each of them. Thorough studies of Drużbacka allowed the author to prove that the favour of both ladies have been won with a thought-out manner of maintaining communication, readiness to

participate in private events important to her patrons, honest intentions and readiness to fulfil tasks ordered by her patrons.

An exceptional example of patronage is presented in studies concerning the economic, legal and financial position of widows in the Commonwealth. Due to the free reign over the property and favourable position that could have been established by a life estate agreement concluded with their late husbands, widows were the core of patrons providing at times impressive amounts for various goals, in particular those related to the religious sphere. The phenomenon of female patronage with special account for activities of widowed women is presented in the article drawn up by Urszula Kicińska. The researcher focused on shedding light on activity of vice-chancellor Konstanca Marianna Szczuka, née Potocka – a deserving person, but barely recognised to date. Using rich collections of correspondence and numerous petitions submitted to the widow, the researcher has proven how extensive were the patronage actions undertaken by the vice-chancellor. Analysis of economic activity, religious and educational patronage carried out by Szczukowa allowed to confirm the widow's special position in the society of the Commonwealth. Article by Anna Penkała-Jastrzębska dedicated to Anna Wincenta Sapieha, née Fredro presents patronage in another light. The author pointed out the exceptional example of generous religious patronage of the voivodess, who happily ceded almost all financial matters to immediate family and – leading a godly life – became a generous sponsor of many religious centres. The figure of other influential widow – Anna Zamojska, née Gnińska is discussed by Agnieszka Słaby in her article. After the death of her husband, Zamojska personally managed her property and skilfully navigated her circle of family members, in-laws and friends that were supposed to help her in maintaining her wealth. The author argues that Zamojska not only skilfully maintained contacts established by her late husband, but was also able to create her own patronage ties. Examples provided by the researcher allow for considering Anna Zamojska, née Gnińska as one of the most influential patrons in the Commonwealth of late 17th and early 18th century.

Establishing a prestige-building policy, strongly related with patron-client relations, constitute an exceptional example of female activity. Article prepared by Katarzyna Kuras focusing on female patronage in France relates to this subject. Her research allowed to characterise the specifics of the French court, with particular attention to the important role played by wealthy and influential women. The author stressed the connection between social standing

of a woman and her ability for patronage, and provided numerous examples of women establishing a wide and thought-out networks of clients. Private opinions and interests of women were also not without consequence. In author's opinion, the individual sympathies strongly impacted the forms of patronage carried out by women.

Analysis of the phenomenon of patronage could not be considered comprehensive without the issue of artistic patronage and financial support provided by wealthiest and most influential women taken into account. The figure of extraordinary and prominent art patron – Izabela Czartoryska, née Fleming is presented in the Article of Katarzyna Dormus. As an exceptionally wealthy and well-established woman, Czartoryska had a perfect base to collect art and materially support artists. The author proves that duchess' activity still deserves thorough study, while her achievements in the field of patronage go way beyond just supporting the actions of her husband – Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski. The issues concerning the scope of female-ran foundations are further discussed in the article prepared by Lucyna Kudła dedicated to convent schools for females. The researcher analysed the specifics of 19th century Galicia and convents existing in it at the time. The role of these congregations proved to be outstandingly wide – from care and assistance to those most in need, educational activities, to readiness to provide supplemental education for girls and preparing them to practice various professions. The issue of the manner the female patronage operated in the 19th century is further discussed in the study of Anna Pekaniec, in which the author draws a picture of well-known 19th century patron – Jadwiga Zamoyska née Działyńska. Even though – as the researcher points out, activities of Zamoyska were focused mainly on educational patronage, her achievements as organiser and social activist cannot be ignored. Moreover, Zamoyska was personally engaging in national issues that significantly impacted the actions he had taken.

As mentioned in the introduction, research of patronage and patronage ties – especially that concerning women from noble families – is an especially interesting subject, worthy of further, through studies. We hope that this tome will be a valuable input to the discussion over the role and position of women in the Commonwealth and will become an inspiration for new directions of research.

NATALIA STARCHENKO

M.S. Hrushevskyi Institute of Ukrainian
Archeography and Source Studies
of the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine

Patronage System as a Formal Power Mechanism in the Early Modern Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth

The “discovery” of patronage as a mechanism that infused all spheres of life in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth brought the need to inscribe it into the broader historiographical paradigm based on our understanding of early modern statehood. There were several approaches. The practitioners of the first approach fit patronage into the traditional mode of thinking about the past, created in the 19th century based on 19th century molds; despite significant revisions, this model remains current to this day. Roughly, the scheme supposed that the king was weak; provinces did not have a network of officials subject to the king; szlachta/magnates were strong; magnates usurped royal power; szlachta was subjugated to magnates; elites came to dominate in the provinces “prawem i lewem.” Subsequently, patronage was added to this scheme as an *informal* power mechanism that further deformed the weak state systems and buttressed its oligarchy. This approach presupposed the existence, at least in theory, of a *formal/normal/correct* power mechanism against which all departures from the norm were to be measured.

The other approach required serious reflection on the nature of early modern statehood. The old scheme was to be suspended or approached as an instrument that produced an understanding of the past at a certain stage, but did not necessarily coincide with the past as such. Practitioners of the approach sought to distance themselves from the traditional definition of a modern

state based on 19th century realities, where the state had an orderly hierarchical apparatus of officials, and possessed monopoly on violence. Granted, intermediary positions allow empirical scholarship of patronage through the lens of discrete players that ostensibly do not require broader conceptualizations. And yet, it is a shaky project because historiographical framework is implicitly present in all studies, regardless of their scope.

Obviously, the former approach is more convenient in that it allows to inscribe patronage into existing schemes without further reinterpretation. Moreover, it can be used instrumentally, as an explanation for many social phenomena not well-documented in primary sources. The latter approach complicates scholarship, offering multiple answers and requiring work with indirect testimonies, which historians are not necessarily ready to do.

Therefore, I will draw attention to several phenomena that “normalize” patronage as a legitimate instrument of power¹ by setting aside the predetermined “standard” of early modern statehood as a basis for value judgments. My framework is defined by the presupposition that the clientela system was a perfectly “normal” mechanism for forming administrative and court systems in the regions. After all, no other mechanism existed at the time. In this case, we should explore the singularities of the system’s functioning from the inside. Obviously, the approach allows us to pose new questions rather than formulate new answers. Here are two of these questions:

- Officials’ network: patron’s clients, king’s agents or community’s servants?
- Was patronage as a power mechanism as totalizing as some sources lead us to believe? In other words, was patronage the only mechanism for social advancement on the regional level?

Castle and district court records of the Volhynian Voivodeship of the mid-16th through the mid-17th century will serve as my primary mechanism of verification (I will not address the state of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth after the wars of the mid-17th century).

¹ I will not address the problem of the formal or informal nature of patron-client relations, which, obviously, were not only pragmatic but also had an emotional (informal) dimension. Instead I seek to define patronage’s position within the power system of the early modern state as a legitimate / “normal” or informal / “parasitic” phenomenon.

OFFICIALS' NETWORK: AGENTS OF THE STATE OR SERVANTS OF THEIR COMMUNITY?

Obviously, the network of officials who were supposed to wield political power on the local level was an institutional part of the state. The patron-client system, however, remained a perfectly legal and conventional mechanism for selecting court officials on the regional level. For example, the king chose one out of four nominees to regional court offices, with the candidates pre-selected at district sejmiks by local szlachta, based on advice from a representative of the regional elite who was close to the monarch. This fact was publically discussed as an absolutely conventional act that the community consented to. The starosta as a royal deputy formed the castle court, selecting a deputy starosta, judge and scribe. There is little doubt that the majority of officials came from the circle of starosta's servants or clients, and their loyalty to the patron was an important quality.²

Who were these persons, and what were their identities? Did they receive the office from their patron as a sign that they should, as befits a good servant/client, serve their patron faithfully, "carrying the master on them," or did they believe that the authority conferred with the office gave the dependents a degree of subjectivity? Were castle officials aware of their connections not only with the starosta but also, through him as the royal deputy, with the state and king as its symbol? The answers to these questions are directly related to the specificity of early modern statehood with its weak centralization and, concomitantly, the absence of a unified center that would retain monopoly on power and legitimate violence. Were the persons in these networks "state agents?" Who defined the extent of their authority? Who was to be the arbiter

² On relations between starostas and castle officials see: N. Starchenko, *Starosta's Judiciary Authority versus Officials' Oath (Volhynia of the Last 3rd of the 16th Century)*, "Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Prace Historyczne" 2016, vol. 143, no. 2, p. 253–259. On patron-client relations more broadly as the basis for a regional judiciary see: Н. Старченко, *Гродські урядники: слуги старости – члени шляхетської спільноти – «агенти» держави (Волинь останньої третини XVI ст.)*, "Україна в Центрально-Східній Європі" 2016, vol. 16, p. 128–156. See too: S. Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers, and Clients in Seventeenth Century France*, Oxford 1986; idem, *Patronage and Kinship in Early Modern France*, "French Historical Studies", vol. 16, no. 2 (Autumn, 1989), p. 408–435; A. Mączak, *Klientela. Nieformalne systemy władzy w Polsce i Europie XVI–XVIII w.*, Warszawa 1994; idem, *Nierówna przyjaźń. Układy klientalne w perspektywie historycznej*, Wrocław 2003; U. Augustyniak, *Dwór i klientela Krzysztofa Radziwiłła (1585–1640). Mechanizmy patronatu*, Warszawa 2001.

should a person, a group or a regional community deem official's actions illegitimate?

These tough questions, it appears, were no easier for early modern people, as demonstrated by the case heard in Lutsk castle court on September 6, 1571. Barbara Ianusheva Montovtova, of Porytskyi family, accused the *woźny* Dakhno Hualnytskyi of false testimony.³ Over the course of the trial, Hualnytskyi's lawyer Kazymyr Lednytskyi maintained that a *woźny* has to be tried not in castle court but in the county where he "took the oath," that is, where he assumed the office through a certain ritual. Later the lawyer suggested another institution that could hear cases about false testimonies of a *woźny*, namely, the king himself as the highest authority for all officials: "Nobody can hold trial over officials of His Royal Majesty but His Royal Majesty." Therefore, a *woźny* did not only receive an office from a voivode as a "king's man," but also got a discrete sliver of power that turned him into a king's official. Barbara Montovtova's representative offered a counterargument: a *woźny* is neither a royal nor a regional official (in the sense that he was not under the voivode's jurisdiction) but first and foremost "a county servant of the castle office." The last argument, however, hinted at *woźny*'s multiple identity as the representative of the county and its landed gentry (II SL demanded that all officials should be landed) and a castle authorities "servant" subjugated to the starosta as a king's deputy. None of these arguments, however, were deemed sufficient for a verdict by the starosta Oleksandr Zhoravnytskyi, so the case was eventually sent to royal court. Explaining his decision, the starosta stated that, as "the lowest servant and a loyal subject of His Royal Majesty, our kind lord," he deferred to the king, "humbly asking for his word of wisdom" in all ambiguous cases that were not covered by any statute norm. Therefore, over the course of the case various actors stated that a *woźny* was subordinated to the king as the highest authority for all officials; to the voivode, who had authority over *woźny* offices; to the county as the *szlachta* corporation he belonged to, and which witnessed his assumption of office; to castle court (headed by starosta).

It is beyond doubt that county officials had dual identities as elects of self-governing *szlachta* communities (and often as protégés of regional potentates) and as "king's men": it is amply demonstrated by the fact that, when

³ Центральний державний історичний архів України, м. Київ (Central State Historical Archive of Ukraine, Kyiv, ЦДІАК), ф. 25, оп. 1, спр. 458, арк. 377 зв.–383 зв.

accused of abusing their power, they landed in the royal jurisdiction. I would like to describe a telling example. Unhappy with the decree he received from the Volodymyr county scribe Fedir Soltan, Prince Dmytro Kozeka accused the official of falsifying the text and claimed that the man could not occupy his office (“is not worthy of being in the position and occupying the office”). The disgruntled prince intended to complain about the judges to the king: “I will discuss the matter of the judges with the lord.”⁴ In answer to that, Soltan announced in the castle court that, as a landed person elected to his office by the entire szlachta “res publica”⁵ by the mercy of God and *the king*, he acknowledged no guilt. And yet, “as a man whose honor [...] was massacred [...] stained and almost dead, unable to perform living duties,” he set out to the king to receive whatever was his due.⁶ The scribe maintained that he ceased to exist in the eyes of the community that elected him after the accusations destroyed his reputation. The only way to restore his honor and earlier status was to “clear his name” in front of the king.

The situation with castle officials appears to be even more complicated. On the one hand, crucially, they felt obligated not only to the starosta who gave them their office but also to the king. In conflicts, they often stated that they had two masters, namely, the king and starosta: they are subject “to His Royal Majesty and [...] the starosta, our merciful lords whose place and office we bear.”⁷ In the subsequent episode of the conflict which produced the abovementioned quote, Volodymyr castle officials did not mention the fact that they were subjects to starosta, claiming instead that the “rebels” (that is, the local szlachta) offended their office and the supreme royal power with their disobedience.⁸

Despite that, szlachta often identified castle officials with the starosta. This perception was usually voiced when the starosta filed a lawsuit against his opponent in the castle court he himself presided in. In this case, the defendant stated that “The starosta, and none other, forms the court and owns it as his servants and stewards [...] it is easy for him to receive whatever he wants from them, for they will come to whatever decision he likes.” As Andrii Firlei noted through his lawyer, “the starosta, my opponent, and none

4 Ibidem, ф. 28 (Volodymyr castle court), оп. 1, спр. 4, арк. 240–243, 1569 p.

5 In this case, “res publica” covers the szlachta corporation of the Volodymyr county.

6 ЦДДАУК, ф. 28, оп. 1, спр. 4, арк. 243 3б.-244 3б., 1569 p.

7 Ibidem, ф. 25, оп. 1, спр. 35, арк. 674, 1586 p.

8 Ibidem, арк. 673–675.

other will judge me through his servants and officials, and in person too.”⁹ It is worth remembering, however, that we are dealing with lawyer’s rhetoric, which, although steeped in certain values of the gentry community, always served a concrete purpose.¹⁰ Starosta’s power over castle officials was both inscribed in the statute and enforced by quotidian practices.¹¹ Let us pause on the phrase of Prince Janusz Zaslavskyi, who demanded that the Lutsk starosta Prince Oleksandr Pronskyi review the decree of castle officials on Janusz’s brother: “They [the officials] should obey your orders *the way servants obey their master*.”¹² And yet, in 1589 Volhynian and Bratslav Voivodeships joined the Royal Tribunal (the Kyiv Voivodeship followed suit in 1590), which took complaints against castle officials from starosta’s jurisdiction. In 1590, when asked by Jacek Butovych to allow an appeal to Prince Kostiantyn Ostrozkyi, Volodymyr castle officials stated: “In common law, we do not see appeals going to starosta, which should first go to His Royal Majesty, and now to Tribunal.”¹³

It is symptomatic that, in that very year of 1590, Oleksandr Kysil refused to see his complaint against Volodymyr castle officials judged by the starosta Prince Kostiantyn Ostrozkyi as “an unsuitable judge,” despite the royal decision to this effect. Kysil maintained that Volhynian and Bratslav szlachta had a hard time obtaining “justice” when castle officials were judged by starostas or their deputies, which drew out the cases or wronged the plaintiffs; szlachta asked the king “and the entire *res publica*” to lift the burden and to let it join the Crown Tribunal. Kysil finished the appeal by supporting his words with the 1589 Constitution, and summed up: now “none other than the main tribunal court should enforce justice.”¹⁴ Despite certain exaggerations, Kysil pinpointed an important result of Volhynia joining the Lublin Tribunal, namely, the deconsolidation of power formerly concentrated in the hands of starostas; castle officials fell under the jurisdiction of deputies elected by szlachta. This broke the formal connection between the castle court as a judicial institution with the starosta as the patron of castle officials. Another important factor that,

⁹ Ibidem, ф. 28, оп. 1, спр. 21, спр. 273 зб.–274 зб., 1588 р.

¹⁰ More on relations between starostas and castle officials in: N. Starchenko, *Starosta’s Judiciary Authority...*, p. 253–259.

¹¹ See, for example, ibidem, ф. 25, оп. 1, спр. 28, арк. 158–168 зб., 1582 р.; ф. 28, спр. 16, арк. 196 зб.–197 зб., 1583 р.; ф. 25, оп. 1, спр. 12, арк. 525–525 зб., 1570 р.; спр. 31, арк. 433–434, 1584 р.

¹² Ibidem, ф. 28, оп. 1, спр. 18, арк. 511–512.

¹³ Ibidem, спр. 23, арк. 247 зб.–248 зб., 1590 р.

¹⁴ Ibidem, ф. 26 (Lutsk district court), оп. 1, спр. 7, арк. 211–212, 1590 р.

according to castle officials themselves, enforced their autonomy from the starosta and their objectivity in private dealings with szlachta, was the oath: “Now castle officials, not starostas or his deputies, are judging here, having sworn to judge justly, as no man’s servants.”¹⁵ Lutsk castle officials stressed that they were subject to their “oaths, conscience and duties.”¹⁶

The sources from the first interregnums demonstrate growing awareness of the importance of judges’ oath as the prerequisite for officials dutifully performing their tasks: initially the decrees of Volhynian sejmiks did not mention judges’ oath, but eventually it became integral.¹⁷

At the sejmik of July 27, 1573, Chelm county szlachta especially noted that *kapturowy* court judges don’t have to take the oath.¹⁸ And yet, a year later the court officials were made to take an oath, with both the text of the oath and the information about the fact inscribed in castle records.¹⁹ “Creating” a confederation and establishing *kapturowy* courts after Stefan Batory’s death at a sejmik of January 22, 1587, Chelm szlachta declared: “Knowing these gentlemen deputies as honest and honorable men, we also understand that they all have to take an oath, since we entrust our honor and lives to them.”²⁰ Sejmik decrees of Volhynian szlachta during the second interregnum mention that all castle officials were to take an oath,²¹ despite the fact that II SL only demands an oath from a castle court judge.

Mentions of oaths in court records also demonstrate increased attention to oaths sworn by castle officials. It seems that the first such mention (July 21, 1588) deals with the oath sworn by Volodymyr castle officials, officiated by Prince Vasyl-Kostiantyn Ostrozkyi: “before taking their office, they bowed to common law and took their oaths according to the statute in the presence of a good number of szlachta and county officials of Volodymyr Powiat.” The text of their oaths is also recorded.²²

15 Ibidem, ф. 25, оп. 1, сир. 52, арк. 219–221, 1597 p.

16 Ibidem, сир. 35, арк. 674, 1586 p.

17 N. Starchenko, *Starosta’s Judiciary Authority...*, p. 255.

18 *Akta sejmikowe ziemi chełmskiej 1572–1668*, ed. H. Gmiterek, W. Bondyra, J. Ternes, Lublin 2013, p. 29.

19 Ibidem, p. 32–33.

20 Ibidem, p. 58.

21 See, for example, the decree of July 27, 1574, which demanded an oath from a scribe and deputy starosta (ЦДИАУК, ф. 25, оп. 1, сир. 459, арк. 242 3в.).

22 Ibidem, сир. 21, арк. 351–351 3в., 1588 p. See records of the oath taken by Lutsk officials, documented on separate pages of court records: ibidem, ф. 25, оп. 1, сир. 52, арк. 2 3в.–4.

Castle officials took their oaths (texts identical to oaths of county officials recorded in II SL) in front of throngs of szlachta, in the presence of county officials. God was the main guarantor that they would stay true to the oath, and judge's work was to be guided "by his holy justice, the common law and their conscience." And yet, this sacred vertical hierarchy was to uphold horizontal networks because, ideally, castle officials took their oath in front of the powiat szlachta community. They swore that their decisions won't be swayed by the social or financial status of the persons in court, and that they would be free from their familial or familiar biases.

In repeating that castle court "swore that it would judge justly, as no man's servants,"²³ officials were reminded that they had to act "without offending their soul and fearing God the creator."²⁴ This affirmed the officials' agency and fragmented starosta's authority; their understanding of their connection to royal power, representing the state and thus higher than starosta's, must have served a similar purpose. S. Tsaturova maintains that the presence of other officials, some of higher standing, at the oath-swearing, as well as its public nature, connected the person taking the oath to the state as a symbolic body, to the officials' corporation and to the community. Should they break the oath, they would fear God and be shamed in the eyes of the entire community.²⁵

Another factor that effectively served as an important countermeasure to patronage was the fact that all officials belonged to a local settled gentry community. Whenever szlachta tried to oppose someone's appointment to office, they evoked this person's lack of settled status. Settled officials were incorporated into a broad network of familial, familiar and neighborly circles, guaranteeing their allegiance to the corporation which controlled all its members. Finally, we should not forget that the identity of officials and their life strategies were contingent not only on external pressures, but also on their individual feelings, intentions and interests. This individual background formed officials as members of the corporation that offered its support in various life exigencies (often no less effectively than a patron). The szlachta community was no less exacting than a patron in demanding loyalty and adherence to

²³ Ibidem, спр. 52, арк. 219–221, 1597 р.

²⁴ Ibidem, ф. 28, оп. 1, спр. 18, арк. 127, 1585 р.

²⁵ С.К. Цатурова, *Клятва чиновника при вступлении в должность во Франции XIII–XV вв.: от контракта с королем к контракту с государством*, Право в средневековом мире., Москва 2009, р. 51–81.

certain ideals and values. Its members were to act “according to the truth, conscience, and their good reputation.”²⁶

SERVING FRIENDS AS MEANS TO SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT

Summarizing his life in his testament of May 15, 1597, a poor Volhynian szlachcic Mykhailo Vasyliovych Lynevskiy noted: “The poor estates I inherited provided me with no treasures, and what I earned with my honest work was not squandered but used for *gentle things*.”²⁷ In listing his best qualities, he noted his desire to provide his many sons with decent education and schooling so that they would become “honorable men in the world.” His loyal service to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth is listed second, as exemplified by the fact that Lynevskiy was elected ambassador to the diet 7 times. I would like to add that he also served as a tax collector for the Volhynian Voivodeship.²⁸ A scholar, used to searching for a powerful patron behind such facts in an ordinary szlachcic’s life, is bound to come away disappointed: Lynevskiy had none. This context lends extra weight to his third good quality listed in the testament, namely, his selfless service to his friends: “I also served my friends in their need without expecting any reward.” His service was ostensibly without reward; moreover, it even required expenditure. The honorable and selfless service that Lynevskiy focused on had another dimension though: it gave a poor szlachcic an opportunity to earn symbolic capital within a regional community, which eventually brought dividends, and not exclusively of the symbolic type.

Let us take a closer look at Mykhailo Lynevskiy’s familial circle through the lens of his testament. He appoints Oleksandr Pavlovych Chernevskiy, his brother-in-law, as trustee. Mykhailo was married to Raina Pavlivna Chernevskya, and his brother Voina to her sister Tomyla Pavlivna,²⁹ that is, the women came

²⁶ Ibidem, спр. 23, арк. 174 зб.–175 зб., 1590 р.

²⁷ Ibidem, ф. 26 (Lutsk district court), оп. 1, спр. 11, арк. 115 зб., 15.05.1597 р.

²⁸ Ibidem, ф. 28, оп. 1, спр. 18, арк. 150 зб.–151.

²⁹ In the event of his wife’s death, Pavlo Chernevskiy left his son-in-law Voina Lynevskiy a guardian of his estate Markovychi. The testator asked that the estate be used as dowry for his daughters Rainka and Magdalena, and to make sure that they married well. It seems that, having become the orphans’ guardian, Voina decided that his brother Mykhailo would make a good husband for Rainka (Волинські грамоти XVI ст. / Упорядники В. Задорожний, А. Матвієнко, Київ 1995, с. 78–80).

from low-level szlachta.³⁰ Raina's and Tomyla's brothers, Andrii, Oleksandr, Mykolai and Hryhorii, were not yet of age when their father Pavlo Chernevskiy died. A relative of their mother (Kateryna Iakubivna Veglenska), Matei Stempkovskiy,³¹ who came to Volhynia, most likely, from the Lublin Voivodeship, became their guardian. In all likelihood, he was Raina's and Tomyla's cousin, and their mother's nephew, the son of her sister.³² Let us focus on this person, appointed as another guardian of Mykhailo Lynevskiy's children and estates in his testament.

The first mentions of Stempkovskiy's presence in Volhynia prove his connections to powerful men and thus could explain his subsequent career progression, uncharacteristically steep for a person who was not local, in fact do nothing but complicate the matter further for the scholar. It is known that in 1580 Jan Zamoyski made efforts to ensure that Stempkovskiy would be appointed Lutsk podsędek, and that the then podsędek Ivan Khrinnytskyi would fill the vacancy of the Lutsk judge.³³ And yet the chancellor lost the competition with Prince Kostiantyn Ostrozkyi: the Prince's client Iarofii Hostskiy became the judge, soon followed by another Ostrozkyi client, Fedir Chaplych Shpanovskiy. Khrinnytskyi did not become a judge until 1602,³⁴ and Stempkovskiy received his first district office in 1616.

Tetiana Zotova hypothesizes that Stempkovskiy arrived in Volhynia after meeting influential Volhynian movers and shakers during Stefan Batory's military campaigns.³⁵ And yet certain documents imply that residents of neighboring Western Crown voivodeships saw Volhynia as the land of golden opportunities, producing a fairly steady stream of migrants, especially

³⁰ Pavlo Chernevskiy was a servant of the royal scribe Mykhailo Svyniyskiy.

³¹ Matei Stempkovskiy appears as the lawyer in the protracted inheritance case between the Chernevskiy brothers and Baltazar Hnivosh, the new owner of Mykhailo Svyniyskiy's estates and Pavlo's former patron (ЦДДАУК, ф. 28, оп. 1, спр. 18, арк. 74 зб.-76). Stempkovskiy also served as the lawyer of Chernevskiy brothers in their fight over estates with their stepfather Stanislav Roguskiy (ibidem, спр. 18, арк. 74 зб.-76.; спр. 19, арк. 685 зб.-687).

³² Ibidem, ф. 25, оп. 1, спр. 37, арк. 40-41, 1587 p.

³³ W. Sokołowski, *Politycy schyłku złotego wieku. Małopolscy przywódcy szlachty i parlamentarzyści w latach 1574-1605*, Warszawa 1997, p. 47.

³⁴ *Urzednicy wołyńscy XIV-XVIII wieku. Spisy*, ed. M. Wolski, *Urzednicy dawnej Rzeczypospolitej XII-XVIII wieku. Ziemie ruskie*, no. V, Kórnik 2007, p. 90.

³⁵ T. Zotova, *Rodzina Stempkowskich herbu Sucheomnaty na Wołyniu w ostatnich dekadach XVI-1. poł. XVII wieku*, "Nowożytnicze Zeszyty Historyczne", no. 7; *Król i jego poddani w Rzeczypospolitej polsko-litewskiej XVI-XVIII w.*, ed. W. Czaja, Kraków 2015, p. 227-239.

among those who already had relatives settled in the area.³⁶ Accordingly, Matei could have arrived in Volhynia earlier, after his aunt married the Volhynian Chernevskiyi. Moreover, Matei had one more maternal relative in the region: Jan (Ivan) Veglenskiy, who buttressed his office by marrying Maryna Falyleivna Markovska,³⁷ the daughter of Hanna Kyselivna. Therefore, Vehlenskiy's wife belonged to the good Volhynian Kysil family on her mother's side. Markovski were related to Chernevski, and, most importantly, co-owned the Markovychi estate.³⁸

Natalia Iakovenko noted that Stempkovskiy's progression in Volhynia began with service to the prince Zbarazkiy.³⁹ And yet, the service could not have brought Matei substantial dividends, given that he was on record as a servant to Iurii Zbarazkiy (and subsequently his wife, Barbara Kozynska),⁴⁰ not a very influential person in Volhynia. I have not found any direct evidence of his formal service to anyone besides Prince Iakhym Koretskyi, the Volhynian voivode, in later documents.⁴¹ It seems unlikely that the prince could have guaranteed his servant due advancement, granted that he himself boasted neither an office nor close connections to the royal court. Instead he could reward his service with estates, introducing the first-generation migrant into the circle of landed Volhynian gentry, and giving him the estates of Pyriv and Didovychi with the option of repurchase for 600 kopas in 1585,⁴² and selling him Danychiv and Zheliznytsia for 7,000 zlotys in 1588.⁴³ It is symptomatic, too, that Oleksandr Chernevskiy also had a connection to Prince Iakhym Koretskyi, possibly as a servant: the prince gave him the Horbashi estate with

³⁶ For example, Jan Oldakowski from Mazowsze came to Volhynia "with the desire to find office here" when his cousin Stanislaw Oldakowski and Stanislaw's maternal cousin Wojciech Golaszewski were already settled there (ЦДІАУК, ф. 28, оп. 1, спр. 18, арк. 383–363 зв.).

³⁷ Ibidem, ф. 27 (Volodymyr district gentry court), оп. 1, спр. 5, арк. 202 зв.–203 зв., 4.10.1574 р.

³⁸ Он 30.10.1568, Roman Vasyliovych Markovskiy sold a half of his estate Markovychi to Pavlo Chernevskiy and his wife Kateryna for 800 kopas (Волинські грамоти XVI ст. У.В. Задорожний, А. Матвієнко, *op. cit.*, p. 59–61).

³⁹ Н. Яковенко, *Українська шляхта з кінця XIV до середини XVII століття. Волинь і Центральна Україна (Ukrainian nobility from the end of the 14th to the middle of the XVII century. Volyn and Central Ukraine)*, Критика 2008, р. 230, Ф. 21, спр. 21, арк. 57, спр. 22, арк. 9 (1583).

⁴⁰ ЦДІАУК, ф. 28, оп. 1, спр. 15, арк. 314, 1582 р.

⁴¹ ЦДІАУК, ф. 25, оп. 1, спр. 31, арк. 15–15 зв., 8.01.1584 р.

⁴² Ibidem, ф. 26, спр. 5, арк. 210 зв., 28.06.1585.

⁴³ Ibidem, ф. 26, оп. 1, спр. 61, арк. 24–25, арк. 31 зв.–33 зв., 1588 р.

the option of repurchase.⁴⁴ Such records often masked relationships of service or patronage.

Stempkovskiy seemed to have made the right choice when choosing where to apply his efforts (probably bolstered by talent and ambitions): he dove into the judiciary first as an active lawyer, then, in 1591–1597, as a Lutsk castle court judge (appointed by starosta Oleksandr Semashko), then as a judge appointed by the new starosta Mark Sobieskiy in 1598–1600,⁴⁵ and in 1600–1616 as a deputy starosta under the starosta Mykolai Semashko, receiving his first district office of a Volhynian deputy cup-bearer (*podczaszy*) in 1616, and a senatorial office a Bratslav castellan in 1624.⁴⁶ It was a truly stunning advancement in office for a first-generation newcomer to Volhynia. When Lynevskiy compiled his testament, Stempkovskiy occupied a castle office, which indicates a direct connection with the Lutsk starosta Oleksandr Semashko, although nowhere was he described as starosta's servant. Semashko, in turn, was a loyal client of the Crown chancellor Jan Zamoyski, who at the time was actively engaged in developing a network of patronage in the eastern lands of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Therefore, it seems that the chancellor was the ultimate link between Stempkovskiy and potential benefits.⁴⁷

The autumn of 1597 may have brought a cooling in Stempkovskiy's relationship with Oleksandr Semashko, who relieved Matei from office of the Lutsk castle court judge.⁴⁸ Granted, the demotion did not last long: Semashko soon died, and the new starosta Marek Sobieskiy gave Matei his office back.⁴⁹ It seems likely that Sobieskiy, himself a newcomer to Volhynia who ended up in the region after being granted estates after the death of the royal secretary Baltazar Hnivosh, sought support of active members of Volhynian *szlachta*. Stempkovskiy was

⁴⁴ In 1589, Oleksandr Chervenyskiy gave his wife Ovdota Koliadianka his estate Horbashi with the option of repayment for 500 kopas, noting that he received it from Prince Koretskiy against the dept (*ibidem*, ф. 28, оп. 1, сир. 22, арк. 18 зб.–21 зб.).

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, ф. 25, оп. 1, сир. 53, арк. 2, 1598 p.

⁴⁶ *Urządnicy wołyńscy XIV–XVIII wieku...*, p. 142.

⁴⁷ Tetiana Zotova maintains that all Volhynian residents who had relations with the chancellor belonged to a single circle, although were not necessarily in solidarity with one another. We should not overstate the importance of this hypothetical relationship or the stability of relations between clients of a distant patron.

⁴⁸ On September 25, 1597, the new judge Sasyn Rusynovych Berestetskiy swore his oath in the castle (ЦДДАУК, ф. 25, оп. 1, сир. 52, арк. 2–3 зб.).

⁴⁹ On July 16, 1598, the new starosta Marek Sobieskiy and new castle officials took their oaths in the Lutsk castle (*ibidem*, ф. 25, оп. 1, сир. 53, арк. арк. 1а–3).

actively engaged in court life and was just the right person. It seems likely that in this scenario Matei's authority rather than his connections to influential persons played the decisive role. Similarly, his relationship with Oleksandr Semashko could have been based on his efficiency as a lawyer and his social capital.

There are indications that Stempkovskiy might have been connected with another fairly well-known Volhynian figure: namely, the castellan Mykhailo Myshka-Varkovskiy, who also was on familial terms with Oleksandr Semashko.⁵⁰ The connection is implied by the sale of a plot of land in the Lutsk castle by Stanislav Petrovskiy to Semashko's servant, deputy starosta Shchasnyi Galezkyi. The record shows that Myshka had granted the plot of land to Petrovskiy,⁵¹ who witnessed the sale along with Matei Stempkovskiy, Petrovskiy's relative through marriage.⁵² Petrovskiy performed the duties of a Lutsk deputy starosta in 1582–1586 under the starosta Prince Oleksandr Pronskeyi, and described himself as his servant.⁵³ (Granted, patronage ended in a scandal in 1586).⁵⁴ Luka Chernevskiy and his son Pavlo Lukych also served Oleksandr Pronskeyi. They were related to an esteemed and large Volhynian family of Hulevych: Pavlo's mother was Ovdotia Mykhailivna Hulevychivna; the Volodymyr district court judge Ivan Mykhailovych Hulevych-Smolyhivskiy and Havrylo Mykhailovych Sernytskyi were his uncles.⁵⁵

Stempkovskiy married the sister of Martyn and Bohdan Vygur, servants of Prince Iurii Chortoryiskiy (the prince, in turn, had familial relations with Oleksandr Semashko). However, in 1598 Chortoryiskiy took his estate Vygurychi, previously run by his servants Vygurs, and sold it to Matei Stempkovskiy.⁵⁶

50 Н. Старченко, «Постерегаючи прав, волностей и свобод наших»: боротьба за домінування на волинському сеймику 1593 року in *Theatrum humanae vitae. Студії на пошану Наталі Яковенко*, Київ 2012, с. 270–272. [“Confronting the rights, freedom and freedom of ours”: the struggle for dominance in the Volyn's diet in 1593 in *Theatrum humanae vitae. Studies in honor of Natalia Yakovenko*].

51 ЦДІАУК, ф. 25, оп. 1, спр. 41, арк. 12–14, 22.11.1591 р.

52 Ibidem, ф. 28, оп. 1, спр. 17, арк. 486.

53 Oleksandr Semashko succeeded Prince Pronskeyi as the Lutsk starosta, winning in the competition with a respectable contender Prince Kostiantyn Ostrozkyi, under the active protection of the chancellor Jan Zamoyski.

54 Н. Старченко, *Честь, кров і риторика. Конфлікт у шляхетському середовищі Волині. Друга половина XVI – початок XVII століття* [Honor, blood and rhetoric. Conflict in the gentry environment of Volhynia. Second half of the XVI - the beginning of the XVII century], Київ 2014, р. 115–116.

55 ЦДІАУК, ф. 27, оп. 1, спр. 6, арк. 49–50 зв., 1982 р.

56 Ibidem, ф. 25, оп. 1, спр. 53, арк. 374 зв.–376.

The prince maintained that he only gave the estate to his servants “on his mercy,” that is, until such a date when he chose to claim it back. Vyguras complained that their father gave the estate to Chortoryiskyi to be managed as a bail, making them its legal owners.⁵⁷ It seems unlikely that the acquisition of Vygurychi improved Stempkovskiy’s relations with his relatives, yet the case demonstrates that Matei could have had another potential protector from the higher echelons of power in the region. Coincidentally, Ian Chernevskiy,⁵⁸ who is occasionally mentioned in the sources in relation with Stempkovskiy, was also a servant of Prince Mykhailo Chortoryiskyi.

We should mention another potential patron of Stempkovskiy’s, namely, Andrii Firlei: Matei’s relative and protégé Andrii Chernevskiy was his servant. Stempkovskiy was Firlei’s lawyer and, supposedly, trustee. Matei was appointed the guardian of children and estates of Firlei’s servant Porfyrii Panko, which indicates that a closer connection might have existed.⁵⁹

Paradoxically, Matei Stempkovskiy’s institutional belonging to the milieu of the Lutsk starosta Oleksandr Semashko (since the early 1590s) ostensibly did not sour his relations with Prince Iukhym Koretskyi. The prince’s servant, Andrii Richytskyi, appointed his lord and the castle court judge Matei Stempkovskiy as guardians of his children and estates (testament dated April 22, 1596).⁶⁰

Traditional patronage may be described as a circle of clients orbiting a patron. The case of Matei Stempkovskiy though offers a different perspective: a recent newcomer to Volhynia belonged to a fairly dense network of potential patrons and their clients.

The third guardian named in Mykhailo Lynevskiy’s testament was the Volodymyr castle court scribe Stanislav Kandyba, who was variously described as the brother-in-law of the brothers Andrii and Oleksandr Chernevskiy (as well as the son-in-law of Mykhailo Lynevskiy: he was married to his daughter Hanna).⁶¹ The relationship was important to Kandyba, as demonstrated by the fact that he gave his estate Vodyrady, received from the bishop Cyril Terlecki and the cathedral chapter, to his brother-in-law Andrii Chernevskiy.⁶²

⁵⁷ Ibidem, ф. 26, оп. 1, спр. 11, арк. 570–574 зб.

⁵⁸ Ibidem, ф. 28, оп. 1, спр. 18, арк. 512 зб.

⁵⁹ Ibidem, ф. 26, оп. 1, спр. 8, арк. 159–161, 19.09.1593 р.

⁶⁰ Ibidem, ф. 25, оп. 1, спр. 47, арк. 105 зб.–106 зб.

⁶¹ Ibidem, спр. 44, арк. 144 зб.

⁶² Ibidem, спр. 47, арк. 54 зб.–55 зб.

Kandyba, in turn, received a plot of land in Lutsk as a gift from Oleksandr Chernevskiy and his wife.⁶³

By the time Lynevskiy compiled his testament, Stanislav Kandyba, who arrived in Volhynia from the Grodno Powiat,⁶⁴ was a servant of Prince Kostiantyn Ostrozkiy.⁶⁵ He had previously served the Volhynian voivode and Lutsk starosta Bohush Koretskyi,⁶⁶ his successor the starosta Oleksandr Zhoravnytskyi, Prince Iakhym Koretskyi (Bohush's son),⁶⁷ and, eventually, the Volhynian voivode Prince Ianush Ostrozkiy.⁶⁸ Like Stempkovskiy, Stanislav Kandyba worked, and was respected as a lawyer. For example, an adherent of the Arianism sect, Kandyba received the Vodyrady estate in 1594 for his service to the Christian Greek Orthodox Church.⁶⁹ Of course, his career trajectory was not as steep as Stempkovskiy's, and yet his office of the Volodymyr *horodniczy*, received in 1613,⁷⁰ must have improved his symbolic standing in the gentry milieu.⁷¹ Kandyba was doing well financially: for example, he lent 2,000 zlotys to Mykolai Semashko, receiving the estate Vorotnev and part of Romaniv as security,⁷² and bought the estate Chesnyi Khrest in Volodymyr Powiat from Prince Iurii Chortoryiskiy for 4,000 kopas (on April 12, 1597).⁷³

Let us also note that Matei Stempkovskiy and Stanislav Kandyba were appointed co-guardians not only in the testament of their relative Mykhailo Lynevskiy, but also in the already mentioned testament of Andrii Firlei's servant Forfyrii Panko.⁷⁴

63 Ibidem, спр. 46, арк. 354 зб.

64 Ibidem, спр. 47, арк. 55 зб.–57. Rohozyntsi – Kandyba's ancestral estate – lay just outside the town of Lypsk, Grodno Powiat. See also Ian Kandyba's proof of szlachta status after the Wilno burgomaster Ostafii Borovyk accused him of humble origins. He listed Stanislav Kandyba as his paternal second cousin (ibidem, ф. 26, оп. 1, спр. 19, арк. 355–359, 387 зб.–388).

65 Ibidem, ф. 25, оп. 1, спр. 37, арк. 807.

66 Ibidem, спр. 15, арк. 423–423 зб., 1575 р.

67 Ibidem, ф. 26, оп. 1, спр. 3, арк. 726.

68 Ibidem, ф. 25, оп. 1, спр. 39, арк. 161–165.

69 Ibidem, спр. 47, арк. 53 зб.–54 зб.

70 *Urządnicy wołyńscy XIV–XVIII wieku...*, p. 106.

71 Let us note that Stanislav Kandyba was to become wozny's personal servant (ibidem, ф. 28, оп. 1, спр. 46, арк. 13–13 зб.).

72 Ibidem, ф. 25, оп. 1, спр. 37, арк. 268.

73 Ibidem, ф. 27, оп. 1, спр. 10, арк. 361–364.

74 Ibidem, ф. 26, оп. 1, спр. 8, арк. 159–161, 19.09.1593 р. Panko appointed only these two as guardians.

The testator Mykhailo Lynevskiy provided the relatives with yet another important connection: with the Volodymyr *wojski* Vasyl Hulevych, who demonstrated the price of “selfless” service by gifting his “brother” Lynevskiy the folwark Rybytskyi just outside Volodymyr for his “friendship.”⁷⁵ Vasyl Hulevych enjoyed the support of his extended family, which by the 1590s started to gain standing among Volhynia’s movers and shakers. And yet, he had strong competitors in the face of the Semashko clan (and, quite possibly, their allies: Prince Iurii Chortoryyskiy and the castellan Mykhailo Myshka-Varkovskiy). It will end in tragedy for several representatives of the Hulevych clan, including its leader Damian.⁷⁶ Stempkovskiy’s connection with the Hulevych clan would eventually be reinforced by the marriage of his daughter Konstansia to Vatslav Hulevych-Voiutynskiy.⁷⁷

Obviously, the panorama of formal familial relations among these persons could be expanded considerably. And yet we are concerned not so much with genealogy as with symbolic capital documented in deeds: private property-related, marriage contracts, testaments, etc. Therefore, I would like to sum up this mosaic. The testament quoted early in the article mentions three fairly prominent figures whose life strategies can be described as models of successful careers for petty szlachta. One of them was the testator himself, a representative of a Volhynian szlachta clan that relied primarily on a network of horizontal relations (occasionally also engaging the support of the region’s elites).⁷⁸ His friends’ support and his status as an ambassador made him a fairly prominent player on the local political scene. Two others were newcomers to Volhynia and belonged to the szlachta masses that flocked to princely and gentry courts in the hopes of putting down roots in the region by receiving land from a patron. Both were fortunate to have joined the extended familial

75 Ibidem, ф. 28, оп. 1, спр. 23, арк. 490–491, 8.09.1590 in Volodymyr. The record witnessed by Mykhailo Myshka-Varkovskiy, Fedir Chaplych Shpanovskiy, Ivan Shpakovskiy.

76 The final episode in the conflict between the Hulevych and Semashko clans ended in the deaths of about 30 people, see Н. Старченко, *Честь, кров і риторика...*, p. 270–287. At that point, Demian Hulevych became closer to Prince Kostiantyn Ostrozkiy, the rival of Oleksandr Semashko and a long-standing antagonist of the castellan Mykhailo Myshka-Varkovskiy.

77 ЦДІАУК, ф. 25, оп. 1, спр. 124, арк. 854 зб.–856.

78 Mykhailo Lynevskiy had good relations with Prince Kostiantyn Ostrozkiy, which came across serious hurdles in the mid-1590s. Prince’s servants were accused of murdering Mykhailo’s son Petro Lynevskiy but were acquitted in court, at least formally. And yet, it seems that the event brought Lynevskiy’s closer to the Semashko milieu, known as the Prince’s antagonists (cf. Н. Старченко, *«Постерегаючи прав, волностей и свобод наших»...*, p. 273–275).

network of Volhynian gentry, which they masterfully combined with service to the region's elites. The fact that the representatives of said elites were sometimes opponents or even enemies did not seem to have affected familial relations. Moreover, sometimes these relations were prioritized over those of patronage. Let us focus on the letter of the Lutsk starosta Oleksandr Semashko to his patron, the chancellor Jan Zamoyski, demonstrating just such a situation. Semashko lodged a complaint against Zamoyski's *student and servant* Florian Oleshko, who tried to steal Semashko's plot of land for his *brother* Stanislav Kandyba, a servant of the chancellor's antagonist, the Kyiv Voivode Prince Kostiantyn Ostrozkyi. As we see, although the patronage of an influential figure guaranteed Oleshko social advancement and a fairly comfortable life, in that situation he prioritized the needs of his relative over the client of his benefactor, Semashko.⁷⁹

Our example demonstrates that members of one familiar circle could serve different patrons, and it was an important predictor of success. These relations could provide "work" (especially as a lawyer) to clan members without personal connections to potential patrons (it sufficed that a member of the group had such a connection).

Traditionally the careers of regional szlachta leaders are analyzed through the lens of patronage relations. This approach is supported by the main sources for such analysis: letters and, to a lesser extent, memoirs. And yet, our sources allow to assume that social advancement on a regional level could be guaranteed not only by the support of an influential patron but also by an extensive network of familial and familiar horizontal relations which usually remain in shadow due to the absence of direct sources and domination of other scholarly frameworks. Obviously, a person's individual qualities, such as communicative skills, charisma or honor, affected the success of his career. Unlike Stanislav Kandyba, who has a long history of conflicts documented in court records, Matei Stempkovskyi seemed to have owed his success to a fortunate combination of personal traits. And yet, historians seldom have access to such details.

⁷⁹ Central Archives of Historical Records, Zamoyski Archive, file 697, c. 7: "...dworyszcze i boiary p. Oleszko chce na brata swego, nieiakiiego Kandybę, słuęę woiewody kiiowskiego, wyprawic, który nie iests slachcziczem osiadłym sam w powiecie Luczkim, chcząc go taką osiadłością ozdobić."

TO SUM UP: ON THE ISSUE OF POWER AS RESPONSIBILITY

Obviously, service did not necessarily demand unquestioning subjugation of the dependent party to a patron, as is often described in narrative sources. The patron's authority, meanwhile, relied not so much on open violence as on his material wellbeing, his position in the social hierarchy, and his proximity to the power center. Each person's reputation in the community was an important factor too: the presence of multiple representatives of the elites in the region allowed petty szlachta a choice of several patrons. Obviously, the symbolic capital of any given person may prove hard to measure. One could mention the words of a Volhynian szlachcic who proclaimed himself better than his opponent because he had allies, and the opponent did not.⁸⁰ The need to ensure the alliance of friends, relatives, clients and servants ready to mobilize in conflict-laden situations or smaller squabbles encouraged members of the elites to actively cultivate their "good reputation." There are plenty of examples when princes acted ostensibly irrationally to bolster their "honor" or "good reputation." The descriptor "a good master" was an important quality of an "honorable person." Authority relied on mercy as much as on demonstrations of power, as proved by the number of cases when patrons pardoned their servants whose behavior normally would have been punished by death. To show mercy towards those of lower social standing was a duty of persons in power, and the refusal to exercise the duty could seriously harm their honor.⁸¹

One's power was underpinned by one's reputation; all participants should follow unwritten yet generally known rules; the community refused to extend trust to those who broke the rules and lost their symbolic capital.⁸² For example, starosta's authority could be enforced by violence, but largely relied on symbolic acts of dominance. Let us note how Prince Vasyl-Kostiantyn Ostrozkyi took the office of Volodymyr starosta after the death of his son Kostiantyn, his predecessor on the office. In his letter addressed to all szlachta of the powiat, hung up all around Volodymyr, starosta informed them of his

⁸⁰ ЦДІАУК, ф. 25, оп. 1, спр. 34, арк. 924 зв.–925.

⁸¹ Н. Старченко, «В обороні честі дому шляхетського»: справа про страту слуг князем Самуелем-Каролем Корецьким на Волині 1645 року [*In the defense of the honor of the gentry's house*]: the case of the execution of Prince Samuel-Karol Koretsky in the Volhynia in 1645], "Український історичний журнал" 2017, по. 1, р. 12–31.

⁸² About the nature of power in Volhynia, see Н. Старченко, «Постерегаючи прав, волностей и свобод наших»...

duty to guarantee order in his land: “As a starosta, for various reasons, but largely out of my duty, I should uphold order and avoid losses.” It is reported that he sought council on szlachta gatherings on how to best uphold peace, and discussed factors important for upholding it. For those absent at the gathering, the prince decided to put all the necessary information down “in writing to notify them, so that none would remain without knowledge.”⁸³ Therefore, the starosta not only demonstrated his power by appealing to the community’s dominant values but also engaged the entire szlachta community in this symbolic act, both as viewers and participants. After all, “the public peace” was largely upheld through a system of gentry control and agreements and relied on the community’s readiness to conform to certain conventions, like agreeing to fulfill court decrees that were not necessarily enforced by the executive authorities.

Obviously, the cultural dimension of power, that is, the way its functioning is underpinned by dominant modes of interactions in society and its values, requires separate in-depth analysis. I have listed the factors that could noticeably affect patronage relations by ameliorating the apparent dependence of the weaker party, and limiting the power of the stronger party.

In the end, I would like to note that my reflections do not undermine earlier scholarship. Authority pervasively upheld by patronage, and, therefore, defined by conventions rather than rules, remained in precarious balance. It presupposed but failed to ensure communal adherence to said conventions. This expanded the range of behavioral models under different circumstances. For example, identities of an official (a client of his patron, a royal representative and a member of his community) were contingent on circumstances and could shift. A member of the szlachta community could acquire symbolic capital in a number of ways: by serving one patron, by serving various influential persons, or by not serving anyone in particular, at least formally. Power required communal support and acceptance to a much larger extent than our contemporaries, prone to viewing the past through the black-and-white framework of violence and subjugation, might suppose. Persons endowed with authority had privileges underpinned by their financial resources, but they also had duties and were supposed to act

⁸³ ЦДДАУК, ф. 28, оп. 1, сир. 21, арк. 353 зб., 1588 р. It seems likely that the gathering where Prince Kostiantyn Ostrozkyi discussed the issue of “general” peace was a *sejmik* summoned by the Volhynian voivode Prince Ianush Ostrozkyi to elect a Volodymyr district court judge.

within the framework of socially accepted values. Therefore, a scholar should not deny the past its right to diversity that we axiomatically acknowledge in the present.

SUMMARY

PATRONAGE SYSTEM AS A FORMAL POWER MECHANISM IN THE EARLY MODERN POLISH-LITHUANIAN COMMONWEALTH

The following article focuses on the ambivalence of sources generally used by researchers to analyze domestic violence that leads to a wide spectrum of views, sometimes diametrically opposed, in various problems. The necessity of limitation of the subjectivity of research leads to the serious reflection on the methodological tools of the everyday life historian, on the problems of the source as a construct, authority, especially patriarchal, as a permanently undermined resource. In order to analyze family violence it is also essential to include it in a wider spectrum of issues related to the culture of violence in a particular society. The author discusses this by analyzing certain aspects of the functioning of the early contemporary noble family on the example of the court books of the Wolyn province.

Keywords: domestic violence, sources for the study of violence, violence in the old ages

DOI 10.24917/9788380842717.1

NATALIA BIŁOUS

Institute of Ukrainian History of the National
Academy of Sciences of Ukraine in Kyiv

Clientele of Tomasz Zamoyski in the Kyiv palatinate (in the light of correspondence 1619–1637)

The figure of Tomasz Zamoyski (1595–1638), who was a son of the famous chancellor Jan Zamoyski, is underestimated in the Polish and Ukrainian historiography. Until now, the issue of his clientele and patronage in the Kyiv palatinate was not considered by historians as a separate research issue. This issue is extremely complicated, while the existing state of research and the source basis do not allow to fully determine the extent of influence and mechanisms of Tomasz Zamoyski's activity, and it is even more difficult to implement this within one publication. Therefore, the purpose of this article is the general characteristics of the patronage-clientele system of this magnate in the Kyiv palatinate, determination of the circle of his clients and political friends in this region. Some pieces of information regarding this issue are provided by the correspondence from the Zamoyski Archive set, preserved in the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw.

Tomasz Zamoyski was not overshadowed by his father's military and political fame for a very long time. His political career began in the Ukrainian territories: in March 1618, King Sigismund III appointed him the Palatine of Podole,¹ and in 1619, probably on 11 March, he obtained the office of the Palatine of Kyiv.² Therefore, just at twenty-three years old, this young magnate

¹ *Urządnicy podolscy XIV–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, ed. E. Janas et al., Kórnik 1998, no. 647.

² The difference in the date of nomination is two months. A.A. Witusik (*Młodość Tomasza Zamoyskiego. O wychowaniu i karierze syna magnackiego w Polsce w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*,

got a chair in the Senate. Transition from the dignity of the Palatine of Podole to the Palatine of Kyiv was a significant promotion for him, because it meant a higher place in the senate, and the fact that the Palatine of Kyiv was at the same time the Starost of Kyiv, made him a very important person in the south-eastern part of the Polish Commonwealth – Kyiv region. He held this office for almost nine years, and significant changes in political and economic life of this region's residents took place during that time.

In comparison with other palatinates, the living conditions in the Kyiv palatinate were one of the most difficult in the entire Polish Commonwealth. This region was constantly plagued by Tatar invasions, Cossack frivolities, as well as plunders of the Crown army, and often crisis situations took place there. At the Warsaw Sejm on 10 December 1620, Tomasz Zamoyski gave a speech in defense of the “Ukrainian countries.” He asked the king that “as the first host and father of this Polish Commonwealth should think of rescue and defense” of the south-eastern frontiers, which are threatened by the enemy.³ According to Urszula Augustyniak, in the first half of the XVII century, there really existed a separateness of local interests in regard to the policy of the royal court in relation to the province. Therefore, the political pragmatics required maintaining good contacts of magnates with the local elite in their own interest.⁴ As the Palatine of Kyiv, Tomasz Zamoyski managed to establish such contacts with the local nobles, city elite, Cossack chiefs, clerics of various religions, and thus build a clientele system in this region. It seems that his ability to acquire friends and clients among representatives of various states and religions brought significant results: it was effective and useful for both sides.

Lublin 1977, p. 153–154) indicated that it took place on 11 March [according to the letter of Crown Chancellor Andrzej Lipski to Tomasz Zamoyski, Warszawa, 11 III 1619, Central Archives of Historical Records (hereinafter: AGAD), Zamoyski Archive (hereinafter: AZ), file 730, c. 86]. In the lists of civil servants (*Urządnicy województw kijowskiego i czernihowskiego XV–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, ed. E. Janas, W. Kłaczewski in *Urządnicy dawnej Rzeczypospolitej XII–XVIII wieku*, vol. III, no. 4, ed. A. Gąsiorowski, Kórnik 2002, no. 401) the date of 11 January 1619 was indicated (according to: Jagiellonian Library in Krakow, MS 3596/2, c. 79–79v.). The March date is more likely, because it took place during a session of the Sejm.

³ Citation according to: A.A. Witusik, op. cit., p. 179.

⁴ U. Augustyniak, *Dwór i klientela Krzysztofa Radziwiłła (1585–1640). Mechanizmy patronatu*, Warszawa 2001, p. 27.

THE KYIV NOBILITY AT THE SERVICE OF TOMASZ ZAMOYSKI

The new Palatine of Kyiv inherited the clientele of the previous Palatine – Stanisław Żółkiewski (1608–1618), which he constantly supplemented during his term of office, by recruiting new people. Once, S. Żółkiewski took over the political legacy of Jan Zamoyski, in order to hand it over now to the son of the former grand chancellor. The Grand Crown Hetman and Chancellor – S. Żółkiewski helped and became a counsellor in many matters to young Zamoyski. Just like earlier, Tomasz’s father supported the first political steps of Żółkiewski, as well as his public activity, he introduced the young politician into the specifics of public life in the Kyiv region:

When giving advice to my Noble Lord, I fell like a simpleton, but I behaved appropriately, when I accepted administration in the Kyiv palatinate. JeKrMc gave me the Kyiv palatinate im Martio, so that fulfilled with service to the Polish Commonwealth, I would not come from the camp, in Novembre. Tax official sent by the deceased Mr. Treasurer [Jan] Firlej, gave me a castle according to the inventory. There was a village at that time and people called it Dymidów, which I would also get, but urged by the requests from the deceased Mr. [Samuel] Hornostaj, Kyiv chamberlain, wanting him to be obligatum in that country, I made him a consensus and ceded this village to him and his wife for life.⁵

Subsequently, S. Żółkiewski recommended to write letters to the most famous people in the palatinate (“people that are famous in that country”): chamberlain Stefan Niemirycz, land judge Jan Aksak, *zygwulski* starost Tomasz Szymkowicz Szkleński, as well as the hetman of Zaporozhian Cossacks Piotr Sahajdaczny.

As one of the first, the congratulations to the new Palatine were presented by Michał Myszka-Chołoniewski. In his letter of 23 April 1619, he also reported the reason for his office in the Kyiv castle, and he told the news about

⁵ AGAD, AZ, file 406, c. 27–31. Publ.: Н. Білоус, *Між політикою і повсякденням: з історії стосунків коронного гетьмана Станіслава Жолкевського з київським воеводою Томашем Замойським (у світлі листування 1619–1620 рр.)*, Україна в Центрально–Східній Європі, Київ 2014, p. 287–289 [N. Bilous, *Miż politykoi i powsiakdenniam: z istorii stosunkiw koronnoho hetmana Stanisława Żółkiewskiego z kyjivskym wojewodoj Tomaszem Zamoyskim (w switli listuwannia 1619–1620 r.)*, Ukraina w Centralno-Schidnij Europi, Kijów 2014, p. 287–289].

the Zaporizhian Cossacks, contradictions with the townspeople, made a brief report on his activities, while at the end, he wished for a quick and happy entry into the Palatine office:

[...] I am waiting for arrival or announcement before the arrival of the will of my gracious lord, to whom I wish you a quick and happy entry. Also, with the blessing of my gracious God, I wish a long-time reign in this noble duchy, which shall be good and useful.⁶

The office of Vice-Palatine was obtained by M. Myszka-Chołoniewski due to the protection of the previous Palatine and he intended to stay in this position further: “[...] and it was the will and order of my gracious lord to serve from this place, I shall show my willingness and loyalty to serve you my lord.” In order to influence the conscience of the new Palatine and to show his loyalty in regard to him, Myszka-Chłoniewski used his old connections: he mentioned that he often visited Tomasz Zamoyski’s father – Jan, talking about many matters of the Polish Commonwealth, which could be confirmed by Waclaw Zamoyski and bełski chamberlain Maciej Leśniewski.⁷ However, as it can be seen further, Tomasz Zamoyski resigned from the services of this potential client and released him from the Vice-Palatine office. He immediately appointed his trusty servant from Zamość – Paweł Paczyński, who was in the Kyiv castle for half a year and was the main informer of the Palatine.⁸

Soon after the nomination, the newly elected Kyiv chamberlain – Stefan Niemiryycz began the efforts to gain the favour and support the new Palatine, which is particularly seen in the letter of Paweł Paczyński: “During journey through Czerniechow, His Magnificence Mr. Kyiv chamberlain showed me great humanity. He and many others will be deserving of my lord.”⁹

⁶ AGAD, AZ, file 313, c. 1.

⁷ Ibidem, c. 9.

⁸ My article with the publication of Paweł Paczyński’s correspondence (17 letters) to T. Zamoyski is devoted to this topic, see: Н. Білоус, *Павел Пачинський – київський намісник та вірний слуга воеводи Томаша Замойського (у світлі листування 1619–1626 рр.)*, Соціум. Альманах соціальної історії, Київ 2010, p. 241–277 [*Paweł Paczyński – kyjiwskyj namisnyk ta wirnyj sluga wojewody Tomasza Zamoyskiego (w switli lystuwannia 1619–1626 r.)*, Socium. Almanach socjalnoj istorii, Kyiw 2010, p. 241–277].

⁹ Letter of P. Paczyński to T. Zamoyski, 23 VI 1619, AGAD, AZ, file 737, c. 47. Publ.: Н. Білоус, *Павел Пачинський – київський намісник та вірний слуга...*, p. 260.

The patronage of T. Zamoyski proved to be effective, because the chamberlain had ovbrucian starosty awarded to him in 1623, the first one in the history of his family. S. Niemiryż took part in the battles against the Cossack revolt in 1625 and was a member of the commission that concluded the Kurukow settlement.¹⁰ And there were many such people.

After the death of his patron – Jan Zamoyski, the Kyiv land judge Jan Aksak remained in the circle of influences of his party, and then associated himself with his son. In 1619, he was active under the direction of T. Zamoyski in the Rastawicka commission in the matter of regulating Cossack matters.¹¹ In a letter of 8 October 1619 (before the Palatine's entry to Kyiv), he declared his readiness to "serve" him and he wished him "a long and fortunate reign, as well as a happy entry into the capital of the Kyiv palatinate."¹² Very often, the Palatine referred to the land judge with various orders and requests, and in 1627, Jan Aksak (as an "old and humble servant") wrote to his patron for the last time and asked for protection for his son Stefan, soliciting the appointment for office. Very soon, his son replaced him at this office.¹³ Jan Aksak had a considerable wealth: in the 1620s, about six hundred houses were included in this Kyiv properties.¹⁴ After the death of chancellor T. Zamoyski in 1638, the Kyiv land judge helped the widow of the chancellor (Katarzyna Zamoyska) to settle property matters in the Kyiv region.¹⁵

Tomasz Szymkowicz, while serving the prince Janusz Ostrogski, was granted the privilege of the Żygwul starosty in 1618, thanks to the protection at the royal court of T. Zamoyski, and then he took over the royal lands in the Kyiv palatinate – Taborówka in 1620. In 1619, he was one of the representatives of the Kyiv region in the Warsaw sejm, and then he took part in the Rastawicka commission.¹⁶

Stanisław Żółkiewski claimed that as the Palatine of Kyiv, he maintained a profound influence on the distribution of offices, which can be considered to be a local distinction. He transferred this principle to his successor:

¹⁰ H. Litwin, *Równi do równych. Kijowska reprezentacja sejmowa 1569–1648*, Warszawa 2009, p. 81.

¹¹ Ibidem, p. 70.

¹² AGAD, AZ, file 718, c. 15–16.

¹³ Jan Aksak to T. Zamoyski, 17 IX 1627, AGAD, AZ, file 718, c. 17.

¹⁴ H. Litwin, op. cit., p. 72.

¹⁵ Stefan Aksak to Katarzyna Zamoyska, 26 X 1638, AGAD, AZ, file 931.

¹⁶ T. Szkleński to T. Zamoyski, 11 X 1619, AZ, file 746, c. 46; H. Litwin, op. cit., p. 97.

I received this Kyiv palatinate, acquiring all the offices that would be vacant, and I had to assign all of them, while neither chancellor, nor any other office (and many of them became vacated during my office) was not assigned by JeKrMść, unless on my request, which resulted *ad struxeram mihi auctoritatem* that all offices went through my hands. Sejm representatives and deputies to the Tribunals were selected *ex mea sentential*.¹⁷

After the death of S. Żółkiewski, his former clients in the Kyiv palatinate sought protection of the new Palatine. These people included Paweł Rzechowski, who came from the small Mazovian nobility. For a long time, he served the former Palatine, Prince Konstantin Ostrogski, and later S. Żółkiewski, who in 1609 established him to be a writer in the Kyiv municipal court, and in 1619 he recommended him to his successor: “I contributed to the development of Mr. Rzechowski, he is a good and worthy man, with good behaviour in that country.”¹⁸ T. Zamoyski prolonged this office to him, and in return he gained a diligent servant, who professionally ran cases for twenty years until his death in 1628.¹⁹

Łukasz Witowski began his career as a client and municipal official of S. Żółkiewski. The new Palatine allowed him to keep the office of the Kyiv municipal judge (1614–1627), and in 1619 he ensured his appointment to the Kyiv deputy cup-bearer, while in 1630 – for the Kyiv deputy judge.²⁰ In the twenties and thirties of XVII century, Łukasz Witowski remained in the circle of T. Zamoyski’s clients.²¹

Fedor Suszczański-Proskura owed his nomination for the Kyiv land writer to S. Żółkiewski, who appreciated his merits as an experienced lawyer. He held this office for over thirty years (1615–1647) and he enjoyed popularity among the Kyiv nobility, which resulted in his 8-time election for the sejm representative.²² After the nomination of T. Zamoyski to the office of the Palatine of Kyiv, he found in him a new patron and maintained friendly relations with him.²³

¹⁷ AGAD, AZ, file 406, c. 28. Publ.: H. Biłous, *Miż politykoju i powśjadenniam...*, p. 289.

¹⁸ AGAD, AZ, file 406, c. 29. Publ.: H. Biłous, *Miż politykoju i powśjadenniam...*, p. 289.

¹⁹ P. Rzechowski to T. Zamoyski, AGAD, AZ, file 409, c. 1, file 740, c. 63–67.

²⁰ H. Litwin, op. cit., p. 124.

²¹ AGAD, AZ, file 749, c. 75.

²² H. Litwin, op. cit., p. 82–84.

²³ AGAD, AZ, file 714, c. 105.

Wojciech Ryłski was a servant of T. Zamoyski in the 1620s, which can be clearly seen from his correspondence in 1629:

[...] I waited for a quite long time and I waited patiently, wanting to earn the further grace of my lord, but I cannot get anything. Salary does not come to me, they do not give money for my affairs, nor for the food, I serve not only for the sake of my health, but for the affairs of my gracious lord, I have never had like the other, nor I have now [...].²⁴

The patron probably appreciated his merits and appointed him to the municipal Kyiv office (1632–1653) and the Żytomyr military official (1639–1655).²⁵

The most trusted clients of T. Zamoyski also included Fedor (Theodor) Jelec – representative of a local noble family. In August 1620, Zamoyski appointed him to the office of Vice-Palatine, replacing the faithful servant of the patron – Paweł Paczyński. Due to the fact that Kyiv Palatines rarely resided in Kyiv, this position was of great importance. On 17 November 1621, thanks to the protection of his patron, Jelec received the office of Kyiv Ensign.²⁶ As an ensign, he performed the function of a royal representative to the Zhytomyr sejmik in the years 1624 and 1626.²⁷ During his term of office, he became an important informer of the Palatine. In his letters, he thoroughly described the most important events in Kyiv concerning the religious matters, as well as conflicts with townsmen and Cossacks.²⁸

Another close and trusted servant of T. Zamoyski was Adam Kisiel, with whom he got acquainted during the studies at the Zamoyska Academy. The brilliant career of Kisiel, a Volhynian nobleman, developed thanks to the protection of T. Zamoyski: in 1622, he became a royal legate for the Łuck sejmik, while in 1624, 1629, 1631, 1632 and 1641 he was elected as a representative of the same sejmik, then in 1627 he became the marshal at the pre-Sejm Żytomierz

²⁴ AGAD, AZ, file 740, c. 60–61.

²⁵ *Urządnicy województw kijowskiego i czernihowskiego...*, p. 144.

²⁶ AGAD, Metryka Koronna, file 165, c. 522v–523.

²⁷ K. Mazur, *W stronę integracji z Koroną. Sejmiki Wołynia i Ukrainy w latach 1569–1648*, Warszawa 2006, p. 132.

²⁸ Letters are published, see: П. Кулаковський, *Федір Єлець – представник панів Київського воєводства 1 пол. 17 ст.*, Записки НТШ, Львів 2010, vol. CCLX, book 1, p. 105–143 [P. Kułakowskyj, *Fedir Jelec – przedstawnyk paniw Kyjiwskoho wojewodstwa 1 poł. 17 st.*, Notes NTSh, Lwiw 2010, vol. CCLX, book 1, p. 105–143].

sejmik, and in 1628, 1633, 1638, 1640 – sejm representative from the Kyiv palatinate. Relations between Zamoyski and Kisiel were of a permanent nature. In his letters to Zamoyski, Kisiel signed himself as a “humble servant,” “the lowest servant,” “loyal servant.” In a letter to his patron of 12 June 1635, he emphasised his permanent relations with him and his readiness to serve:

[...] I remember, as well as many of my brothers [...], when I spent my youth by the side of my gracious lord [...] under the banner of the lord himself, with which I served my lord, my brother, and for further favours...²⁹

This young active politician tried to establish a legal Orthodox hierarchy. Moreover, he acted for the favour of unification of Orthodox and Uniates and is remembered in the history of this region as a courageous military commander in the time of the Smolensk war (1632–1634). Also, he conducted negotiations with the Cossacks, offensive activities in the Czernihów region, where he obtained the office of the Czernihów Chamberlain (1633–1639), and subsequently – the castellan of Czernihów (1639–1646). The leader of the Orthodox nobility became one of the leading figures in the thirties and forties of XVII century the Czernihów and Kyiv palatinate.³⁰

After the Cecorska campaign, the arians – Gabriel Hojski and his son Roman – got closer to the new Palatine. Both of them received the land offices thanks to Zamoyski’s protection: Gabriel – the Kyiv castellany (1621), and Roman – the Starosty of Włodzimierz (1625). While being connected through their offices, they continued to seek good relations with their patron.³¹

In his letter to the Palatine of Kyiv, the cup-bearer Filon Strybył, while addressing him with a request for defense against violent neighbours, calls him “a true patriot of the Polish Commonwealth, who is a great senator and a pillar of this palatinate.”³²

The circle of T. Zamoyski’s political friends consisted of several representatives of wealthy noble families. Also, they included representatives of the Tyszkiewicz family. The Palatine of Brześć and Mściślaw Jan Eustachy Tyszkiewicz made every effort to maintain good relations with Tomasz. In

²⁹ AGAD, AZ, file 727, c. 69.

³⁰ H. Litwin, *op. cit.*, p. 115–117.

³¹ AGAD, AZ, file 330, c. 1–2; file 725, c. 133–137.

³² AGAD, AZ, file 745, c. 98.

his letters (from 1628 and 1629), while being worried about the health of the vice-chancellor, he writes: “Great Lord and Benefactor,” “Great Lord and Friend.”³³ During that time, Tyszkiewicz was considered to be one of the most influential senators of the Polish Commonwealth.³⁴ Janusz Tyszkiewicz Łohojski, the Starost of Żytomierz, and from 1630, the Palatine of Kyiv, also cared about maintaining good relations with T. Zamoyski. He began his political career in 1618, when he inherited latifundium from his father. In 1620, he took part in the Cecorska expedition, subsequently he defended the Kyiv region in the fight against the Tatars. In 1624, the king notices the merits of Tyszkiewicz and awarded him with a lifetime lease of the royal land of Niechworoszcz, while in 1626, he was awarded with the Żytomierz Starosty.³⁵ In 1627, Tyszkiewicz served as a cavalry captain, and he defended the Kyiv palatinate against Tartar attacks in 1629. He also made every effort to maintain good relations with T. Zamoyski.³⁶ In 1627, he asked for protection for his brother – Herman Tyszkiewicz, who wanted to assume the Pieczarska Archimandry.³⁷ In 1632, he asked for a substitute in court for his daughter, who was oppressed by the Palatine of Belz – Rafał Leszczyński.³⁸ In his letters, he addressed Tomasz by writing: “my great Lord and Friend,” and signed himself as “loyal and kind servant,” “kind brother and servant.”³⁹

The friends of the Palatine of Kyiv, and later – the Vice-Chancellor, also included representatives of the magnate family of Wiśniowiecki. In 1620, Konstanty Wiśniowiecki (1564–1641), after the death of Janusz Ostrogski, received the office of the Cherkasy Starost, while in 1631,⁴⁰ he tried to obtain a senatorial dignity (“respectable senator position”) through Tomasz Zamoyski – however without success. He became the Palatine of Belz in 1631 and two years later – the Ruthenian Palatine.⁴¹ His preserved correspondence to Zamoyski concerns family matters. Wiśniowiecki maintained cordial relations with his sister Anna – whom he tried to help, when she found herself in conflict with the family of her husband, Wacław Zamoyski – addressing the then Palatine

³³ AGAD, AZ, file 390, c. 2–6.

³⁴ H. Litwin, op. cit., p. 76–77.

³⁵ AGAD, The Crown's Certificate, book 173, c. 361.

³⁶ AGAD, AZ, file 747, c. 116–117.

³⁷ AGAD, AZ, file 920, c. 58.

³⁸ AGAD, AZ, file 747, c. 126–127.

³⁹ AGAD, AZ, file 920, c. 169; file 747, c. 118–119, 120–121, 124–125, 126–127; file 390, c. 9–10, 13–14.

⁴⁰ AGAD, AZ, file 921.

⁴¹ I. Czamańska, *Wiśniowieccy. Monografia rodu*, Poznań 2007, p. 153.

of Kiev on her behalf. It was about some slander on the part of Waclaw, who Wiśniowiecki intended to sue before the sejm court, in order to defend the honour of his family.⁴² Konstanty maintained close relations with Florian and Zdzisław Zamoyski. From the correspondence originating in the thirties of XVII century, it can be concluded that a son of Konstanty – Janusz was a client of T. Zamoyski and probably thanks to him, he received the office of the master of the horse: in letters to Zamoyski, he signed himself as “kind brother and loyal servant, Janusz Fr. Wiśniowiecki.”⁴³ Another famous representative of this family – Jeremi Michał Wiśniowiecki married Gryzelda – a daughter of Tomasz and Katarzyna Zamoyski, on 27 February 1639, which connected these two magnate families. In letters to Katarzyna Zamoyska from 1637–1639, whom he called his “Lady and Benefactress,” Jeremi demonstrated not only concern about her health, but also indicated that he was her “humble and lifelong servant.”⁴⁴

Examples of Zamoyski’s contacts with the nobility and magnates of the borderlands of the Polish Commonwealth in the 1620s indicate that he created a strong political base in the region of Dnieper Ukraine, and he maintained influence in this region even after his resignation from the office and until the last days of his life.

KYIV RESIDENTS UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF TOMASZ ZAMOYSKI

In April 1619, shortly after the nomination of Tomasz Zamoyski for the position of Palatine, the city authorities of Kyiv, wanting to gain his favour and trust, sought to arrange good contacts with him. Therefore, Kyiv vogt – Fedor Chodyka, who from mid-1618 had bad relations with the Cossacks, because they tried to make him lose his position in early 1619, went to his court in Zamość.⁴⁵ Fedor Chodyka probably gained support from the new Palatine, as well as the guarantee of further vogt office. After his return on 23 April, the city officials wrote a letter to the Palatine with congratulations and various good wishes.⁴⁶

⁴² AGAD, AZ, file 395, c. 1, 2.

⁴³ Ibidem, c. 5–6, 9–10.

⁴⁴ AGAD, AZ, file 988, c. 1–2; file 422, c. 3, 8–18.

⁴⁵ AGAD, AZ, file 289, c. 123.

⁴⁶ AGAD, AZ, file 337, c. 3–4. Publ.: Н. Білоус, *Листування київських міщан з воєводою Томашем Замойським (1619–1628)*, Записки Наукового товариства ім. Шевченка, vol. CCLX, book 3, Львів 2010, p. 316 [N. Biłous, *Lystuwannia kyjiwskych mieszczan z wojewodoj Tomaszem Zamoyskim (1619–1628)*, Zapiski NTSz, vol. CCLX, book 3, Lwiv 2010, p. 316].

One of the first steps of T. Zamoyski consisted of regulations in the scope of economy. During the inspection of the Kyiv castle, the income that went to the castle and Palatine was precisely specified. A tax was collected during the fairs – tenth fish for the royal kitchen. The Kyiv townspeople, not favoured by privileges, and other merchants coming to Kyiv from various places, were obliged to pay a toll due for all kinds of goods, namely the so-called thirteenth grosz. For the export of fish from Kyiv without the payment of toll, an extra toll was collected – half of the goods for the castle. For the Palatine's kitchen, a tenth barrel of meat and a tenth bucket of roe.⁴⁷

For some time in the Kyiv palatinate, the lessee of the toll was mayor Sozon Bałyka, who took over this function from the Jews in 1618 thanks to the protection of Palatine S. Żółkiewski. In his letter to Palatine of 23 April 1619, Bałyka asked for confirmation of this right to him. He did not want for this privilege to return to the Jews:

[...] to prevent the Jews, who are adversaries to the Christian religion and our poor food, from taking advantage of us here in the Ukrainian city of Kyiv. Each year, the spring serves us in this scope. And as I have this in my own mind, I will never cease to fight for it [...].⁴⁸

Zamoyski confirmed his right to choose a toll. In accordance with the demand of T. Zamoyski, Bałyka had to hand over to the viceroy of the Palatine in Kyiv 300 Polish zlotys from the collected income: on 25 September, 25 December, 25 March, 25 June. In addition, the head tax was leased to Bałyka (three and a half of Lithuanian grosz per cart) with the obligation to pay 600 Polish zlotys to the Palatine every year.⁴⁹ Previously, this was a prerogative of the Vice-Palatine. The then viceroy of the Palatine in Kyiv – P. Paczyński, observing these instructions, leased to Bałyka a toll for one year, which took place on 25 June 1619.⁵⁰ Then, this right was confirmed for him for three years.

⁴⁷ Letter of T. Zamoyski to Kyiv townspeople, 25 VI 1619, AGAD, AZ, file 289, c. 111–113. Publ.: Н. Білоус, *Листування київських міщан...*, p. 318–319.

⁴⁸ Letter of S. Bałyka to T. Zamoyski, 23 IV 1619, AGAD, AZ, file 337, c. 5–7. Publ.: Н. Білоус, *Листування київських міщан...*, p. 317.

⁴⁹ Ibidem.

⁵⁰ AGAD, AZ, file 289, c. 43–44. Publ.: Н. Білоус, *Павел Пачинський – київський намісник та вірний слуга...*, p. 261.

During T. Zamoyski's term of office in the Kyiv palatinate, the practice of an annual payment for the castle amounting to 300 Polish zlotys was temporarily renewed. Later, by the royal privilege of 1 April 1623, the townspeople of municipal jurisdiction were exempt from these fees.⁵¹

Kyiv residents were also released from the camp service. We learn from the Palatine's letter that between him and the townspeople "there was a dispute or controversy" resulting from their war service. "I was thinking – writes Zamoyski – that they should attend the crown camps due to their obligation, when summer occurs in Ukraine, outside the territory of Kyiv palatinate, in order to be able to protect against the Tatar invasions and incursions, and thus fulfil this war service." Whereas the townspeople wanted to fulfil these services and obligation in other manner. According to their privileges, they should have followed the Palatine or its viceroy in pursuit of the Tartars, when they were entering via the Black Route into the boundaries of the Kyiv palatinate. In the end, the Palatine released them from camp service. An attachment to this letter has been preserved – townspeople's letter with various requests to the Palatine: 1) for exemption from merchant duties in the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; 2) for forbidding the Moscow merchants from trading in Kyiv in order to fight against espionage; 3) due to the fact that all craftsmen submitted to the castle jurisdiction, the townspeople asked for permission to use two furriers for their needs; 4) to not to hide the former town resident – Hrehore Derkacz under castle suzerainty, who after his conflict with the vogt, subjected himself under the Cossack jurisdiction.⁵²

In the last days of October 1620, T. Zamoyski went to Kyiv, where the ceremonial entry "into the palatinate" took place. We learn about the details of his stay in Kyiv from the diary of Stanisław Żurkowski, who was a witness to these events. It can be concluded from the biographer's words that when the Palatine approached the city, its residents went far into field in order to greet him. Behind them, also the Cossack and townspeople representatives went and led the Palatine into the cathedral,⁵³ and then to the castle. Having

⁵¹ Publ.: *Привілеї Києва кінця XV – середини XVII ст. Дослідження. Тексти*, ed. Н. Білоус, Київ 2013, p. 189 [*Prywileji Kyjewa kincia XV – seredy ny XVII st. Doslidzhennia. Teksty*, ed. N. Biłous, Kijów 2013, p. 189].

⁵² AGAD, AZ, file 289, c. 122–123. Publ.: Н. Білоус, *Листування київських міщан...*, p. 319–320.

⁵³ Most likely, it was the cathedral. St. Zofia, which at that time belonged to the jurisdiction of the Uniate Metropolitan.

written the act there (that he will keep this castle for the king), he returned quickly down to the town hall, where he had his inn. Then, he served bread at his table to all the land officials and nobles, as well as “colonels and knights, and he treated all forces the most humanely.” The roar of cannons could be heard all over the city throughout the day, because castle, municipal and Zaporizhian cannons were fired until late at night. The following day, the Palatine took care of the office affairs and he went to the castle courts every day, until there were no cases in the registrar. After taking care of municipal matters, while living in Kyiv for three weeks, he entertained the soldiers with tournaments and various games. The ones who turned out to be the most courageous in the tournament received bonuses, which were awarded by the Palatine himself. After completed games, which were very interesting for the residents, the Palatine left the city and went to Zamość, along with the knighthood and the court.⁵⁴ His stay in the centre of the palatinate, as well as earlier participation in the Rastawicka Commission, brought Zamoyski face to face with the most important problems that occur in the Kyiv palatinate, and allowed him to form an opinion concerning the issues of Cossacks and townspeople in Kyiv.

At the beginning of 1620, Tomasz Zamoyski was busy with personal matters. Marrying a daughter of the former Palatine of Volhynia Aleksander (died in 1603) and Anna Ostrogski – one of the most prominent houses in the Polish Commonwealth, strengthened his position in the country and multiplied his wealth.⁵⁵ Katarzyna Zamoyska was a granddaughter of the prince Konstanty Ostrogski, well-known and influential magnate, who ruled the Kyiv palatinate for 49 years (1559–1608). During that time, he was considered to be the ruler, “king” of the south-eastern part of the Polish Commonwealth.

⁵⁴ S. Żurkowski, *Żywoł Tomasz Zamoyskiego, Kanclerza W. Kor.*, ed. A. Batowski, Lwów 1860. Reprint: *Życie i dzieło Tomasz Zamoyskiego 1594–1638*, Tomaszów Lubelski 2014, p. 40.

⁵⁵ The dowry of Katarzyna Zamoyska consisted of significant assets in Volhynia. After the death of her brothers and the division of wealth of the Ostrogski princes in 1620, Katarzyna of Ostrogscy Zamoyska inherited the Tarnów estate, along with Tarnów and twenty villages, Roznowska estate, along with a castle and twenty-two villages, Tarnopol estate, along with Tarnopol and thirty-four villages, Krasne with two villages, Spikow estate with the town of Łebedyn and thirteen villages, Dobrohobuż estate, along with Dorohobuż, Kozlin and thirteen villages, Żabokrycka estate, along with the Międzybóż castle and twenty-eight villages, Równieńska estate, along with Równe, Aleksandrów and thirty-five villages, Żornów estate, along with Żornów and nineteen villages, as well as two manors in Łuck. In total, this amounted to eleven towns, as well as two hundred and three villages.

The municipal officials reminded the Palatine about themselves already in March 1620. In a letter of 29 March, they sent him congratulations on the occasion of the wedding:

Having in mind our duty and willingness, we want to greet you and honour you our great Lord in every graceful and respectable thing. Our almighty God shall our great Lord bless with the holy state of marriage with her Majesty Ostrogska. We pray to our great God for this and we greet our merciful Lord in this holy state of marriage, while congratulating and asking our God to bless you with health in this holy state, along with our lady Kyiv Palatine, who we pray to God for blessing with good health, as well as precious and kind offspring for our great Lord to enjoy, and with eternal and immortal glory to give, in order for a long time to order and reign over us.⁵⁶

Further on, the townspeople wrote about their problems resulting from the oppression and misunderstandings with Vice-Palatine Fedor Yelts, who treated them with contempt:

[...] complaining about some of our wrongs that we suffered from Mr. Kyiv Vice-Palatine, for which great Lord ordered us to write a letter about this, then Mr. Kyiv Vice-Palatine was even more offended and punished us, but we patiently put up with this...

It can be concluded from the townspeople's words that the Vice-Palatine ordered all local merchants to pay for the castle not one tenth, but one third of all money from the sale of wood, hay and even small things, e.g. dishes and "every even the smallest thing that poor people take to the market."⁵⁷

Other letter of officials of 19 November 1620 includes several requests to the Palatine: 1) permission for free felling within the borders of Wyszhorod; 2) granting the Kotur to them via decree, which was leased for three years by the Dominicans, and restoration of the Szczekawica mountain that was occupied by the Bishop of Kyiv; 3) exemption from sowing duties for the help in carrying the cannons to the royal army to Dorohobuż during the Moscow

⁵⁶ AGAD, AZ, file 337, c. 11. Publ.: Н. Білоус, *Листування київських міщан...*, p. 321–323.

⁵⁷ Ibidem.

expedition; 4) releasing and protecting them from oppressions of the Zaporizhian army, which in the quantity of five thousand people wanted to come to the city. As a gift, the townspeople sent to the Palatine thirteen marble foxes for a skin coat and asked him to “kindly accept them.”⁵⁸

A dual system of handicraft organisations in Kyiv (i.e. under the jurisdiction of the castle and the magistrate) caused many contradictions and conflicts in the city. At the beginning of his term of office, the Palatine exercised protection in equal measure over the townspeople of the castle and municipal jurisdiction, but then he changed his favour in regard to the latter. On 12 March 1619, King Sigismund III issued a document for castle craftsmen of shoemaker and tannery guilds, granting them the right to use the manor in Podole and to trade without any municipal charges. Moreover, the magistrate was forbidden to create any kind of obstacles in this matter.⁵⁹ However, in accordance with the next regulation of the king of 13 September 1621, the castle townsmen who lived on municipal lands were subordinated to the magistrate’s court and obliged to carry out municipal duties under the threat of displacement,⁶⁰ and as a result of that, the guildmen of the castle jurisdiction turned to the Palatine on 1 December 1621 with a request to defend them against the contradictory actions of the magistrate, which forced them to carry out municipal duties, thus exposing them to large financial losses.⁶¹ However, the castle townsmen did not receive the support of the Palatine. By the king’s judgment of 28 February 1622, under the threat of a financial penalty amounting to five hundred Lithuanian grosz, they were forced to perform fortification works and participate in a collection of money for the defense of the city.⁶²

Tomasz Zamoyski was not afraid of contacts with the Cossack crowd, which is proved by his active participation in the Rastawicka commission in September and October 1619,⁶³ as well as correspondence with the Cossack chieftains, especially with the hetman Piotr Konaszewicz Sahajdaczny. According to the

58 AGAD, AZ, file 337, c. 18–23. Publ.: Н. Білоус, *Листування київських міщан...*, p. 324–327.

59 Russian State Archive of Historical Records in Moscow, no. 389, op. 1, file 207, c. 119–199v. Publ.: *Киевская старина*, Киев 1885, no. 2, p. 611–612 [*Kijewska ja starina*, Kijów 1885, no. 2, p. 611–612].

60 *Привілеї Києва...*, p. 186.

61 Letter of castle craftsmen to T. Zamoyski, AGAD, AZ, file 337, c. 32–33; Н. Білоус, *Листування київських міщан...*, p. 330.

62 СРАНУК, no. 62, op. 1, file 1, c. 80–83.

63 It was about subordinating the Cossacks under the command of P. Sahajdaczny to the king, reducing the Cossack register from twenty thousand to three thousand; S. Żurkowski, op. cit., p. 39–40.

instructions of the previous Palatine, T. Zamoyski reportedly wrote to the last one of the above-mentioned: “give good words, so that the [Cossacks] would be kind to the townspeople of Kyiv: in this manner, the townsmen will be obliged to you, which non sunt contemnendi.”⁶⁴

The years 1623–1625 were characterised by an increase in the Cossack activity. Against all prohibitions of “going to sea,” the Cossacks more and more often organised expeditions and robbed Turkish settlements. The Palatine received information about this, among others from the municipal officials of Kyiv. Below, there is a content of the letter of 5 September 1624, in which the official wrote that they send a semenowska instalment amounting to one thousand Polish zlotys. Subsequently, they wrote about the “news” concerning the Cossacks:

We have no other news to report to you my Lord, other than news about the Cossacks, who were at sea, and as they say, having acquired some new gains near Carograd, they took their great trophy and returned. Senior Olifier Hołub was among them, who came from the Sea to Zaporizhia, and made the elderly of himself. Whereas, some Hryszko Czarny from Czerkasy, while taking the elderly on himself and having with him an army of 130 heads, went to the sea.⁶⁵

During the following year, the Cossack activity had disastrous consequences for the townsmen of Kyiv. In the spring of 1625, several regiments of the Zaporizhian army entered Kyiv and remained there. Under the pretext of defending the Orthodox Church, the Cossacks blamed municipal officials for having connections with the Uniates and arrested them. In April, after leaving Kyiv, they took the vogt Fedor Chodyk with them, as well as the municipal writer Michał Panczerek. They killed the vogt, who was already an elderly man, near the town of Trypol, and they took the writer to Zaporizhia. All these crimes of the Cossacks were reported by the townspeople via letter of 1 June 1625.⁶⁶ Through their messengers, the mayor Artem Konaszkwicz

⁶⁴ Н. Білоус, *Між політикою і повсякденням...*, р. 289.

⁶⁵ AGAD, AZ, file 337, c. 38–39; Н. Білоус, *Листування київських міщан...*, р. 333.

⁶⁶ AGAD, AZ, file 337, c. 40–41; T. Kempa, *Sprawa zabójstwa wójta kijowskiego Teodora Chodyki przez kozaków. Przyczynek do wyjaśnienia sytuacji na Kijowszczyźnie w przededniu powstania kozackiego 1625 r. (publication of sources)* in *Między Zachodem a Wschodem. Studia ku czci prof. Jacka Staszewskiego*, vol. 2, ed. J. Dumanowski et al., Toruń 2003, p. 288–300.

and the councillor Vasył Chursewicz, they handed over this letter and asked to give them an audience. These officials probably turned to the Palatine with a request to support the candidacy of A. Konaszkwicz for the vogt office. In the letter of municipal officials to the Palatine of 26 June, he is mentioned as a new vogt.⁶⁷

In June 1625, the townspeople also asked the Palatine for defense and protection in connection with unsuccessful commercial operations in Mohylew and the imprisonment of Kyiv merchants by the vice-starost of Mohylew. The local court sentenced the townsmen of Kyiv to payment of ten thousand Polish zlotys and refused the appeal. The vogt, mayor and councillors of Kyiv have asked the Palatine of Kyiv for help in this matter.

In the second half of 1625, a commission supported by the army was sent to Ukraine in order to force the Cossacks, who were seeking an agreement with the Tatars and Moscow Russia, to submit to Poland. One of the commissioners appointed by the Sejm in 1624 was Tomasz Zamoyski. During this expedition, the Palatine of Kyiv demonstrated a lot of energy and courage, and in the skirmish with the Cossacks on 29 October, he almost lost his life.⁶⁸

In the years 1624–1626, due to several Tatar attacks, the situation in the south-eastern territories of the Polish Commonwealth deteriorated. Thus, on 25 August 1624, T. Zamoyski issued a universal to the townsmen of Kyiv with the order to leave immediately with weapons on horseback to the camp, i.e. to the Crown troops on the Bug river (Braclawskie palatinate) under the command of Field Crown Hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski. For this reason, the townspeople opposed the Palatine, arguing that according to their privileges, they were not allowed to be taken to the camp outside the borders of the Kyiv palatinate. These disputes lasted until April 1626, when the Palatine issued another universal, promising not to make more Kyiv townsmen to go to the crown camps in the Volhynia, Braclaw and Podole palatinate (the exception consisted of the situations, in which the army of several thousand crosses the south-eastern borders of the Polish Commonwealth).⁶⁹

⁶⁷ AGAD, AZ, file 337, c. 42.

⁶⁸ Diary of the commission or expedition against the Zaporizka army, 5 VII–23 XII 1625, BAN in Lviv, fond Ossolińscy, MS 204/II, c. 22–23v; A.A. Witusik, op. cit., p. 190–191.

⁶⁹ AGAD, AZ, file 717, c. 55–56. Publ.: Н. Білоус, *Київські міщани на службі Речі Посполитої, Україна крізь віки. Збірник праць на пошану академіка В. Смолія, Київ 2010*, p. 288–289 [N. Biłous, *Kyjiwski miszczany na służbi Rechi Pospolytoj, Ukraina kriz wky. Zbirnyk na poszanu akademika W. Smolija, Kyiw 2010*, p. 288–289].

On 16–20 June 1626, Sigismund III sent universals to the citizens of border palatinates with a warning about imminent danger. Hetman Stanisław Koniecpolski, in order to prepare for the defense against enemy invasion, went to the south of the Kyiv palatinate and stood between the Black Trail and the Kuchma Trail. Meanwhile, the attention of Polish authorities was directed at the mouth of the Vistula river. From July to October 1626, there was a war with the Swedish army in that location. In mid-November, after unsuccessful negotiations with the Swedes, T. Zamoyski became ill and returned home. In 1627, he did not leave Zamość for almost an entire year.

In the last years of his term of office in the Kyiv palatinate, Zamoyski mostly dealt with conflicts and problems of an economic nature. In his letter of 25 January 1627, the Kyiv townspeople reminded the Palatine about his promises, complaining about difficult military service, and they asked the Palatine to reduce these burdens, as well as to confirm their freedom and privileges, which “with a holy word and your own writing, our Lord saintly promised us, when he entered the Kyiv palatinate, as well as not reduce our poor and strict freedoms, but giving more and contribute to them.” On 3 July of this year, thanks to the protection of the Palatine, the Kyiv townspeople received from King Sigismund III the privilege of free trade in grain and food, also confirming the right of goods storage in Kyiv.⁷⁰

During the same year, there were again conflicts among Kyiv craftsmen. In April, the magistrate officials complained about the viceroy of the Vice-Palatine – Marcin Klimowicz, noting that the magistrate “according to the testimony of Tomasz Zamoyski, the Palatine of Kyiv, the party to satisfying various legal obligations between the city of Kyiv and Kyiv craftsmen, who were told to maintain order, under the seal and signature of our lord” separated the place for castle craftsmen of four guilds for the sale of their works at the Kyiv market. However, the viceroy stirred up the masters of other guilds to also demand a place in the market, which caused dissatisfaction among magistrate townsmen and a storm of new conflicts.⁷¹

At the beginning of 1628, the Kyiv vogt Artem Konaszkowicz died and the townsmen turned again to the Palatine, asking for protection in the appointment of the former mayor Sozon Bałyka to the vogt office. With the privilege of 25 February 1628, King Sigismund III confirmed him at that

⁷⁰ *Привілеї Києва...*, p. 195–196.

⁷¹ W. Wernadski's National Library NANU, Manuscript Institute, vol. 61, no. 788.

office,⁷² while in July of the same year, the Kyiv vogt for the first time were awarded a payment in the amount of three hundred Polish zlotys.⁷³

In April of this year, the vogt, mayor and councillors of Kyiv asked the Palatine to grant them rights to Szczekawica mountain, which was taken away by the Bishop of Kyiv; they complained about the viceroy of uniate metropolitan – Marcin Korsak, who forbade them to graze their cattle on the old pastures, as well as on the Kyiv land official – Stanisław Wigera. According to the townspeople, this land official (although he took three hundred Polish zlotys each year from the city treasury) did not guard the castle, in which “the piles are broken and there are many holes in the fence [...] no improvements are made.” The officials asked the Palatine to help them resolve these matters. As an expression of gratitude for the “grace of their Lord,” the townspeople as always promised to pray “according to the habit for good health and long-term reign of their Lord.”⁷⁴

In May 1628, the Grand Crown Chancellor Waław Leszczyński died and Tomasz Zamoyski was appointed to the vacant office on 20 June.⁷⁵ While being at the office of the Crown Chancellor during the years 1629–1636, Zamoyski did not forget about his subjects. Kyiv residents still addressed him with various requests for protection and assistance in court cases. The townspeople also asked him to reduce the taxation for the goods they brought to Kyiv from Lublin, Toruń and Gdańsk. In relation to this, on 3 October 1629, the Chancellor asked in his letter to the land Kyiv judge – Stefan Aksak to use all available means, in order to reduce the taxation of the goods for Kyiv residents.⁷⁶

T. Zamoyski maintained strong influence in the Kyiv palatinate also after he was promoted to vice-chancellor in 1628. With his support, many of his friends and clients from that region gained successful careers. In the years 1636–1637, a group of political friends of the new chancellor from the Ukrainian territories, including a group of political allies, alongside economic officers

72 N. Biłous, *Władze miasta Kijowa w okresie XVI – 1. poł. XVII wieku* in *Między Zachodem a Wschodem*, vol. VI, *Organizacja władz miejskich na obszarze Pierwszej Rzeczypospolitej i na Śląsku w XIII–XVIII w.*, ed. M. Goliński, K. Mikulski, Toruń 2013, p. 281; *Привілеї Києва...*, p. 49.

73 N. Biłous, op. cit., p. 278.

74 Н. Білоус, *Листування київських міщан...*, p. 337.

75 Privilege from Sigismund III to T. Zamoyski for crown vice-chancellor, AGAD, Crown metrics, book 177, c. 16–19v.

76 AGAD, AZ, file 289, c. 56–57.

and political supporters remaining in full disposition towards him, became a part of his broad political base.

The above-discussed informal network of connections between the patron and his clients was maintained mostly with the use of correspondence. In the letters addressed to the Palatine of Kyiv, and later – the chancellor, the rhetoric of “friendship” was used (the ending formulas of letters contain appropriate phrases, e.g. “kind friend and servant,” etc.). In addition to the rhetoric of “friendship,” the letters include associated rhetoric of “availability,” readiness to provide services. While asking for protection, people followed the linguistic conventions and formulas prevailing during that time. Moreover, sometimes they used psychological tricks, for example by invoking to Zamoyski his humanity and goodness, or by repeating the descriptions of a bad situation of the protégé (although, this was mainly used by noble widows, who remained with “orphaned children,” and considered T. Zamoyski to be the patron of their families).

An interesting confirmation of the contemporary political realities consists of the wishes of “happy reign,” which were addressed to T. Zamoyski (similar phrases were used by nobles in the past, when addressing his father – the famous chancellor Jan Zamoyski⁷⁷). The Palatine of Kyiv was considered to be the “patron of the Kyiv lands,” which is not surprising. This office was connected with the office of starost. The core of his power was not so much associated with the person of the Palatine, but with his office, therefore the transition of clients of the former Palatine to the new one was considered to be a normal phenomenon in this region.

Tomasz Zamoyski was an effective patron not only for the local nobility. Kyiv city officials were covered by a group patronage. The residents of Kyiv paid him regular fees, gave gifts, as well as letters with information (the so-called news) concerning the most important events in the palatinate. The patron was loyal to them, trying to get new privileges at the royal court, and accepting positive decisions regarding the townspeople of the municipal jurisdiction. All of this confirms an extensive trust that they had for each other.

⁷⁷ W. Tygielski, *Listy – Ludzie – Władza. Patronat Jana Zamoyskiego w świetle korespondencji*, Warszawa 2007, p. 147.

It should be emphasised that similar relations were an exceptional and rare phenomenon during that time in the Ukrainian territories. The previous Palatines of Kyiv did not have, or perhaps did not need a similar type of contact with their subjects. They preferred to keep them in a state of subordination, while maintaining distance (priest K. Ostrogski in the years 1559–1608), or to not interfere in internal life and rule by their viceroys (S. Żółkiewski in the years 1609–1618). During the rule of successors of T. Zamoyski: Aleksander Zasławski (1628–1629), Stefan Chmielecki (1630) and Janusz Tyszkiewicz (1630–1649), the Kyiv residents probably did not maintain similar relations with the Palatines. With the last of them, the city council was even in conflict and there occurred various disputes, which during the years 1633–1636 were settled in the assessor court and the Crown Tribunal in Lublin.

Tomasz Zamoyski was one of the leading figures in the life of the Polish Commonwealth in the first half of XVII century. However, he could not lead an active political life due to diseases that tormented him his entire life and prevented him from playing the role to which he was prepared.⁷⁸ After living for forty-three years, the ailing chancellor died on 8 January 1638. Despite his health problems, he exhibited high activity and had achievements in the economical, organisational and cultural field. Moreover, it is also worth to mention his effective and fruitful activity on the borderlands. From the sources analysed here, as well as other sources, it can be concluded that T. Zamoyski was against extreme solutions in religious policy and social conflicts in the south-eastern territories of the Polish Commonwealth. He was successful in the scope of building an effective clientele system in this region, as well as maintaining balance between various political forces. Nevertheless, these issues require further studies.

SUMMARY

CLIENTELE OF TOMASZ ZAMOYSKI IN THE KYIV PALATINATE (IN THE LIGHT OF CORRESPONDENCE 1619–1637)

Problems of clients and patronage of Tomasz Zamoyski (1594–1638) in the Kyiv palatinate have not been considered in historiography to this day. The political career of the son of the famous Chancellor Jan Zamoyski began in the Ukrainian territories: on March 11, 1619, he was appointed to the ranking of the Palatine of Kyiv. At just 23 years old, a young

⁷⁸ R. Szczygieł, *Przedmowa* in *Życie i dzieło Tomasza Zamoyskiego...*, p. XVIII–XXX.

magnate won a chair in the Senate and became an important person in the Kyiv region that was the east south part of the Polish Commonwealth. This post was connected with the starosta's dignity. Tomasz Zamoyski received the clientele from Stanisław Żółkiewski, previous Palatine of Kyiv, whom he continued to supplement by the recruitment of new people during his tenure.

The specificity of the borderland and political pragmatics required maintaining good contacts with the local elite in their own interest. Tomasz Zamoyski managed to establish such contacts with the local nobles, the city elite, Cossack leaders, clerics of various confessions. He was a competent patron not only for the local nobility, but also for municipal officials who regularly provided him with due payments, gifts, as well as letters with information about the most important events in the province. It is worth noting that similar relations were an exceptional and rare phenomenon in those times in this region.

While holding the post of the Crown Deputy Chancellor in 1629–1635, Tomasz Zamoyski did not forget about his clients and friends from the Kyiv palatinate. They were still asking him for protection and help in lawsuits, family and personal matters. Informal networks of interpersonal relations were mostly maintained by correspondence. The letters addressed to Tomasz Zamoyski used the rhetoric of “friendship” and “availability,” readiness to provide services. They also demonstrate the emotional nature of informal relationships between the patron and his protégés.

The analyzed sources show that Tomasz Zamoyski was an opponent of extreme solutions in religious policy and conflicts. He managed to keep the balance between the various political forces in the region and build a successful client system.

Keywords: client system, patronage, the Kyiv palatinate, the Polish Commonwealth, Tomasz Zamoyski

DOI 10.24917/9788380842717.2

RITA REGINA TRIMONIENE

University of Siauliai (Lithuania)

An international noble family in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania in the second half of the 16th and early 17th century

INTRODUCTION

French and English historians (Louis Henry, Michel Fleury, Edward Anthony Wrigley, Roger S. Schofield, Peter Laslett and others) conducted a reconstruction of the population structure in terms of age and sex already in the 1960s, as well as began to study the evolution of family, starting from the complex forms (parents, children and wider group of relatives), typical for the pre-industrial period and regions of Western Europe, ending with a modern nuclear family (composed only of parents and children), characteristic for the industrial society. It was concluded that the transition from the complex form to the nuclear family was not as significant as it was previously assumed.¹ A German historian Hans Medick noted that households should be classified in terms of socio-historical conditions. In the pre-industrial period, the nuclear family differed from today's family in the aspect of composition of its members and age. The family structure was constantly renewed, depending on the life cycle of its members.² Such

¹ M. Fleury, L. Henry, *Nouveau manuel de dépouillement et d'exploitation de l'état civil ancien*, Paris 1965; E.A. Wrigley, R.S. Schofield, *The Population History of England 1541–1871*, London 1981; *Household and Family in Past Time*, ed. P. Laslett, R. Wall, New York 1972; *Family Forms in Historic Europe*, ed. R. Wall, J. Robin, P. Laslett, Cambridge 1983.

² H. Medick, *The Proto-Industrial Family Economy: the Structural Function of Household and Family during the Transition from Peasant Society to Industrial Capitalism*, "Social History" 1976, vol. 1, no. 3, p. 291–315.

studies became a stimulant for further examinations not only in Western Europe, but also in Central and Eastern Europe. In Poland, the first study devoted to a family (actually noble family) in XIV–XV century appeared in 1975. During the last twenty years, an extensive range of issues has been recognised in studies on family and household.³ The studies covered the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (hereinafter referred to as: GDL) in a limited scope.⁴

³ The following previous works can be mentioned: M. Szoltysek, *Central European Household and Family Systems, and the "Hajnal–Mitterauer line": The Parish of Bujakow (18th–19th centuries)*, "The History of the Family" 2007, no. 1, p. 19–42; idem, *Three kinds of Preindustrial Household Formation System in Historical Eastern Europe: A Challenge to Spatial Patterns of the European Family*, "The History of the Family" 3/2008, p. 223–257; idem, *Spatial Construction of European Family and Household Systems: A Promising Path or a Blind Alley? An Eastern European Perspective*, "Continuity and Change" 2012, no. 27(1), p. 11–52; C. Kuklo, *Demografia Rzeczypospolitej przedrozbiorowej*, Warszawa 2009; Study: *Rodzina i gospodarstwo domowe na ziemiach polskich w XV–XX wieku. Struktury demograficzne, społeczne i gospodarcze*, ed. C. Kuklo, Warszawa 2008; *Struktury demograficzne rodziny na ziemiach polskich do połowy XX wieku. Przegląd badań i problemów*, ed. P. Guzowski, C. Kuklo, Białystok 2014.

⁴ M. Szoltysek, *Rethinking Eastern Europe: Household Formation Patterns in the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth and European Family Systems*, "Continuity and Change" 2008, no. 23, p. 389–427; M. Liedke, *Z badań nad prokreacją magnaterii Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego w XVI–XVIII wieku*, "Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski" 2010, no. 29, p. 7–27; idem, *Śmierć magnata, czyli co liczby mogą powiedzieć o konsekwencji śmierci mężczyzny w rodzinie magnackiej w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w XVI–XVII w.*, "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej" 2012, no. 60, iss. 2, p. 271–282; idem, *Demografia rodziny magnackiej w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w XVI–XVIII wieku. Stań badań i Struktury demograficzne rodziny na ziemiach polskich do połowy XX wieku. Przegląd badań i problemów*, ed. P. Guzowski, C. Kuklo, Białystok 2014, p. 33–50; V. Andriulis, *Lietuvos statutų (1529, 1566, 1588 m.) šeimos teisė*, Vilnius 2003; J. Sarcevičienė, *Vyro ir žmonos santykių modelis XVI a. II pusės–XVII a. I pusės proginėje literatūroje Lietuvos Didžiojoje Kunigaikštystėje – patriarchatas ar partnerystė?* in *Kultų sankirtos: skiriama dr. Ingės Lukšaitės 60-mečiui*, Vilnius 2000, p. 189–217; idem, *Vaikas XVI–XVII a. Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės visuomenėje: galimi auklėjimo ir socializacijos modeliai*, "Menotyra" 2003, no. 2(31), p. 4–10; idem, *Valstiečių šeimos struktūra Europos istoriografijoje: tendencijos, tyrimai, perspektyvos in Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės istorijos kraštovaizdis*, Vilnius 2012, p. 685–717; idem, *Tėvai, vaikai ir ugdymas namuose XVIII a. antrojoje pusėje in Lietuvos Didžioji Kunigaikštystė: valstybė, kultūra, edukacija (XVIII amžiaus studijos 2)*, ed. R. Šmigelskytė-Stukienė, Vilnius 2015, p. 148–171; idem, *Cykle życia jednostki i rodziny: na przykładzie chłopów litewskich w XVII wieku*, transl. B. Dwilewicz in *Социальные группы и их влияние на развитие общества в XVI–XIX веках. Grupy społeczne i ich wpływ na rozwój społeczeństwa w XVI–XIX wieku*, ed. T. Bairašauskaitė, Vilnius 2015, p. 49–66; N. Asadauskienė, *Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės valdančiojo elito šeima XV a. pabaigoje–XVI a. pradžioje (Aleksandro valdymo metų Ponų tarybos narių šeimų struktūra)*, "Acta Academiae artium Vilmensis. Dailė" 2009, vol. 55, p. 53–68; J. Karpavičienė, *Moteris Vilniuje ir Kaune XVI a. pirmojoje pusėje: gyvenimo sumiestinimo Lietuvoje atodangos*, Vilnius 2005.

A monograph devoted to interregional and international family in Europe and on other continents since the Middle Ages was published in 2011. In contrast to the “family” (most often in a local sense), the term “international family” has a systematic and not territorial definition, when possessions, mutual obligations, family network and cultural orientation can include both the fatherland and a new place of residence (place of permanent or periodic immigration). Historians David Warren Sabean and Simon Teuscher indicated that studies on immigration, international and trans-regional communities, as well as their network in historiography, force us to consider the possibilities of such communities in the scope of coordinating family strategies. Researchers put emphasis on the location of the land, household, as well as capital, movable property, in what manner the main line was shaped, not only in permanent and settled, but also in international families. Such examination would allow to better recognise how similar groups were formed, maintained and modified.⁵ The authors noted that recent studies on family demonstrated what in Europe in XV–XVI century led to important changes in the family relation: the desire to formalise patron-client relations through marriage or godparent relations increased, and a tendency emerged in the scope of shaping and maintaining a structural hierarchy in the family, among relatives. Such changes can be associated with the formalisation of the social hierarchy, innovations in the models of inheritance and succession, new rights to the offices, changes in corporations.⁶

As indicated by studies on the problem of migration history, assimilation with the new community takes place in the scale of mesomigration, especially in the regional framework, while education, possession of land and work have a big influence on it. As part of the micromigration analysis, it is necessary to study the psyche and tendency of people to change their place of residence. Most commonly, the decision regarding emigration was made, while considering the situation of the household, in a mature and most often productive age. Blood ties, neighbourly relations and even emotional relations played a great role in this case.⁷

⁵ D.W. Sabean, S. Teuscher, *Rethinking European Kinship: Transregional and Transnational Families in Transregional and Transnational Families in Europe and Beyond. Experiences since the Middle Ages*, ed. Ch.H. Johnson et al., New York–Oxford 2011, p. 3, 5, 12.

⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 12.

⁷ D. Hoerder, *From Immigration to Migration Systems: New Concepts in Migration History*, “Organization of American Historians. Magazine of History”, Fall 1999, vol. 14, no. 1, p. 7–8.

Over the last ten years, there can be seen a visible progress in the studies on migration in the GDL in XVI–XVII century, particularly in the Principality of Samogitia.⁸ Articles were published concerning the marital ties of the Polish, partly Livonian, Prussian and Moscow nobles that arrived there. Considerations included the issues of legal situation of foreigners and aliens in Lithuania, factors and reasons that accelerated the migration process, paths of adaptation and integration of newcomers, as well as household issues.

Most of the foreign nobles came to Samogitia from Poland, especially from Podlasie and Mazovia, however the scope of this work does not allow to write about it. It is also possible to discuss the settling of Germans from Livonia

⁸ R.R. Trimoniene, *Livonijas muižnieku dzimtu iecelōšana Žemaitija 16. gadsimta otrajā pusē – 17. gadsimta sākumā*, “Ventspils muzeja raksti”, Rīga 2006, vol. V, p. 61–69; idem, *Svetimšalių ir svetimtaučių bajorų imigracija į Žemaitiją XVI a. antrojoje pusėje – XVII a. pirmojoje pusėje. Imigracijos kultūriniai veiksniai ir įtakos Žemaičių visuomenei in Rytų Europos kultūra migracijos kontekste. Tarpdalykiniai tyrimai*, Vilnius 2007, p. 491–514; idem, *Konfesinės problemos Žemaitijoje: stačiatikiai XVI a. II pusėje*, “Lituanistica” 2008, vol. 54, no. 2(74), p. 1–13; idem, *Ewangeliccy przybysze z Polski i innych krajów i ich społeczno-ekonomiczna integracja ze społeczeństwem lokalnym na Żmudzi w drugiej połowie XVI wieku in Studia nad reformacją*, ed. E. Bagińska, P. Guzowski, M. Liedke, Białystok 2010, p. 99–110; idem, *Livonijos bajorų žemėvaldos pobūdis Žemaitijoje XVI a. antrojoje pusėje – XVII a. pradžioje in Kultūra – ekonomika – visuomenė: sąveika ir pokyčiai viduramžiais ir ankstyvaisiais naujaisiais laikais Baltijos rytinėje pakrantėje*, ed. M. Ščavinskas, Klaipėda 2015, p. 190–202; J. Drungilas, *Adaptacja i integracja pierwszego pokolenia szlachty polskiej osiedlającej się na Żmudzi (II połowa XVI–początek XVII wieku) in Europa Orientalis. Studia z dziejów Europy Wschodniej i Państw Bałtyckich*, ed. W. Rezmer, Toruń 2009, p. 255–277; idem, *Czy osiadła na Żmudzi szlachta polska uczyła się języka litewskiego? Kilka rozważań o językowej asymilacji w 2. poł. XVI–XVII w. in Litwa i jej sąsiedzi w relacjach wzajemnych (XVII–XIX w.)*, ed. I. Janicka, A. Kołodziejczyk, Olsztyn–Gdańsk 2014, p. 9–24; idem, *Echa unii polsko–litewskich: imigracja polskiej szlachty na Żmudź, reemigracja oraz związki z krajem rodzinnym na przełomie XVI i XVII wieku*, “Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Heraldycznego” 2015, vol. XIV(XXV), p. 7–19; idem, *Pinklės atvykusiai lenkų bajorijai Lietuvos Didžiosios Kunigaikštystės teisėje 1447–1588 m.: juridinių suvaržymų ištakos, raida ir funkcionavimas, Istorijos šaltinių tyrimai*, vol. 5, ed. A. Dubonis, Vilnius 2014, p. 85–106; E. Saviščevas, *Influx of the “Outside” Nobility into Samogitia in the 16th Century*, “Zapiski Historyczne” 2014, vol. LXXIX, no. 4, p. 539–560; A. Rachuba, *Inflantczycy i Kurlandczycy na Żmudzi w XVI–XVIII wieku*, “Klio. Czasopismo poświęcone dziejom Polski i Powszechnym” 2015, vol. 35(4), p. 45–68; J. Skurdauskienė, *Privatūs valdų kompleksai ir susisiekimas. Dar vienas atvykusių bajorų evangelikų, bažnyčių fundatorių, žemėvaldos formavimo aspektas Žemaitijoje XVI a. antrojoje pusėje – XVII a. prad.*, “Acta Historica Universitatis Klaipedensis” 2013, no. XXVII, p. 117–138.

and Prussia, the Moscow nobility (“boyar sons,” *fili boiarum*) from Russia, representatives of the nobility from other nations and lands (from Hungary, Czech Kingdom, Italy, England, etc.). The migration process was accelerated by: the war in Livonia in 1558–1583, with Sweden (1600–1605) and Russia (1605–1618), as well as the Volog Reform. A large part of nobility, which participated in military operations or in the implementation of the Volog reform, received properties in Samogitia from the Grand Duke and Lithuanian magnates. According to Drungilas, the majority (in my opinion it is doubtful, it should be rather a large part) of the newcomers secured the conditions for settlement by finding service at the Lithuanian magnates (starosts of Samogitia – Stanisław Kieżgajło, Chodkiewicz, Radziwiłł, Sapieha, Dorohostajski, Kiszka et al.) and ensuring their protection.⁹ Another way to get land and indiginate in the GDL consisted of mixed marriages with the local nobles.

The above list demonstrates that current knowledge on immigration to Samogitia allows to penetrate the problems of the families of newcomers, who have settled here permanently. The studies on international family allow to take a new perspective on marital strategies, family ties within several generations, the dynamics of changes in the family structure (the concept of a small and large family), crossing the national and territorial borders, shaping of the communication form, problems of identification with the linear family, surname, central figure of the family, state and national affiliation, ethnic loyalty or acculturation.

The basis for examination consists of a set of sources, such as the Lithuanian Metrics, Samogitian court books, various property documents and literature from XVI–XVII century. They include different realities of the family life: they allow to determine its composition, relations between members, wealth etc. Unfortunately, the information contained in these sources and historiographic works do not allow to fully answer the issues formulated at the beginning. Although, there are quite a lot of Samogitian land and municipal books preserved, there are no adequate sources from Livonia, Courland and Moscow, which would include records of the property status, wealth transactions and wills. Metrics of baptisms, weddings or deaths also cannot help in the study. Although at the beginning of the XVII century, the GDL churches started to keep the books of baptisms, and then weddings, only a few of them survived from this period, and in the case of not knowing where a person was born,

⁹ J. Drungilas, op. cit., p. 257.

it is almost impossible to precisely determine the parish and find data about the given person.

In the Principality of Samogitia, which had autonomy from XV century, even Lithuanians who could not hold offices in Samogitian land were considered to be aliens.¹⁰ However, the statutes and privileges of the Grand Duke did not prohibit them to acquire property or to start a family with the natives. Article 7 of chapter 5 II of the Lithuanian statute allowed that if someone married, even without possessing any wealth, or if the wife did not register the property, then he should fulfil military service. Lithuanian statutes and sejm constitution of 1616 forbade marriages to non-Christians.¹¹

The second half of XVI century and first half of XVII century constituted the period of reformation movement. Therefore, we must consider marital strategies not only between ethnic groups, but also religious ones.

This is clearly visible on the example of nobles who came from Livonia (also from Courland). Theoretically, since the Treaty of Vilnius in 1561 and the union of Livonia with the GDL in 1566, conditions were created for the settlement of Livonia nationals in the Lithuanian lands. However, they were still treated like “foreigners” or “neighbours.”¹² In 1601, the Sejm of Warsaw for the first time guaranteed to Livonia nationals the right to acquire the lands of governor in Poland as well as in the GDL.¹³ In 1607, the sejm went even further: in the chapter of constitution concerning foreigners, it was stated that the king, with the consent of the Senate, may give offices and properties also to the residents of countries that were incorporated into Poland and Lithuania.¹⁴

¹⁰ P. Dąbkowski, *Stanowisko cudzoziemców w prawie litewskim w drugiej połowie XV i w XVI wieku (1477–1588)*, Lwów 1912, p. 48; *Zbiór praw litewskich od roku 1389 do roku 1529. Tudzież rozprawy sejmowe o tychże prawach od roku 1544 do roku 1563*, Poznań 1841, p. 461 (“Za tym też prosili jeho krolewskoje milosti, aby wrady w zemli żomojtskoje nebyli dawany ani litwe, ani rusi i neose-lym, odno żomojti, kotoryje z otcow i z rodziczow swoich sut’ tamosznije rodzici oselyje, i to za przyczinoju starosty i tiwunow, szliacht”).

¹¹ V. Andriulis, op. cit., p. 137.

¹² A. Rachuba, op. cit., p. 48–49; R.R. Trimoniene, *Livonijos bajorų žemėvaldos pobūdis Žemaitijoje XVI a. antrojoje pusėje – XVII a. pradžioje...*, p. 191–192.

¹³ *Volumina legum*, Petersburg 1859, vol. 2, p. 401: “[...] także w dobrach naszych, dożywocia potomstwu ich dawać będziemy, zachowując jednak *in suo robore* konstytucyją anni 1598, w rozdawaniu wieczności.”

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 434: “[...] iż cudzoziemców, tak w komorze, iako y na dworze naszym chować nie mamy, *etiam circa custodiam corporis*, ani im dygnitarstw, urzędów, ani opatrzenia żadnego, ani kadukow, konferować będziemy, iedno ludziom polskiego y litewskiego narodu y panstw do nich należących [...]”

The Courland nationals (after the Swedes took over a large part of Livonia) were consistently treated as foreigners.¹⁵

As noted by Almut Bues, the mobility of Livonia and Courland nobles encouraged to find personal, family and client relations with Lithuania and Poland.¹⁶ However, in comparison to Samogitia or the entire Lithuania, the noble class was not so large here. In Courland, it amounted to approx. 0.45 percent of the entire population, while in Samogitia – about 10 percent. The Knights of Livonia and Courland might have wanted to acquire land properties also as a result of the deteriorating demographic situation. During the wars of 1578–1662, about 70 percent of the land was destroyed and the population was significantly decreased.¹⁷ The Korff family acquired properties in Samogitia as one of the first ones. Studies by Bues show that in the years 1561–1795, this family belonged to the most influential nobility in the Duchy of Courland and its members held various public positions as much as twenty three times.¹⁸ Already in 1568, Alexander von Korff (who died in 1591) was appointed a *tivunus*, while later this office was assumed by Bartosz von Korff (in 1575).¹⁹ The Korffs were Lutherans and guardians of the protestant church in Szawkiany (Šaukėnai). Unfortunately, the sources do not contain a lot of information about this family, and this (among others) results from the fact that permanent residences of this family in the second half of XVI century and the first half of XVII century were located in Courland. One of the examples is the document of 1617 about the allocation of goods to Korffs, released “in Prekule [Priekule – R.T.] Mura Muiže in Courland.”²⁰ This document indicates that Alexander Korff had four sons: Mikołaj, Jan, Endrych (he died childless) and Ernest, who received an inheritance (2770 threescore and 90 Lithuanian

¹⁵ A. Rachuba, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

¹⁶ A. Bues, *Das Herzogtum Kurland und der Norden der polnisch-litauischen Adelsrepublik im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert. Möglichkeiten von Integration und Autonomie*, Gissen 2001, p. 56, 58; *idem*, *Kurlandia, Inflanty, Prusy Królewskie i Książęca a Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodów. Refleksje o federacyjnej budowie państwa polsko-litewskiego w drugiej połowie XVI i w XVII wieku*, “Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne” 1998, vol. L, no. 1, p. 226, 229–230.

¹⁷ A. Bues, *op. cit.*, p. 182–183.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 117.

¹⁹ *Описание рукописного отделения виленской публичной библиотеки*, ed. 3, Вильна 1898, no. 30, p. 76–79 [Opisanie rękopisnego oddelenija wileńskiej publicznej biblioteki, ed. 3, Wilno 1898]; L. Podhorodecki, *Jan Karol Chodkiewicz 1560–1621*, Warszawa 1982, p. 37.

²⁰ Vilniaus universiteto bibliotekos rankraščių skyrius (hereinafter: VUB), file 7, *Žemaitijos Žemės teismo akty knygos* (hereinafter: ŽŽТАК), 63/14637, c. 215–216.

grosz) from their father's estate in 1592. Later, Jan sold his part to his brother Mikołaj. Ernest Korff (died before 1618) had a wife, Brigita (Birit) Funkowna, with whom he had three sons: Aleksander, Ernest and Jan (the last two of them were still underage in 1618).²¹ Ernest's brother Mikołaj had two wives: the first one – Gertruda von Rosen – came from the famous Courland family, while the second one was Lukrecja Dorothea von Schwerin. Mikołaj had six sons: Aleksander, Mikołaj, Kristian and the underage Ernest, Jerzy and Wilhelm.²² In 1634, the son of Mikołaj – Wilhelm Korff (died before 1669) bought from the Sapiehowie family the orleńskie starosty of his brother Ernest, who died during an expedition to Moscow.²³ At the beginning of 1636, Wilhelm and his wife bought the Szawkiany estate in the Berżański powiat. It was a period of counter-reformation – the time of closing of the evangelical churches, which is why Wilhelm Korff sued the Catholic priests from Szawkianz and Kurszanz (Kuršėnai) in the years 1639–1655 regarding the Lutheran church in Szawkiany.²⁴ He also had two wives: the first one was Elizabeth von Schwerin, while the second one was Maria von Borch.²⁵ His brother Nicholas took care of Wilhelm (he was a colonel and he served in Smoleńsk and fort Bauske, which were taken over by the enemies during the Swedish Deluge) during the Warsaw Sejm in 1659.²⁶ Wilhelm Korff had two sons: Wilhelm and Mikołaj from Krzyżbork, cavalry captain of JKM and tivunus.²⁷

²¹ Ibidem, c. 231.

²² Ibidem, c. 215; E.H. Kneschke, *Neues allgemeines deutsches Adels-Lexicon*, Leipzig 1864, vol. 5, p. 235. According to Kneschke, Mikołaj was born in 1585, Kristian – in 1595, Wilhelm – in 1604. There is an entry in the Lithuanian Metrics that Mikołaj Korff and his wife Katarzyna von Eferen received properties in Samogitia in 1631 from the land vice-treasurer of the GDL – Stefan Paca for a military service. Therefore, it can be concluded that M. Korff had a third wife. Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas (hereinafter referred to as: LVIA), file 389, Lithuanian Metrics (hereinafter: ML), book 104, c. 150v–151.

²³ A. Boniecki, *Herbarz Polski*, vol. 11, Warszawa 1906, p. 152.

²⁴ *Spis rękopisów archiwum dworu szawkińskiego, r. 1607–1793*, Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių bibliotekos rankraščių skyrius (hereinafter: LMAVB RS), file 37–4327, c. 4; file 4803, c. 1–2v.

²⁵ E.H. Kneschke, *Neues allgemeines deutsches Adels-Lexicon...*, p. 235; VUB, ŽŹTAK, 73/14647, no. 383, c. 739–739v. The will of Jakub Schwerin mentions a daughter Elżbieta Mariana – the wife of Wilhelm Korff, and Lukrecja Dorota – the wife of Kristian Korff.

²⁶ *Wypis z ksiąg grodzkich*, 1659 IV 23, LMAVB RS, f. 37–4807, c. 1; LVIA, f. 389, ML, book 131, c. 421–422. (8 VII 1656 in the camp near Warsaw “jure caduco post rebellem,” Szawkiany were given to Krzysztof Szukszta).

²⁷ G. Błaszczyk, *Herbarz szlachty żmudzkiej*, vol. 3, Warszawa 2015, p. 208.

The history of the Korff family shows that its members guarded the ethnic and religious “purity.” Three generations of Korffs had wives of high origin, in addition only from Courland or Livonia, not from the GDL. It is difficult to determine the duration of these marriages, however usually the Korffs had two wives. The number of children is difficult to assess and only the sons are known. According to Tadeusz Furtak, the average number of children in the marriages of nobility and magnates of the Crown and of the GDL amounted to 3.6 in XVI century and 3.7 in XVII century.²⁸ According to the study on the Korff family, the number of children in this family had to be higher, because only sons on average reached the number of 4.3. It can be concluded that usually only one family line accumulated goods (through transfer, purchase, etc.) in Samogitia, nevertheless relations between the brothers were still maintained during making decisions regarding property matters and even political ones. The wives of Korffs do not appear in Samogitian documents, therefore it can be concluded that they did not get involved in these matters, apart from the widow of Ernest – Brigita Funkowna, who along with her son Aleksander approved a document regarding Szarki estate (Šarkiai) in 1618.

Until the second half of XVII century, the following families from Livonia and Courland settled or had properties in Samogitia: Bandemer (Bandymir), Brakl, Buttler, Denhoff, Druwie, Dymlerski, Fiting, Kłot, Mohl, Niziński, Nodhło, Piła, Rejmer, Renne, Schilling, Szwerin, Taube.²⁹

Also the magnates from the Taube, Denhoff³⁰ and Szwerin families usually had wives from Livonia or Courland, only with a few exceptions. In the years 1602–1605, Jakub Schwerin (Szweryn) acquired part of the Gintaliszki estate (Gintališkė) for 56 300 Polish zlotys from the Voivode of Trakai – Aleksander Chodkiewicz. His father was the humanist Jakub Schwerin (Jakob von Schwerin, 1529–1585), the heir at Alszwang in Courland. The father studied at the universities of Królewiec and Wittenberg, and then continued his law studies at the University of Padua in Italy. In 1562, he married a lady of the court of Prussia Princess Maria Anna Barbara von Gableuz.³¹ On 10 January

²⁸ T. Furtak, *Kilka zagadnień z demografii historycznej szlachty polskiej*, “Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych” 1937, no 4, p. 52.

²⁹ Part of the families were listed by Andrzej Rachuba, op. cit., p. 50–57.

³⁰ See R.R. Trimonienė, *Livonijos bajorų žemėvaldos pobūdis Žemaitijoje XVI a. antrojoje pusėje – XVII a. pradžioje...*, p. 196–200.

³¹ *Altpreussische Biographie*, vol. II, no. 5, Marburg 1963, p. 657; G. Erler, *Die Matrikel der Albertus-Universität zu Königsberg i Pr.*, vol. 1 (1544–1656), Leipzig 1910, p. 1.

1620, Jakub Jakubowicz Schwerin made a will and left “his movable and immovable properties” to his wife Emerencia, the daughter of Sebastian Kałsztyń (it is difficult to determine her origin).³² It is known that according to the law of the GDL, a widow with underage children could under certain conditions be the property manager of the wealth of deceased husband until the sons grow up and the daughters get married.³³ It was not until 1632 that she gave her son Jan Urlyk the Gintaliszki estate with ten villages, ten thousand Polish zlotys, the Alszwang castle and farms, along with the obligation to find a husband for the sister, Barbara Sybila. The other sisters – Lukrecja Dorota and Elżbieta Maria were already Korffs’ wives.³⁴ Jan Ulryk studied at the universities of Krakow and Vilnius. He was the first one to convert to Catholicism and he funded the parish church in Alszwang. He married Barbara Konarska, who came from a well-known Polish family. He died in 1637 leaving three sons: Jan at Alszwang, Jerzy – a royal courtier who lived in Gintaliszki and Samuel – a parish priest of Samogitian cathedral.³⁵ The connections of this family with Samogitia are demonstrated (among others) by a panegyric in the honour of Jan Ulryk, written by Kazimierz Giełguda, the rector of the college in Kroże (Kražiai), which was published in 1638. The Schwerins associate themselves with their ancestors: “Lithuania yet the right God did not know / and often the churches destroyed / when the virtuous ancestors of Schwerins arrived / and the courage was their inheritance.” According to Giełguda, Schwerin belongs to the Polish nation and is well-deserved in diplomatic missions, war expeditions, as well as famous for mercy in regard to the subjects and care for the Catholic Church: “He sent the older Jan to foreign lands / And he virtuously represented his family and the Polish nation everywhere.”³⁶ In 1644, Jerzy Szweryn “in Gentyliszki” married Princess Euphrosinia of the Sanguszko family. On the occasion of the wedding,

³² VUB, ŻŹTAK, 73/14647, no. 383, l. 738–739v.

³³ V. Andriulis, op. cit., p. 116.

³⁴ Although as soon as August 1628, Jan Ulryk was announced as the manager of goods. VUB, ŻPTAK (Žemaitijos Pilies teismo aktų knygos), 1628–1629, c. 216, 465.

³⁵ G. Błaszczuk, op. cit., vol. 5, p. 542–543. Michał Konarski, the bachelor of Jerusalem, tivunus, who served Jan Karol Chodkiewicz in 1593. VUB, ŻŹTAK, 1593, 23/14597, no. 289, c. 534; National Library in Warsaw, *Listy do Chodkiewiczów 1613–1620*, PAN 355, Microfilm 7883–84, c. 257–257v, 379.

³⁶ *Potomna sława godney pamięci jego mści p. Jana Ulryka z Alszwangu Szweryna rotmistrza KIM zasłużonego w herbach wyrażona u jej mści p. Barbarze z Konarzyn Szwerynowej smutnej małżonce zmarłego jego Mości ku pohamowaniu serdecznego żalu*. Donated by Kazimierz

Adam Sulinski (orator of the Vilnius Academy) wrote “Plausus epithalamicus.” While welcoming the union of two houses of high origin, the author shows the uniformity of Lithuania (by Ogińscy) and Poland (by Szwerynowie).³⁷

Szwerinowie represent an interregional (international) family, in which immigration slowly changes the strategy of family formation (mixed marriage) and identity, as well as creates a permanent relations with the host country (in this case, with Samogitia in the strict sense and with Poland in a broad sense). The family’s pursuit (in various generations) of good education is also important. The third generation, when there were three sons, demonstrated that the oldest son received Alszwang, the second son inherited Gintaliszki in Samogitia, while the third son became a cleric. The daughters were married to the Korffs who had the same social status and had properties in Courland, as well as Samogitia. In the fourth generation, the heir of Gintaliszki married a Lithuanian woman from the magnate family deriving from princes in Kozielsk.

According to investment funds and goods obtained in Samogitia, other families from Livonia also can be included in the middle-class nobility. It can be concluded that the family strategy was similar to that used by the magnates: marriages were most often concluded with women from Livonia. Unfortunately, the sources provide quite poor information about these relationships,³⁸ therefore, it is not worth to consider them in more details.

The fates of families coming from Prussia, such as Brandts, Kirszenszteins and Schlichtings, are interesting. The origin of this last family is not clear, however Albert Schlichting wrote that he is from Pomerania (Pomeranus). The progenitor of the family in Samogitia was Wojciech (Albert) Schlichting, who served with the vice-chancellor of the GDL – Ostafi Wołowicz (“to envoys and messengers”), in 1563 he was taken prisoner in Moscow, and in 1570 he returned to the GDL. Sigismund Augustus offered him twenty-six voloks of

Gielgud, rhetor of the Kroski Chodkiewiczowski Collegium Societatis IESU, 1638, LMAVB RS, L-16 1-2, c. 108–109.

³⁷ *Plausus epithalamicus inter nuptias perillustris magnifici generuosi domini D. Georgii Jacobi Szweryn in Gentyliszki cubicularii aulici S.R. maiestatis ac illustrissimae dominae D. Euphrosinae Sanguszkowna ducis Kowel celebratus et ex publicae laetitiae voto iisdem dignissimis sponsis ab Adamo Sulinski equite Polono in alma Academia Vilnen: Societatis Jesu eloquentiae auditore dedicatus*, 1644. VUB III, 19623, c. 4v. (*Omnia Lituani Polonique orbis decora hac una domo continentur, nec familias tantum, sed regnum implet*).

³⁸ See A. Rachuba, op. cit., p. 52–56; R.R. Trimonienė, *Livonijos bajorų žemėvaldos pobūdis Žemaitijoje XVI a. antrojoje pusėje – XVII a. pradžioje...*, p. 196–200.

land (Prialgava) in the Wieszwen Powiat “to the end of his life.”³⁹ Schlichting’s confessions became the basis for two works: a short work dedicated to the king Sigismund Augustus by its author “Nova ex Moscovia per nobilem Albertum Schlichting allata de principis Iwani vita et tyrannide,” which was even handed over to the imperial court in Vienna, and a small work entitled “De moribus,” which was in possession of the Papal Nuncio in Poland – Vincenzo dal Portico.⁴⁰ In 1585, Albert Schlichting was already dead and his goods were given to the “not so wealthy people”: underage son Krzysztof and his mother Ganna Iwanowna. In 1593, after the death of their parents, Krzysztof and Wojciech Schlichting subjected themselves to the protection of Malcher Szemeta, chamberlain of Wilkomir and Vilnius, the heir of Szawlany (Šiaulėnai) in the Botockie starosty, a well-known Protestant activist. In 1611, their sister Ewa was the wife of Samogitian Landowner – Mikołaj Janowicz Dziakiewicz.⁴¹

It is obvious that Jakub Brandt (Brant), similar to Schlichting, served in the military during the Livonian War. In 1568, the king and grand prince Sigismund Augustus offered him Bagina village (Baginai) in the Żarany estate, in which there were seventeen voloks of arable land and four voloks of meadows. The Brandt family came from Pomerania. In 1512, the Brandts were ennobled in the Polish Crown.⁴² The first mention of a wife – Katarzyna Jeziorkowska (Jezerkowska) appears in 1585, when Brandt officially leaves her Bagina to rule over after his death.⁴³ Later, in 1591, the Brandts are also in possession of the Kaupy village (Kaupos) in the Medingian estate,⁴⁴ located near Baginy (about five kilometres). It can be concluded that the family is starting to

³⁹ LVIA, file 389, ML, book 51, c. 302v–308v.

⁴⁰ H. Grala, *Wokół dzieła i osoby Alberta Schlichtinga. Przyczynek do dziejów propagandy anty-moskiewskiej w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, “Studia Źródłoznawcze” 2000, vol. XXXVIII, p. 35–50.

⁴¹ LVIA, file 389, ML, book 70, c. 195–195v; VUB, ŽŹTAK, 1593, 23/14597, no. 113, c. 202–202v; 1611, 60/14634, no. 78, c. 126; G. Błaszczuk, op. cit., vol. 5, p. 492.

⁴² *Акты, издаваемые Виленской археографической комиссией для разбора древних актов*, Вильна 1897, vol. 24, no. 289, c. 463 [Akty, izdawajemye vilenskoj komissijej dlia razbora drevnich aktov]; A. Boniecki, *Herbarz Polski*, vol. 2, Warszawa 1900, p. 96; K. Niesiecki, *Herbarz Polski*, Lipsk 1839, vol. II, p. 285; T. Czacki, *O litewskich i polskich prawach, o ich duchu, źródlach, związku i o rzeczach zawartych w pierwszym Statucie dla Litwy 1529 r. wydanym*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1800, tabl. II.

⁴³ VUB, ŽŹTAK, 1585, no. 57, c. 211. Jeziorkowski family can be from Jeziorki near Warsaw (h. Radwan), or from Wiska land (h. Rawicz). A. Boniecki, *Herbarz Polski*, vol. 9, Warszawa 1906, p. 52–53.

⁴⁴ *Опись документовъ Виленскаго Центральнаго архива древнихъ актовыхъ книгъ* [Opis dokumentow vilenskiego centralnego archiwa drevnich aktowych knyg], Вильна 1901, no. 316.

gather properties in one area, in order to settle here permanently. However, Brandt died too early (in 1600), leaving a childless widow – Katarzyna, who married Jakub Borowski in 1619 and gave the Bagina farm to him. Katarzyna died in 1623.⁴⁵ The Brandts were Catholics and Jakub asked to be buried in the church in Warnie.

Meanwhile, the Kirszenszteins belonged to the richest families in Samogitia. The history of this family starts in Kaunas, where the founder of the nest in Raudanie near Wielona was a newcomer from Królewiec – Krzyszpin Kirszensztein, who started his career as a merchant and also served the Chodkiewicz family.⁴⁶ In the summer of 1600, his son Krzysztof enrolled in the university of Królewiec as *Lituanus Samoita, uterque nobilis*.⁴⁷ He multiplied his wealth by managing a forest enterprise and accumulating war merits,⁴⁸ while during the years 1619–1639, he held the office of the tivunus. With a Samogitian Anna Szemet, his first wife, he had two children – Hieronim and Halszka (or Elżbieta), and with the second wife – Anna Pacówna from Minsk (he married her not later than in 1634, while her first husband was Castellan Mikołaj Zenowicz), he had a son Charles.⁴⁹ Krzysztof's wives did not come from the families of local elite, but from political elite of the GDL. Although Krzysztof had to belong to the evangelicals in his youth, and his wife Anna came from a Lutheran family, Kirszensztein died as a Catholic. He was buried in the chapel of St. Anna (in the church of St. George in Kaunas) with an epitaph *Avitae suae Domus in Ducali Prussiae splendorem meritorum gloriam extulit*.⁵⁰ In 1644, his daughter Elżbieta founded a church in Kukiai.⁵¹ The older son – Hieronim (born around 1622), received from his father the office of tivunus and the seat in Raudone. Just like his father and sister, he was also a Catholic.⁵²

45 VUB, ŽŽTAK, 1600, 42/14616, no. 122, c. 256–259; LVIA, file 389, ML, book 120, c. 273–274v.

46 L. Podhorodecki, op. cit.

47 G. Erler, op. cit., p. 150.

48 LVIA, file 389, ML, book 84, c. 373v–374; book 86, c. 182–182v, 594–596; book 91, c. 104; book 96, c. 60v–61v.

49 Ibidem, book 96, c. 60–61; book 111, c. 28. Testament K. Kirszenszteina LVIA, file 389, ML, book 107, c. 293v–295v. S. Viskantaitė-Saviščenė, *Šemetų genealogija XV–XVI amžiuje*, "Lietuvos Istorijos Studijos" 2004, no. 14, p. 31–49; J. Wiśniewski, *Pac Jan in Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 24/4, no. 103, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1979, p. 698–699.

50 Provincial Archives Bernardine in Krakow, M-25, c. 295.

51 LVIA, file 389, ML, book 115, c. 317v.

52 Ibidem, book 107, c. 291v–292; T. Wasilewski, *Kryszpin-Kirszensztein Hieronim in Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 15/4, no. 67, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1970, p. 497–498.

Generally speaking, it can be concluded that the newcomers from Prussia, after settling in Samogitia, did not bring their immediate family here, they connected their fate with the new country and they all converted to Catholicism, although the memory of their fatherland was still present in the second generation. Due to their own wealth (Anna Pac's dowry amounted to twenty thousand zlotys⁵³), Kirszenszteins managed to create a marriage relations with the political elite of the GDL. There is no accurate information about the family of Kirszensztein's progenitor, but we can say that the Hieronim's family was relatively small (three children). Husbands in the families of Schlichting and Brandt died early and, as often was the case, widows (in this case, Brandt's widow) got married for the second time.

While discussing the newcomers from Moscow and their strategies for creating families, it must be emphasised that most of them had a separate status. They are called "boyar sons," "filii boiarum," "moskvitin" in the Lithuanian Metrics. The practice of the great princes was established, which involved giving them properties for "feeding," for "live head" or until their native properties in Russia are regained. The naturalisation was a long process, because the Moskals were holding properties only temporarily. Sources usually do not mentioned anything about their marital relations,⁵⁴ but it is possible to distinguish two Russian families, which can be classified as international – Gołowin (Hołowin) and Bunak.

The Kafian Gołowinowie family, who came from Moscow, gained the greatest recognition. In the privilege of the Grand Duke Stefan Batory of 1585, it was emphasized that Michał Iwanowicz Gołowin "s podnatiem trudnosti, i nebezpiecznosti mnogich, z utratoju maetnosti svoee [...] z zemli zagranicznoje moskovskoe do nas gospodaria uziavyszsia." He and his unnamed spouse received the Purwe voytship (Purviai – over twenty-five voloks of land) in the Małe Dyrwiany estate "up to two lifetimes."⁵⁵ There is an anecdotal event that indicates his relatively high status. In 1587, Gołowin went to the electoral sejm in Warsaw and got two servants for this purpose, who were also Russians – Bogdan and Ivan Bunak. Gołowin pledged to pay them thirty threescore of grosz as remuneration, as well as buy fur and material for clothing for Bogdan and his servant. However, when Gołowin got ill in Warsaw, the Bunaks went

⁵³ LVIA, file 389, ML, book 111, c. 292v.

⁵⁴ R.R. Trimonienė, *Konfesinės problemos Žemaitijoje: stačiatikių XVI a. II pusėje...*, p. 1–13.

⁵⁵ LVIA, file 389, ML, book 70, c. 210; book 77, c. 506v–507v.

to serve his enemy Malcher Szemeta.⁵⁶ Michał Gołowin's wife was Teodora (Fiodora) Łukaszowna Żdanowna. The origin of Żdanowie (Zdanowiczowie) is unclear. According to Grzegorz Błaszczyk, they could be Polish, Russian or Belarusian descent,⁵⁷ however the daughter's name points rather to Russian origin. We know that Łukasz was married to Zuzanna Bilewiczówna, who was a daughter of *tivunus* of Dyrwian and Berżan – Jan Stankiewicz.⁵⁸ With the protection of Jan Chodkiewicz, at the end of 1568, Łukasz received properties (eight *voloks*) in the pawadeński poviats and he also had Mieżyricze properties in the widuklewski powiat.⁵⁹ As a bride token, Łukasz left his wife 700 threescore of *grosz*, Mieżyricze and Widukle, and from her mother Zuzanna, Teodora received Pawandene and Anuszyszki.⁶⁰ Thus, Gołowin was related not only to Żdan, but also representatives of Samogitian elite – Bilewicz family. According to Vacys Vaivada, Jan Bilewicz's favour towards Protestantism (his connections with the Prussian Prince Albrecht)⁶¹ can be seen. This can also be explained by a marriage with the Orthodox – Żdan and Gołowin. After the death of her husband on 8 March 1599, Teodora Gołowin inherited the properties and the children were still underage:⁶² we know about Constantine, who according to the census of 1621 had Widukle estate and about the Calvary Captain Stefan from Poniewieżyk and Powanden.⁶³ There were also two daughters: Regina – wife of a landowner of the Kaunas Poviat, Jerzy Wandziagolski, and Ewa – wife of Teodor Szostowicki. Teodora Gołowina was still alive in 1629 and had a second husband, the Samogitian land judge Jan Młeczek.⁶⁴ Stefan Gołowin was married to Krystyna Bilewicz. She could be a daughter of Adam Bilewicz and Jadwiga Białozar (she can also be of Russian origin, but in XVI century they already had properties in Samogitia).⁶⁵ The most is known about Ewa Gołowianka Szostowicka, because even her will and the will of her

56 VUB, *ŽŹTAK*, 1589, no. 427, 429, cl. 329, 332–332v.

57 G. Błaszczyk, op. cit., vol. 6, p. 373.

58 E. Savišcevas, *Žemaitijos savivalda ir valdžios elitais 1409–1566 metais*, Vilnius 2010, p. 303.

59 Ibidem, p. 374; G. Błaszczyk, op. cit., vol. 6, p. 373.

60 VUB, *ŽŹTAK*, 1629, 51/72/14646, no. 279, c. 553v.

61 V. Vaivada, *Katalikų Bažnyčia ir Reformacija Žemaitijoje XVI a.: esminiai raidos bruožai*, Klaipėda 2004, p. 19.

62 LVIA, file 389, ML, book 86, c. 13–13v.

63 G. Błaszczyk, op. cit., vol. 6, p. 373.

64 VUB, *ŽŹTAK*, 1629, 51/72/14646, no. 279, c. 553.

65 Ibidem, no. 204, c. 523–524; no. 388, c. 766–766v; E. Savišcevas, *Žemaitijos savivalda ir valdžios elitais 1409–1566 metais...*, p. 302; G. Błaszczyk, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 148.

husband are preserved. The origin of Szostowiccy family is unclear, however the anthroponymy is Russian. In the military census of 1621, it was noted that Teodor Szostowicki exhibited two horses in the Telszewski powiat, so he was quite wealthy person.⁶⁶ As a bride token to his second wife – Ewa (the first one was Regina Grodzicka), he gave three thousand Polish zlotys. According to the Lithuanian statutes, the bride token had to equal the dowry, but could not account for more than a third of the husband's wealth.⁶⁷ On 3 October 1622, Teodor Szostowicki wrote a will before the expedition to Livonia against the Swedes. He left his wife Ewa with little children: daughters “Rasia and Marusia,” sons “Jasieczek and Andrus” and older son Michał.⁶⁸ Although, according to his last will, Teodor was supposed to be buried in the Bernardine monastery and church in Kretinga, he was buried in Varniai in the St. Peter church, where his wife was also buried somewhat later. A few years later, after her husband's death (around 1626), on 25 August 1629 in Lubiai (gruscieńska estate), Ewa who was “affected by severe disease” wrote her will. She listed her children: sons Jan, Andrzej and Michał, daughters – the oldest Regina, Mariana and the youngest Halenia. In her will, just like their father earlier, she calls them kindly using diminutive forms – Halenka, Halesia. Ewa also mentions her great court; two girls Jadwiga and Magreta, who makes “free for eternal times,” a girl called Dasiulka – “free from court services,” a servant (administrator) Jan Burnicki, who is supposed to “serve by watching over the household and take care of the children,” Maryna, “podieczka” Łukasz Drabaicz, a cook Adam, a girl Zybalka and a servant Mikołaj. Very close relations with the courtiers can be concluded from that. On 11 September of the same year, the executors of the will – Samogitian bishop Abraham Wojna, Jan Sebastian Kiesztort and Ewa's brother Stefan Hołowin sent people to check the properties of the deceased. Ewa's words were recorded, when, before her death, they asked where the mug was: “who needs to know, where it is, there it is.”

The quoted story proves that Gołowin family naturalised themselves (this process was accelerated by family ties with the Bilewicz family), and their second generation consisted of Catholics or Uniates, who spoke Polish. Emergence of new family ties resulted in the possibility to strengthen social status. Members of the Gołowin family got married to representatives of quite

⁶⁶ G. Błaszczyk, op. cit., vol. 5, p. 523.

⁶⁷ V. Andriulis, op. cit., p. 104–105.

⁶⁸ VUB, ŽŪTAK, 1630–1639, 52, 73/14647, no. 252, c. 484–487.

affluent families in Samogitia, although also Russian origins can often be traced. Therefore, the above-mentioned review of the history of the Gołowin family may be the basis for claiming that there were so many family lines shaped (gathering properties in Samogitia) as many sons in the family. The family was quite large, on average the number of children was 4.2. The wills demonstrated that they can be defined as nuclear small families. Teodor Szostowicki recalls that only one unmarried sister Hanna lived with them (husband, wife, children) – “the skinny one was left for me to take care of her.” The wives of Gołowin family are often mentioned in the documents. Purchas operations, pledging and other operations were performed by them along with the husbands, so partly it was a joint economic activity. There is no information that any relations were maintained with relatives from their fatherland (Russia).

The Bunak family was not as rich and powerful as the Gołowin family. They came from Russia, from where the three brothers – Bogdan, Wasyl and Iwan fled during the Livonian War. They were courtiers and they served in Lithuania. At first, they received properties in Livonia, but in the years 1578–1579, as compensation for the occupied lands, they got properties in Berżańska, Twerska, Wieszwiańska and Małe Dyrwiany estate. Wasyl got 14 voloks of land, Iwan – 10, Bogdan – 22.⁶⁹ Wasyl’s wife was Hanna Krzysztofowna,⁷⁰ Iwan’s – Rajina Ławrynowna. Iwan Bunakov had two sons: Iwan and David.⁷¹ Bogdan (died before 1616) had 2 sons: Fyodor (in sources mentioned from 1596), Jarosz and a daughter Krystyna Anna.⁷²

Fyodor was married to Sofia Andrejewna Borowska. Progenitor of the Borowscy family in Samogitia was prince Jerzy Borowski (died in 1567), from 1554 – korszewski tivunus. Saviščevas thinks that Borowski family could come from Podlasie. They were Catholics already at the end of XVI century and they founded an altar in the kroźski church.⁷³ They could also come from Iwan Daniłowicz Kalita, the Grand Duke of Moscow and Helena Ołgierdowna,

69 R.R. Trimonienė, *Konfesinės problemos Žemaitijoje: stačiatikiai XVI a. II pusėje...*, p. 5, 9–10; G. Błaszcyk, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 303–304.

70 G. Błaszcyk, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 303.

71 *Опись документовъ Виленскаго Центральнаго архива древнихъ актовыхъ книгъ* [Opis dokumentov vilenskago centralnago archiva drevnich aktowych knyg], Вильна 1901, no. 367.

72 LVIA, file 389, ML, book 83, c. 91v; VUB, ŽŹTAK, 1605, 52/14626, no. 106, c. 210–210v; 1629, 51/72/14646, no. 40, c. 81–81v.

73 E. Saviščevas, *Žemaitijos savivalda ir valdžios elitais 1409–1566 metais...*, p. 306–307.

a Lithuanian princess, and they could be Lutherans.⁷⁴ His son Andrzej married Rajna Miciutanka. Fiodor and Borowska had 6 children: sons Jan, Rafał, Mikołaj and daughters Barbara, Zofia, Helena. It should be noted that the names of children are not Orthodox, but Catholic or Protestant. In 1626, Fiodor's children owned the village of Siaurimaičiai (near Šiauliai), just like their father and their grandfather. However, the family of Fiodor's sister also claimed their right to this village. Krystyna Anna was the wife of Stanisław Sawicz. In 1620, their son Bartłomiej also got the right to the village. This demonstrates that there was a joint possession of wealth and family.

Jarosz Bunak was married to Helena, a daughter of Jan Syrewicz (died in 1603), whose father Mikołaj was a *tivunus* during 1545–1550, and Hanna Mateewna.⁷⁵ It is unknown what properties they had, but Jarosz was a witness to the purchase of szawelska estate,⁷⁶ so this is another example of joint possession.

It was possible to find information only about one son of Vasyl Bunak – Sebastian, who had a wife Hanna Życka, who owned the village of Użwedra and Sztokmiany in Małe Dyrwiany.⁷⁷ The Życki family probably came from Poland. Jakub Życki was a servant at Chodkiewicz and Patumsz *tivunus* in 1564.⁷⁸

The family was not rich, thus surprising are marriages in the second generation with the daughters of local elite (both with Samogitian women and with representatives of Russian and Polish origin). This is how the Bunak family could integrate with the local society. Relatively poor households created conditions for joint family possession and a large family (Bogdan's children).

CONCLUSIONS

In this work, the “international family” is understood according to the systematic definition, when properties, family network and cultural orientation cover the fatherland, as well as new place of residence (place of permanent or temporary immigration). In the context of mesomigration scale, particularly

⁷⁴ A. Boniecki, *Poczet rodów w Wielkiem Księstwie Litewskim w XV i XVI wieku*, Warszawa 1887, p. 15; R.R. Trimoniene, *Konfesinés problemos Žemaitijoje: stačiatikiai XVI a. II pusėje...*, p. 9; G. Błaszcyk, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 251–252.

⁷⁵ E. Saviščevas, *Žemaitijos savivalda ir valdžios elitais 1409–1566 metais...*, p. 204, 342–343; VUB, ŽŹTAK, 1605, 52/14626, c. 263–264; 1618, 63/14637, c. 299v.

⁷⁶ VUB, ŽŹTAK, 1624, 69/14643, no. 157, c. 295.

⁷⁷ VUB, ŽŹTAK, 1629, 51/72/14646, no. 181, c. 354–355; G. Błaszcyk, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 304.

⁷⁸ E. Saviščevas, *Žemaitijos savivalda ir valdžios elitais 1409–1566 metais...*, p. 289, 359.

in the regional framework, the education, possession of land, work and family have a significant impact on the assimilation with the new community.

Most newcomers from Livonia and Courland were war servicemen. The magnates usually had their permanent residences in their fatherland. The properties in Samogitia never (until the mid-seventeenth century) became family residences. Two family strategies and cultural orientations can be distinguished: 1) representatives of such families as Korff, Taube, and Denhoff married only the daughters of Livonian nationals, they were evangelicals and there are no indications that they were polonized in the discussed period; 2) Szwierinowie distinguished themselves among others in terms of good education. Their wives from the first marriage were of various origins (from Prussia, from Poland). Deeper integration with the local community can be seen: Polish identity, Catholic faith, relations with the local cultural elite, etc.

Prussians were permanent residents of the GDL, while Brandt and Kirszenstein families were “new noblemen.” Their marriages were mixed (with Samogitian women or women from the GDL and Poland) and their identity was also mixed – Prussian, Polish and even Samogitian. They became Catholics as soon as the seventeenth century.

Initially, the Russian Gołowin and Bunak families had a lower social status, while their male members were called “boyar sons.” However, they also naturalised themselves. Marriages with representatives of Russian and Samogitian families, who often belonged to the local elite, allowed them to gain a better status and acculturation (transition to Catholicism, polonization).

Sources are not precise enough to allow for the determination of duration of the marriages. Studies has shown that two wives were the most common. Due to the fact that the family structure was constantly renewed depending on the life cycle of its members, it is only possible to discuss adult progeny. Most commonly, the studied families had an average of three, four children. In the second half of XVI century and first half of XVII century, a nuclear family was dominating and only the poor households of Bunak family created conditions for the preservation of joint possession and large family.

Difficulties in the scope of obtaining reliable information concerning the policy of wealth succession between the sons mainly result from the lack of completeness of the source base for this period (it is not clear who is the oldest or the youngest son, etc.). Despite the fact that usually the properties in Samogitia were inherited by all sons, there is also a visible policy of concentration of the land properties in the hands of one son.

SUMMARY

AN INTERNATIONAL NOBLE FAMILY IN THE GRAND DUCHY OF LITHUANIA IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 16TH AND EARLY 17TH CENTURY

Until now, many studies have been made that address issues related to family history, especially when it comes to nobles or lower social strata (townsmen, peasants), living mostly in the area of the Crown. In a small degree, the study covered the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (GDL). A such situation encourages us to look at some problems of the history of the noble family in the GDL, mainly in Samogitia. The Principality of Samogitia is one of the most distinctive in terms of the administrative and cultural areas of the GDL, whose society has been in a long certain isolation. The object of the study is an international noble family [marriages between Samogitians (Lithuanians) and Germans from Livonia and Prussia, Russians, who came to the GDL]. The basis for investigations is a set of sources, such as the Lithuanian Metrics, court books, various property documents, and literature of the 16th–17th century. The investigation of the international family allows us to look again at marital strategies, family bonds within several generations, the dynamics of changes in the family structure (the concept of small and large family), crossing national and territorial boundaries, shaping the form of communication, identification problems with a linear family, surname, central figure of the family, political and national affiliation, ethnic loyalty or acculturation. In addition, research data shows the dominance of chain migration, which involves the settlement of a number of family members (brothers and other relatives) in the same area. The microanalysis method allows to show the real image of the family (examples of middle and small nobility), family practices that are developing, property circulation (incoming family members and natives), as well as the integration of separate people into the local society.

Two family strategies and cultural orientations can be distinguished: 1) the majority of representatives of families from Livonia married only among themselves. In this period we can not see any evidences of their polonization; 2) as far as representatives of the families from Prussia, Russia are concerned, there is a deeper integration with the local community: Polish identity, Catholic faith, relations with the local cultural elite, etc.

Keywords: the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, an international noble family, families from Prussia in Samogitia, families from Russia in Samogitia, identity

DOI 10.24917/9788380842717.3

Some remarks from a completely different world. Could (female) patronage take place in the Dutch Republic?

Such phenomena as patronage, clientelism, philanthropy or sponsorship, although on the surface may seem universal and obvious, they function in strictly defined historical, religious, economic and regional contexts. The question, which is put forward in the title, regarding the presence of (widely understood) patronage in the Republic requires a brief outline of the social and cultural context. I will carry out this in a less typical way, namely by recalling three *case studies*, i.e. three biographies of Dutch seventeenth-century women. In 1621, in the small Geldrian town of Buren, in a family of destitute Mennonite glazier – Dirck Hendrickszoon van Griethuysen and Anna Osch, the ninth and last child was born, daughter Sibylle (il. 1).¹ Little is known about her childhood and early youth, however it is suspected that her parents had to put emphasis on her education, because when she was twenty-something years old, she was fluent in Latin, French and Spanish. In a collection of poetry published in 1651, *Hemelse troost-borne* (Heavenly Consolation), Van Griethuysen emphasised that as a young girl, she made a decision by herself to give up the mennonitism and convert to the reformed evangelicalism; moreover, she treated this

¹ Biography of Sibylle van Griethuysen as in: H. Stamperius, *Sibylle van Griethuysen*, “Chrysalis” 1980, no. 6, p. 30–33; H. Heesen, H. Jansen, *Sibylle van Griethuysen. Een pittige tante* in H. Heesen, H. Jansen, *Pen in ruste. Schrijversgraven in Midden-Nederland*, Baarn 2001, p. 81–83; A. de Jeu, *Sibylle van Griethuysen (1621–1699). Een dichteres in Groningse en Friese kringen*, “Historisch Jaarboek Groningen” 2002, p. 73–84; *1001 Vrouwen uit de Nederlandse Geschiedenis*, compiled by E. Kloek, Nijmegen 2013, p. 386–387.

conversion as a proof of her life independence and intellectual independence. In 1638, she married a village pharmacist assistant from Frisia, Upke Harmen Wytzema and lived with him in the village of Kollum near Appingedam. When Upke was promoted, the couple moved to Appingedam (where their first daughter Anna Maria was born in 1648), and then to Groningen, the largest city of the province (their second daughter Haebeltien was born there). Around 1662, after the death of her husband, Sibylle sold the house in Groningen and returned to her home town of Buren, where she purchased a real estate. In 1674, at the age of fifty-three, she got married again, this time to a wealthy and influential brewer, Reynier Cornelis Groenevelt from Veenendaal in the province of Utrecht. In 1691, Sybille became widowed again, and two years later she decided to sell her house in Buren. She died in 1699, at seventy-eight years old, and she was buried next to her second husband.



Il. 1. Jacob van Meurs, *Portret Sibylle van Griethuysen*, figure according to the painting by Theodor Faber, 1651. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. Source: public domain

Van Griethuysen debuted at the age of twenty-four by publishing a collection of poems entitled *In rym gestelde claeg-liederen Jeremiae* (Sorrowful songs of Jeremiah in the rhymes, 1645). In the introduction, she explained why as a young woman she dares to speak about matters concerning faith – this book is addressed to young people and not to theologians. Also, the author did not forget about the acknowledgments for friends, pastors and mayors of neighbouring towns, who encouraged her poetic intentions. In the next volume, *Spreekende schildery* (Painting that speaks, 1646), written in collaboration with a friendly preacher, Sibrandus Eydelshemius from Appingedam, the poet decided to explain that although she writes a lot, her household is not in any way affected due to this reasons. However, this time the publication ended in a scandal. One of the poems, concerning *nota bene* hypocrisy in the church, was considered a criticism of the local pastor, which resulted in exclusions of Sibylle and her husband from the religious commune for some time.

However, first and foremost, Van Griethuysen was the author of occasional poems published in collective volumes. She also had a high position in the literary world of the Republic. She corresponded with the most important contemporary writers – Constantijn Huyghens and Jan Vos. Moreover, she maintained close relations with male and female representatives of the local artistic community, i.e. male poets: Johan van Nyenborg and Joan Blasius, as well as woman poets: Eelckje van Bouricius and Sibylle van Jongestall. She was called “muse from Ommelanden” and “Sappho from Appingedam.” There is no indication that the daughter of a provincial glazier and the wife of a small-town pharmacist had any patrons. She probably received the usual remuneration and evidence of gratitude for her occasional poems, however this was not an “organised care,” e.g. similar to the one received by Zbigniew Morsztyn from Radziwiłł family. In the poem opening the *Spreekende schildery*, the author thanked the noble family of Ripperd from Farmsum for making it possible for her to get acquainted with the literature, however it was very likely applying to the use of their home library, and not to any material support. In the next sentence, van Griethuysen thanked the great scientist Anna Maria van Schurman, who drew her attention to the role and separateness of women poetry.

If we were to try hypothetically and completely phantasmagorically “translate” the biography of Sibylle van Griethuysen into the social realities of the former Republic of Poland, we would deal with Sońska Małgoszczanek, the ninth child of a poor Orthodox craftsman from Podhorce, who in the middle of the seventeenth century, as a result of reading and her own thoughts, converted

to Catholicism, then she married a feldscher from Brzesko, and then became an important and valued figure in the (presumed) vibrant literary and artistic environment of Tarnów. Finally, she published three volumes of poetry, she knew several foreign languages and corresponded with Waclaw Potocki and Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski, who dedicated their poems to her. After becoming a widow, Sońka married a wealthy nobleman from Radom and for the rest of her life she also managed the accumulated wealth on her own, including several properties. The above cultural “translation” of the Dutch poet’s biography is only a fun game of a historian, however it demonstrates the absolute incompatibility of contemporary Polish and Dutch realities. One could also ask, what is the opportunity of getting an artistic career today by a child from a large family of bricklayer from Dukla, and even if – at what cost?

Another case consists of the story of a certain Isabella de Moerloose² (around 1660 – after 1712), born in Ghent, who is an author of fascinating autobiography with a weird title *Vrede tractaet, gegeven van den hemel door vrouwen zaet* (Peace treaty given from heaven by the female seed, 1695). Her childhood was difficult, mainly because of her mentally unstable mother, who beat her and considered her being possessed by the devil. As a young, independently thinking girl, Isabella got into amateurish theological disputes with local priests, in which she presented her own, quite naive interpretations of the Bible. In order to avoid the accusations of heresy, she fled to the Republic, where she became a Calvinist, although she was also attracted by mennonitism and labadism. She lived in several towns and she had many jobs: she was a babysitter and she also opened a cotton shop. She married a predikant, however her husband died very quickly. Unorthodox religious beliefs and eccentric behaviours very often caused her trouble: she was tried several times before the court, she was convicted to a house of correction, and then to a stay in a mental hospital. Her autobiography, an interesting record of the experiences of a woman who was not afraid to speak out loud unpopular things, was published with the use of her own money.

The biographies of Van Griethuysen and de Moerloose are not exceptional in any respect. In the seventeenth and eighteenth century, about a hundred woman writers were active in the Republic, who mainly originated from the bourgeois

² Biography as in *1001 Vrouwen uit de Nederlandse Geschiedenis...*, p. 521–523. It is not known what actually was her last name, because there is an annotation on the title page of the volume “beschreven door Isabella, de Moederloose Weduwe” – written by Isabella, Motherless widow. The historians believe that this may be a distorted form of De Moerloose last name, which was popular during that time in the South.

class (and even peasant class) and who did not have to count on the institution of artistic patronage, both female and male.³ They found publishers who printed their works, published them in anthologies that were popular at that time, or published books using their own money or with the help of family and friends. Woman writers and poets often spoke on political, social and religious issues, as well as undertook literary polemics. The most important seventeenth-century woman authors included: sisters Anna and Maria Tesselschade Visscher, “Minerva from Utrecht” – famous scholar Anna Maria van Schurman, Maria Strick, Johanna Coomans, Judith Lubbertsdr. Esiens, Johanna Hoobius, Maria Heyns, Elisabeth Vervoorn, Catharina Verwers, Eelckje van Bourcius, Meynarda Verboom, Goudina van Weert, Margaretha van Godewijck, Alida Bruno, Maria van der Deliën, Catharina Questiers, Sara Nevius, Agneta Colvius, Cornelia van der Veer, Anna Morian, Geertruijt van Halmael, Margaretha Mels, Geertruit Gordon, Katharina Lescailje, Titia Brongersma, Elizabet Hartloop, Henrica van Hoolwerff and Helena Smunnincx. In the eighteenth century, the number of writing women will increase significantly.

Also, it is necessary to remember that it is a tiny country, which is the size of about forty thousand square kilometres, i.e. corresponding to the size of the former Wołyń Voivodeship. For comparison, in the Republic of Poland, which was twenty-two times larger, only about fifty known woman writers were active during that time.⁴ Most of them were noblewomen – while the less affluent ones had to use magnate protection. A large part of woman authors wrote “for the drawer,” not intending to publish their works, and therefore their works were dominated by personal topics.

The third Dutch example will be a painter – Judith Jans Leyster from Haarlem (1609–1660), the eighth child of a local brewer and tailor.⁵ Most probably, she undertook professional painting after the bankruptcy of her father’s company, wanting to support her family financially, and she gained

³ See *Met en zonder lauwerkrans. Schrijvende vrouwen uit de vroegmoderne tijd 1550–1850*, ed. M.A. Schenkeveld van der Dussen et al., Amsterdam 1997; *Women’s Writing from the Low Countries: 1200–1875. A Bilingual Anthology*, ed. L. van Gemert et al., Amsterdam 2010.

⁴ K. Stasiewicz, *Zmysłowa i elokwentna prowincjuszka na staropolskim Parnasie. Rzecz o Drużbackiej i nie tylko...*, Olsztyn 2001, *passim*. Cf. J. Partyka, „Zona wyćwiczona”. *Kobieta pisząca w kulturze XVI i XVII wieku*, Warszawa 2004, p. 9–29.

⁵ See e.g. E. Kloek, *The Case of Judith Leyster: Exception or Paradigm? in Judith Leyster. A Dutch Master and Her World* [exhibition catalogue of the Frans Hals Museum in Haarlem and Worcester Art Museum in New Haven], ed. P. Biesboer, J.A. Welu, New Haven 1993, p. 55–68.

her professional skills in the workshop of Frans Pieterszoon de Grebber or Frans Hals. In 1633, at the age of 24, Leyster was registered as a master in the Haarlem guild of St. Luke's painters, and then accepted students for education. When one of them was seized by Frans Hals, Leyster filed a lawsuit against him, which was mainly resolved in her favour. In 1636, she married Jan Miense Molenaar from Haarlem, who was a painter specialising in similar topics as her, i.e. genre scenes and portraits. In the search of a better market for their works, the married couple moved to Amsterdam for eleven years. She gave birth to five children, but only two of them survived.

While talking about seventeenth-century Dutch painting, we must also take into account its economic and social dimension. The disappearance of the Catholic church sponsorship resulted in reorientation of the creators to an almost mass production, adapted to the needs and tastes of the free art market, which emerged in the Republic, and thus – an unprecedented increase in painting activity and increase in the number of painters-craftsmen. The number of paintings created in the Netherlands in the years 1580–1720 is cautiously estimated at a minimum of five million.⁶ In the middle of the seventeenth century, approximately 650–750 man and woman painters worked in the Republic, who created a total of 63 000–70 000 works per year.

Leyster was active in the early-capitalist art market, for which the categories of creators and buyers were essential, rather than patrons/sponsors and artists dependent on it. Therefore, she created in completely different realities than Sofonisba Anguissola, who was a protégé of the Spanish Queen Elizabeth de Valois, or Artemisia Gentileschi, who painted for the Medici or Charles I. Of course, there were also situations occurring in the Republic that deviated from this model, *vide* the relationship between Johannes Vermeer and Pieter Claeszoon van Ruijven, who was a rich citizen of Delft and supported Vermeer, as well as lent him money and bought twenty paintings created by this artist – however, such cases were only exceptions.

In the seventeenth-century and eighteenth-century Republic, there were about eighty professional woman artists – painters, cartoonists and engravers (not counting many amateurs originating from all social classes, e.g. from

⁶ J.M. Montias, *Estimates of the Number of Dutch Master-Paintings, Their Earnings and Their Output in 1650*, "Leidschrift" 1990, no. 6, p. 70; A. van der Woude, *Schilderijenproductie in Holland tijdens de Republiek. Een poging tot kwantificatie in Kunstzaken. Particulier initiatief en overheidsbeleid in de wereld van de beeldende Kunst*, ed. J.C. Dagevos et al., Kampen 1991, p. 286–297; A. Ziemba, *Nowe dzieci Izraela*, Warszawa 2000, p. 59–60.

domestic service circles). The following figures should be mentioned: Maria de Grebber, Sara van Baalbergen, Gerritje Jans, Geertruit van Veen, Anna Snellings, Sara Vrooms, Margaretha van Godewijk, Marie Schalcken, Gesina ter Borch, Maria van Oosterwijck, Rachel Ruysch, Suzanna Gaspoel, Clara Peeters, Magdalene van de Passe or Geertruid Roghman.⁷

The Old-Polish “art market” was undoubtedly ruled by the principle of sponsorship (the only exception consisted of the artistic centres of Royal Prussia) and there was no place for women there. Of course, a separate case was the domain of “feminine” handicrafts, such as embroidery, but the names of most former artists are unknown (few exceptions include: Anna Jagiellonka and two Calvinist noblewomen – Katarzyna Oborska from Obór and Anna Rusocka Orzechowska, whose signed works can be found in the National Museum in Warsaw to this day⁸). A special case is the figure of Wojciech Skwarski/Wojciecha Skwarska (?) from Poznań, who is mentioned 1561 in Kazimierz’s court files as expert in “embroidery.” However, the determination of a gender of this person is beyond any simple criteria.⁹

The woman painters noted in XVI and XVII century in the Republic of Poland can be counted on the fingers of one hand. In the sixteenth-century Cracow, Dorota Baczkowska was an active artist, who was recorded in Soviet files in 1538 and who most likely was a wife or a daughter of the painter Mathias Baczkowski.¹⁰ In Gdansk, the art of painting was amateurishly practiced (among others) by a multi-talented patrician Constantia Zirenberg,¹¹ while Zofia Borawińska, who was a portrait miniature artist, worked in the monastery in Staniątki.¹² An unspecified painter Barbara appears in the Lviv

7 Overview of Dutch seventeen-century woman painters is provided by E. Kloek, op. cit., p. 62–66. Also, see *Vrouwen en kunst in de Republiek. Een overzicht*, ed. E. Kloek, C. Peters Sengers, E. Tobé, Utrecht–Hilversum 1998.

8 A. Morawińska, *Artystki polskie* in *Artystki polskie* [exhibition catalogue in the National Museum in Warsaw], Warszawa 1991, p. 9, 15.

9 See T. Nastulczyk, P. Oczko, *Homoseksualność staropolska. Przyczynek do badań*, Kraków 2012, p. 138–144.

10 E. Rastawiecki, *Słownik malarzy polskich tudzież obcych w Polsce osiadłych lub czasowo w niej przebywających*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1850, p. 47; J.I. Kraszewski, *Ikonotheka. Zbiór notat o sztuce i artystach w Polsce*, Wilno 1858, p. 71.

11 M. Bogucka, *Białogłowa w dawnej Polsce. Kobieta w społeczeństwie polskim XVI–XVIII wieku na tle porównawczym*, Warszawa 1998, p. 193.

12 A. Morawińska, op. cit., p. 9.

sources from 1611.¹³ In the first half of the seventeenth century, we finally come across an artist in Cracow about whom we know something more. This artist is Agnieszka Piotrkowczyk, a daughter of well-known Cracow printer, Andrzej Piotrkowczyk Starszy (1550–1620), and the first wife of Tommas Dolabella. However, her only identified work was a victim of the conservatory “anti-women iconoclasm.” According to Agnieszka Morawińska:

The image *Funeral Mass*, which is located in the National Museum in Cracow, was marked on the double canvas in the following manner: *Agnies Piotrkowczyk pinxit Dolabella Thomas Cracoviensis direxit*. This only material recording of her authorship – possibly secondary – published by Zygmunt Batowski, was eliminated during preservation works carried out on the painting, and these conservation works were not amateurish, but performed in museum conditions.¹⁴

Seven paintings for the Dominican monastery in Cracow were supposed to be painted by the daughters of Dolabella.¹⁵ Unfortunately, research on the works of the first Polish woman painters is still *in statu nascendi*, while modern scholars invariably invoke nineteenth-century (unverified) studies.¹⁶ The above summary presents a model of woman artists – “helpers of the second plan,” working in the workshops of their husbands or fathers. They in turn relied on orders originating from the monarch’s court, nobility or church. This situation will change only in the eighteenth century, when the basic knowledge of drawing and painting (especially the pastel techniques) will be considered an indispensable “feminine talent,” increasing the chances of a good marriage.¹⁷

In many respects, the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic was different from the rest of European countries. It was an early-capitalist state,

¹³ Z. Batowski, *Malarki Stanisława Augusta*, Wrocław 1951, p. 2.

¹⁴ A. Morawińska, op. cit., p. 15. Cf. Z. Batowski, op. cit., p. 2–3. The National Museum in Cracow states that the painting was created in the workshop of Tomass Dolabella, ignoring the issue of possible authorship by his Polish wife: kultura.malopolska.pl/results/-/results/o#results [access: 10.10.2018].

¹⁵ E. Rastawiecki, op. cit., p. 45. Cf. A. Kowalczykova, *Zniewolenie i ślady buntu – czyli autoportrety kobiet: od Claricii do Olgi Boznańskiej*, “Pamiętnik Literacki” 2006, vol. 97/1, p. 141–158.

¹⁶ Many new discoveries could probably draw attention to the monastery collections, which are also not studied to a satisfactory degree.

¹⁷ A. Morawińska, op. cit., p. 9–10.

decentralised, colonial, wealthy (though strongly polarised in terms of income inequality), strongly urbanised (almost half of the citizens lived in cities in 1675), focused on international trade, as well as industrial, specialised production of products intended for export. Also, it had a professional publishing and bookstore market, which provided its services to the countries of Europe and Levant, as well as modern agriculture.¹⁸ The social structure of this state also had no precedent and the influence of church authorities on the lives of citizens was small, the nobility played a marginal role, while the aristocracy was practically non-existent.¹⁹ The level of education was also high. In the mid-seventeenth century in Amsterdam, more than fifty percent of women and over seventy percent of men knew how to place their signature on documents. Moreover, they were not the representatives of elites; quite neat and well-performed signatures were used by woman servants, washers, herring sellers, porters, coachmen and garbage collectors.²⁰ Significantly more people were able to read. Such separateness and degree of civilisation advancement of the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic makes this country often associated by historians more with the nineteenth century, than with the threshold of modernity. It looks like a vanguard of this modernity, a place of creation of the precursory solutions regarding statehood, economy and social life. There is a reason why the researchers believe that “the Netherlands was not like the other European countries.”²¹

18 See e.g. J. de Vries, A. van der Woude, *The First Modern Economy: Success, Failure, and Perseverance in the Dutch Economy, 1500–1815*, Cambridge 1997; Ch. Hampden-Turner, F. Trompenaars, *Siedem kultur kapitalizmu*, transl. E. Gostyńska, Warszawa 1998, p. 236–262; Cf. J. de Vries, *The Dutch Rural Economy in the Golden Age, 1500–1700*, New Haven–London 1974, p. 35–36.

19 In the XVI century, only 12 families in the entire country could be included into this social class; in the XVIII century, their number decreased to only seven, while their territorial holdings were small and covered less than one percent of the entire country's area. Cf. H. van Nierop, *The Nobility of Holland: From Knights to Regents, 1500–1650*, Cambridge 1993, *passim*.

20 In the last decade of the XVIII century, the literacy of the Dutch people will increase considerably and will cover 68 percent of women and 84 percent of men in the entire population. See M. Carlson, *A Trojan Horse of Worldliness? Maidservants in the Burgher Household in Rotterdam at the End of the Seventeenth Century* in *Women of the Golden Age. An International Debate on Women in the Seventeenth-century Holland, England and Italy*, ed. E. Kloek, N. Teeuwen, M. Huisman, Hilversum 1994, p. 92.

21 A. Goldgar, *Tulipmania: Money, Honor, and Knowledge in the Dutch Golden Age*, Chicago–London 2007, p. 7. Cf. *Public Opinion and Changing Identities in the Early Modern Netherlands. Essays in Honour of Alastair Duke*, ed. J. Pollmann, A. Spicer, Studies in Medieval and Reformation Traditions, vol. 121, Leiden 2006. In the scope of Republic's separateness, see P. Oczko,

The separateness of the Dutch Republic also applied to the situation of women, who enjoyed unique level of emancipation, which was unprecedented in Europe at that time. Women could fulfil themselves not only as housewives, but also professionally, taking active part in the undertakings of their husbands, merchants and craftsmen, making their trade trips on their own or (in the case of becoming a widow) running family businesses. Widows freely disposed of inherited wealth (legislation continued the former *Lex Salica*), and some of them exhibited a financial genius. The Dutch guild archives also recorded many last names of women – independent members of the guilds who conducted craft workshops or who were engaged in trade.²² The midwives enjoyed great social respect, while their detailed records concerning the births and family life, kept sometimes for over several decades, constitute an invaluable source for historians.²³ Urban girls were educated in the so-called French schools, while the young peasants could count on free state education – elementary school operated in almost every village. However, it is necessary to remember that multitudes of women from the lowest social classes (from the so-called *het grauw*), who did not get married, performed the poorly paid work of seamstresses, spinners, washers and servants, and from poverty such women often entered the path of prostitution.²⁴

Representatives of the upper classes fulfilled the honourable functions of regentesses in numerous charity institutions: orphanages, nursing homes, hospitals or the notorious “houses of spinners” for fallen girls.²⁵ They were captured on numerous group portraits, e.g. in the painting by Frans Hals

Miotła i krzyż. Kultura sprzątania w dawnej Holandii, albo historia pewnej obsesji, Kraków 2013, p. 52–102 (further literature can be found there).

²² In the scope of topic of the Dutch women’s professional work, see e.g. D. van den Heuvel, *Women and Entrepreneurship: Female Traders in the Northern Netherlands, c. 1580–1815*, Amsterdam 2007; M. van Dekken, *Brouwen, branden en bedienen. Werkende vrouwen in de Nederlandse dranknijverheid, 1500–1800*, Amsterdam 2009; E. van Nederveen Meerkerk, *De draad in eigen handen. Vrouwen en loonarbeid in de Nederlandse textielnijverheid, 1581–1810*, Amsterdam 2007.

²³ See S. Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches. An Interpretation of Dutch Culture in the Golden Age*, London 1991, p. 525–544.

²⁴ See J. Quast, *Vrouwenarbeid omstreeks 1500 in enkele Nederlandse steden*, “Jaarboek voor Vrouwengeschiedenis” 1980/I, p. 46–64; L.C. van der Pol, *Beeld en werkelijkheid van de prostitutie in de zeventiende eeuw in Soete minne en helsche boosheit. Seksuele voorstellingen in Nederland 1300–1850*, ed. G. Hekma, H. Roodenburg, Nijmegen 1988, p. 109–144.

²⁵ The Dutch charitable institutions were not a novelty at all, they only continued the previous traditions of self-governance in the medieval Dutch cities and they constituted a relic of the

entitled *The Regentesses of the Old Men's Almshouse Haarlem*. The common female patronage had an almost exclusively social dimension in the Dutch Republic²⁶ and it was associated with charitable activity, e.g. consisting of organising auctions for the benefit of wards. It is impossible to resist the impression that this phenomenon was more similar to the nineteenth-century bourgeois philanthropy. Dutch women's activity was more like the efforts of women from the Warsaw elites described in *Lalka* by Bolesław Prus, than like the efforts of the Old-Polish foundresses of monasteries and hospitals.

The activities of Dutch municipal authorities, which often ordered plays or poems for various celebrations, such as opening of a new town hall or visit of a foreign monarch or designs of triumphal gates, as well as occasional engravings, sculptures and paintings, also can be hardly considered to be a type of artistic patronage (sponsorship). The city paid (usually generously) for a specific artistic service, however the fate of the female and male artists did not depend in any way on the granted fee - they also had other sources of income.²⁷

Therefore, in the case of the Dutch Republic, it is difficult to talk about a "patronal bond," let alone about clientelism as a "system of power," "unrighteous feudalism," "lifestyle," "corruption" or "unequal friendship" - if we were to recall phrases from the book of Antoni Mączak,²⁸ *nomen omen*, the intellectual patron of this volume. A completely different cultural epoch, both for women and for men, has began in the Northern Netherlands since the time of "William of Orange - rebellious broker" (to quote the title of the subchapter of the Mączak's monograph).

late-medieval system of care for the sick, the poor and orphans. This model was taken over, subsequently improved and inscribed in the evangelical reformed social ethos.

²⁶ In this case, it is necessary to mention the most deserving figures: Maria van Pallaes (1587-1664) from Utrecht, Jacquemijntje Garniers (ca. 1590-1651) from Lejda, Cornelia van Wouw (1601-1681) from Hague, Agneta Deutz (1633-1692) from Amsterdam, Maria Duyst van Voorhout (1662-1754) from Delft and Aleida Greve (1670-1742) from Zwolle; see *1001 Vrouwen uit de Nederlandse Geschiedenis...*, p. 292-293, 298-297, 329-330, 439-430, 526-527, 536-538.

²⁷ It was typical for the Dutch Republic to combine artistic professions with other types of professional activity. The most outstanding Dutch poet of the seventeenth century - Joost van den Vondel ran a haberdashery store, while a playwright and director of the Amsterdam public theatre - Jan Vos had a glazier's workshop, and Jan Starter was a bookseller and publisher. Cf. H. Hendrix, *Literatuur en mecenaat in de renaissance*, "Tijdschrift voor Literatuurwetenschap" 1998, vol. 3, p. 243-257.

²⁸ A. Mączak, *Klientela. Nieformalne systemy władzy w Polsce i Europie XVI-XVIII w.*, Warszawa 1994.

It seems that fluid categories of patronage, protectorate, protection, sponsorship, clientelism, philanthropy, beneficence, founding, residence, “custody,” as well as ordinary cooperation and help, with the use of which one tries to capture the complex nature of individual and highly complex social relations, simultaneously covering various issues of interpersonal dependencies and subjection, in themselves constitute a significant research problem.²⁹ By applying them to the description of realities of the Dutch Republic, this methodological dilemma is presented in its entirety.

SUMMARY

SOME REMARKS FROM A COMPLETELY DIFFERENT WORLD.

COULD (FEMALE) PATRONAGE TAKE PLACE IN THE DUTCH REPUBLIC?

This article discusses the issue of a female patronage in the 17th century Dutch Republic. Three case studies have been presented, namely the biographies of a Dutch poetess Sibylle van Griethuysen (1621–1999), eccentric authoress of an autobiography, Isabella de Moerloose (ca. 1660–ca. 1712), and a Haarlem painter, Judith Jans Leyster (1609–1660). None of these artists was ever in need of a patronage of any kind, owing to the social, economic, educational and cultural peculiarities of the Republic. Advanced, early capitalistic reality of the state created unprecedented opportunities for the writers and visual artists of both sexes to pursue their professional careers without the support of wealthy patrons – exceptions were few and far between.

Keywords: The Dutch Republic, female patronage, Dutch woman writers, Dutch woman painters, Dutch society and culture

DOI 10.24917/9788380842717.4

²⁹ This also includes informational clientelism or matrimonial patronage. If we were to raise only one problematic issue: if the relation between the male patron/female patron and the male beneficiary/female beneficiary was also of intimate nature, which could be both voluntary and enforced, the categories of informal relationship, prostitution or violence are also taken into account.

KAROLINA KWAŚNA

Jagiellonian University

And when he died, his widow continued the business... Widows from New England

The culture and customs applicable in the eighteenth-century colonial cities were partly secondary and partly original. Port cities were the centre of the latest innovations and progress, e.g. Newport, where the exchange of basic and luxury goods took place. Thus, it is not surprising that enterprising merchants settled there, while the ports started to function as centres of consumer and social revolution. Dominance of the middle class, as well as the lack of institutions associated with a hierarchical society resulted in the fact that it made no sense to try and impose a British social structure on America. Maintaining traditional social divisions was very difficult in a situation, in which the daily struggle for survival often forced women and men to work side by side. This new environment contributed to the emergence of society characterised by greater mobility than English society, as well as the resulting ability to adapt to new conditions. The colonists turned out to be more independent, flexible and entrepreneurial, as well as more practical and aware of their rights, compared to the citizens of the Old Continent. Strict New England conditions defined the position and role of women in such constructed reality. In addition to taking care of the household, women in eighteenth-century New England, just like their husbands, conducted exchange trading, they were responsible for accounting books and often managed family investments. Active participation in the family interest constituted not only a real help, but above all it prepared married women for widowhood, when they often became owners and took over the family wealth. It often happened that women run assumed business until their death, or entered into partnership with other merchants, or after

over a dozen years of reconciling the duties of the housekeeper and the head of the family, their oldest son took over the business. It must be emphasised that they helped to create a network of commercial and social relations from the very beginning, which would have never survived without their assistance.

America grew based on tales and myths. Before the ship of the Founding Fathers came to the unknown shores of the “Promised Land,”¹ imagination of the English people was filled with images created by travellers studying these areas. We owe one of the first descriptions of the New England territories, i.e. the cradle of America, to John Smith, who was a soldier, coloniser and Governor of Virginia. During his second expedition (1614), Smith reportedly investigated the lands located northeast of the Jamestown colony. His studies resulted in the description published in 1616 entitled *A Description of New England*. Smith described the New World² and newly discovered areas with such zeal that people started to call him the “founder” of New England. It was Smith who called the northeast coast of America “New England,” thus taking inspiration from the values known and respected by the British society, which gave rise to a certain type of regional identity.³ Over the years, it underwent a transformation and lost its “Englishness,” at the same time gaining unique characteristics that were created in the face of challenges, which the settlers had to overcome.

Unique conditions that characterised the northeast coast of pre-revolutionary America favoured the emergence of a *sui generis* modern society, in which the role of men and women had to be adapted to the new circumstances. The

-
- 1 The first settlers, who were called Pilgrims or Founding Fathers, sailed to New England on the Mayflower ship in 1620 in the search of religious freedom – they were forced to flee due to religious persecution that occurred in England in the first half of the XVII century. However, another group of settlers, under the auspices of the Massachusetts Bay Company and under control of wealthy and better educated Puritans, decided to emigrate to the New World by themselves, perceiving their journey as a “pilgrimage to the wild country in order to cultivate the only true faith.” M.A. Jones, *Historia USA*, transl. P. Skurowski, P. Ostaszewski, Gdynia 2016, p. 14. It is also worth to note that the Pilgrims often compared their emigration to “pilgrimage,” “mission in the desert,” while themselves to the “chosen people.” See P. Stawiński, *Boży eksperyment*, Lublin 2012; S. Filipowicz, *O władzy grzechu i grzechach władzy*, Warszawa 1992.
 - 2 He collected notes and reports from other traveller, which resulted in the publishing of subsequent works describing the areas of New England, e.g. *New England’s Trials* (1620 and 1622), *Advertisements for the Inexperienced Planters of New England, or Anywhere* (1631).
 - 3 W.W. Woodward, *Captain John Smith and the Campaign for New England: A Study in Early Modern Identity and Promotion*, “The New England Quarterly” 2008, vol. 81, no. 1, p. 93.

scenario of their life was inherently associated with the tradition and culture of the Old Continent, which were adapted to the climate and geographical conditions of the New World. According to Maldwyn Jones, the specificity of American society and its size result from the fact that the first colonists came to these areas believing that these unknown spaces are characterised by unlimited economic potential. Whereas, they themselves were characterised by:

[...] extraordinary energy necessary to harness the wild nature [which allowed] to build an easily adaptable mobile society, as well as to develop a character that is at the same time restless, optimistic, enterprising, risk-loving, and that does not put up with barriers or obstacles.⁴

Thus, in order to fully understand the situation of women in the New World, as well as their rights and obligations, their position that resulted from a status defined by statutory and customary law, this article has been divided into three parts.

The first part demonstrates the story of Roxana – heroine of the Daniel Defoe's novel. This writer used his knowledge, observations, experience, as well as Samuel Pepys' notes and created a realistic story, which presented the idea of the role of women in marriage that was prevailing in England at the turn of XVII and XVIII century. The second part of this article presents the story of Margaret Hardenbroeck – the first businesswoman in the territory of colonial America, who had become a kind of role model for women from New England. In contrast to Roxana, there is no doubt that Hardenbroeck is a historical figure. This strong woman, who conducted overseas trade at the beginning of XVII century, became some type of a myth of hardy and independent she-merchant, i.e. a Dutch woman who was engaged in trade. The she-merchant profession was known, as well as involved exceptional respect by English merchants, and it was relatively popular in the areas of New Amsterdam, whose name was changed in 1667, after the Dutch colonies were taken over by the English. Along with the change in the legal status of women, their possibilities of running their own businesses also changed. However, old habits remained in everyday life and practices.⁵ The third part demonstrates

⁴ M.A. Jones, op. cit., p. 7.

⁵ Cf. J.P. Jordan, *Women Merchants in Colonial New York*, "New York History" 1977, vol. 58, no. 4, p. 412–439.

the problems that women had to face at the time of their husbands' death. I chose widows from the region of Newport, one of the five largest port cities in New England, to be an example in this scope.

ROXANA

Roxana, i.e. a happy lover from Defoe's novel, received a dowry (two thousand British pounds) at the age of sixteen and was married to a brewer from the City. Her husband was a cheerful and carefree man, so he did not pay too much attention to the business, because his father took care of the brewery, and due to that fact, he could travel, dance and go hunting. After the death of his father, he was not able to take care of his inherited wealth. Roxana tells her husband several times to manage their shared wealth more carefully, but it has no effect. After eight years of marriage, the family is forced to sell the brewery. In Roxana's opinion, her husband is responsible for such state of affairs, or rather his unwise behaviour and reckless approach to running business:

He did not know nothing about accounting. At first, he was trying to be present in the company, puffing and swaggering, however his enthusiasm disappeared very quickly. He regarded it to be an insult for him to look in the books and he left it to his officials and bookkeepers, and if he could find some money to pay for the malt, for excise expenses, and finally to get something in his pocket, he felt contented and carefree again, leaving the entire business at the mercy of fate.⁶

After the sale of their brewery, the couple rented a house in the countryside. Subsequently, Roxana's husband spent the rest of their wealth and disappeared. The woman sent the children to relatives and, having little choice, became a harlot – initially due to poverty and then in order to gain a fortune.⁷ Saving every penny and exchanging received valuables for mortgages, Roxana concluded contracts with subsequent lovers, which were similar to prenups. After a long stay in France and many adventures, the woman accumulated an impressive wealth and then decided to marry an extremely wealthy Dutch merchant. Then, her future husband informs her that one of his expectations for his

⁶ D. Defoe, *Roxana, czyli szczęśliwa kochanka*, transl. J. Pawłowicz, Warszawa 1954, p. 19.

⁷ J. Kott, *Roxana albo o burżuazyjnej moralności* in S. Defoe, *Roxana, czyli szczęśliwa kochanka...*, p. 10.

wife – “in accordance with the custom prevailing in the Netherlands”⁸ – is to keep accounting books and to take care of all family wealth. As it turns out, Roxana – just like her husband earlier – has no idea about running a household. The reader becomes aware of her ignorance just before the couple is supposed to go to the Netherlands, when the woman is neither interested in the books her husband has, nor has any idea what these documents are – however, she is able to accurately estimate the value of pearls lying in decorative boxes next to valuable journals. As we read:

When he opened the chests, I saw that they are full of books, papers and parchments; I mean accounting books, trade documents and other papers, which did not interest me in particular, because I did not understand what they represent. My husband took it all out, laid it on the table and chairs, and got to work. So I left him alone [...].⁹

Then, he took out some old seals and roll up parchments, whose contents I could not read. He explained to me that they were the privileges granted to him, as well as the rights to family property and mortgage evidence [...].¹⁰

The last, however not the least important step of the future husband of Roxana was to inform her about the debts, so that in case of his death the woman could pay off all debts, as well as identify and collect money from the creditors. The girl only opened her eyes in surprise. She changed her plans very quickly and instead of signing the documents that would provide the spouses with a separation of wealth, she decided to give herself under the care of her future husband. The main reason for such turn of events was the fact that Roxana could neither read nor keep accounting books. This way, the financial independence that she gained with such extreme difficulty disappears, just like the prospect of being a wife in the Dutch model.

Roxana was expected to be proficient in the scope of managing financial records. One of the duties of a merchant's or entrepreneur's wife in England at the

⁸ D. Defoe, *Roxana, czyli szczęśliwa kochanka...*, p. 195. Orig.: “you shall e'en take it all upon yourself, as the Wives do in Holland.” D. Defoe, *Roxane, or the Fortunate Mistress*, London 1724, p. 237; archive.org/stream/in.ernet.dli.2015.95666/2015.95666.Roxana-The-Fortunate-Mistress#page/n251/mode/2up/search/wives+do+in+Holland [access: 15.05.2018].

⁹ D. Defoe, *Roxana, czyli szczęśliwa kochanka...*, p. 204.

¹⁰ Ibidem, p. 205.

turn of XVII and XVIII century was the ability to read and keep: the ledger, the memorandum or the “waste” books, journals; as well as the knowledge of the double accounting principle and keeping the balance sheet.¹¹ At the end of this story, it turns out that Roxana has never learned any of the required skills. Wealth collected by her came from the times, when she was a courtesan and a lover of prince du sang in France, and then of the king in London. During this time, her financial documentation was maintained by her servant Amy, who at the end of the novel becomes a “*woman of business*.”¹² When the bookkeeper decides to leave her mistress, Roxana feels completely helpless. Despite the accumulated wealth, she is not able to take care of it and manage it, therefore she cannot afford to be an independent woman.

For a long time, the Defoe’s novel has been treated as a customary history. However, many researchers¹³ emphasise that *Roxana*... can be read – or even should be read – as a perfectly constructed allegory of the trade at the turn of XVII and XVIII century, in which the Netherlands represents economic responsibility and discipline, while France represents luxury and corruption.¹⁴ While being one of the Great Britain’s greatest enemies, France did not enjoy good press in XVII and XVIII century. It was emphasised that France is in increasingly bad financial situation and repeated attempts to get loans ended in a fiasco, because none of the major European capitals (London, Amsterdam, Genoa or Livorno) was willing to grant such loans.¹⁵ In the second half of XVII century, the Dutch model of trade and business was very popular in England.

11 D. Christopher Gabbard, *The Dutch Wives’ Good Husbandry: Defoe’s “Roxana” and Financial Literacy*, “Eighteenth-Century Studies” 2004, vol. 37, no. 2, p. 238 (237–251).

12 Orig.: “I had some servants indeed which helped her off a little, that is to say, two maids, for Amy was now a woman of business, not a servant, and ate always with us.” D. Defoe, *Roxane, or...*, p. 239. Defoe’s novel is primarily a very interestingly constructed allegory of trade at the turn of XVII and XVIII century. The language of trade, economics and finance dominates in the pages of this novel, which is why it seems that the change in status of Amy, who thanks to her bookkeeping skills ceases to be a servant and becomes an independent woman and the woman of business, is extremely important here.

13 See B. Dijkstra, *Defoe and Economics: Fortunes of Roxana in the History of Interpretation*, London 1987; D. Blewett, introduction to the English edition of *Roxana*..., London 1982; or M. Novak, *Economics and the Fiction of Daniel Defoe*, Berkley–Los Angeles 1982. It should be emphasized that each of the above-mentioned researchers notices the economic context in Defoe’s works, however they make various proposals to study this issue and its meaning.

14 D. Christopher Gabbard, op. cit., p. 240.

15 P.T. Dobrowolski, *Świat ze słów: angielskie miesięczniki XVIII wieku. Media, informacja i opinia publiczna*, Warszawa 2018, p. 94.

This resulted from the fact that the phenomenon of “arithmetic mentality” became widespread in the second half of XVII century.¹⁶ The press published many tables and statements informing about stock prices, currency prices, as well as the prices of agricultural products. As a result, every element of everyday life was interpreted and analysed with the use of statistical data. Therefore, the knowledge of mathematics, calculation and accounting was perceived as the skill that characterises a well-educated young man.¹⁷ Nevertheless, the knowledge of accountancy and knowledge of bookkeeping were qualities of good education not only in the case of young gentlemen, but also women, and this model and trend came of course from the Dutch Republic. The reputation of Dutch women, their trade orientation and commercial wisdom,¹⁸ as well as the Dutch model itself took over the imagination of the English people. The above-mentioned Dutch model of trade and running business popularised the participation of women in these activities. In XVII century, there were many works and pamphlets created, which described the characteristics of Dutch society and Dutch trade, which the English should imitate. As indicated by Josiah Child in *Brief Observations Concerning Trade and Interest Money* (1668), one of the reasons for the thriving Dutch economy was the involvement of all family members in the development of business, the education of sons as well as daughters, and the fact that at the time of death, women were able to take over the family business without the slightest problems.¹⁹ The praise of the Dutch model was reflected in subsequent texts encouraging English women to keep accounting books.²⁰ Here, it is worth to emphasise that the issues raised in magazines for women, e.g. “Lady’s Magazine,” which started appearing on the British market in the middle of XVIII century, contrary to the popular belief, were not limited only to the art of cooking, taking care of the house or lectures on women’s virtues. There were many texts devoted to the benefits of education or medical counselling, and even

16 Ibidem, p. 78.

17 In this case, it is worth to mention, e.g. a textbook for young gentlemen, i.e. 14-year-old boys by Thomas Watts, mentioned by Pawel Dobrowolski; see P.T. Dobrowolski, op. cit., p. 77.

18 D. Christopher Gabbard, op. cit., p. 242.

19 J. Child, *Brief Observations Concerning Trade and Interest Money*, 1668, avalon.law.yale.edu/17th_century/trade.asp [access: 2.05.2018].

20 See R. Coke, *Of the Growth and Increase of the Dutch Trade*, London 1670. More on the subject of bookkeeping conducted by women and their presentation in the eighteenth-century literature: R.E. Connor, *Women, Accounting, and Narrative: Keeping Books in Eighteenth-Century England*, London–New York 2004.

separate publications intended for women, e.g. “The Ladies Complete Pocket Book,” issued in 1750–1767 at the request of several respected ladies, which turned out to be very significant for their economy.²¹ There was also plenty of entertainment, puzzles and mathematical tasks in the women’s press. Paweł Dobrowolski notes that these “games with numbers”²² were associated with the household finances, estimation of expenditure, making measurements, as well as issues in the scope of geometry and algebra.²³

The approach that was dominating in the second half of XVII century was somewhat summarised by Daniel Defoe in a treaty on trade of 1724 – *The Complete English Tradesman*. He puts emphasis on the fact that the family business develops beneficially, when the wife knows about the concluded transactions, when she is interested in them and knows her way around accounting books, because in the case of her spouse’s death, she will be able to take over the business. Moreover, Defoe went even a step further and pointed out that a widow, who is unable to take care of the business and continue it, brings shame to the family.²⁴ In the subsequent part, the author warns merchants against women, who do not want to learn this art, regardless whether due to laziness or convenience. Most of all, such practice allowed to protect the family business, so that it can be passed on to the son. However, interestingly it often turned out that women manage to run the family business not in a worse manner, but even better than their dead husbands.

MARGARET HARDENBROEK

Specific conditions that were offered or imposed by the New World in XVII and XVIII century required hard work and dedication also from the women, which was associated with many obligations, but also with huge opportunities for development. This became apparent for Margaret Hardenbroeck (1630–1691), who came to New Amsterdam around 1659. Unfortunately, not many information is preserved from the period preceding her arrival. It is only known that she was born in a small town in the Netherlands and her father was probably a merchant, and he was involved in trade. It is certain that she received

21 Paweł T. Dobrowolski writes extensively on the topic of English monthlies, op. cit. I would like to thank Mrs. Elżbieta Grygier for drawing my attention to it.

22 P.T. Dobrowolski, op. cit., p. 77.

23 Ibidem.

24 D. Defoe, *The Complete English Tradesman, in Familiar Letters*, London 1726, p. 353–354.

a basic education, while the experience gained alongside her father allowed the ambitious twenty-two year old woman to become a factor/business agent and manage trade in the New World.²⁵ During that times, a factor could sell and buy goods on behalf of his/her supervisor/employer, as well as trade on his/her own behalf – Margaret did both. One of the biographical studies indicates that she was employed by her cousin named Wouter Valck, who sold oil, vinegar and other goods necessary at home in exchange for fur. For the first five years, Margaret gained experience in customer service – unfortunately, her first order ended in failure, because she failed to collect the due fee.²⁶ In 1659, Margaret married Peter de Vries.²⁷ This marriage did not last long. In 1658, New Amsterdam was suffering from an epidemic of the disease, which was popularly called *hot sickness* – it was probably smallpox²⁸ – and as a result of its repeated outbreak, Margaret’s husband died in 1661. She was already a wealthy woman at the time, but she also inherited all family wealth, which included land, merchant ships and the business itself. After the funeral ceremonies, Hardenbroeck proceeded to carry out activities that were expected of every widow. The most important included the payment of all debts and obligations, which her husband incurred, as well as contacting his debtors in order to demand the payment of receivables. However, not everyone was willing to come to an agreement with the widow of de Vries, therefore Margaret had to appear in the court several times.²⁹ After completion of all the formalities, she continued to run the business as before. According to the applicable law, as a widow, Hardenbroeck did not lose any rights and was able to trade completely on her own. However, she decided to do something different. During one of her trips to London, she met Fredrik Philips (Philipsen), whom she married a year later in 1662. Margaret decided to secure her wealth as well as position, and to marry him with *usus* relation, rather than *manus*, which meant that the marriage was a relationship, in which

25 Philipse, Margaret Hardenbroeck in D.A. Mays, *Women in Early America: Struggle, Survival, and Freedom in a New World*, Santa Barbara 2004, p. 295; Margaret Hardenbroeck Philipse in C.Ch. Waldrup, *Colonial Women. 23 Europeans Who Helped Build a Nation*, Jefferson 1999, p. 89–94. There is also another information that she was supposed to leave with her brother Abel, however it cannot be unambiguously confirmed.

26 J. Zimmerman, *The She-Merchant of Manhattan* in *The Best of New York Archives: Selections from the Magazine, 2001–2011*, p. 51–54.

27 *Women in Port. Gendering Communities, Economies, and Social Networks in Atlantic Port Cities, 1500–1800*, ed. D. Catterall, J. Campbell, Leiden 2012, p. 183.

28 J. Duff, *History of Public Health in New York City, 1625–1866*, vol. 1, New York 1968, p. 19.

29 *Margaret Hardenbroeck Philipse* in C.Ch. Waldrup, op. cit. p. 91.

the spouses were equal partners; this system also allowed the inheritance of wealth by daughters, not only sons. Nevertheless, the truth is that Fredrick gained much more thanks to this marriage. He was a carpenter and supplier before, while by marrying Hardenbroek, he became one of the most important people in New Amsterdam. However, it should be emphasised that he did not rest on his laurels. He multiplied wealth with his wife and developed their business. Interestingly, Margaret usually used her maiden name and acted independently in trade activities. She also took part in merchant initiatives. Along with other merchants, she signed a petition in 1668, in which the merchants asked the King of England for permission to travel from the Netherlands to New York – and they received it.³⁰ The last information about Margaret comes from the private notes of one of the Dutch Labadists, who met Mrs. Hardebroeck on a ship in 1679. This man described her as avarice and covetousness person, noting that no one on the ship dared to oppose her, even the captain himself.³¹ In other part of these notes, there is a description of an unknown Dutch woman, who is engaged in trade and whom the same man met in Albany. However, this description is more flattering:

She is truly worldly woman, proud and conceited, and sharp with trading with *wild* people [...] This trading is not carried on without fraud, and she is not free from it [...] She has a husband, which is her second one [...] she is one of the Dutch female traders, who understand the business so well.³²

In the background of similar stories and relations, the image of the most famous she-merchant of New Amsterdam and later of New York was created.³³ Hardenbroek gained great fame. Interestingly, the figure depicting New Amsterdam, which originates from around 1640 (fig. 1), presents two merchants in the foreground, and one of them is a woman. Further, we can see slaves, while the background presents a vibrant port. According to Jean Zimmerman, the above-mentioned figure presents Hardenbroek herself.³⁴ Such information

³⁰ J.P. Jordan, op. cit., p. 418.

³¹ Ibidem, p. 419.

³² J. Danckaerts, P. Sluyter, *Journal of a Voyage to New York and a Tour in Several of the American Colonies in 1679–80*, Brooklyn 1867, p. 5–6, 14.

³³ Mary Alexander was other famous woman making a living of the trade and she as the first merchant could boast of the pavement in front of her store. J.P. Jordan, op. cit., p. 416–417.

³⁴ J. Zimmerman, op. cit., p. 52.

cannot be found in the description of this figure in the Digital Collection Set of the New York Public Library, however the very fact of appearance of a woman merchant in such an important document testifies to the respect that was enjoyed by the famous she-merchants, i.e. women engaged in trade.



Fig. 1. *Nieu Amsterdam* (around 1640), The Miriam and Ira D. Wallach Division of Art, The New York Public Library

ANN MAYLEM

Popularity of the Dutch trade model, as well as the associated role of women dominated in the Great Britain in XVII and XVIII century. The English colonists, who came to the New World, not only heard and read about the extraordinary success of such an economy, but they could see it for themselves by observing the Dutch colonies.

Margaret Hardenbroeck was not the only woman engaged in trade, but she was certainly one of the widows, who achieved a spectacular success and could decide themselves about subsequent marriage. This situation was

changed after the acquisition of New Amsterdam and Dutch colonies by the English in 1664. Along with the introduction of legal changes, women could no longer legally run businesses on their own behalf, stand before the court or inherit properties. Nevertheless, the Dutch heritage and tradition, which were present in the areas of former Dutch colonies, as well as in the mentality of the English, allowed for many deviations from the English law.³⁵ Moreover, maritime trade and life in port cities were somehow managed by their own rights, and gender did not seem to play such an important role as goods and maintenance of prosperity.³⁶ Therefore, women could not afford to only take care of the house, mainly due to the fact that they had to be ready at any moment to take over and continue to run the family business, in the case of their husband's death. When a woman became a widow, she received *feme sole* status,³⁷ which allowed her to stand before the court and fulfil her husband's will, as well as to run business. In the eighteenth-century Newport, which was the fifth largest port in New England, forty percent of wealth managers were women, while out of them seventy percent were widows.³⁸ Their first and last names appear only after the death of their husbands and then, we see them as managing the household, standing in front of the court, sending letters to the lawyer, publishing advertisements in the press, as well as paying off their husbands' debts. They appear from nowhere, but they perfectly know what to do. The below examples of resourceful widows originate from XVIII century, from the pre-revolutionary period. In this period, it is possible to discuss a New England society, which managed to accept or reject the English and Dutch traditions, working out its own social system, including the place of women.

Ann Maylem became a widow in 1741. In the will, as well as in accordance with the custom applicable in Newport, she was appointed to be the person responsible for managing the wealth remaining after her deceased husband.

³⁵ There were cases, in which a woman could independently administer a building, be a legal guardian or inherit half of the wealth from her deceased husband. J.R. Gundersen, G.V. Gampel, *Married Women's Legal Status in Eighteenth-Century New York and Virginia*, "The William and Mary Quarterly" 1982, vol. 39, no. 1 – "The Family in Early American History and Culture", p. 116–119.

³⁶ *Women in Port...*, p. 2–9.

³⁷ Contrary to *feme covert*. See J.R. Gundersen, G.V. Gampel, op. cit., p. 116–119.

³⁸ All statistical data from Newport, unless otherwise indicated, were developed and described by Sara Damiano. See S.T. Damiano, "To Well and Truly Administer": *Female Administrators and Estate Settlement in Newport, Rhode Island, 1730–1776*, "The New England Quarterly" 2013, vol. 86, no. 1, p. 89–124.

At the time of John's death, Ann was about forty years old and she had two children. Her husband left her a rum distillery, mortgage and several creditors to pay. In accordance with the requirements, first all debtors and creditors should have been informed about John's death. Such announcements appeared in special sections in local newspapers, as well as in the cities, in which the interested parties could live. After publication of the announcement – it appeared three times in “Boston Weekly Post-Boy”³⁹ – Ann had to pay the creditors (she had eighteen of them) and conduct an auction (in order to inform the community, who is now managing the family business). This process included visits in court – John's former partners did not want to admit that Ann paid off their shares in the distillery.

A Short Narrative of the unjust Proceedings of
Mr. George Gardner of Newport Distiller,
against Ann Maylem Widow and Administra-
trix to the Estate of John Maylem late of
Newport Distiller Deceased.

AS I have been labouring under many difficulties and hardships ever since the Death of my Husband John Maylem, I have thought proper to inform the World how cruelly I have been dealt with by Mr. George Gardner of the Town of Newport Distiller, which is as follows. In the Year 1739, my Husband bought of said Gardner, a Lot of Land, Still-House, two Stills, their Heads, Worms, Cisterns, &c. for £ 1360 giving him at the same time his Bond for £ 370. Brother Debane and Mr Maylem, gave him also a joint Bond for £ 200 and at the same time Mr. Maylem Mortgaged the Still-House abovementioned to said Gardner, for £ 900 taking a Bond of Defence obliging him the said Gardner to Reconvey to Mr. Maylem said Still-House again.

The following is an Account of sundry Payments made towards said Still-House.

Vis. 1742	To a Bond taken up dated	Nov. 23d. 1739	370	00	00
June 7	To Cash paid in part of a Bond Sued last	Tuesday of May past given to George			
	Gardner by Debane and Maylem,		100	00	00
Nov. 19	To so much paid by Mr. Debane in full of	the above Bond and Execution,	118	08	00
			218	08	00
	To Cash paid on Bond Maylem to Gardner,		181	11	11
	To half the Stock in the Still-House at the	time of Mr. Maylem's Decease, being 531			
	Gallons at 7/ pr. Gallon,		185	17	00
	Omissions in the Acc. delivered in to Geo. Gardner,		9	15	00
	To my Negroe working 8 Days in the Still-House				

Fig. 2. A. Maylem, *A Short Narrative...* (1742)⁴⁰

³⁹ S.T. Damiano, op. cit., p. 95.

⁴⁰ Available fragment: S.T. Damiano, op. cit., p. 98.

The woman hired a lawyer and she used the help of Ann Franklin, who was also a widow and ran a local newspaper. They prepared an announcement together, in which they informed about the unworthy and disgraceful behaviour of Mr. Gardner, who wanted to trick the unfortunate widow and forced her to repay the same debt several times.⁴¹ They wrote a clear title for this announcement: “A Short Narrative of the Unjust Proceedings of Mr. George Gardner of Newport Distiller, against Ann Maylem Widow and Administratrix to the Estate of John Maylem late of Newport Distiller Deceased” (fig. 2) and, as Mary Ellen Snodgrass points out, it was the first announcement of such type, which was written and published in colonial America by a woman.⁴² As it can be concluded from the attached photograph, Ann did not only present a brief history of the conflict with Mr. Gardner, but also used the data from her accounting books. Moreover, the fragments of correspondence cited by Sara Damiano, which Ann sent to hired lawyer, clearly demonstrate that she was well-informed not only about her husband’s financial affairs, but was also perfectly familiar with court procedures, and used formal language as well as emphasised – proficiently, but in a subtle way – her status as a client, who pays and expects her affairs to be taken seriously.⁴³

There were many cases similar to Ann Maylem’s case. Therefore, the knowledge of family finances was such important duty of the wife, and later of the widow. Women had to know how to keep journals, accounting books, as well as how to interpret and read bills, and be familiar with financial instruments, such as bonds or bills of exchange. They have often participated in the preparation of financial documents and accompanied their husbands during negotiations, in order to get to know the co-workers and be able to run business as widows. They knew how valuable are all kinds of accounting books and journals, especially in court proceedings. When Mary Smith was accused by the employee of her deceased husband – Seth Eldred – of not paying him a two-year salary, the widow managed to win this case, because she was able to demonstrate that at that time the husband provided this worker with a food, drink and shelter, and also paid him cash. The proof of this consisted of accounting books, which the widow used to present the above-mentioned information.⁴⁴ Another case

⁴¹ Ibidem, p. 98.

⁴² M.E. Snodgrass, *American Colonial Women and Their Art: A Chronological Encyclopedia*, Lanham 2017, p. 58.

⁴³ S.T. Damiano, op. cit., p. 99.

⁴⁴ Ibidem, p. 119–120.

concerned Phoebe Battey. Her husband died on the ship named Charming Abigail and Phoebe never received her husband's accounting books or journal. She knew how much these books were worth, therefore when she found out that her late husband's companion was holding this financial documentation, she sued him for compensation in the amount of twenty thousand pounds.⁴⁵ Unfortunately, this case was not settled according to expectations of the woman, however this lawsuit clearly demonstrates that the widows knew the value of accounting books.

The woman's role in New England was much more complex, than it might seem. They had to take care of the house, as well as bought, sold, sued, were sued, managed the wealth of their deceased husbands and kept accounting books. In larger cities (particularly port cities) in XVIII century, women gained the possibility of free (though not always official) involvement in the public affairs. It must be emphasised that together with their husbands, they created a network of contacts, which they knew how to use for their benefit. It can be concluded that they received at least basic education, based on the letters, accounting books, recipes and household inventories. They could act freely at the side of her husband, while at the same time they had to create their own world, which was everything that was left to them after the death of their husbands. The early-capitalist New England society, as well as the principles of the Puritan doctrine, which did not tolerate laziness and inaction, required the women to work. The specificity of port cities (described by me in this article), filled with vibrant retail sales and provided services, while their residents were expanding the credit network and gained access to all kinds of goods, required women to assume the role of traders and merchants – usually in accordance with the model of Dutch wives. The customs prevailing in the Netherlands, as well as resourcefulness of the Dutch women – or: *she-merchants* – were highly valued in the conditions applicable in the New World. It seems that Roxana would not manage to get by in such a brutal space, however the New World could turn out to be a place of unlimited possibilities for Amy – an entrepreneurial servant, who was able to keep the accounting books. Therefore, maybe she decided to escape there.

⁴⁵ Ibidem.

SUMMARY

AND WHEN HE DIED, HIS WIDOW CONTINUED THE BUSINESS...

WIDOWS FROM NEW ENGLAND

The article focuses on women from New England and their role in running a family business in New England in the 17th and 18th century. The author decides to present three case studies which stand for life of three very different women. The first part presents the story of Roxana, a character from Daniel Defoe's novel. The second one brings the story of Margaret Hardenbroek, a famous Dutch she-merchant from New Amsterdam. Finally, the last woman is Ann Maylen – a widow from Newport.

Keywords: widow, Defoe, Hardenbroek, New England, Newport

DOI 10.24917/9788380842717.5

Influence of women on education in the modern age – family and social contexts

Through the ages, women lived in the shadow of men, also in the field of education. Despite this fact, in the modern Commonwealth, just as in other countries, one can notice certain amount of female activity in this scope. It is mostly visible within the family, but also outside of it. Women supported education of certain people or groups where it was possible, sometimes they founded schools or assisted them financially. Apart from that, significant activity can be observed in the court circles. Female courts, just as the male ones, were place for educating youths, assisting their development, holding patronage over them and caring for them while preparing them to live and operate independently. In this text, the first two circles of female influence in the area of education are presented – domestic/family and social.

Women who were mothers tried to raise their children properly. These attempts are most visible in orphaned families. Once the husband/father was gone, his family functions, mainly those related to childcare and upbringing were most often taken over by the mother. She was also usually the first tutor and teacher of the child. Directly or indirectly, the mother looked after the little children and this task was well within the women's scope of duties. She could be substituted by another woman – a wet-nurse, a nanny, a babysitter. In Polish conditions, that person was usually selected/appointed and then supervised by the mother. The beginning of the child's education was also among women's matters. It was recommended by moralistic and philosophical/pedagogical literature, presented in iconography – a woman teaching little children.

Mikołaj Rej stressed that it was the mothers who “raised their children [...] personally.”¹ Sebastian Petrycy of Pilzno pointed out that up to the age of seven, children should remain under care of their mothers and noticed that no education can take place at that time, because “wet-nurses and mothers are too merciful, do not let any unpleasanties to happen to the child, while exercises must be unpleasant.”² First period of life mostly concerns “feeding, food and maintaining tidiness,” and satisfaction of those needs is primarily a task of mother or other women. He noticed however that leaving the upbringing only to mothers leads to feminisation of the children.

The role of mother as the first teacher is described in memoirs:

Elemental youth was fully and only dependent on the mother, or in an unfortunate event of losing her, on the closest female relative and on a tender and experienced nanny. The happiest were the children who were initially cared for by a virtuous mother [...]. From the cradle up until the age of five, the mothers were the ones primarily governing the children, even the sons [...]. It was the mothers who introduced us to religious duties, accustomed us to the significance of God’s limitless benevolence. [...]. They usually personally taught us prayers.

– wrote Waclaw Borejko in his memoirs,³ stressing the role of mother in the religious education. But mothers also provided rudimentary education and skills – basics of reading, writing etc. When occasionally a proposal arose for the education of girls, the argument was made that the girls will become mothers, and then they will need at least some basic knowledge to pass it on to their children.

In the absence of father, the mother supervised and organised education of children, both daughters and sons. Joanna Florentyna Bronikowska, née Potworowska is an example of this. Her husband operated for the benefit of dissidents and often was not present at home for long periods of time. When he was gone, Joanna took care of all household matters, including upbringing

¹ M. Rej, *Żywot człowieka poczciwego*, ed. J. Krzyżanowski, Wrocław 1956, p. 32.

² S. Petrycy, *Przydatki do Polityki Przydatki do Polityki Arystotelesowej* in S. Petrycy from Pilzno, *Pisma wybrane*, vol. II, ed. W. Wąsik, Warszawa 1956, p. 430.

³ *Pamiętnik Pana Waclawa Borejka* in *Pamiętniki domowe* collected and published by M. Grabowski, Warszawa 1845, p. 13–14.

and education of the children – as she wrote in one of her letters she had “all domestic and family matters on her head while the husband was gone.”⁴

When they knew their death was approaching, women, just as men, wrote wills. If there still were little children in the house, women tried to secure their future. Anna Ossolińska, née Firlej did so. Feeling bad after her last pregnancy, she wrote a will⁵ that contained not only orders concerning material wealth, but also extensive recommendations concerning upbringing of the children.

Firstly, Anna appointed a caregiver for her children. She chose Jadwiga Młodnicka, who was supposed to be assisted by her husband Hieronim. Ossolińska knew her and trusted she will properly take care of her children. Sons were to remain under custody of Jadwiga until they are about 7-year-old, then be sent to school. What is interesting, Ossolińska took care of their stepchildren, sons of her husband's first marriage with Jadwiga Sienieńska as well. She obliged Mrs. Młodnicka to care for her own children and “those first of the Sire.”⁶ The father was supposed to provide Młodnicki spouses with “some minor property” for their services. And when the time was right, he was supposed to send his sons to schools instead of keeping them at his side. This is how childhood and education of the children looked like.⁷ In accordance with the will of the mother, the father gave them “in custody of the women the mother ordered, Mrs. Młodnicka and her husband, giving her lease of Śmierdzin for our upbringing”⁸ – wrote Jerzy. The boys were brought up in Śmierdzin leased by Młodnicki spouses, a village near Sandomierz. They probably did not see their father often at the time, as he was busy with public matters. Under guidance of Hieronim Młodnicki, or maybe – as contemporary biographer of Ossoliński thinks – under care of a local priest⁹ they received their rudimentary education – reading, writing, probably learned some basics of Latin.

4 The State Archives in Poznań, file 362, p. 13. Cf. D. Żołędź-Strzelczyk, *Wychowanie młodzieży szlacheckiej w kręgu wielkopolskich dysydentów w XVIII wieku – na przykładzie Potworowskich, Bronikowskich i Ziemięckich* in eadem, „Pod każdym względem szlachetne ci daję wychowanie...”. *Studia z dziejów wychowania szlachty w epoce staropolskiej*, Wrocław 2017, p. 139–156.

5 Cf. J. Ossoliński, *Pamiętnik*, published by W. Czaplinski, Warszawa 1976, p. 28–30.

6 Ibidem, p. 28.

7 Cf. D. Żołędź-Strzelczyk, *Dzieciństwo i młodzieńcze wojaże Jerzego Ossolińskiego* in eadem, „Pod każdym względem szlachetne ci daję wychowanie”..., p. 51–72.

8 J. Ossoliński, op. cit., p. 31.

9 W. Kłaczeński, *Jerzy Ossoliński: wielki kanclerz Rzeczypospolitej*, Lublin 2011, p. 30.

Most often however, if the female will included messages we are interested in, these were very laconic and concerned religious and social upbringing, rarely school education. Where mentioned education, it was most often related to the girls, as fathers were the ones usually making decisions about sons. For example, Marianna, née Rożnowska, initially the wife of Sebastian Ćwikliński, then of Jan Ciołkowski, in her last will drawn up in 1658 ordered her husband and father of two children to “while showing them affection by attempting to provide them proper exercises, be the best possible patron for them.”¹⁰ In 1730 Franciszka Różycka, née Sendzimir recommended to place her daughters in the monastery of Bernardine Sisters by the St. Joseph Sanctuary in Cracow, so “there in piety they will learn every kind of chore, play an instrument of their choosing, learn German language, as it is all that is necessary.”¹¹

As I have already mentioned, it was assumed that women should take care of little children. The situation changed when those children became 7-year-olds. At this age, the boys and sometimes the girls were sent to schools. In the schools for boys, there were no female teachers, so at this moment the influence of the women over the boys ceased. In the schools for girls, mainly convent ones, nuns were the teachers. If any man from outside of the family showed up it was usually a priest, a confessor. One can easily notice that there were two completely separate school environments – male and female. Whereas there was some kind of influence of men over the schools for girls, there was no direct influence of women over the schools for boys.

Things were different for children of both sexes educated at home. The boys were taught by men (inspectors, governors, preceptor, directors), but mother or other woman from the family (grandmother, sister) could still hold influence, control, look after, comment it. It was written in memoirs, for example Józef Rulikowski mentioned that “mother was not satisfied with the slowness and mildness of Aubry” and ordered the teacher to change the way he treats his pupil. In this case, the mother considered the teacher to be too gentle and understanding, recommended harsher treatment of the boy.¹²

¹⁰ Cf. *Testamenty szlacheckie z ksiąg grodzkich wielkopolskich z lat 1657–1680*, ed. P. Klimt, Wrocław 2011, p. 71.

¹¹ *Testamenty szlachty krakowskiej XVII–XVIII w.*, ed. A. Falniowska-Gradowska, Kraków 1997, p. 79. Cf. M. Bogucka, *Białogłowa w dawnej Polsce*, Warszawa 1998, p. 169–170.

¹² *Urywek wspomnień Józefa Rulikowskiego wydany z obszerniejszego rękopisu (1731–92 r.)*, Warszawa 1862, p. 120.

When the man/father was gone, sometimes the mother took decisions concerning education of her children, including sons. There are examples, few in 17th century, but more in the next one, of women drawing up instructions concerning education of their sons, or initiating writing of guidelines. Helena Lubomirska, née Ossolińska, when she wanted to send her son to get educated in France, what happened after the death of her husband, asked Francis Gaston, the French ambassador at the court of John III, to give her pointers concerning the trip and living conditions in Paris.¹³ The ambassador mentioned this in his pointers drawn up in 1677 “Her Highness Voivodess of Cracow honoured me with asking for my opinion concerning preparing Her Highness’ son for a journey.”¹⁴

Said instructions drawn up by women are only twelve texts – two from the end of 17th century, ten from 18th century.¹⁵ They were written by mothers from noble families, most often the wealthiest ones, women often energetic and resourceful. By the end of 17th century, the quill had been taken up by Anna Wiśniowiecka, née Chodorowska, *secundo voto* Dolska for their sons Janusz Antoni and Michał Serwacy Wiśniowiecki (1695),¹⁶ and Anna Franciszka Zamoyska, née Gnińska for Tomasz Józef, Michał Zdzisław and Marcin Leopold (1699/1700).¹⁷ In the next century, instructions for their sons were written by women from Radziwiłł family: Anna, née Sanguszko for Hieronim Florian (1733),¹⁸ Karolina, née Pociiej for Jerzy (1766),¹⁹ from Czartoryski family: Anna,

13 Cf. F.G. Béthune, *Informacja dana od pana de Béthune in Ojcowskie synom przestrogi. Instrukcje rodzicielskie (XVI–XVII w.)*, with introduction and explanations provided by D. Żołądz-Strzelczyk, M.E. Kowalczyk, Wrocław 2017, p. 430–438. Extract of National Archives in Krakow, Sanguszko Archiv, Files of Foreign Families, Lubomirska H. Voivodess of Cracow, vol. 123 (1677 trade bills), file 11, p. 3–4.

14 F.G. Béthune, op. cit., p. 438.

15 M.E. Kowalczyk, *Matki jako autorki instrukcji dla synów wyjeżdżających w podróż edukacyjną in Źródła do dziejów staropolskich podróży edukacyjnych*, ed. D. Żołądz-Strzelczyk, M.E. Kowalczyk, Wrocław 2017, p. 91–104.

16 A. Dolska, née Chodorowska, *Informacja Januszowi i Michałowi Korybutom książętom Wiszniowieckim, synom moim ode mnie dana w Warszawie d. 13 sierpnia roku 1695 in Ojcowskie synom przestrogi...*, p. 523–528.

17 A.F. Zamoyska, née Gnińska, *Informacja synom moim do cudzych krajów powtórnie jadącym in Ojcowskie synom przestrogi...*, p. 537–541.

18 A. Radziwiłł, née Sanguszko, *Instrukcja synowi memu Hieronimowi dziecię Radziwiłłowe in Przestrogi i nauki dla dzieci. Instrukcje rodzicielskie (XVIII w.)*, with introduction and explanations by M.E. Kowalczyk, D. Żołądz-Strzelczyk, Wrocław 2017, p. 83–103.

19 K. Radziwiłł, née Pociiej, *Przestrogi, czyli maksymy J.O. Ks. Jmci z Pociejów Radziwiłłowej [...] dane synowi swemu jadącemu do Wiednia in Przestrogi i nauki dla dzieci...*, p. 255–267.

née Rybińska for Józef Klemens (approx. 1758)²⁰ and Izabela, née Fleming for Adam Jerzy (1787)²¹ or Ludwika Chodkiewicz, née Rzewuska for Waclaw (1784).²²

“Ordinary” noblewomen had also taken up the quill, leaving guidelines and injunctions for their sons. The examples are two females from Mioszszewski family: Helena, née Łętowska for her son Stanisław (1766)²³ and Katarzyna, née Miłkowska for Jacek (1791).²⁴ Their remarks were injunctions concerning morality, customs and religion, with strong devotional overtones.

Another manifestation of female influence over education was the support provided to men from the family in terms of education of their sons – for example, Ludwika Potocka, née Mniszech helped her nephew Józef to find a home teacher for his son Stanisław.²⁵ Pelagia Potocka, née Potocka and duchess Maria Radziwiłł, née Lubomirska “discussed” the education of the young Potocki by correspondence.²⁶ Many such examples of women being interested in children’s education can be found in collections of correspondence.

These several examples of female activities concerning education show that some of them were undertaking decisions concerning education of their sons in certain circumstances (death of husband/father).

Influence of women on education also encompassed people outside from their immediate family. It could have been a testamentary bequeaths for education of certain people, funding or otherwise supporting educational institutions.

An example of the former can be found in women’s wills. Some have provided bequeaths for children – not their own – “wanting to study, but not having funds for it, so – we read in the will of Zofia Pociszewska – from it they

²⁰ A. Czartoryska, née Rybińska, *Wskazówki dla syna wyruszającego w wielki świat in Prestrogi i nauki dla dzieci...*, p. 171.

²¹ I. Czartoryska, née Fleming, *Napomnienia dla syna in Prestrogi i nauki dla dzieci...*, p. 395–402.

²² L. Chodkiewicz, née Rzewuska, *Napomnienia dla serdecznie kochanego syna in Prestrogi i nauki dla dzieci...*, p. 361–368.

²³ H. Mioszszewska, née Łętowska, *Prestrogi i nauki dla syna mojego najstarszego Stanisława Mioszszewskiego in Prestrogi i nauki dla dzieci...*, p. 235–249.

²⁴ K. Mioszszewska, née Miłkowska, *Błogosławieństwo Jackowi Mioszszewskiemu synowi memu dane in Prestrogi i nauki dla dzieci...*, p. 405–417.

²⁵ Cf. D. Żołądź-Strzelczyk, „*Życzę sobie, aby to jedno dziecię z familii naszej zostające, mogło mieć przyzwoite wychowanie.*” *Zabiegi Józefa Mniszcha o odpowiednią edukację syna in eadem, „Pod każdym względem szlachetne ci daję wychowanie...”*, p. 189–190.

²⁶ R. Borkowski, *Dzieje rodu Lubomirskich z Głogowa Małopolskiego*, dissertation, Rzeszów 2017, p. 417; repozytorium.ur.edu.pl/handle/item/3070 [access: 5.12.2017], Central Archives of Historical Records, Roskie Archive, file XLIII, c. 855–856.

will receive interest accrued and thus year after year forever there will always be two students living of that interest.”²⁷ Similarly, Katarzyna Grabowska bequeathed eight thousand Złotys in the year 1727 to “support children in studying” for the benefit of four boys “so that youth not able to fund education from their parent’s money learned the God’s will and profit in education.”²⁸ In 1696 Jadwiga Popiołkowa made a bequeath for an orphaned boy she took care of: “I have held him for 13 years already because of my love” – she wrote in her will and provided him with three hundred zlotys “to make the money earn interest and give it to him so that he has it for the needs of his education.”²⁹

We can read about support of education of the youth in conclusions to the synod of the Unity of the Brethren that took place in 1634 in Ostroróg. It contains conditions set by a noblewoman funding a scholarship for young men that were to go abroad to study.

About the contribution for the Polish students that are being sent to the Academy – we read in those conclusions – it is hereby announced that her highness Mrs. Katarzyna of Buczacz, Castellanness of Ostroróg in Międzyrzecz has shown great generosity when she promised to give and gave three hundred florins each year for the students of the Unity, not only as long as she is alive (two hundred for the youth in Ostroróg, one hundred for students of the Academy), and she has also provided the Unity with two thousand florins so that they shall forever provide *interesse* for that purpose. It is reported to commemorate such great generosity and have it serve as an example to other Patrons (so that somebody else could be inspired by God in such a way), and hereby the words from the letter of her highness are hereby presented *legatum de verbo ad verbum*:

Concerning those two thousands, I urged you to save in my first letter, I repeat that in this letter.

1. So that they are not spent in any way or for any other needs.
2. So that they are kept in safe hands, like in a city so that (speaking plainly) it would last forever.

²⁷ B. Popiołek, „Woli mojej ostatniej testament ten...” *Testamenty staropolskie jako źródła do historii mentalności XVII i XVIII wieku*, Kraków 2009, p. 178.

²⁸ Ibidem, p. 179.

²⁹ *Dług śmiertelności wypłacić potrzeba. Wybór testamentów mieszczan krakowskich z XVII–XVIII wieku*, ed. E. Danowska, Kraków 2011, p. 94.

3. So that *interesse* from this money was not used for anything else, but spent on this young man that studies in foreign countries to get the office of minister, and next ones that will come after him.
4. So it will not be spent on those who are in Poland, but on adults and those who are preparing for their service to God in his church. Because those younger who are just starting will or will not be suitable, as experience has taught us. But those who were already sent there, without any proper grounding in the Spirit of God, are not in their vocation.
5. And I think it proper to add, that charity, let it serve only those who cannot fund such education on their own or with their parents' money. It will be the work of your Elders to determine who is to be sent and for how long. However ensure that year after year somebody is there studying to become a worthy servant of God and conveyor of His words, for salvation of human souls.

The council decided to fulfil all those conditions, that is, so that amount shall not be spent on other needs of ours, but only on those who are preparing to serve the Unity.³⁰

The benefactor has defined clear terms related to her support. The money provided to the Unity was to be spent only for the needs of educating future ministers. One after another, the young men who could not afford such education themselves were to be sent abroad with this money. Elders of the Unity deciding who and for how long had been sent.³¹

Women were founders/benefactors/protectors of schools. Two queens come to mind immediately – Ludwika Maria and Marysieńska Sobieska, who brought teaching sisterhoods to Poland and supported them. But that is not all. Various schools have been founded and financially supported by women from different circles and religions – townswomen, noblewomen, aristocrats, Catholics and Protestants.

One interesting person was Anna Petrus, a Poznań townswoman from a patrician family, daughter of a bookseller and manufacturer Jan Petrus, five times elder of the Poznań merchant brotherhood. She dedicated a large part of

³⁰ Synod in Ostroróg 1634, The State Archives in Poznań, no. 1493.

³¹ D. Żołądź-Strzelczyk, „Jako by mogli być wychowywani młodzieńcy, z których by potem byli słudzy Kościoła Bożego”. *O wychowaniu w domach ministrów i ordynowaniu na synodach Jednoty Braci Czeskich w Wielkopolsce*, „Odrodzenie i Reformacja w Polsce” 2011, vol. 55, p. 187–204.

her life and wealth to supporting noble foundations. “She has taken [...] vows of chastity” and spent her life in supporting Poznań monasteries in various ways, as we are about to learn. She provided enormous donations to the monastery of Benedictine sisters and for a Jesuit college. The latter, according to their chronicles, was supported by her numerous times – “the total of all donations from this miss given at various occasions for the benefit of the church or the college up to the year 1609 amounts to 15 723 florins.”³² Among other things, she funded them a silver lamp, “for its cost a painting and a tabernacle has been made.”³³ In 1594, she “offered the college her own house.” In 1603, she assisted the college in the purchase of Krzesiny village. For her services for the Society “she was permitted to participate in the merits and privileges of the Society, including that privilege, that after death she can be buried in our temple.” And she was when she died in 1611, at the age of almost 60.

When opportunity arose to establish a Benedictine cloister in Poznań, she also supported it by any means necessary. In accordance to the chronicle of Poznań Benedictines, Petrus heavily contributed to the creation of their cloister in Poznań, providing for that goal “twelve thousand she had on hand, so that the foundation of the Chełm reformation cloister.” Finally, Jesuits were the ones receiving that money. However, she successfully managed to allow the Benedictines to buy Górk townhouse and found the cloister in it. Also, as her brother-in-law, husband of her sister Zofia Mateusz Chudzicki, was the mayor at that time, she managed to get the approval of “town gentlemen for selling that townhouse for a cloister.” When Magdalena Moręska came to Poznań to assess the situation, Petrus “received her very graciously [...] in her townhouse.” When Mortęska bought the building, Petrus personally committed to its renovation. “She faithfully assisted around craftsmen and materials,” she worked so intensively that “she got fever – one that make the doctors presume she will die,” but thanks to prayers she “very quickly recovered and finished the commenced service for the cloister, then started asking benefactors for various domestic items as tables, benches, kitchen utensils and other necessary things.” The Miss must have had a backbone and a temper. When one of the workers renovating the building stole some tin and she caught him red-handed, first she was baffled, and then “she beat

³² *Kronika jezuitów poznańskich (młodsza)*, vol. I, 1570–1653, ed. L. Grzebień, J. Wiesiołowski, Poznań 2004, p. 2–3.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 86–87.

him up herself and forbid allowing him to the site.” On another occasion, at night, she noticed a peasant going up a ladder “to the cloister yard, [...] she did nothing until he was at the top and only then she knocked the ladder from under him and have him bruised up, with such a penalty dissuading him from his anger.”³⁴

Petrus not only provided the money, bought necessary equipment, gave away her own house, but she also personally supervised the construction works. She supported Poznań Jesuits teaching boys, but also the Benedictines, who were planning to teach girls.

A facility for upbringing and education of girls was funded in 1627 by Zofia Czeska, née Maciejowska. The founder stated that “the enterprise or end of this House is to have young girls be taught piety, honest practices and works appropriate to their status.”³⁵

Especially the upper crust ladies often found fulfilment in various charity and patronage activities. Below, I present a few examples.

Katarzyna Radziwiłł, née Sobieska rebuild dilapidated Akademia Bialska, supported it with money, funded the St. Frances of Rome school for noblewomen, financed education of poor young women (for example in 1693 she sent miss Olszowska to school of Warsaw Visitationists).³⁶

A peculiar family tradition of providing patronage for Jesuits had been started by Zofia Odrowąż of Sprowo. She was a daughter of Anna, the last Mazovian Duchess and Stanisław Odrowąż, married twice, her first husband was Jan Krzysztof Tarnowski, the second was Jan Kostka. In the year 1566, she met Piotr Skarga and probably under his influence she decided to found a Jesuit college in Jarosław. Authorities of the order were interested in the territory of Red Ruthenia, but were sceptic about the location proposed by the founder. Jarosław town was in their opinion too provincial, Przemyśl suited them better.³⁷ The founder, despite numerous attempts at persuading her, insisted on her proposal and finally the order authorities accepted the proposed location. In 1571 Zofia “wanting to have Jesuits in her town of Jarosław, men

³⁴ *Kronika benedyktynek poznańskich*, ed. M. Borkowska, W. Karkucińska, J. Wiesiołowski, Poznań 2001, p. 31–37.

³⁵ J. Bar, *Z dziejów wychowania dziewcząt w dawnej Polsce*, “Prawo Kanoniczne” 1959, no. 3–4, p. 313. Cf. R. Gąsior, T. Matuła, *Szkoła Sióstr Prezentek w Krakowie w latach 1627–1918*, Lublin 1998.

³⁶ J. Pietrzak, *Księżna dobrodziejka Katarzyna z Sobieskich Radziwiłłowa (1634–1694)*, Warszawa 2016, p. 393.

³⁷ Cf. *Listy ks. Piotra Skargi T.J. z lat 1566–1610*, ed. J. Sygański T.J., Kraków 1912, letters from 1571.

distinguished by their education, piety and proficiency in various matters, in this age spoiled by heresy, decided to build a college for the monks, provide them with emoluments.”³⁸ Zofia’s second husband, Jan Kostka of Sternberg (PL: Sztembark), the Voivode of Sandomierz, also supported Jesuits. Soon, the Jarosław college had over six hundred students.³⁹ Kostka spouses died respectively in 1580 and 1581, but Jan still managed to include a bequest for the benefit of the college in his will. Another female supporting the school was the daughter of Zofia and Jan, Anna Ostrogska.⁴⁰ She ensured that Jesuits had everything what Kostka spouses bequested for them. Moreover, she proved to be remarkably generous to the Society herself. “The wealthy heir, following the footsteps of her mother Zofia Kostyczy, wanted to outmatch her with generosity for the order, next to many wonderful gifts provided almost daily, Anna gives to Jesuits 2 neighbouring villages Trwonina and Łazy and a farther one Petryhorc (in Volhynia) with her example inspiring numerous and generous benefactors among nobility and townspeople.”⁴¹ Anna generously funded the boarding house and took care of individual students.⁴² Until the end of her life, she was providing the Jesuits with money, estates, and houses. She contributed to the establishment of a second Jesuit residence in Jarosław and for that reasons started to be called the “co-founder of the Jesuit monastery.”⁴³

Anna Ostrogska supported also other schools operating in her town. She increased remuneration of a teacher from the town parish school and was planning to erect a new building for that school, but her death thwarted her plans.⁴⁴

One of Ostrogska’s daughters, Anna Alojza,⁴⁵ wife of Jan Karol Chodkiewicz provided grants to the Jesuits (college in Ostróg) like her mother. Foster child of duchess of Ostróg Anna Ulińska, née Tyrawska supported the college in Przemyśl when she was alive, to later bequest them all her wealth in her will. Lviv Jesuits were supported by Elżbieta Sieniawska, née Gostomska.

38 K. Gottfried, *Jezuici w Jarosławiu*, Jarosław 1933, p. 8.

39 R. Pelczar, *Szkołnictwo jezuickie w Jarosławiu 1575–1773 r.*, “*Nasza Przeszłość*” 1995, vol. 84, p. 35.

40 H. Kowalska, *Ostrogska z Kostków Anna* in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 24, Wrocław 1979, p. 478.

41 *Ibidem*, p. 13.

42 K. Gottfried, *Anna Ostrogska wojewodzina wołyńska*, Jarosław 1939, p. 49–50.

43 *Ibidem*, p. 70–71.

44 *Ibidem*, p. 47–48.

45 W. Dobrowolska, *Chodkiewiczowa z ks. Ostrogskich Anna Alojza* in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 3, Kraków 1937, p. 370–371.

Urszula Lubomirska, née Branicka “sponsored” the construction of Collegium Nobilium in Warsaw.⁴⁶ She paid the bill for construction beams and started a fund for renovation of the building.

To sum up, women had certain influence on education, both in family circles and outside of them. That influence was of course varied and depended on many factors: character and temper of the person, relations within the given family, family situation (death of father/husband, but also father’s involvement in various types of activities causing him to not be present at home), capabilities a given woman had due to her background, wealth, awareness and sharpness of mind. Education was supported by women of many religions, Catholics and Protestants.

SUMMARY

THE WOMEN INFLUENCE ON EDUCATION IN THE MODERN ERA – FAMILY AND SOCIAL CONTEXTS

In modern times, in the Commonwealth, one can notice a certain women activity in the field of education – in the family and beyond, as well as in the courts. This text presents the first two circles of women’s influence in the field of education – home/family and social.

Mother in the family personally or indirectly dealt with small children. The beginnings of education were often women’s issues. Moralistic, philosophical/pedagogical literature wrote, and iconography showed it. Women also took steps to protect small children in their wills (Anna Ossolińska, née Firlej). Most often they paid attention to the religious and moral upbringing of the offspring in the wills. Coming of age children were sent to schools. They could also learn at home and then the mother continued to interact, control, and look after their education. When the father departed, the mother made decisions related to raising children, including sons. There are examples of women writing parenting instructions for sons (12 instructions from the 17th and 18th centuries).

The influence of women on education also included other people in addition to the immediate family. These could be women bequests for the study of specific people or funding or supporting in a different ways various educational institutions. Queens Ludwika Maria and Marysieńka Sobieska, as well as women from various circles – townsmen, noblewomen, aristocrats showed activities in this field. They could be both Catholic and Protestant. The activities of Anna Petrus, Zofia Czeska, née Maciejowska, Katarzyna Radziwiłł, née Sobieska, owners of Jarosław: Zofia Odrowąż, née Sprowa Kostczyna, Anna Ostrogska, Anna Alojza Chodkiewicz and Anna Ulińska, née Tyrawska, Elżbieta Sieniawska, née Gostomska and Urszula Lubomirska, née Branicka were presented.

Keywords: modern times, woman and education, foundresses and benefactresses

DOI 10.24917/9788380842717.6

⁴⁶ R. Borkowski, *op. cit.*, p. 187.

ANNA SZYLAR

State Higher Vocational School Memorial
of Prof. Stanisław Tarnowski in Tarnobrzeg

“Let them diligently see the humors and fantasies of the founders so that they will not bring any turmoil to the monastery...” Women – founders of women’s monasteries in the 17th and 18th centuries. The Council of Trent reform and its consequences for the formation of cloistered monasteries

The development of the Reformation in the sixteenth century and the growing crisis in the Catholic Church had an impact on the amount and functioning of monasteries and the number of nuns. At the beginning of the 16th century, there were around fifty-one cloistered monasteries in the districts of the Kingdom of Poland, Silesia and Pomorze.¹ In the years 1560–1570, there were only about twenty convent houses and a few dozen tertiary groups. Małgorzata Borkowska estimates that around the year 1577 in all nineteen female convents in the Republic of Poland at that time, around 147 professions could be lived, of whom the most which is 84, in eight convents in Małopolska.²

The crisis in the Catholic Church extended not only to the monasteries but also to the secular clergy and enforced the necessity of inner renewal of the Roman Church. The first manifestation of this renewal was the emergence

¹ J. Kłoczowski, *Wspólnoty zakonne w średniowiecznej Polsce*, Lublin 2010, p. 230.

² M. Borkowska, *Zakony żeńskie w Polsce w epoce nowożytnej*, Lublin 2010, p. 19. See A. Szylar, *Działalność wychowawczo-edukacyjna żeńskich zgromadzeń zakonnych w Małopolsce w okresie potrydenckim do 1815 roku*, Kraków 2012, p. 31–32.

of new male convents, including Theaters, Capuchins and Jesuits, and female (Ursulines) as well as the reform of the Roman Curia conducted by Pope Paul III. The renewal was complemented by the convocation of the Council in 1545 to Trento. Its proceedings ended in 1563 and were the conclusion of reform efforts, and the decrees accepted there pointed the direction of the religious and moral renewal of the Church.³

Implementing an active and passive enclosure, including prohibition of abandoning the enclosure by nuns and entering people from the outside instead, was considered the most important in terms of the women's monasteries and tertiary communities. The result of these changes was the problem of asking for donations, which was an additional source for nuns and the main source of income for the tertiary nuns.⁴ What is more, the sisters of the so-called third convent had to either accept an enclosure, or they were banned from accepting next candidates, which in the long term would cause the extinction of tertiary communities.

The new regulations of the canon law were crucial for the continued functioning of the religious and tertiary communities. The obligation of the enclosure was associated with the necessity of having their own church, and the ban on asking for donation made private earnings difficult. Therefore, the ending of the enclosure needed to wait for a donor or benefactor, whose donation would help nuns or tertiaries to deal with the implementation of the new Tridentine law.⁵ Here the women played the key role, both the wealthy, who could support the needy communities, as well as the poorer ones, because it was their task to find a donor who would like to save a fund without which it would be impossible to change any religious or tertiary congregation into an enclosed community.

The second feature of the Tridentine reform, important in terms of these considerations, was the question of the impact of the Catholic Church on the whole of society in a larger time perspective. It concerned developing the intellect of the followers and increasing attachment to Catholicism. This was made

³ S. Litak, *Od reformacji do oświecenia. Kościół katolicki w Polsce nowożytnej*, Lublin 1994, p. 18–19. See A. Szylar, *Działalność wychowawczo-edukacyjna...*, p. 32–33.

⁴ F. Bogdan, *Geneza i rozwój klauzury zakonnej*, Poznań 1954, p. 312–313; M. Daniluk, *Encyklopedia instytutów życia konsekrowanego i stowarzyszeń życia apostołskiego*, Lublin 2000, p. 183; E. Janicka-Olczakowa, *Zakony żeńskie w Polsce in Kościół w Polsce*, vol. 2. *Wiek XVI–XVII*, ed. J. Kłoczowski, Kraków 1970, p. 736.

⁵ M. Borkowska, *Panny siostry w świecie sarmackim*, Warszawa 2002, p. 31–32.

by numerous and long sermons about the Church's teaching and destroying mistaken teachings, unprecedented writing and edition of books, religious themes, holy lives and prayer books, setting up sodalities, pilgrimages to miraculous paintings, developing the religious songs and increasing the amount of holidays while at the same time restricting the obedience of with fasting.⁶ In this process, women – nuns – could also play a major role by influencing the education of the female part of society. As a result of the undertaken actions, in the late post-Trent period, female monasteries got back to good graces.

The elite of society, that also, served as an example, several decades after the Tridentine reform, treated a monastery life as a phenomenon in which there was a need to get involved in one way or the other. It referred to both its male and the female parts. Later, from around the second half of the seventeenth century, for at least one hundred years, the social elite maintained a neutral attitude towards the monastery life (with a few exceptions), which was also reflected in the amount of new foundations. When it comes to the age of the Enlightenment, more or less from the mid XVIII century, the social resentment comes back, and the new, utilitarian type of religiousness makes monasteries perceived as a pointless addition whereas among society as the estate owners waiting for the appropriator.

The model of behavior established in the post-Trent period influenced women, raising energetic, enterprising types with a high moral standard, with a mixture of an old medieval moral attitude, transformed by post-Trent ascetic literature and educational work of female monasteries reformed at the turn of the 16th and 17th century.

Among these women, a large group was particularly involved in the work of the foundation and the endowment of the women's monasteries.

DETERMINANTS OF CREATING A FOUNDATION

In order to make the foundation of the monastery, the approval of the church and secular authorities was needed. Church authorities verify whether the religious community would have suitable buildings, important from the perspective of preserving the enclosure, and adequate source of income. The role

⁶ Cf. S. Litak, *Od reformacji do oświecenia...*, p. 22; idem, *Jezuici na tle innych zakonów męskich w Polsce w XVI-XVIII wieku* in *Jezuici a kultura polska*, ed. L. Grzebień, S. Obirek, Kraków 1993, p. 185; M. Bednarz, *Jezuici a religijność polska (1564-1594)*, “*Nasza Przyszłość*” 1964, vol. 20, p. 158.

of secular authority, however, came down to verifying whether the foundation did not diminish the status of possessing in the nobility and would not threaten the neighbors in the city. When it comes to the clergy, the local bishop approved the consent for the foundation, whose obedience was most often imposed to nuns. There was also quite a large group of female monasteries, over which the male department of their own convent exercised the obedience, but the consent for establishing the monastery had to be given by the local administrator of the diocese, although even earlier the provincial chapter and the provincial needed to issue this permission.

Further proceedings were connected to the approval of the Pope or the General of the given monastery. In terms of secular authority, the final decision belonged to the king, who approved the foundation entries, privileges and other entitlements vested in the particular monastery.⁷

Procedures connected to the creation of a new foundation were very time-consuming, often lasting several or more years, as was in the case of the Sandomierz Benedictine monastery. Elżbieta Sieniawska began her efforts to create a new foundation after her daughters were sent to the monastery in Chełmno in 1610, she bought a land in the city and landed property in 1613 and 1614, and the nuns from Chełmno to Sandomierz arrived in October 1615.⁸

The case was different in terms of monasteries funded two or more times. It was possible to be a founder of a long-established monastery if such a foundation was not yet occupied.⁹ Another practice was to become a founder, although the religious community existed, but it was not sufficiently salaried for various reasons. This was the case of the Vilnius Benedictine nuns, whose monastery was established by Mikołaj and Katarzyna Horodyska in 1620, but founded only in 1720.¹⁰

What is more, when the original founder died, his family often remained the usual duties to the monastery. However, sometimes they could not or did not want to fulfill them, as it happened in case of Benedictine Radom. In 1605, Barbara Tarło, née Dulaska, a sister of the Toruń mother superior, Zofia Dulaska,

7 Cf. A. Szylar, *Działalność wychowawczo-edukacyjna...*, p. 36, 57–103; M. Borkowska, *Panny siostry...*, p. 152–164; eadem, *Życie codzienne polskich klasztorów żeńskich w XVII–XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1996, p. 236–240.

8 A. Szylar, *Fundacja, uposażenie i kasata klasztoru benedyktynek w Sandomierzu (1615–1903)*, "Studia Sandomierskie" 2004, vol. 11, no. 2, p. 8–14.

9 M. Borkowska, *Życie codzienne polskich klasztorów żeńskich...*, p. 239.

10 Ibidem, p. 237; eadem, *Zakony żeńskie w Polsce...*, p. 302.

signed a document in Radom, in which she promised to build a monastery, and allocated the village of Kijanka to its foundation. But she did not receive the city authorities' consent for the location, then she went to Moscow as the lady in waiting of Maryna Mniszech and only after returning, living at the Toruń monastery, resumed the foundation's plans. Since her daughter Marianna entered the monastery in 1611, Tarło became one of the founders who founded monasteries first of all for their own offspring.

However the foundation was not easy to realize because Tarło died in Toruń in 1613. In her last will, she gave her daughter the dowry of forty thousand zlotys, she donated her jewels for a new foundation, and gave all the rest of the estate property to her son, obliging him to build and found the monastery. The implementation of the mother's will took Jan Karol Tarło over fourteen years. It was not until 1627 that nuns could enter the wooden monastery, which was not even fully completed. Jan Karol delegated this task to his daughters. However, the husband of the first one, Baldwin Ossoliński, not only did not help, but he overtook the village given to the Benedictines by Tarło. Jerzy Sebastian Lubomirski, the second son-in-law, did not help but did not interfere either. Only after the death of the second one, his widow started to build a new church for the nuns, because the old one burn down along with the monastery, and her son after a long delay in 1723 started the construction of a wooden monastery.¹¹

Therefore, the title of the founder according to the then practice was given not only to the person who settled the formalities related to the approval of the foundation by the appropriate spiritual and secular authorities, donated land and secured the source of founding, built even a temporary monastery and church, but also helped for several or over a dozen years in the functioning of nuns' life. In furtherer generations, help was expected when, for instance, some destruction occurred due to war accidents or weather anomalies.

THE FOUNDERS AND FOUNDRESSES

Małgorzata Borkowska claims that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries the largest number of founding initiatives were exhibited by magnates (about

¹¹ M. Borkowska, *Klasztor benedyktynek radomskich i jego rola w życiu religijnym i kulturalnym Radomia i ziemi radomskiej* in *Radom i region radomski w dobie szlacheckiej Rzeczypospolitej. Historia społeczno-religijna okresu wczesnonowoczesnego*, ed. Z. Guldon, S. Zieliński, vol. 2, Radom 1996, p. 67–70.

two thirds), followed by religious authorities and their superiors, followed by wealthy nobles, bishops and priests who did not belong to a given monastery, monarchs and burghers.¹²

We, however, are interested in the matter of women – women's convent foundresses from the turn of the 16th/17th century till the end of the 18th century. In Table 1 there is a list of the monasteries funded during this period. The following comparative criteria were applied: a number of female monasteries belonging to a given monastery, foundress of the monastery (including nun, tertiary and secular woman), marriage foundations and other foundations (male monasteries, secular clerics, men, etc.).

Tab. 1 Foundations of monasteries in the post-Trent period until the end of the 18th century

Monastery	The number of monasteries	Foundresses				Marriage foundations	Other/ unknown founders
		Nuns	Tertiary Sisters	Secular women	Total		
Augustinian nuns	2		1		1 (50%)		1
Benedictine nuns	20	4		7	11 (55%)	1	8
Benedictine of Holy Sacrament	2			1	1 (50%)		1
Bernardine nuns	19	3		3	6 (32%)	1	12
Bridgettines nuns	7			4	4 (33%)	2	1
Dominican nuns	12		2	3	5 (42%)		7
Canoness Sisters	1			1	1 (100%)		
Carmelite (old observation)	2			2	2 (100%)		
Discalced Carmelite nuns	8			3	3 (37%)	4	1
the Sisters of st. Catherine the Virgin	5		1		1 (20%)		4

¹² M. Borkowska, *Zakony żeńskie w Polsce...*, p. 124.

Poor Clares sisters	5	3	1		4 (80%)		1
Madeleine sisters	1	1			1 (100%)		
Mariavite Sisters	19	1		1	2 (10,5%)		17
Norbertine Sisters	1					1	
Presentation Sisters	1		1		1 (100%)		
Daughters of Charity	29			8	8 (27%)	2	19
Nuns of the Visitaion	4			2	2 (50%)		2
Total	138	12	6	35	53	11	74
	100%	8,7%	4,3%	25,3%	40,8%	7,9%	53,6%

Source: The above list was prepared on the basis of M. Borkowska’s publication, *Zakony żeńskie w Polsce...*, p. 288–372.

Of the one hundred and thirty eight monasteries established in the post-Trent period, by the end of the 18th century, twelve (8.7%) were started on the initiative and funds of the nuns themselves, six (4.3%) on the initiative of tertiary sisters or tertiary groups, and thirty-five (35%) were founded by secular women. They constitute a little over forty percent of all foundations made by women. In eleven cases (7.9%) spouses are pointed out as founders, which can lead to the assumption that the role of women in making and implementing such decisions was significant. Analyzing the matter of other foundations, it is considered that about fifty-three percent are monasteries funded by men or are the religious congregations with unidentified founders, possibly including women.

THE REASONS FOR THE FOUNDATION

There were various reasons deciding on foundations made by nuns and tertiar-ies. For example, the Benedictine mother superior in Staniątki, Anna Cecylia Trzcńska founded a monastery in Krakow in 1648, which was supposed be a department of the abbey and a place of refuge for nuns during the war. Two years later, the superior of the Cracow Benedictine Fathers, Zofia Gut, gained

for the monastery the status of an independent abbey, which was however, withdrawn a few years later.¹³

Similarly, in the case of the Norbertine monastery in Krakow founded in 1643. It was established as a shelter during the war for the Zwierzyniec nuns, it was located within the city walls, and because it did not have its own novitiate, it was staffed by Zwierzyniec professed. In 1706, it became an autonomous monastery, ruled by a full-fledged superior.¹⁴

The foundress of the three Benedictine monasteries was the non-secular Eufemia Radziwiłł (1598–1658), the daughter of the Marshal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, sister of Albrycht Stanisław, the Lithuanian chancellor. On her initiative, monasteries were built in Minsk (1631), Smolensk (1638) and Orsza (1640). The foundations of the Minsk monastery were secured by Krzysztof Chodkiewicz and his wife Zofia Drucka-Horska, the money for the second foundation was given by Anna Przeclawska, while the foundation in Orsza was left without any secular founder, which eventually resulted in dissolving of the congregation in 1682. The factor influencing the decision of the mother superior concerning establishing succeeding monasteries was the readiness of the monastery in Nieśwież to act as a foundation for other women's monasteries on the eastern frontiers of the Republic of Poland. In any case, there was definitely a desire to establish Catholicism in these lands, which was supposed to balance the Orthodox Church, present there.¹⁵

The foundations created by the Chelmno superior Magdalena Mortęska were organized entirely differently. While, planning to create a congregation of Benedictine monasteries, she did not only care about legal problems or the material protection of new monastic facilities. An example is a monastery in Poznań from 1608, which she founded without a secular founder. She secured the existence of the nuns there by purchasing the so-called Górka palace and neighboring properties for the monastery, and signed Łagiewniki and Brzeźno as foundations.¹⁶

¹³ B. Krasnowolski, *Historia klasztoru Benedyktyniek w Staniątkach*, Kraków 1999, p. 136–138.

¹⁴ K. Kramarska-Anyszek, *Dzieje klasztoru PP. Norbertanek w Krakowie na Zwierzyncu do roku 1840*, "Nasza Przeszłość" 1977, vol. 47, p. 66–68.

¹⁵ M. Borkowska, *Słownik mniszek benedyktyńskich w Polsce*, Tyniec 1989, p. 79–82, 85–86; eadem, *Mniszki*, Kraków 1980, p. 128–158; eadem, *Dzieje fundacji benedyktynek w Orszy*, "Roczniki Humanistyczne KUL" 1975, vol. 23, no. 2, p. 119–131.

¹⁶ K. Górski, *Matka Mortęska*, Kraków 1971, p. 90–95; *Kroniki benedyktynek poznańskich*, ed. M. Borkowska, W. Kurkucińska, J. Wiesiołowski, Poznań 2001, p. 13–16, 25–43.

When it comes to the Benedictine of Chełmno, Zofia Żalińska and his sister Anna Witosławska, née Żalińska, they founded a monastery in Bysława in 1603. The inspiration was inheriting the estate after the deceased brother and the escape of the Chełmno nuns from the plague to the manor in Bysławek in 1602. The monastery in Bysławek was supposed to be a place of refuge for nuns. It was founded as permanently dependent on Chełmno, and Zofia was sent there. The foundation included the former brick manor house of the Żaliński family, adjusted to the monastery, a church and a chapel added to it. The funds for nuns' maintenance came from the foundations of: Bysławka, Trutnow and Niników from Żalińskis and the estates of Łąkie, Wielonek and Olszowy Młyn from the priests of Magdalena Mortęska.¹⁷

An interesting example of a monastery foundation is the Bernardine monastery of St. Józef in Krakow. The founding initiative came from the Bernardine, Teresa Zadzik, a sister and an heir of the Kraków bishop, Jakub Zadzik. Initially, the foundation's aim was to create a shelter for Bernardines from Saint Agnieszka at the time of the flood; however the established community adapted well to the rules of reformed monastery life and became a strong Bernardine institution. In the congregation, which consisted from twenty to twenty-five nuns, there were many nuns with closer and further affinities.¹⁸

An example of a lower foundation is the Krakow Augustinians. Originally functioning as a tertiary congregation, sentenced to liquidation because of the lack of enclosure, they reformed due to the superior of the group Katarzyna Kłobucka and the provincial Augustinian, father Szymon Mniszek. The effort to implement the reform, providing the constitution and introducing religious vows helped with their further existence, although the formal foundation has never been accepted by the Holy See.¹⁹

Another group of founders who appear alone in the documents includes secular women and wives with their spouses. In the case of the second ones, in the foundation files, the husband is always mentioned as first, followed by the

¹⁷ J. Fankidejski, *Klasztory żeńskie diecezji chełmińskiej*, Pelplin 1883, p. 119–125; M. Borkowska, *Słownik mniszek benedyktyńskich...*, p. 41–42.

¹⁸ M. Borkowska, *Powiązania rodzinne wewnątrz wspólnoty zakonnej na przykładzie krakowskich bernardynek*, “*Nasza Przeszłość*” 2005, vol. 104, p. 71–85; R. Gustaw, *Klasztor i kościół św. Józefa ss. Bernardynek w Krakowie*, Kraków 1947, p. 38–49.

¹⁹ G. Uth, *Szkic historyczno-biograficzny Zakonu Augustiańskiego w Polsce*, Kraków 1930, p. 237–239, 246–247; A. Szykar, *Działalność wychowawczo-edukacyjno-opiekuńcza siostr augustianek w Krakowie do schyłku XIX wieku* in *Głodne dzieci w Polsce*, ed. C. Kępski, Lublin 2011, p. 292–294.

wife, according to the current record practice. Therefore, we cannot unmistakably determine which party was the key initiator of the foundation. Perhaps they were women, which may suggest the frequency of foundations made by secular women, who were a quarter of all foundations of women's monasteries.

The reasons for creating the above mentioned foundations were varied. First of all, a private family foundation was a great splendor for the family. After Trent, a time of numerous foundations of Radziwiłł, Sieniawski, Sapieha and Koniecpolski came, but finally passed, after the Swedish wars, the times of small foundations began. Therefore, there were large property differences between monasteries, which resulted even from the conditions of the particular foundation. Sometimes there was a multitude of funders due to the complicated history of war resulting from military operations or shifting the border of the state.

The reason for making foundation was also the desire to build and provide for a monastery for the daughter or daughters. The aforementioned Barbara Tarło, née Dulcka made foundation for the monastery in Radom, in which her daughter Marianna, after the death of her mother, became the first mother superior.²⁰ Anna Koniecpolska funded for her two daughters the Bernardine monastery in Wieluń (1613),²¹ and Apolonia Jasińska together with her husband Alexander Massalski founded a Bernardine monastery in Kaunas (1618) for their daughter Klara.²² The unwritten rule was that the founding daughter in the family monastery received a pastorian, which was a great honor for the whole family. The magnates founding the monasteries for daughters usually chose conventions where their daughters could be lifetime superiors. They wanted to make sure that each past generation a representant of the family would have a pastorian. An example can be the Jarosław foundation, where, in turn, three Kostczankas were superiors,²³ two Potulickis in Sierpc,²⁴ Pac and two Pociejs in Brzeski Bridgettines.²⁵

20 M. Borkowska, *Klasztor benedyktynek radomskich...*, p. 68–70.

21 H.E. Wyczawski, *Klasztory bernardyńskie w Polsce w jej granicach historycznych*, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 1985, p. 554–556; M. Borkowska, *Zakony żeńskie w Polsce...*, p. 315.

22 H.E. Wyczawski, op. cit., p. 513–517; M. Borkowska, *Zakony żeńskie w Polsce...*, p. 308.

23 M. Borkowska, *Dynastie księży jarosławskich*, "Nasza Przeszłość" 1992, vol. 77, p. 282–286.

24 Eadem, *Leksykon zakonnic polskich epoki przedrozbiorowej*, vol. 2, *Polska Centralna i Południowa*, Warszawa 2005, p. 68–69.

25 Eadem, *Miscellanea brygitańskie: składkowa fundacja w Brześciu*, "Nasza Przeszłość" 1999, vol. 91, p. 331–340.

There were also “instead of daughters” foundations. The marshal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania with his wife Aleksandra of Sobieski, did not have their own children and raised Aleksandra’s niece, Gryzelda Wodyńska, the voivode of Podlasie, who was supposed to be their heiress. However, the girl died soon after her marriage with Jan Stanisław Sapieha. The spouses decided to fund a brigade female monastery in Grodno for the rest of the dowry of the would-be heiress. Wiesiołowska included information on this fact in the foundation’s document.²⁶

The intention of the foundresses was also to ensure the possibility of joining the founded monastery at the old age or after becoming a widow. Despite the fact that in cloistered monasteries there was a ban on admitting widows, the violation of the law in force was noted in the archives. Therefore Zofia Potulicka, née Ważyńska was admitted to the Benedictine monastery in Sierpc against the existing act, despite the fact that it was the first post-Trent generation and the laws were very strictly obeyed.²⁷

However, we can also notice other motives of the foundation. Elżbieta Sieniawska established a Benedictine foundation in Sandomierz for Zofia’s daughter, but the reason for the decision was a conflict with Magdalena Mortęska, caused by the objection of the superior to the interference of the marshal in the affairs of the monastery. Sieniawska, on the one hand a spiteful devotee, and on the other, a woman eager for power, founded a Benedictine monastery in Sandomierz, fulfilling all legal obligations and generously founding the religious congregation. The foundation was to be the peak of her aspirations, because she did not join the monastery herself, she only sent children there and she wanted to complete her would-be calling.²⁸

The new foundations were also started for religious and spiritual reasons. Prayers for founders, the right to “eternal” church services are also factors influencing the decision to found monasteries by secular persons.

Since men appeared as founders of men’s monasteries, women supported mostly female congregations. Sieniawska founded the construction of the monastery in Sandomierz, because her brother Hieronim Gostomski funded the Jesuit convent in this town. The Jesuits were the advocates of the new

²⁶ Eadem, *Miscellanea brygitańskie: Grodno*, “Nasza Przeszłość” 1996, vol. 85, p. 142–143; eadem, *Panny siostry...*, p. 28.

²⁷ Eadem, *Leksykon zakonnic polskich epoki przedrozbiorowej...*, p. 68.

²⁸ Eadem, *Panny siostry...*, p. 61–64.

post-Trent spirituality, and Sieniawska was their benefactor and remained under the influence of confessors from this monastery, so she decided to place her foundation near the Jesuit College.²⁹

THE SOCIAL STATUS OF FOUNDRESSES

As first, the two queens ought to be mentioned: Ludwika Maria and Maria Kazimiera Sobieska. The first of them, of French descent, brought nuns of the Visitation and the daughters of Charity to Poland. The nuns of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, have been well received by the queen and have been generously founded. Ludwika Maria not only looked after the construction of a brick church and monastery, but founded the expensive Kamieńczyk estate for the nuns. A first, she intended to entrust them with the task of running a home for fallen girls. However, due to the fact that the idea of creating such institution did not enjoy the support of the nobility and the magnates, the queen gave up these plans and entrusted the nuns of the Visitation with starting and running a school for girls.

The queen's relations with the nuns of the Visitation were very good, the monarchs supported them, made frequent donations, especially with food, she often visited them, staying behind the enclosure she held a retreat at the Warsaw monastery. The nuns of Charity were entrusted with the task of working among the poor and the sick ones as well as in terms of educational, caring and work among children.³⁰

When it comes to Queen Marysieńska Sobieska, she brought the nuns of the Order of the Holy Sacrament from France to Poland in 1687, she took care of foundation, but the biggest obstacle was the queen's constant interference

²⁹ I. Kaniewska, *Sieniawska Elżbieta* in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 37/1, Warszawa–Kraków 1996, p. 88–89; A. Szylar, *Fundacja, uposażenie i kasata...*, p. 9–10.

³⁰ B. Fabiani, *Warszawska pensja panien wizytek w latach 1655–1680* in *Warszawa XVI–XVIII wieku*, no. 2, Warszawa 1977, p. 174–176; A. Szylar, *Naprzód zaraz wstaną, kiedy ich obudzą...*, czyli *panny świeckie na edukacji u wizytek warszawskich w XVIII wieku* in „*Per mulierem...*” *Kobiety w dawnej Polsce – w średniowieczu i dobie staropolskiej*, ed. K. Justyniarska-Chojak, S. Konarska-Zimnicka, Warszawa 2012, p. 213; A. Schletz, *Zarys historyczny Zgromadzenia Sióstr Miłosierdzia w Polsce*, „*Nasza Przeszłość*” 1960, vol. 12, p. 70; A. Szylar, *O siostrach miłosierdzia, które „Onemu służyć będą w osobie ubogich, chorych, więźniów, sierot i innych” – wybrane aspekty w ujęciu historycznym* in *Pomoc jako zachowanie prospołeczne*, ed. T. Zbyrad, B. Krempa, Lublin 2012, p. 135–136.

in the affairs of the congregation. At the climax of the conflict, the nuns even threatened to go back to France.³¹

The second group of foundresses were magnates and noblewomen. Among them we can mention the founder of the Benedictine monastery in Grudziądz, Justyna Działyńska (née Knut), the wife of the starost of Pokrzywno. The foundress and her husband, Jan Działyński, provided foundation and landings, earlier they moved the Jesuits to Grudziądz, and the first superior became Działyńska's sister, Dorota Knut.

Many daughters from the founder's family joined the monastery.³² An interesting foundation was the Benedictine monastery of Jarosław founded by Anna Ostrogska, née Kostka, the daughter of the Sandomierz Voivode Jan Kostka and Zofia, née Odrowąż. Early orphaned by both parents, she and her sister Katarzyna were under the care of their half-brother, then of their uncle. Married to the orthodox follower, Aleksander Ostrogski, after the wedding she stayed in Jarosław. After her parents she inherited half of the city of Jarosław, with nineteen villages and other plentiful landed estates. After becoming widow, she lived very piously, raising her daughters in the Catholic faith, and the sons were to be Orthodox after their father. However, by all means she tried to raise them Catholics. She supported the Jesuit bourgeoisie in Jarosław, donated numerous lands to the Jesuits and brought Benedictines from Chełmno to Jarosław.

She built for them a wooden church and monastery in 1614, but in the following year she started building a brick temple and monastery. Jarosław Abbey was a well-endowed magnate foundation.³³

One more interesting example of the foundation is the monastery of the so-called Latin Benedictine monastery in Lviv. The foundress Katarzyna Szaporowska came from the Podolia family of Junosz. Since her childhood years she wanted to devote herself to the religious life, she mortified herself, led a godly life, she first joined the Bernardines of Lviv, then the Dominicans, but she also left them. Lastly, along with six candidates for the monastery, she began religious life by adopting the Benedictine Reformed Rule. Her ideal was monasticism based on early-Syrian patterns, propagating individual piety and

³¹ M. Borkowska, *Słownik mniszek benedyktyńskich...*, p. 119–120. Cf. eadem, *Szkoła warszawskich sakramentek według zachowanych źródeł*, “Nasza Przeszłość” 1998, vol. 90, p. 157–161.

³² Eadem, *Słownik mniszek benedyktyńskich...*, p. 49–50.

³³ Eadem, *Dynastie księży jarosławskich...*, p. 282.

tremendous mortification. It was contrary to the model of Latin monasticism, approved by the Council of Trent, which declared that community life, humility and strict obedience to the law is the fundamental pillar of religious life. She accepted this solution partially, instructed her sisters – Anna and Krystyna – to join Chełmno, while she conducted the foundation of the first generation of nuns from Lviv. It caused a protest of the superior of the Chełmno, Magdalena Mortęska, but ultimately she convinced the Archbishop of Lviv Dymitr Solikowski to give her a habit and accept her and her companions' vows and approved the foundation.³⁴

Among other Benedictine foundresses we can mention Barbara Tarło, née Dulcka (Radom), Elżbieta Sieniawska, née Gostomska (Sandomierz) and Zofia Potulicka (Sierpc).

Among the foundresses of the monasteries for Bernardines were: Helena Kopeć, née Dulcka, a wife of chamberlain from Brzesk (Brzesk Litewski), Konstancja Solatycka, née Judycka (Słonim) and Anna Wielopolska (Wieluń),³⁵ while the foundresses of Bridgettines were: Anna Sobieska, née Poradowska (Lublin) – a widow and professor of the Lublin monastery, Izabela Siemaszko, née Uchańska (Lutsk) and Krystyna Potocka, née Lubomirska (Sokal). Bridgettines Monastery in Sambor was a contributing foundation – it was founded by Szczęsna Bąkowska and Jadwiga Mniszek, née Tarło, however due to the fact that the foundation was too small, it was also joined by Mikołaj Daniłowicz, whose daughter Urszula was, the first mother superior in this monastery.³⁶

When it comes to the secular foundresses of Dominican monasteries, we should first mention the wife of a castellan Anna Lubomirska, née Branicka, who enthusiastically took care of the cause of the foundation. The beginnings were very difficult due to the difficulties connected with the acquisition of a suitable place within the city walls of Krakow. She tried to purchase the Konieczpolski manor, then she was considering buying the Ostrogski and Lanckoroński mansion, and even the plots located at Wiślna Street. After the unsuccessful effort, the opportunity to acquire Gródek occurred, but first the reluctance to sell the property, and then the demand for an extreme amount in relation to the amount that people interested in buying the property had,

³⁴ Eadem, *Leksykon zakonnic polskich epoki przedrozbiorowej*, vol. 3, *Wielkie Księstwo Litewskie i Ziemie Ruskie Korony Polskiej*, Warszawa 2008, p. 224.

³⁵ Eadem, *Zakony żeńskie w Polsce...*, p. 305, 313, 315; H.E. Wyczawski, op. cit., p. 502–503, 539–541, 554–555.

³⁶ M. Borkowska, *Zakony żeńskie w Polsce...*, p. 316–321.

caused withheld of the transaction. And if it was not for yet another woman, Krystyna Myszkowska, it would probably not have been successful.³⁷

The foundresses of the Dominicans, apart from the previously mentioned Lubomirska, were three women in Belz – Jadwiga Wołkiewicz, née Tuczampska, Zofia from Korabczewo, the wife of Hieronim Chodkiewicz. The history of the Dominican church foundation in Piotrków is also interesting. Anna Warszycka, née Rokszycka, first purchased the fields from the Dominicans, without paying for them, then she acted as their owner and forbade the building of the monastery. There might have been some conflict and the foundress resigned from the plans. The transaction was considered invalid and, eventually, the priest, canon and a citizen of Piotrków became part of the foundation of the nuns. It was one of many penny foundations.³⁸

In 1763, the Duchaczki monastery in Lviv was founded by Teresa Bekierska, née Komorowska for her daughter, Konstancja.³⁹

In the 17th century, two foundations of the Carmelite nuns (Old Observance) took place, one in Lviv in 1632 was founded by Aniela and Konstancja Dunin Szpot, and the building was financed by Kasper and Katarzyna Wielżyński. The second monastery was founded in 1688 in Dubno by Teofila Ludwika Lubomirska, née Ostrogska Zasławska, the daughter of the Kraków Voivode Władysław Dominik Zasławski Ostrogski and Katarzyna Sobieska. Teofila was born in a family that greatly supported the Carmelite nuns of Lviv. She donated for their foundation the Zasławski estate, twenty thousand zlotys, which was supposed to give two thousand commissions per year, and part of the castle orchard for the church, monastery and garden.⁴⁰

The monasteries of the Discalced Carmelite nuns was founded by: St. Marcin in 1612, Beata Bużeńska, née Myszkowska from Mirów, the staroste of Dobczyce and Brzeźnica who in 1612 brought Carmelite nuns from Belgium; in Lublin at St. Józef in 1624 Katarzyna Ligęza, née Kretkowska and in Poznań in 1665 Zofia Daniłowicz, née Tęczyńska. Another four in Lublin – the Immaculate Conception of the BVM, in Lviv, Warsaw and Vilnius were founded by marriages: Jan Mikołaj Daniłowicz with his wife Teresa Tęczyńska,

³⁷ *Kronika fundacyjna klasztoru mniszek zakonu kaznodziejskiego na Gródku w Krakowie (1620–1636)*, ed. A. Markiewicz, Kraków 2007, p. 10–12.

³⁸ M. Borkowska, *Zakony żeńskie w Polsce...*, p. 324, 328.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 333.

⁴⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 335.

Jakub Sobieski with his wife Teresa Daniłowicz, Jerzy Ossoliński with his wife Izabela and Stefan Pac with his wife Anna Rudominiako-Dusiacka.⁴¹

Among the new foundations of the Poor Clares there are four monasteries: in Bydgoszcz, the foundress of which was Zofia Smoszevska, née Rozrażewska, Poznan Bernardine; in Chęciny – a group of Franciscan Tertiary Sisters; the monastery in Kalisz was established thanks to the Cracow Poor Clares, and in Zamość on the initiative of the Zamość Tertiary Sisters and the Poor Clares from Stary Sącz.⁴²

It is worth to assess the foundations run by the Daughters of Charity. Out of twenty-nine locations, eight was established as women's foundations and two as marital foundations. Among the founders there is Helena Potocka, née Zamojska (Brody), Teresa Ossolińska, née Lanckorońska together with her daughter Katarzyna (Ciechanowiec), Augusta Plater, née Ogińska (Krasław), Teresa Jabłonowska, née Wielhorska (Marijampolė), Konstancja Hilzen, née Plater (Oświej), Helena Rzewuska, née Cetner (Rozdół), Teresa Scypion del Campo, née Klebicka (Szcuczyn Litewski), Teresa Ogińska, née Załuska (Vilnius) and queen Maria Ludwika (Warsaw).⁴³

When it comes to active religious congregations, the initiatives of female townsmen were common. Sisters of St. Katherine in Braniewo were founded in 1583 thanks to Regina Protman;⁴⁴ Presentation Sisters in Cracow in 1621 thanks to Zofia Czeska, and Mariavite Sisters in Częstochowa in 1774 on the initiative of Aniela Potemkin – a co founder of this convent.⁴⁵

To sum up, it should be acknowledge that women were very actively involved in forming the new foundations and supporting the already existing ones, not giving in to men in that matter. The relation between foundresses and monasteries has always existed. The foundresses duties included providing legal donation and, at least at the beginning, securing the nuns' living funds and, at the very least, building a temporary monastery and church. In the case of damage, wars and fires, financial support was expected from the founders. Among the rights they were entitled to; was the memory prayer of nuns and the right to services "for eternity." Some abbeys were able to specify that the

⁴¹ Ibidem, p. 336–340.

⁴² Ibidem, p. 342–344, 346.

⁴³ Ibidem, p. 362–370.

⁴⁴ B.G. Śliwińska, *Dzieje Zgromadzenia Sióstr Świętej Katarzyny Dziewicy i Męczennicy*, Olsztyn 1998, p. 78–85.

⁴⁵ M. Borkowska, *Zakony żeńskie w Polsce...*, p. 349.

foundresses were not allowed to interfere in religious matters, and above all try to control the monastery, impose candidates and the monastic officials. It was most accurately described as: “Let them diligently see the moods and fantasies of the foundresses so that they do not bring any turbulence to the monastery...”⁴⁶ Thus, it was necessary to be orientated in terms of the foundresses “mood and fantasy,” establish the principles of mutual relations, set limits that would enable nuns to obey the rules of enclosed life and not offend the foundresses ambitions.

SUMMARY

“LET THEM DILIGENTLY SEE THE HUMORS AND FANTASIES OF THE FOUNDERS SO THAT THEY WILL NOT BRING ANY TURMOIL TO THE MONASTERY...”
WOMEN – FOUNDERS OF WOMEN’S MONASTERIES IN THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES.
THE COUNCIL OF TRENT REFORM AND ITS CONSEQUENCES FOR THE FORMATION OF CLOISTERED MONASTERIES

The paper deals with women who in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were very actively involved in establishing new monasteries and supporting existing ones. Their involvement was not inferior to men in this respect. The relationship between founders and monasteries has always existed. The fundatore’s duties included legal donation and, at least at the beginning securing the nuns livelihoods and building a temporary monastery and church. In case of any damages, caused by wars and fires, financial support was also expected. The prayer for the founders throughout the existence of the monastery was one of entitled right. Sometimes the nuns were able to stipulate that the founders were not allowed to meddle in monastic matters, manage the monastery, impose candidates to the order and to the monastic offices. When establishing a monastery, it was necessary to define the rules of mutual relations as soon as possible so that nuns could realize their enclosed life and that the founders ambitions would not be violated.

Keywords: monastery, nun, female founders, 17th–18th century

DOI 10.24917/9788380842717.7

⁴⁶ Archives of the Sisters of the Visitation, directorate of the nuns of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, translated from French to Polish, ref. A 15, p. 27.

Helena Tekla Lubomirska, née Ossolińska's forgotten Warsaw palace

Aleksander Michał and Helena Tekla Lubomirska, née Ossolińska (il. 1) have a well-established reputation of the most important patrons of the epoch.¹ The art collection of Wiśnicz that included the inheritance from a father² and a father-in-law,³ but which framework consisted of the corporation's own royal purchases, was shortly after the Swedish Deluge – and in spite of its certain reduction in it – the largest in the country.⁴ The work of Lubomirski's marriage in terms of architecture is insufficiently recognized. Such undeserved lack of attention may indicate the fact that they had in their possession two leading realizations of the Warsaw palace decade: Helena Tekla brought as her dowry, a family palace at Wierzbowa Street, what is more, the Lubomirski acquired both famous and infamous palace of “the deceased marshal of Kazanowski.” In terms of the presence of the Lubomirski family, in the first case, was memorable enough to call the place Sandomierski, after Aleksander Michał's office of the Sandomierz foreman, whereas the second one was hardly ever associated with them. Their reign remains in the shadow of the two legends: “the white one,” short splendor for Adam Kazanowski (described by contemporary and descendants, similarly to the Krzyżtopór castle, became a symbol of the wealthy Polish Republic),⁵ and

1 W. Tomkiewicz, *Z dziejów polskiego mecenatu artystycznego w wieku XVII*, Wrocław 1952, p. 264.

2 Stanisław Lubomirski (1583–1649), voivode of Krakow from 1638.

3 Jerzy Ossoliński (1595–1650), the Great Chancellor of the Crown from 1643.

4 W. Tomkiewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 263–265.

5 T.S. Jaroszewski, *Odbudowa zabytków wobec historii i beletrystyki historycznej. Kilka słów o pomysłach wskrzeszenia pałacu, gdzie pan Zagłoba z małżonką wojował* in *Sztuka i historia. Materiały*

“the black one,” violent reign of Hieronim Radziejowski (harsh dispute with his wife, a young widow of Kazanowski, whose source was the palace itself, triggered a series of events that consequently were her undoing).⁶

Marek Kwiatkowski in his “housing architecture of Warsaw” has only mentioned the functioning of the building as a Lubomirski residence, omitting the architecture matter.⁷ This, apart from a casual discussion of the Carmelite church of St. Theresa with a two-axial fragment of the palace façade by Adam Miłobędzki in its monumental Polish architecture of the 17th century, has not yet been presented in the pages of synthetic studies, nor even more so did it get its monograph.⁸

In a consensus, the Lubomirski’s rule in the palace, especially because of the fact that the Byzantine Carmelites were brought into its walls, only completed the “works of destruction” started by the events of the Swedish Deluge.⁹ Such conclusion is only half legitimate – while the adaptation of the main corps to the monastery was indeed merely utilitarian, deprived of artistic ambitions and only caused blur to the style and traces of the former splendor, the edifice from the side of the town one of the most prominent façades – and this is how it appears from the compilation of residual iconography and remained relics – deserves an attention of the architecture researcher.

THE HISTORY OF FOUNDATION

The history of palace (I am going to insist on using such name for the building built on the basis of the gates of the Kazanowski palace, as it exhausts all the characteristic forms for the palace) Lubomirski is inseparably associated with the foundation of the Carmelite convent in Warsaw, which is the reason why it will be, to a larger extent, based on the chronicles of this congregation. Two chronicles of this monastery survived, one of which seems to be written as

Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki, Kraków, listopad 1988, ed. M. Bielska-Łach, Warszawa 1992, p. 387–396.

⁶ A. Kersten, *Hieronim Radziejowski. Studium władzy i opozycji*, Warszawa 1988, p. 369–370.

⁷ M. Kwiatkowski, *Architektura mieszkaniowa Warszawy*, Warszawa 1989, p. 12.

⁸ A. Miłobędzki, *Architektura polska XVII wieku*, vol. 1, Warszawa 1980.

⁹ M. Rozbicka, R. Kunkel, W. Wólkowski, *Dzieje budowlane warszawskiego pałacu Adama Kazanowskiego w świetle badań architektonicznych*, “Ochrona Zabytków” 2017, vol. LXX, p. 23–26; M. Kwiatkowski, op. cit., p. 12.

much as possible up to date, whereas the other was written from the viewpoint of several dozen years in 1710.



Il. 1. Helena Tekla Lubomirska (around 1622–1687) as Flora. The portrait by Nicolas Mignard. Source: National Museum in Warsaw.



Il. 2. Aleksander Michał Lubomirski (1614–1677), crown equerry from 1645, voivode of Kraków from 1668. The portrait by an unknown painter. Source: from the collection of the Museum of the Palace of King Jan III in Wilanów.

The beginning of the convent of the Warsaw Carmelite convent dates back to 1649.¹⁰ Funded by the efforts of the Grand Chancellor of the Crown Jerzy Ossoliński, a wooden monastery along with the started walls of the church, wiped out the cataclysm of the Swedish Deluge. After the death of the Grand Chancellor in 1650, the obligations to support the congregation were passed to his daughter, Helena Tekla Ossolińska, married to Alexander Mikhail Lubomirski¹¹ (il. 2).

During the misery of war, which was the part of the Carmelite Convent and their care takers, Aleksander Michał Lubomirski got seriously ill. At the time, his confessor asked the equerry to provide them with a new monastery as a votive offering for his recovery in recognition of the intercessory prayer of the nuns. Once he agreed for this offer, when he recovered, he was not so willing to fulfill his commitment. So when some time later the illness crossed the threshold of the Lubomirski family again, this time afflicting Helen, her husband's unkept promise was recalled. A repentant equerry promised to buy a Kazanowski palace (*palatium muratum, vulgo Pałac Kazanowskiego dictum*) for this purpose.¹²

In the archive collection of Lubomirski from Mała Wieś AGAD, the act of purchase a palace issued on June 7, 1661 has preserved.¹³ The widow of Kazanowski, Elżbieta Słuszka, *secundo voto* Radziejowska (called Halszka), at first wanted to charge one hundred and twenty thousand zlotys for the palace,¹⁴ in the end due to the religious character of the foundation she agreed to lower the price to sixty thousand zlotys.¹⁵ The Lubomirski, however, did not lose on this transaction, forcing the Carmelite convent to resign from the considerable record of Helena's mother, Izabela, née Daniłowicz, amounting to thirty thousand zlotys and a building plot that remained after their former monastery on the corner of Krakowskie Przedmieście and today's Ossoliński

¹⁰ R. Kalinowski, *Klasztory Karmelitanek Bosych w Polsce, na Litwie i Rusi: ich początek, rozwój i tułactwo w czasie rozruchów wojennych w XVII wieku: rzecz osnuta na kronikach klasztornych*, vol. 2, Kraków 1901, p. 16–17.

¹¹ Ibidem, p. 62.

¹² Ibidem, vol. 2, p. 93.

¹³ Central Archives of Historical Records (hereinafter: AGAD), Lubomirski Archives from Mała Wieś (hereinafter: ALMW), no. 343, 1603, c. 1–10.

¹⁴ AGAD, ALMW, no. 343, 1603, ref. 6, 7. The chronicles give different amounts: eighty thousand zlotys and one hundred thousand zlotys. R. Kalinowski, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 93; R. Kalinowski, op. cit., vol. 3, Kraków 1902, p. 29.

¹⁵ R. Kalinowski, op. cit., vol. 2, s. 93.

Street, which was valued for another thirty thousand zlotys.¹⁶ The Carmelites were reluctant, however they agreed to such conditions.

THE ADAPTATION OF THE PALACE INTO THE MONASTERY

On the All Saints' eve in 1663 the official reception of the church and the introduction of the Carmelite convent to the monastery took place.¹⁷ Before that, however, they made sure that the former palace interiors were completely emptied of the remains of stonework decor. "The floors and intricately made marble art which were in various places, doorways and chimneys in this masterpiece and the very exquisite palace were removed from there,¹⁸ Stolen marbles decorated the second of the palaces of "the Benefactors."¹⁹

With the new construction season, the Carmelites began a bold renovation of the palace. At first, they changed the rooftop viewing deck and an exquisite two-story dining room.²⁰ The adaptation of magnificent interiors to the strict rule of the convent did not favor the preservation of artistic values; what is more, the Carmelite struggled with a constant lack of funds that were very reluctantly sent by the equerry. The final chord of the first phase of this dubious "restaurant" under the auspices of the sisters was the demolition of "the tower and high floor" in 1668.²¹

The chronicler, from the perspective of time critically evaluating the deal that Carmelite nuns made with the Lubomirski family, noticed that in this not too fortunate, thirty years adaptation, more than eighty thousand zlotys were wasted, for which it was possible to build an entirely new monastery with better comfort and utility.²² There were also many eager buyers who tried to persuade the Carmelite from the idea of moving in, arguing that it was better suited for a secular residence.²³ Also in ecclesiastical circles, for fear of

¹⁶ Ibidem, p. 90.

¹⁷ Ibidem, p. 91.

¹⁸ Ibidem, vol. 3, p. 36.

¹⁹ The chronicler was willing to take the odium of responsibility from the Benefactors, hoping that it all took place behind their backs.

²⁰ R. Kalinowski, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 39.

²¹ Ibidem, vol. 2, p. 95. According to the second chronicle, taking down of the towers was to take place in 1664.

²² Ibidem, vol. 3, p. 29.

²³ Ibidem, p. 35.

not staying modest, such a solution had as many opponents as supporters.²⁴ Finally the Lubomirska's persistence won, since she was the one who funded the monastery in this exact place.

THE ADAPTATION OF THE PALACE INTO THE MONASTERY. TOPOGRAPHY OF THE CITY AS THE FIELD OF ARISTOCRATIC RIVALRY

It would be naive to recognize ruining a magnificent residence due to the conscious rematch of Ossolińska on its previous owners: Adam Kazanowski (hateful rival of her father)²⁵ and Hieronim Radziejowski (with whom the Lubomirski family had “marble settlements” from the time of Deluge).²⁶ Casus of Radziejowski's rehabilitation vigorously shows that the then-timers were able to rise above the toughest personal animosities in order to gain an instant political or material advantage. It is not to admit that the motivation in buying a palace should first be perceived as a kind of “hostile takeover,” targeted at preventing one of the rivals from settling in a suitable location,²⁷ when Lubomirski was connected with the unfortunate location of the former Ossoliński Palace. That was it – located off the beaten track, not allowing to take benefits from the landscape values of the Vistula banks – that was the main problem of the palace, giving the owners, who aspire it to be the greatest in the city, the sleepless nights.²⁸ On the pretext of the religious foundation, with the minimum cost and effort they managed to buy the attractive property before the competition at the same time fulfilling the ambition of showing their presence in traditionally impertinent close relations with the royal court.²⁹

²⁴ Ibidem, vol. 2, p. 90.

²⁵ J. Le Laboureur, *Wypis z podróży pani de Guebriant posłowej nadzwyczajnej do Polski, za Władysława IV* in *Zbiór pamiątek historycznych o dawnej Polsce z rękopismów, tudzież dzieł w różnych językach o Polsce wydanych oraz z listami oryginalnymi królów i znakomitych ludzi w kraju naszym*, vol. IV, ed. A.U. Niemcewicz, Leipzig 1822, p. 231.

²⁶ M. Rozbicka, R. Kunkel, W. Wólkowski, op. cit., p. 23–24.

²⁷ R. Kalinowski, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 93.

²⁸ J. Putkowska, *Architektura Warszawy XVII wieku*, Warszawa 1991, p. 119.

²⁹ P. Lasek, Ł. Traczyk, *Od wieży mieszkalnej Kaspra Sadłochy do castellum Adama Kazanowskiego. O aktualności średniowiecznego archetypu siedziby feudalnej po czasie potopu*, “Barok” 2015, vol. XXII, no. 1(43), p. 140–141.

What is more, the Lubomirski family certainly had some attempts at the Carmelite palace at Ossolińskich Street, which was kind of “bridgehead” and a practical link between their main residence and Krakowskie Przedmieście.³⁰ As a consequence, the Lubomirski family had at their disposal an entire constellation of mutually shielding premises and buildings, at the back of this tactical route of the city, where they were able to allocate their supporters and clients as often as it was needed.³¹

A PALACE AFTER ALL

Lubomirska (in the chronicles called “Benefactor,” “Funding daughter”), although she received a major discount on the church foundation, she still used the building partly in a secular way. She maintained her own rooms at the monastery from the side of a street. Because of the fact that their furnishings consisted of not exactly specified “marbles” (after their merger into the enclosures, carefully deposited in the “Synowski Palace,” i.e. Sandomierski),³² it could be concluded that they had representative character. Lubomirska probably used the opportunity of plentiful visits to the gathering by distinguished royal guests to host them in their own rooms.³³

There is no point in specifying the time frame, costs, or scope of work at Lubomirska’s apartment, or whether at first (1663) it had the façade, which became the beginning of this well-known iconography, as it was the Lubomirski family who were taking care of the construction works outside the enclosure. In this early period, it could serve them as a temporary apartment for the time of a thorough reconstruction of the second palace (1664–1666).³⁴

³⁰ W. Szaniawska, *Zmiany w rozplanowaniu i zabudowie Krakowskiego Przedmieścia do 1733 r.*, “Biuletyn Historii Sztuki” 1967, vol. XXIX, p. 305. On the field, until the end of the century the palace was built, which eventually gave way to the part of the extended European Hotel.

³¹ Expressed more than half a century ago, the idea of political “indifferentism” of the equerry may not stand the test of time: according to historian Zbigniew Hundert, Aleksander Michał Lubomirski exerted a measurable influence on the course of political affairs through his nephews, sons Jerzy Sebastian Lubomirski, and after their death made himself a protector of: Stanisław Herakliusz, Hieronim Augustyn and his namesake, Aleksander Michał. Correspondence from July 31, 2017.

³² R. Kalinowski, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 94.

³³ Queen Maria Ludwika, King Jan Kazimierz, queen and king Wiśniowiecki and Sobieski. Ibidem, p. 37–94.

³⁴ K. Mikocka-Rachubowa, *Nieznana przebudowa pałacu Jerzego Ossolińskiego*, “Rocznik Warszawski” 1985, vol. XVIII, p. 237–248.

At that time, the Carmelite nuns were disturbed by constantly moving carriages and people in the courtyard.³⁵

In 1678 a widowed Helena Lubomirska, recommended that to her “small rooms, which she had at the monastery for a long time” shall be accommodated her ladies – in-waiting because she wanted to live there in her widow years, leaving her previous palace to her son. The convention was to be credited with the introduction of this investment.³⁶

Sisters, who were not very skilled in this “builder’s play,” selected a trustee, their confessor, Father Bonawentura, who in this matter contacted with an unnamed architect. The costs were evaluated as significant (twelve thousand zlotys), since the entire corner, which “Swedes would have ruined” and has not yet been rebuilt, had to be entirely rebuilt from scratch.³⁷ The estimate, most likely with the appropriate abrasion attached, was submitted Lubomirska to accept.

All in all, Lubomirska did not move into such prepared apartment, for the rest of her life, she decided to settle down at the Lublin convention.³⁸

ARCHITECTURE

At this point, we should move from this peculiar historical and statistical feature to describing the architecture.

There is no complex representation of the street façade. Iconography describes either the Carmelite Church itself (Jan Jerzy Feyge – il. 3, Pierre Ricaud de Tirregaille, Bernardo Bellotto), or the left half of the palace façade (two variants of the same figure by Aleksander Majerski from 1819). The right half was hidden from the eyes of the drawing man behind the quarter of stone buildings. From these sources, only presenting the half of the church façade on Bellotto’s vedute deserves to be called exhaustive, to a degree allowing for the comprehensive reconstruction. When it comes to less unreliable photographic sources, they date back to the times of the reconstruction of the left half by Antonia Corazzi, initiated due to the adaptation of buildings for the needs of the Warsaw Charity Society, which became the property of the monastery in 1819. Exposed after cleaning the foreground from the tenement houses and

³⁵ R. Kalinowski, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 35.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 86.

³⁷ *Ibidem*.

³⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 87.

marking out the square, the right segment shows itself in an impoverished shape, lacking a stonework detail.

Here, remained relics of the palace can be useful: happily, three window frames have preserved to our times, originally in the front façade, now re-embedded in the wall of the church sacristy. They are one of the most magnificent early Baroques in Warsaw: characteristic rakes provide them with individualistic features, elongated upwards in the shape of “donkey ears.” Faithfulness of Canaletto’s church façade can be verified by its preserved negative photo.

From such “shreds” they had to “sew up” the façade again: it resulted in its graphic reconstruction (see il. 4), prepared according to the architects’ indications, Tomasz Kuls and Tomasz Birezowski.

In its light, the building seems to be in the type of the street palace: oblong, with a pedestal at the base and a high piano nobile with ordinal expression; unified with the facade of the monastic church with beamed floors. In this configuration, the church plays the role of a high accent, balancing the unnecessary horizontalism of the palace facade (in a similar way as the Zygmuntowska tower in the front, showy elevation of the Royal Castle). It is characteristic to forge in the facade “happy” windows with a large shape, which – intensified the thick frames – points out to the secular style of the interior: so strongly contrasting with the “darkroom,” enforced by a monastic visitor in the former palace wing, helping with mortification.³⁹

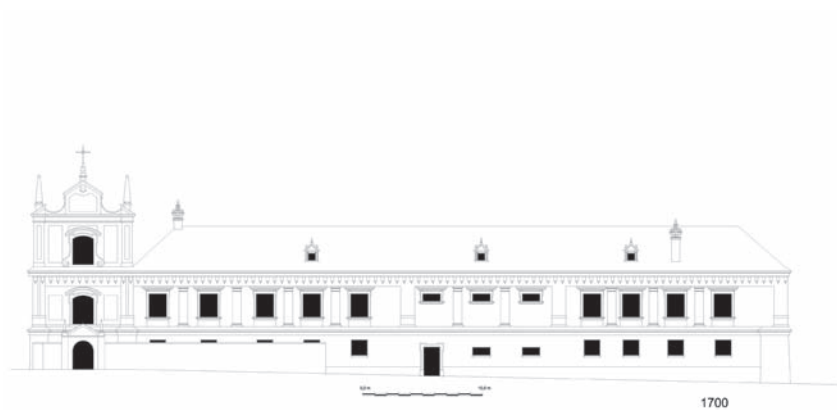
The language of architectural forms is characterized by far-reaching conservatism, so that even such an experienced researcher as Adam Miłobędzki, analyzing the fragment of the building’s façade (as it was depicted in Feygie’s schematic drawing), was leaning towards dating back to the times before Swedish Deluge.⁴⁰ Irregular layout of window openings and their “flattening” in the central axes, pointing the location of the staircase, involuntarily bring associations with the Royal Castle located on the opposite end of the square. The architectural detail (duplicated pilasters, decoration of panel and frame, cantons) appears to be basically borrowed from the Zygmunt’s Castle tower.

³⁹ R. Kalinowski, *op. cit.*, vol. 3, p. 38–39.

⁴⁰ A. Miłobędzki, *op. cit.*, p. 183.



Il. 3. The Church of the Discalced Carmelites. The painting by Jan Jerzy Feyge from 1701. Source: Sächsisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Dresden.



Il. 4.

THE ROLE OF THE FOUNDATION IN THE ROYAL PLANS

This stylistic homogeneity of the building is characteristic not only for the Castle, but also for the neighboring buildings of monumental architecture built in the same period as it – Bernardine’s churches of St. Anne (the parts completed before 1668) and the Carmelites of St. Józef Oblubieniec (apart from the facade from the 18th century). With a little bit more careful observation, we can spot some regularity concerning the spatial situation.

All these factors make us pay more attention to the potential role of the foundation as part of the Baroque idea of the renewal of the Warsaw representative route (Vasa Forum). Monumental temples and palaces with their harmonious facades in the eastern line of Krakowskie Przedmieście would constitute a fine setting (a certain *scenae frons*) for the old Polish *theatrum triumphalis*. A monographer of the church of St. Anne, Dariusz Kaczmarzyk imputed such a role to three monasteries.⁴¹ Giovanni Battista Gisleni (1600–1672) was supposed to be the author of the concept and designs of each building: so far, his authorship has been successfully confirmed in the projects of both churches.⁴²

The term “Vasa Forum” itself is not historical: it was coined by Professor Juliusz Chrościcki. Although there is no decisive archival proof for the existence of such a general consistent concept, it can be concluded from a drawing presentation in the frontispiece of the London draftsman, Giovanni Battista Gisleni (*Varii disegni d’architettura...*).⁴³ While the designs of freestanding monuments on the square are certainly older, the idea of putting them in a monumental “frame” could date back to the years after the Deluge, and its direct impetus could be signing a peace declaration in Oliwa with Sweden in 1660. It would suit the reformist agenda of the royal court,⁴⁴ targeted at improving the weakened prestige of the monarchy

⁴¹ D. Kaczmarzyk, *Kościół św. Anny*, Warszawa 1984, p. 132–133.

⁴² Design drawings from the collections of Castello Sforzesco: lombardiabeniculturali.it/opere-arte/schede/4y010-26765/?view=autori&offset=13&hid=23285&sort=sort_int;lombardiabeniculturali.it/opere-arte/schede/4y010-26754/?view=autori&offset=29&hid=23285&sort=sort_int [access: 4.07.2018].

⁴³ upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/e/eb/Gisleni_Varii_Disegni.jpg [access: 4.07.2018].

⁴⁴ S. Mossakowski, *Galeria przy Villa Regia w Warszawie projektu G.B. Gisleniego*, “Biuletyn Historii Sztuki” 1995, vol. LVII, p. 45.

(analogous “increase” in building was previously the aftermath of Zebrzydowski gathering).⁴⁵

In order to implement it, the court, without proper means, set up magnate fortunes.⁴⁶ For example, in 1663, a magnate from the land of Biecz, Jan Wielopolski Starszy, managed to obtain the church of St. Anne.⁴⁷ Aleksander Michał Lubomirski was a royalist and, in principle, remained this attitude even in the face of a trial, which could have been caused by an open speech against the king by his brother Jerzy:⁴⁸ his behavior towards the robbery had only a certain dose of security.⁴⁹ The evidence of stability by placing their interests alongside the king is the fact that from 1658 until the death of the hussar banner in the crown computing.⁵⁰ We can read in the chronicle that Helena Tekla was on good terms with Queen Maria Ludwika, whom she hosted in the monastery: sharing their time with the Carmelite nuns happened in the aura of friendliness and reciprocity.⁵¹

Having such arrangements with the royal court would mean some sacrifices for the participants, also in the form of a restriction in the choice of an architect. It could, in some way, explain the “neglectful” treatment of the investment by Helena Tekla’s. Ossolińska, having shaped her artistic formation under the influence of her father,⁵² in terms of her architectural preferences seemed to be leaning towards the North Italian aesthetics of “Serline-Palladian” (vide: two reconstructions of the Sandomierz palace):⁵³ the building is maintained in the “Roman” style, characteristic for the courtly environment.⁵⁴

45 At that time (about 1607), the marble block was extracted and the shaft was forged for the unrealized monument of victory at Guzów, used again during the erection of Zygmunt III’s column. J. Chrościcki, op. cit., p. 57, 58.

46 See system of palaces *Rolli degli alloggiamenti pubblici* in Genua.

47 D. Kaczmarzyk, op. cit., p. 114–116.

48 M. Nagielski, *Druga wojna domowa w Polsce. Z dziejów polityczno-wojskowych u schyłku rządów Jana Kazimierza Wazy*, Warszawa 2011, p. 101, 111, 260.

49 *Ibidem*, p. 293.

50 E. Janas, L. Wasilewski, *Społeczne aspekty rozwoju husarii w latach 1648–1667 na przykładzie chorągwi hetmana wielkiego koronnego Stanisława Potockiego i wojewody sandomierskiego Władysława Myszkowskiego*, “Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości” 1981, vol. XXIII, p. 65–112;

51 R. Kalinowski, op. cit., vol. 2, p. 92.

52 A builder from Sent, Wawrzyniec Senes provided a service for Jerzemy Ossoliński.

53 K. Mikocka-Rachubowa, op. cit., p. 241–246; S. Mossakowski, *Tylman z Gameren (1632–1706). Twórczość architektoniczna w Polsce*, Warszawa 2012, p. 111–118.

54 A. Miłobędzki, op. cit., p. 194–206.

FINAL CONCLUSIONS AND THE RESEARCH POSTULATES

On the example of this particular foundation, it can be stated that, unlike father and uncle⁵⁵ – above average conscious of their expectations at the level of both the content and the form of architecture patrons, cultivating their individualized architectural taste and submissive to the implementation project (see “*Palatium libertatis...*”⁵⁶ and *O genezie architektury pałacu Krzyżtopór...*⁵⁷) – Helena Tekla Ossolińska was not this kind of “designer.” She was able to insist on a pre-chosen location, the main design decisions however, as willing to shift to partners (royal court environment, Carmelites).

Nonetheless, the full picture of Helena Tekla Lubomirska as patron of architecture, in the face of her limitation in this foundation, could be seen only after getting to know the background of investment projects treated by her as a priority: restorations of the Sandomierz Palace. Moreover, it does not exhaust the matter: apart from the previously mentioned locations, Lubomirski’s marriage had residences in Kolbuszowa, Rzemień, near Wola Justowska and many others.⁵⁸ The researcher, who wants to verify the above presented individual judgment, will face the promising perspectives.

SUMMARY

HELENA TEKLA LUBOMIRSKA, NÉE OSSOLIŃSKA’S
FORGOTTEN WARSAW PALACE

The article is a monograph of a thus far neglected by scholars palace – monastery founded by Helena Tekla Lubomirska, née Ossolińska in Warsaw on the site of the once splendid (in) famous Kazanowski Palace in the decades following the Swedish Deluge. The article provides the reader with an overview of the history of the foundation, examines Lubomirska’s possible motivations behind the investment, introduces a reconstruction drawing of the building’s

55 Krzysztof Ossoliński (1587–1645), voivode of Sandomierz from 1638, founder of the Krzyżtopór palace in Ujazd.

56 W. Kret, „*Palatium libertatis Reipublicae Poloniae*”. *Problematyka artystyczna i ideowa pałacu Jerzego Ossolińskiego w Warszawie*, “*Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*” 1965, vol. XXVII, p. 173–196.

57 M. Fabiański, *O genezie architektury pałacu Krzyżtopór w Ujeździe i jego dekoracji*, “*Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*” 1996, vol. LVIII, p. 270–272.

58 K. Mikocka-Rachubowa, op. cit., p. 236.

façade and divagates on its potential role in the Baroque concept for the rearrangement of the Eastern frontage of the Warsaw's Cracow Suburb Street as a part of a broader Royal propagandistic agenda.

Keywords: palace, magnate patronage, magnatery, Carmelite nuns, monastery, Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, Warsaw, Baroque, Vasas

DOI 10.24917/9788380842717.8

JAROSŁAW PIETRZAK

Pedagogical University of Cracow

Managers, servants and correspondents. Mikołaj Krogulecki and Jan Antoni Lamprecht under the patronage of Maria Kazimiera Sobieska and Elżbieta Sieniawska, née Lubomirska in the years 1698–1714¹

PREFACE

As yet, duties of officials and scribes under aristocratic patronage have not been well documented.² Let us remember that nobles' courts were a semblance of the royal seat on the periphery of the country.³ Aristocratic residences

-
- ¹ The text has been produced within the grant project of the National Science Centre FUGA 4 (agreement UMO–2015/16/S/HS3/00095) entitled “Organisation and operation of the courts of Maria Kazimiera d’Arquien Sobieska in Poland, Italy, and France in the years 1658–1716.”
 - ² Z. Szkurlatowski, *Organizacja administracji i pracy w dobrach wielkiej własności feudalnej w Polsce XVII i XVIII w. w świetle instruktarzy ekonomicznych*, “Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego” 1957, Series A, no. 8, p. 147–156; A. Pośpiech, W. Tygielski, *Spoleczna rola dworu magnackiego XVII–XVIII wieku*, “Przegląd Historyczny” 1978, vol. LXIX no. 2, p. 215–234; M. Miłusiński, *Zarząd dóbr Bogusława Radziwiłła w latach 1636–1669* in *Administracja i życie codzienne w dobrach Radziwiłłów XVI–XVIII wieku*, ed. U. Augustyniak, Warszawa 2009, p. 195–282; A. Słaby, *Kobiety w kręgach administracyjnych latyfundiów magnackiego – na przykładzie dóbr Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej* in *Epistolografia w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, vol. VI, *Stulecia XVI–XIX. Nowa perspektywa historyczna i językowa*, ed. P. Borek, M. Olma, Kraków 2015, p. 279–291.
 - ³ More: W. Czaplński, J. Długosz, *Życie codzienne magnaterii polskiej w XVII wieku*, Warszawa 1976, s. 55–70; E. Kowecka, *Dwór „Najrządniejszego w Polsce magnata”*, Warszawa 1991; B. Popiołek, *W kręgu dworu magnackiego w XVIII w. Tezy badawcze*, “Rocznik Naukowo-Dydaktyczny WSP w Krakowie” 1999, *Prace Historyczne* XX, no. 203, p. 155–158; S. Roszak, *Dwór*

provided employment to untitled noblemen of good birth who wanted to get an education and livelihood in form of a salary or land grants. Being a servant offered the prospect of social ennoblement and occasionally promotion to official positions. The officials served in aristocratic households whereas administrators and inspectors were sent into the field with specific tasks. The same duties were performed by court officials at the request of both magnates; however, this subject has never been fully elaborated on.⁴

I would like now to refer the matter of servants' duties to the activities of Mikołaj Krogulecki and Jan Antoni Lamprecht in the years 1698–1714. The aim of this article is to illustrate the relationships between mentioned officials and their patrons: Maria Kazimiera Sobieska and Elżbieta Sieniawska, née Lubomirska, the voivode of Belz and protector of the queen's possessions (Grand Hetmaness of the Crown since 1706 and Castellan of Cracow since 1710). Let us remember that after the queen had gone to Rome in 1698, Sieniawska started sorting out all matters related to properties on the lands of Jarosław, Kałusz, Olesno, Stryj and Tarnopol, which have been the widow's seat (Polish: *Oprawa wdowia*) of Maria Kazimiera. She

warszawski a dwory prowincji: między konfrontacją a potrzebą adaptacji in *Dwory magnackie w XVIII wieku*, ed. T. Kostkiewiczowa, A. Roćko, Warszawa 2005, p. 9–19; B.M. Puchalska-Dąbrowska, *Polski dwór magnacki jako ośrodek kultury w relacjach podróżników angielskich z XVIII wieku* in *Dwory magnackie w XVIII wieku*, p. 29–41; M. Sawicki, *Dwór magnacki w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim jako regionalne centrum społeczne w drugiej połowie XVII wieku*, "Przegląd Wschodnioeuropejski" 2012, vol. 3, p. 13–27; A. Betlej, *Królowie na prowincji. Kilka refleksji na temat ceremoniału na dworach magnackich w XVIII wieku* in *Centrum. Prowincje. Peryferia. Wzajemne relacje w dziejach sztuki*, ed. P. Gryglewski, K. Stefański, R. Wróbel, Łódź 2013, p. 93–104.

⁴ Regarding this subject individual articles should be mentioned: K. Maliszewski, *Relacje pocztmistrza toruńskiego Jakuba Kazimierza Rubinkowskiego z „królową bez korony i pierwszej damy 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, s. 121–127; B. Popiołek, *Gdańskie kontakty Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej, hetmanowej w. kor.*, "Rocznik Naukowo-Dydaktyczny WSP w Krakowie" 1993, *Prace Historyczne* XVI, no. 158, s. 203–220; eadem, *Pozycja kobiety w czasach Augusta II* in *Partnerka, matka, opiekunka. Status kobiety w dziejach nowożytnych od XVI do XX wieku*, ed. K. Jakubiak, Bydgoszcz 2000, p. 291–301; eadem, *Dobrodziejki i klienci. O patronacie kobiecym w XVIII w.* in *Patron i dwór. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku*, ed. E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, J. Urwanowicz, Warszawa 2006, p. 385–395; D. Bąkowski-Kois, *Zarządcy dóbr Elżbiety Sieniawskiej – studium z historii mentalności 1704–1726*, Kraków 2005; A. Słaby, *Rządząca oleszycka. Dwór Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej jako przykład patronatu kobiecego w czasach saskich*, Kraków 2014.

simultaneously negotiated with Augustus II the outstanding widow's seat – so-called *donum nuptial* of Maria Kazimiera located on the salt mines in Wieliczka and Bochnia with no successful results. On top of that Sieniawska supervised the estate administrators and lessees, watched the timeliness of lease payments, protected the royal goods from robberies of the royal and foreign armies, did taxes and watched and the correspondence and parcels of Maria, which were sent to Rom.⁵ Firstly, it is important for this part of study to determine what were the motives of the Krogulecki's and Lamprecht's ventures and the attempt to answer the question in whose interest they were acting. Secondly, we need to closely look at the performance evaluation in regard to work and tasks given to both servants by the queen and Sieniawska. Finally, thought should be given to the matters Krogulecki and Lamprecht had in common and to differences in their duties.

The choice of the turning points has been partially explained. The beginning was M.K. Sobieska's departure to Rome and entrusting the care of queen's estates to Sieniawska. The considered period ends at the beginning of 1714, when J.A. Lamprecht died and the last bond between the servant and his patroness has been severed. It is necessary to clarify that M. Krogulecki died in 1707⁶ and almost all responsibilities, especially those related to estates on the lands of Tarnopol, have been taken over by J.A. Lamprecht.

Separate mention should be made of the research material comprising rich correspondence between E. Sieniawska, née Lubomirska, M. Krogulecki and J.A. Lamprecht. Relatively few letters from M.K. Sobieska addressed to

-
- ⁵ A. Link-Lenczowski, *Sieniawscy i Sobiescy po śmierci Jana III*, "Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis" 1984, vol. LVI no. 726, p. 245–256; K. Kossarzecki, *Podziały dóbr Sobieskich w latach 1698–1699*, "Studia Wilanowskie" 2004, vol. XV, p. 7–25; M. Ujma, *Latyfundium Jana Sobieskiego 1629–1696*, Opole 2005, p. 55; T. Szulc, *Status materialny Marii Kazimierzy Sobieskiej po jej koronacji*, "Studia Prawno-Ekonomiczne" 2014, vol. XCI, no. 1, p. 182–190; R. Nestorow, *Pro domo et nomine suo. Fundacje i inicjatywy artystyczne Adama Mikołaja i Elżbiety Sieniawskich*, Warszawa 2016, p. 52–55; B. Popiołek, *Królowa bez korony. Studium z życia i działalności Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej, ok. 1669–1729*, Kraków 1996, p. 31–37, 40–42; eadem, *Zamiana ról. Królowa Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska i Elżbieta z Lubomirskich Sieniawska, kasztelanowa krakowska in Maria Kazimiera Sobieska (1641–1716). W kręgu rodziny, polityki i kultury*, ed. A. Kalinowska, P. Tyska, Warszawa 2017, p. 167–177.
- ⁶ E. Sieniawska to Maria Kazimiera Sobieska, Warszawa, 10 IV 1707, Central Archives of Historical Records (hereinafter: AGAD), Warsaw Radziwiłł Archive (hereinafter: AR), dept. V, file 14275/II, p. 53; A. Dumont to J.A. Lamprecht, Danzig, 13 I 1708, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 3356, p. 19–20 f.

her servants have survived to our day. We learn about correspondence from the queen in Rome from letters written by persons mentioned above. On this basis, we can conclude that all decisions made by Sobieska have been delivered with several months delay. This situation may be explained not only by the geographical distance between Rome and Red Ruthenia, but also by the need of a safe way of transporting letters.⁷ Maria Kazimiera made sure the information about her assets and actions of her sons wouldn't leak to Augustus II and his intelligence. The lack of letters from the queen to officials is compensated for the extant correspondence addressed to inter alia E. Sieniawska, née Lubomirska and the Deputy Chancellor of Lithuania Stanisław Antoni Szczuka. Separate mention should be made of letters from two treasurers of the queen Maria Kazimiera Sobieska – Andrzej Dumont and Jan Hiż which show the relationship between Krogulecki and Lamprecht, and both patronesses. Before going any further, it is important to elaborate on Michał Krogulecki and J.A. Lamprecht.

In the opinion of Kasper Niesiecki, the family of the first official originated from the Sandomierz Voivodship.⁸ At this moment we are unable to elaborate on the relationships of Krogulecki and his family, except for the fact that Pleszewska,⁹ the mother of Aleksander who was a servant of the queen Maria Kazimiera,¹⁰ was his mother-in-law. The earliest reference that confirmed that Mikołaj was a servant comes from the year 1672 and was related to granting him for his service one and one quarter lan of land in the village Kopanka, the

7 More: J. Wojtowicz, *Ze studiów nad tzw. kręgiem korespondencyjnym. Założenia – badania – postulaty* in *Rozprawy z dziejów XVIII wieku. Z dziejów komunikacji społecznej epoki nowożytnej*, ed. J. Wojtowicz, Toruń 1993, p. 23–31; K. Maliszewski, *Komunikacja społeczna epoki nowożytnej* in *Rozprawy z dziejów XVIII wieku...*, p. 7–10; J.A. Gierowski, *Korespondencja urzędników latyfundialnych jako źródło do historii gospodarczej i społecznej* in *Kraków–Małopolska w Europie środkowej. Studia ku czci Profesora Jana M. Małeckiego w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, ed. K. Broński, J. Purchla, J. Szpak, Kraków 1996, p. 93–96; M. Jarczykowa, *Czytelniczy obieg korespondencji staropolskiej* in *Epistolografia w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej, I, Stulecia XV–XVII*, ed. P. Borek, M. Olma, Kraków 2011, p. 381–393; U. Kicińska, *Korespondencja jako źródło do badań aktywności gospodarczej kobiet w epoce saskiej* in *Kobiece kręgi korespondencyjne w XVII–XIX wieku*, ed. B. Popiołek, A. Słaby, U. Kicińska, Warszawa–Bellerive-sur-Allier 2016, p. 45–56.

8 K. Niesiecki, *Herbarz polski*, ed. J.N. Bobrowicz, vol. V, Lipsk 1840, p. 384.

9 K. Sarnecki, *Pamiętniki z czasów Jana Sobieskiego*, vol. I, *Diariusz 1691–1695*, ed. J. Woliński, Wrocław 2005, p. 234.

10 M.K. d'Arquien Sobieska to Aleksander Pleszewski, Rzym, 7 IV 1714, AGAD, AR, dept. III, file 33, p. 3–4.

district of Kałusz and one-eight lan of soil.¹¹ This means that Krogulecki joined the service earlier, possibly in the late 60' of the 17th century. Since around 1677 Krogulecki was on orders of the queen M.K. Sobieska. He was responsible for, inter alia, obtaining payments for queen's barber surgeon from the starost of Wyszogród Adam Kotowski, giving instructions in regards to ordering glass for windows in the queen's residence in Jarosław, administration of the queen's kitchen and purchase contracts for uniform cloth for Hungarian infantry. He was supervising the rafting and selling salt from Kałusz and grain from the farmlands in Jarosław, obtaining ground lease payments (Kałusz, Kurów, Krzeczów), taking care of the Korniakt Palace in Lviv and dispute resolution between Maria Kazimiera and leaseholders, Jewish and Tatar merchants, and finally – taking care of his employer's business in the Crown Tribunal in Lublin.¹² Krogulecki was also a keen observer of political and court events and kept the rest of officials and scribes informed about them: "Here, at court, *absolute* nothing was happening, because I am doing my duties. If there was something *vocivit*, I would inform you earlier. It may be the confidants, who sent me here, who are coming back *infelicitibus*."¹³ Initially, Krogulecki served as queen's Master of the Horse. Since 1688 he held the office of Great Deputy Master of the Pantry of Mielnik (PL: podstoli mielnicki)¹⁴ and in 1697 he was promoted to the position of The Pantler of Żydaczów (PL: stolnik).¹⁵

We have even less data about the second official. Jan Antoni (Jean Antoine) Lamprecht probably originated from France; however, thanks to his long stay in Poland he mastered both written and spoken Polish language. He is

¹¹ M. Ujma, *Latyfundium...*, p. 112.

¹² All mentioned activities are described in the correspondence from Mikołaj Krogulecki to the queen Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska from 1694–1695, The National Historical Archives of Belarus in Minsk, (hereinafter: NAHB), Sobieski Archive in Oława (hereinafter: ASO), f. 695, descr. 1, no. 43, c. 34r–36v, 54r–54v and NAHB, ASO, f. 695, descr. 1, no. 228, c. 1r–6v. Andrzej Wardyński (Wardzyński), Andrzej Wolski, Samuel Brochocki, N.N. Cieszkowski from 1677–1698 (see AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 7781, c. 1–93), letter to Adam Kotowski (see Potocki Archive in Radzyń, file 282, 79) and receipts issued by Mikołaj Krogulecki from 1694–1695 (see NAHB, ASO, f. 695, descr 1, no. 7, c. 18r–21r).

¹³ M. Krogulecki to Andrzej Wolski, Warszawa, 30 I 1698, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 7781, c. 85.

¹⁴ *Urządnicy podlascy XIV–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, published by E. Dubas-Urwanowicz et al., ed. A. Gąsiorowski, Kórnik 1994, p. 117, no. 967.

¹⁵ *Urządnicy województwa ruskiego XIV–XVIII wieku (ziemia halicka, lwowska, przemyska i sanocka). Spisy*, published by K. Przyboś, ed. A. Gąsiorowski, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1987, p. 187, no. 1540.

believed to have been a trusted servant of Sobieski since around 1679.¹⁶ There is an indication that he was privy to important royal secrets: his presence at the court during the negotiations and signing a marriage contract by Teresa Kundegunda Sobieska with Maximilian Emanuel Wittelsbach, the Elector of Bavaria, as well as during the princess' wedding ceremony in 1694.¹⁷ After Jan III Lamprecht's death he was put under the princes' commands. He was responsible for estate matters of the prince Aleksander Sobieski related to the holding and expansion of the Palace in Wilanów.¹⁸ After that, he was nominated to the position of secretary of the Prince Konstantin in Żółkwia and was responsible for his financial affairs until the day of his death.¹⁹ He was also a keen observer of political life in the country. The obtained information has been written down in form of news-sheets. His attention was diverted towards life at the court of Augustus II, Sejm and Senate sittings, visits of parliamentary representatives from abroad, intel on troop movements and commercial trades, also related to lands, made by magnates.²⁰ Well known are the details about Lamprecht's family life. His first wife died in October 1710.²¹ Shortly thereafter, he entered into marriage again. Sobieski's servant left behind two daughters from the first marriage. After his death in 1714

16 K. Kossarzecki, *Nieznany włoskojęzyczny inwentarz z 1696 roku na tle sporów majątkowych pomiędzy Sobieskimi po śmierci Jana III* in *Źródła do dziejów Sobieskich z Archiwum w Mińsku i zbiorów francuskich*, "Ad Villam Novam. Materiały do dziejów rezydencji", ed. K. Kossarzecki, vol. VII, Warszawa 2012, p. 11.

17 J.A. Lamprecht to F. Wierusz-Kowalski, [n.d., s.l.], AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 8175/II, p. 349–350.

18 A. Skrzypietz, *Wilanowskie „gospodarstwo” królewicza Aleksandra*, "Studia Wilanowskie" 2014, vol. XXI, p. 55–73.

19 M. Ujma, *Między Janem III a jego potomkami. Klienci rodziny Sobieskich* in *Patron i dwór...*, p. 124–125. The indication is given in the Lamprecht's will from the 29th of January 1714; see The National Historical Archives of Belarus in Minsk, Sobieski Archive in Oława, F. 695, descr. 1, no. 7, c. 60r–62v.

20 Lamprecht mentioned regular creation of news-sheets: "I attach news-sheets to my correspondence, which has been used by HM Prince Alexander to give orders;" see J.A. Lamprecht to F. Wierusz-Kowalski, [n.d., s.l.], AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 8175/II, p. 269. More in: A. Kucharski, *O sobie, ludziach i świecie. Listy Jakuba Kazimierza Rubinkowskiego do Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej jako egodokumenty i źródła wiadomości gazetowych (1716–1722)* in *Kobiece kręgi...*, p. 31–44; *Listy Jakuba Kazimierza Rubinkowskiego do Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej (1716–1726)*, published by A. Kucharski, K. Maliszewski, Toruń 2017.

21 J.A. Lamprecht to F. Wierusz-Kowalski, Złoczów, 23 X 1710, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 8175/II, p. 247–249. The first wife helped Jan Antoni administrate the estates on the lands of Żółkiew which were in the hands of prince Konstantin, as demonstrated in her correspondence from 1712–1713 (AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 8175/III).

both were left under the care of the princess Konstantin Sobieski and given in marriage in 1723 and 1724.²²

His serving activities were very wide. Administration of estates – on the lands of Jarosław, Kałusz, Stryj and Tarnopol – required constant travels through us. The Pantler of Żydaczów was supervising the rafting and selling salt from Kałusz and grain from the farmlands in Jarosław. Those responsibilities have caused him a lot of troubles, especially in case of very little growing, not finding a buyer or when the prices were – in his opinion – too low: “I received a message from Gdańsk that there is no profit from grain, the expenses will be big.”²³ Sometimes the shipments have been pulled over for inspection in the customs houses in Brześć Litewski or Kazimierz, which required Krogulecki’s intervention at a given location.²⁴ Apart from trade responsibilities, Krogulecki was watching over timely execution of payments for the rent and prowent (a form of farm income in former Poland) from queen’s estates based on summaries prepared by stewards, inter alia, Trojanowski. He would then bring the money to Sieniawska’s treasury in Lviv.²⁵ At the end the money was transported to Rome by the queen’s treasurer, Dumont.²⁶ Krogulecki personally visited specific estates for inspection and in order to prepare himself for a journey to Rome:

²² K. Sobieski to S.B. Rupniewski, Wrocław, 3 X 1723, AGAD, The Archive of Jan Zamoyski, file 2887, p. 152–153; idem to idem, Wrocław, 11 II 1724, ibidem, p. 148–150.

²³ M. Krogulecki to M.K. d’Arquien Sobieska, Jarosław, 6 VIII 1701, AGAD, AR, file 7781, p. 108–109.

²⁴ Idem to idem, Lublin, 30 V 1706, AGAD, AR, file 7781, p. 139; idem to E. Sieniawska, née Lubomirska, Surochów, 24 III 1701, The Princes Czartoryski Library (hereinafter: BCz), MS 5863/III, p. 269–276 (letter 20056). More: J. Burszta, *Handel magnacki i kupiecki między Sieniawą nad Sanem a Gdańskiem od końca XVII do połowy XVIII wieku*, “Rocznik Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych” 1954, vol. XVI, p. 174–232.

²⁵ E. Sieniawska to M.K. Sobieska, Lwów, 5 XII 1700, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 14275/I, p. 21; M. Krogulecki to F. Wierusz-Kowalski, Czestylów pod Tarnopolem, 11 III 1702, NAHB, Fond Radziwiłł (hereinafter: FR) fond 694, descr. 7, no. 882, c. 1r–1v; idem to Aleksander Sobieski, Moszczana, 5 X 1702, NAHB, FR, f. 694, descr. 7, no. 882, c. 10v–11r.

²⁶ A. Dumont to E. Sieniawska, [n.d., s.l.], BCz, MS 5801/III, p. 347 (letter 9362); Jan Hiż to M. Krogulecki, à Varsovie, 29 XII 1706, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 5189, p. 21–22 f.

I need to have a look if deputies of starosts act according to the account books. I need to take care of mine, too, so I'm done until St. John's Day and so I can go to Rome as soon as possible.²⁷

Selling agricultural products and minerals as well as timely execution of payments for the rent were the key responsibilities, if we accept that money obtained this way ensured the queen an adequate standard of living among the elite in the Eternal City.²⁸ Krogulecki kept his protector informed of the income and prepared a specific account of grain and salt sales and rent payments for the period of 1698–1701.²⁹ Obviously, it demonstrates his honesty. We can assume that he tried to avoid being suspected of embezzlement by other officials. The field personnel consisting of Deputy subperfect, stewards, inspectors, folwark accounts managers (PL: pisarz prowentowy) was under Krogulecki's supervision, who had insight into their work. He was tracking officials' dishonesty, who had not been supervised by their patroness. As an example, upon arrival to Jarosław he said:

It is easy to determine what they've done after selling grain of YRH in my tenure [...] which I found in the account book of Kątkowski, who only contributed 22 235 florins to the Treasury within two years and in the next year the profit was bigger. I had to dismiss him from the position of deputy of starost.³⁰

It was Krogulecki's responsibility to enforce debts from the Jews and noble leaseholders.³¹ He accused the castellan of Halych, Krzysztof Skarbek, and the castellan of Samogitia, Wilhelm Eustachy Grothus, of destruction of goods and oppression of subjects.³² It is important to mention that Krogulecki was

²⁷ M. Krogulecki to M.K. Sobieska, Jarosław, 20 VI 1701, BCz, MS 5863/III, p. 289–292 (letter 20059).

²⁸ M. Komarzyński, *Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska królowa Polski 1641–1716*, Kraków 1984, p. 245–263; A. Markuszewska, *Festa i muzyka na dworze Marii Kazimiery Sobieskiej w Rzymie (1699–1714)*, Warszawa 2012.

²⁹ M. Krogulecki to M.K. Sobieska, Ostrów, 21 IV 1701, BCz, MS 5863/III, p. 284 (letter 20057).

³⁰ Idem to idem, Surochów, 29 VI 1701, BCz, MS 5863/III, p. 295 (letter 20060). More about dishonesty of the officials: D. Bąkowski-Kois, op. cit., p. 62–70; M. Miłuński, op. cit., p. 256–260.

³¹ Szymon Krosnowski to M. Krogulecki, [s.l.] 19 VII 1705, NAHB, FR, f. 694, descr. 1, no. 882, c. 8r–8v.

³² M. Krogulecki to M.K. Sobieska, Kałusz, 12 VII 1701, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 7781, p. 112; idem to idem, [n.d., s.l.], ibidem, p. 117–118; idem to idem, Moszczana, 6 IX 1702, BCz, MS 5863/III,

responsible for maintaining order at the fairs in Jarosław, floating on ponds and supervision of fish farms. Among his responsibilities was also watching over queen's judicial proceedings in the Crown Tribunal, related to, inter alia, estates in Kurów and on the lands of Tarnopol as well as remuneration for orders salaried by the queen, i.e. Benedictine Nuns of the Bl. Sacrament, Benedictine Sisters in Jarosław, Jesuits of Jarosław.³³

In the face of such wide responsibilities and problems arising from them Mikołaj Krogulecki has adapted some strategies in dealing with M.K. Sobieska and E. Sieniawska, née Lubomirska. The first one, which could have been used in correspondence with his principal, consisted in explaining the delay in shipping money. He shifted the responsibility for that to external factors which were independent from him. These included incorrect instructions and mess of the accounts,³⁴ crop failures and natural disasters (long heats, hail, downpours)³⁵ and delays in receiving correspondence.³⁶ Every explanation has been complemented by taking swift corrective actions: "To the best of my ability, I'm trying to send the profits to YRH punctually."³⁷ It was important to convince M.K. Sobieska of his indispensability, loyalty and knowledge about efficient estate administration: "Who else can administrate better, he served loyally to my RH."³⁸ In another letter he claims that:

p. 330–331 (letter 20067). Krogulecki was also responsible for recovering debts in the amount of 20 000 zlotys from Stryj's Jews; see AGAD, Collection of Anna Branicka, née Potocka, Collection of different provenance, file 98, p. 2–11; A. Kaźmierczyk, *Żydzi w dobrach prywatnych w świetle sądowniczej i administracyjnej praktyki dóbr magnackich w wiekach XVI–XVIII*, Kraków 2002.

³³ On all these topics: M. Krogulecki to M.K. Sobieska, Lublin, 30 V 1706, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 7781, p. 138–140; idem to idem, Lublin, 19 IV 1706, ibidem, p. 143–147; idem to idem, Wielkie, 10 V 1701, BCz, file 5863/III, p. 286 (letter 20058); idem to E. Sieniawska, née Lubomirska, Jarosław, 20 VI 1701, ibidem, p. 290–292 (letter 20059); idem to idem, Wielkie, 29 IX 1701, ibidem, p. 310–313 (letter 20064).

³⁴ M. Krogulecki to M.K. Sobieska, Jarosław, 6 VIII 1701, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 7781, p. 108; idem to idem, Kałusz, 12 VII 1701, ibidem, p. 111.

³⁵ Idem to idem, Surochów, 29 VI 1701, BCz, MS 5863/III, p. 295 (letter 20060).

³⁶ Idem to idem, Oleszyce, 12 VII 1702, BCz, MS 5863/III, p. 321 (letter 20066); idem to idem, Uście, 10 X 1706, NAHB, FR, f. 694, descr. 7, no. 882, c. 13r–13v.

³⁷ Idem to idem, Kałusz, 12 VII 1701, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 7781, p. 111; idem to idem, Lublin, 6 VII [1706], AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 7781, p. 149.

³⁸ Idem to idem, Oleszyce, 12 VII 1702, BCz, MS 5863/III, p. 324 (letter 20066). Cf. A. Mączak, *Wierność i miłość. Z zagadnień motywacji stosunku klientarnego*, "Zeszyty Naukowe WSP w Opolu" 1988, vol. XXVI, no. 2, p. 103–115.

Despite the unfortunate events in our Motherland these days and my ruined fortune [...] I am not a lazy servant of YRH and will serve you benevolently and consistently until my death in the name of the Lord.³⁹

It was a way of emphasising his loyalty towards the employer. However; it is difficult to determine if The Pantler of Żydaczów was worried about the competition from other officials, since he was very clear in his statements.

Krogulecki did not limit himself to customary statements. It should be noted that he has given advices to the queen regarding ways to manage estates. He persuaded her to give a written warning to indomitable debtors, all persons responsible for damages to the estates or to bring to justice those, who:

for a thing that did not deserve such a horrible punishment and wrath of the Lord, they destroyed a Jewish synagogue and robbed Jews, and what's worse – killed a Jews and did not respect the law and heritage given them by YRH and the late King of the Lords.⁴⁰

It was important to convince the queen to sell the estates. Krogulecki consulted this idea with the general administrator of the estates on the lands of Żółkiew, Andrzej Wolski⁴¹ and E. Sieniawska, née Lubomirska. Therefore, the question arises whose interests was he protecting – the widow queen or the voivode of Belz? A lot of candidates were willing to buy the estates. Among them was Sieniawska, Great Crown Marshal Teofila Ludwika Ostrogska-Zasławska *secundo voto* Lubomirska, Great Marshal of Lithuania Anne, née Chodorowska *primo voto* Wiśniowiecka *secundo voto* Dolska as well as Hetman of Zaporizhian Host Iwan Mazepa and even Field marshal of Russian Army, Alexander Danilovich Menshikov.⁴² From 1706 onwards Krogulecki strived for plenipotentiary powers in order to represent the queen's interests, but he

39 M. Krogulecki to M.K. Sobieska, Moszczana, 1 VII 1705, BCz, MS 5863/III, p. 344 (letter 20071). More: B. Popiołek, *Najniższy podnózek, sługa i więzień pański – klientalne listy proszalne czasów saskich*, "Krakowskie Studia Małopolskie" 2011, vol. XVI, no. 16, p. 151–166.

40 M. Krogulecki to M.K. Sobieska, Lwów, 23 III 1706, BCz, MS 5863/III, p. 370 (letter 20075).

41 M. Krogulecki to A. Wolski, Lwów, 19 VIII 1706, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 7781, p. 152–153.

42 About activities of Great Marshal of Lithuania Anna née Chodorowska Dolska and Hetman of Zaporizhian Host Iwan Mazepa see Anna Dolska, née Chodorowska to M. Krogulecki, Sieniawa, 30 VIII 1705, NAHB, FR, f. 694, descr. 7, dept. 882, c. 3r–3v; M. Krogulecki to A. Sobieski, Moszczana, 5 X 1705, ibidem, c. 12r.

is believed to have favoured Sieniawska.⁴³ This case was dragging on because of Sobieska's hesitation and then the death of Krogulecki.⁴⁴

The position of The Pantler of Żydaczów as servant and client was not easy, the more that he became a mediator between Maria Kazimiera and the population settled in her estates. The war damages that swept through Red Ruthenia at the beginning of 18th century have led to an extreme impoverishment of peasants. Krogulecki tried explaining the difficult situation of his subjects to his principal.⁴⁵ Krogulecki tried manipulating the feelings of the queen by reproaching her for her luxurious life while her subjects were starving.⁴⁶

While serving the queen, Krogulecki could not ignore opinions and will of the voivode of Belz. For this reason, he was forced to deal with Sieniawska in important matters regarding estate administration. The assurance of his loyalty seems to have been of little value and the correspondence did not satisfy her needs for information about estate condition. Therefore, The Pantler of Żydaczów was personally visiting Skole, Oleszyce and Brzeżany and preparing reports of his activities, collected amounts of money or instructions given

⁴³ Maria Kazimiera was aware that Sieniawska was planning on buying the estates on the lands of Jarosław and Tarnopol, for this reason he passed the price on through Krogulecki. Andrzej Dumont informed Sieniawska about the queen's provisions and documents that have been issued by her, see M.K. d'Arquien Sobieska to M. Krogulecki, Rome, 17 V 1706, The National Ossoliński Institute in Wrocław, file 5972/II, p. 17; A. Dumont to E. Sieniawska, Warszawa, 18 VIII 1701, BCz, file 5801/III, p. 343 (letter 9361).

⁴⁴ E. Sieniawska to M.K. Sobieska, Łubnice, [?.?] 1705, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 14275/I, p. 202–204; idem to idem, Kraków, 20 III 1705, ibidem, p. 1–2 f; idem to A.M. Sieniawski, Łubnice, 16 IX 1705 in *Korespondencja Elżbiety z Lubomirskich, kasztelanowej krakowskiej*, vol. I, *Z serca kochająca żona i uniżona służka. Listy Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej do męża Adama Mikołaja Sieniawskiego z lat 1688–1726*, edited and published by B. Popiołek, U. Kicińska, A. Słaby, Warszawa–Bellerive-sur-Allier 2016, p. 109; A. Dumont to M. Krogulecki, Danzig, 20 VI 1705, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 3356, p. 4–5. Sieniawska has leased Olesko, Tarnopol and Kałusz in 1702. In 1706 the voivode of Belz has bought a part of the lands of Jarosław for Franciszek Rakoszy, which he has mortgaged to her in 1712. Around 1717 Sieniawska became the owner of the estates on the lands of Olesko and Kałusz. The lands of Tarnopol was officially a part of Sieniawska's estate since 1719. The estates on the lands of Kukizów and Wysocko were also under her supervision. More on this topic: M. Komasyński, op. cit., p. 231–232; B. Popiołek, *Królowa...*, p. 37–40; A. Skrzypietz, *Królewscy synowie – Jakub, Aleksander i Konstanty Sobiescy*, Katowice 2011, p. 461–462.

⁴⁵ M. Krogulecki to M.K. Sobieska, Moszczana, 15 VI 1705, BCz, MS 5863/III, p. 361 (letter 20074); idem to A. Sobieski, Moszczana, 5 X 1705, NAHB, FR, f. 694, descr. 7, no. 882, c. 11v.

⁴⁶ M. Krogulecki to M.K. Sobieska, Surochów, 29 VI 1701, BCz, MS 5863/III, p. 293 (letter 20060); idem to idem, Uście, NAHB, FR, f. 694, descr. 7, no. 882, c. 14r–15v.

to stewards.⁴⁷ Apart from that, Krogulecki was advising Sieradzka regarding the choice of the best candidate for the position of the leaseholder or in the estate administration. As for the leaseholder of the estates on the lands of Końskowola, he recommended, *inter alia*, a Jew Izaak Rubinowicz.⁴⁸ In my view, it is another proof that Krogulecki joined the service of Sieniawska. The Pantler of Żydaczów sometimes required assistance of the voivode of Belz in giving warnings to his negligent officials.⁴⁹ This asks us to believe that Krogulecki was not able to handle some of his responsibilities or that he has been disregarded and had to recourse to the assistance of E. Sieniawska as his protector.

Responsibilities of the second servant, J.A. Lamprecht, did not deviate from those of Krogulecki. However; there is noticeable difference in the level of involvement in administration of queen's estates. His activities have been dictated by the orders given by the prince A. Sobieski:

His Majesty Prince, after having listened to both sides, gave this statement in front of me and while getting on his carriage: "so you YE always take steps that should be taken in relation to the Commissioners. HRH will approve, because YE know the subjects better and two things should be paid more attention. The first one. Interest of Treasury. The second one, so there is no disappointment. The Prince doesn't give orders but does to the Commissioner, since he has empowerment from the Queen to conclude contracts. Do what you think is best to do."⁵⁰

The power over the estates given to Lamprecht has helped him put into practice the most of his ideas and enhance estates' productivity. In some of the letters addressed to Franciszek Wierusz-Kowalski Lamprecht has outlined the strategy of "industrialisation" of the estates and getting them out of debt. He proposed cleaning the ponds on the lands of Olesko, Tarnopol and Jaworów, adapting

⁴⁷ E. Sieniawska to M.K. Sobieska, Lwów, 18 X 1702, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 14275/I, p. 104; M. Krogulecki to M.K. Sobieska, Lwów, 23 III 1706, BCz, MS 5863/III, p. 365–366 (letter 20075); *idem* to *idem*, Kałusz, 2 XII 1706, NAHB, FR, f. 694, descr. 7, no. 882, c. 18r.

⁴⁸ M. Krogulecki to E. Sieniawska, née Lubomirska, Wielkie, 8 XII 1702, BCz, MS 5863/III, p. 337–340 (letter 20069).

⁴⁹ M. Krogulecki do E. Sieniawska, née Lubomirska, Surochów, 27 VII 1701, BCz, MS 5863/III, p. 293–294 (letter 20061); *idem* to *idem*, Wielkie, 29 IX 1701, *ibidem*, p. 296–316 (letter 20064).

⁵⁰ J.A. Lamprecht to E. Sieniawska, née Lubomirska, Żółkiew, 30 VII 1711, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 8175/II, p. 264–265.

them to fish breeding and estimating their profitability. Other recommendations included modernisation of the mill in Olesko, collecting income from Tarnopol and buying local deposits, giving Olesko in lease for five thousand zlotys per year, establishment of a glass factory, recultivation of forests in the Jaworów starosty, increase in sales of salt from the salt mines in Kałusz at trade fairs in Zborów, Złoczów and Pomorzany as well as cessation of expensive transport to Tarnopol and Jaworów. He postulated reducing the number of officials, reform of the estate administration system⁵¹ and providing assistance to subjects.⁵²

Lamprecht was clearly focused on a couple of objectives from a long list of his recommendations. He undoubtedly tried expelling dishonest officials and replacing them with competent ones. He suggested the queen to dismiss Zasiecki, because:

There will be no *refundere* of money when dealing with him in a Christian and merciful manner *ex respectu calamitisorum temporum modernorum*; on the contrary, *propter suffragia* and in relation to the witness and other files, it was appropriate to give him *inducias* to prepare *ad defensiones*⁵³

and to give the function of a commissioner to prince Konstantin, “No one will protest better in relation to the estates of YRH [...] so there is no waste of money.”⁵⁴ In case of difficulties in settlements the old queen’s treasurer,

⁵¹ J.A. Lamprecht to F. Wierusz-Kowalski, Żółkiew, 21 XI 1712, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 8175/II, p. 380–391; idem to idem, Żółkiew, 23 XI 1712, ibidem, p. 366–369; idem to idem, Żółkiew, 7 XII 1712, ibidem, p. 376–379; idem to idem, Żółkiew, 30 III 1712, NAHB, FR, f. 694, descr. 7, no. 882, c. 22r–22v; idem to idem, Warszawa, 17 V 1712, ibidem, c. 24r–25v; idem to idem, Tarnopol, 29 VII 1712, ibidem, c. 28r–30v.

⁵² “[...] after having taken over the farm I’d like to know better, but the subjects don’t have any draught animals and without assisting them, we can’t do anything *ex nihilo nihil*.” J.A. Lamprecht to F. Wierusz-Kowalski, [Olesko?], 9 VIII 1712, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 8175/II, p. 331–332; idem to idem, Tarnopol, 20 VIII 1714, NAHB, FR, f. 694, descr. 7, no. 882, c. 26r–26v.

⁵³ J.A. Lamprecht to F. Wierusz-Kowalski, Żółkiew, 16 III 1712, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 8175/II, p. 293. Lamprecht blamed Zasiecki for reducing payments from the lease of ponds in Olesko comparing to previous years and refused his explanations, where he stated that the fisheries have been destroyed during Moscow’s occupation. Idem to idem, [Olesko?], 9 VIII 1712, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 8175/II, p. 329–331.

⁵⁴ J.A. Lamprecht to idem, Żółkiew, 10 VII 1712, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 8175/II, p. 282–284; idem to idem, Żółkiew, 3 VIII 1712, ibidem, p. 325–326.

a French man Jean Hiche⁵⁵ could have been of service. Lamprecht did scruple to entrust the administration of the estates on the lands of Tarnopol to Wybranowski, who enquired about the possibility of promotion multiple times in his letters, but in opinion of Lamprecht he was just a careerist.⁵⁶ The service has been treated by Lamprecht like some kind of distinction: “We want to serve YRH so we don’t neglect our conscience and so YRH is satisfied with our service.”⁵⁷

The deposits and leaseholds of M.K. Sobieska’s estates have caused a lot of difficulties to Lamprecht. In this regard he relied on queen’s decisions, but at the same time he gained information about her position through F. Wierusz-Kowalski. It appears to have been important in the context of his position and activity: “I hope my request does not impact favours of YRH, I have no doubts, that YM wants my sons and not an unknown to take over these two starosties *post res fata*.”⁵⁸ Negotiations in this regard have taken place in 1713. Although Lithuanian Great Deputy Master of the Pantry, the starost of Wilki Stefan Karol Grothus and the Grand Chancellor of Lithuania Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł seemed to be interested in buying starosties, no replies were received from Rome regarding the plenipotentiary powers and instructions. The trade fairs and delays clearly showed Maria Kazimiera’s hesitation and led to the counterparties giving up on the transactions.⁵⁹

Lamprecht’s minor responsibilities included: creating estate inventories in order to estimate the damages caused by the Swedish and Moscow army, paying off quarts from starosties, restoration of the Olesko Castle, conducting judicial proceedings in boroughs and, what is most important, the exchange of

⁵⁵ Idem to idem, Tarnopol, 4 I 1712, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 8175/II, p. 277; idem to idem, Żółkiew, 10 VII 1712, *ibidem*, p. 284. More about the family of Hiche: I. Kraszewski, *Les mariages entre la noblesse polonaise et française au XVIIIe siècle* in *Noblesse française et noblesse polonaise. Mémoire, identité, culture XVIe-XXe siècles*, ed. J. Dumanowski, M. Figeac, Maison des Sciences de l’Homme d’Aquitaine 2006, p. 252–253.

⁵⁶ J.A. Lamprecht to F. Wierusz-Kowalski, Żółkiew, 13 VII 1713, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 8175/II, p. 318–320.

⁵⁷ Idem to idem, Tarnopol, 4 I 1712, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 8175/I, p. 5.

⁵⁸ Idem to idem, [Olesko?], 9 VIII 1712, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 8175/II, p. 337.

⁵⁹ Idem to idem, Żółkiew, 21 VI 1713, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 8175/II, p. 473–480; idem to idem, Żółkiew, 12 VII 1713, *ibidem*, p. 485–489; idem to idem, Warszawa, 17 VII 1713, *ibidem*, p. 489–490; idem to idem, Żółkiew, 8 IX 1713, *ibidem*, p. 515–518; idem to idem, Żółkiew, 13 IX 1713, *ibidem*, p. 519–521; idem to idem, Żółkiew, 29 IX 1713, *ibidem*, p. 527–528; idem to idem, Żółkiew, 20 XII 1713, *ibidem*, p. 531–532.

money and their shipment to Rome as well as forwarding the correspondence to princes.⁶⁰ All this testifies that Lamprecht was not a usual administrator and showed a lot of energy and initiative, unlike Krogulecki. He was considered to be responsible and well-versed in the current situation. And, as author of newspapers, he had to display these qualities in order to collect information and take part in life at court in Warsaw. He tried to investigate whether a matter would find queen's recognition, as for giving out oat from the estate in Kurów to Venice resident Girolamo Alberti.⁶¹ The queries sent to A. Sobieski and F. Wierusz-Kowalski are a proof of his diplomacy skills. Lamprecht was aware that his ideas could meet with queen's approval if presented by someone from her close circle.

He displayed full courtesy towards both Sieniawska and Maria Kazimiera and justified his distraction or mistakes with incompetence.⁶² Administration affairs have rarely been under discussion. In a couple of letters, the voivode was informed about the condition of estates located in the starosty of Puck in the Royal Prussia, but the attention was mainly focused on construction works around the Palace of Maria Kazimiera (Marie Mont). The only estate matters that have been discussed with Sieniawska were related to the lease of estates to the starost of Czerkasy Piotr Potocki or to the Bishop of Chełm Michał Wyżycki. The rest included any kind of public news – the victory of Charles XII in the Battle of Riga, Swedish troop movements, French – Swedish alliance project, legates from Gdańsk sent to Louis XIV, and the presence of prince Konstantin during the wedding ceremony of the Crown Camp Commander (PL: oboźny koronny) Stanisław Karol Jabłonowski with the Castellan of Cracow Marianna Potocka in Lviv.⁶³

⁶⁰ J.A. Lamprecht to A. Sobieski, Warszawa, 22 XII 1701, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 8175/II, p. 64a; idem to N.N., Warszawa, 24 I 1704, ibidem, p. 134; idem to F. Wierusz-Kowalski, Żółkiew, 13 VII 1712, ibidem, p. 318–319; idem to idem, Żółkiew, 19 IV 1713, ibidem, p. 446–453; idem to M.K. Sobieska, Jaworów, 13 III 1713, ibidem, p. 423–426; idem to idem, Żółkiew, 12 IV 1713, ibidem, p. 438–441.

⁶¹ J.A. Lamprecht to A. Sobieski, Warszawa, 7 V 1699, University of Warsaw Library, file 76, c. 338r–339r.

⁶² J.A. Lamprecht to E. Sieniawska, Warszawa, 13 V 1700, BCz, MS 5869/III, p. 21 (letter 20982); idem to F. Wierusz-Kowalski, Tarnopol, 29 VIII 1712, p. 30r.

⁶³ Idem to idem, Warszawa, 19 VIII 1700, BCz, MS 5869/III, p. 35–39 (letter 20984); idem to idem, Warszawa, 9 IX 1700, ibidem, p. 37 (letter 20985); idem to idem, Warszawa, 1 X 1700, ibidem, p. 39–41 (letter 20986); idem to idem, Lwów, 27 X 1701, ibidem, p. 43–46 (letter 20987); idem to idem, Warszawa, 3 XI 1701, ibidem, 47–50 (letter 20988). Similar affairs have been discussed in letters to Sieniawska from 1700–1713 (*Korespondencja Elżbiety z Lubomirskich...*, vol. II, *Jaśnie*

Only evaluation of activities of Krogulecki, The Pantler of Żydaczów has been preserved in the correspondence from both patronesses – M.K. Sobieska and E. Sieniawska – there is no mention of L.A. Lamprecht's official activity.

As already noted in the preface, only a limited number of letters from the queen addressed to Krogulecki survived.⁶⁴ The knowledge linked to the relationship of Sobieska with her servant has been acquired directly from the correspondence from Maria Kazimiera to E. Sieniawska or to S.A. Szczuka and indirectly – from Krogulecki's reaction to the letters from the queen. It can be concluded that the queen was responding to her long serving courtier with appropriate sympathy and thanked him for the information regarding the condition of her estates, and then she added, that: "Although I heard some other news, they wouldn't tell us more about what's happening in the estates"⁶⁵ Maria Kazimiera was empathetic towards her subjects in relation to their poverty and damages caused by the army of Augustus II, but in fact her responses suggested a lack of attention to the problems faced by Krogulecki on daily basis. It doesn't seem unreasonable to suppose that after having moved to Rome and after the death of Henri Albert de La Grange d'Arquien in 1702, the queen was focused on the Fench estates inherited from him – Pryé and Imphy.⁶⁶

The correspondence from the widow of Jan III does not include any information regarding evaluation of Krogulecki's work. It constitutes a collection of regulations and summaries of his activities. For instance, the queen recommended the service of The Pantler of Żydaczów to S.A. Szczuka for his estates on the lands of Lublin⁶⁷ or pointed out that Krogulecki would be able to find a worthy candidate for leasing her estates on the lands of Jarosław,

Oświecona Mościa Księżno Dobrodziejko. Informatorzy i urzędnicy, edited and published by B. Popiołek, U. Kicińska, A. Slaby, Warszawa–Bellerive-sur-Allier 2016, p. 87–100).

⁶⁴ The Pantler of Żydaczów was grateful for the letters sent by the queen from Rome (6 III and 12 III 1701); from Rome (12 IV 1701); from Venice (?.? 1705); from Rome (5 IX, 10 IX, 3 X 1704); from Rome (10 and 17 IV 1706); from Rome (15 V 1706); from Rome (15 V 1706); from Rome [n.d.].

⁶⁵ M.K. Sobieska to M. Krogulecki, Rzym, 16 II 1704, AGAD, Collections of the National Museum in Warsaw, file 446, p. 2.

⁶⁶ M. Komarzyński, *Zamek w Blois – ostatnia rezydencja Marii Kazimiery Sobieskiej (1714–1716)*, "Przegląd Historyczny" 1978, vol. LX, no. 2, p. 241.

⁶⁷ M.K. Sobieska to S.A. Szczuka, Rzym, 4 IX 1700, AGAD, The Public Archive of the Potocki Family, file 164, p. 121–122.

Kałuż and Tarnopol.⁶⁸ M.K. Sobieska was praising his progress in regards to collecting and sending money.⁶⁹ The queen has instructed the pantler to seek unambiguous answer regarding the purchase of the estates on the lands of Jarosław and Tarnopol: "So we know how to proceed, time presses."⁷⁰ This constitutes a strong indication that M.K. Sobieska has valued Krogulski's acumen, precaution, reliability and honesty. However; some signs of dissatisfaction with the estate administration can be found and the reason can be deduced from the answer of the administrator:

I was moved by dissatisfaction of YRH in regards to the places of selling goods of YRH, I am not aware of the reason, because I strictly and gladly follow the orders of YRH to do good.⁷¹

Another time he resented the non-contentment of the queen due to 7 years delay in shipping money (sic!) and stated that this kind of slander is hurtful.⁷²

E. Sieniawska gave a more detailed statement in regards to this. The voivode of Belz, and then The Grand Hetman of the Crown and The Castellan of Cracow was assigning Krogulecki to many missions related to verifying bills and inventories, transferring money to Dumont and its exchange with the bankers in Warsaw and, finally, filling lawsuits in the Magistrates' Courts against debtors or those who damaged the estates.⁷³ Sieniawska valued his service and praised the queen's pantler:

⁶⁸ M.K. Sobieska to E. Sieniawska, de Rome, [n.d.], BCz, MS 5885/III, c. 251r-v (letter 24163); idem to idem, [n.d., s.l.], ibidem, c. 282v (letter 24166); idem to idem, de Rome, [n.d.], c. 288v (letter 24167); idem to idem, de Rome, 27 I [1707], ibidem, c. 321r-v (letter 24170); idem to idem, de Rome, [?.?] II [1707], ibidem, c. 354r (letter 24174).

⁶⁹ M.K. Sobieska to E. Sieniawska, de Rome, 10 III [1700?], BCz, MS 5885/III, c. 420r-421v (letter 24183); idem to idem, de Rome, 2 III [1700?], ibidem, c. 627v-631v (letter 24218); idem to idem, de Rome, 16 V [1700?], ibidem, c. 667r-676v (letter 24222); idem to idem, de Rome, 18 IX [1700?], c. 759r-766v (letter 24233).

⁷⁰ M.K. Sobieska to M. Krogulecki, Rzym, 3 X 1705, BCz, MS 588/III, c. 1186r (letter 24281).

⁷¹ M. Krogulecki to M.K. Sobieska, [n.d., s.l.], AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 7781, p. 115-116.

⁷² Idem to idem, Lublin, 30 V 1706, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 7781, p. 138-139.

⁷³ E. Sieniawska to M.K. Sobieska, Belz, 5 IX 1700, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 14275/I, p. 21-26; idem to idem, Lwów, 20 III 1705, ibidem, 37-41; idem to idem, Warszawa, 9 VIII 1701, ibidem, 47-50b; idem to idem, Wrocław, 1 XII 1701, ibidem, 64-67; idem to idem, Warszawa, 1 I 1702, ibidem, 72-79; idem to idem, à Léopol, 12 IV 1702, ibidem, 84-87; idem to M. Krogulecki, Tenczyn, 17 V 1705, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 14275/II, p. 190; A. Dumont to E. Sieniawska, Warszawa, 26 IV 1703, BCz, MS 5801/III, p. 363-366 (letter 9366).

I am wondering why YRH doesn't make Krogulecki rule and didn't make him a general steward, there is no better *et plus active*, which is most important. He would execute payments with no arguments, where he wouldn't be able to act, where authority is needed, I would help him. He needs annual payments, because he always complain and forces it, if there is a need to go somewhere.⁷⁴

As a token of appreciation for a job well done, Sieniawska gave Krogulecki two casks of Hungarian wine which have been given to her by Francis II Rákóczi.⁷⁵

However; there were some disadvantages of serving both the magnate and the patroness. The resentment of the voivode of Belz was associated with his long stay at home,⁷⁶ possibly considered as a sign of his laziness: "Krogulecki from Jarosław doesn't care about anything."⁷⁷ Sometimes Sieniawska railed against the lack of punctuality in payments to her officials and servants, who have been under care of The Pantler of Żydaczów.⁷⁸ She was deeply dissatisfied with the fact that, following the queen's order, the Castellan of Kamieniec, Teresa Potocka, née Tarło has not been paid⁷⁹ and with non-compliance with her orders:

I heard that YM is in debt and is oppressing subjects. If it's true, I'll send my people to check the inventories and the ruins. [...] Please handle your subjects with care, they've had enough oppression these days.⁸⁰

Sieniawska had control over the queen's officials, whom she couldn't trust and made sure they didn't ignore her orders.

⁷⁴ E. Sieniawska, née Lubomirska to M.K. Sobieska, Lwów, 5 XII 1701, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 14275/I, p. 23. Cf. E. Sieniawska to M.K. Sobieska, Łubnice, 6 XI 1705, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 14277, p. 1–6.

⁷⁵ E. Sieniawska to M.K. Sobieska, Dzików, 11 VIII 1706, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 14275/II, p. 32.

⁷⁶ Idem to idem, à Prague, 19 IX 1701, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 14275/I, p. 61.

⁷⁷ Idem to idem, Lwów, 5 IV 1702, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 14275/I, p. 83.

⁷⁸ Idem to M. Krogulecki, Oleszyce, 12 VII 1702, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 14275/I, p. 93.

⁷⁹ Idem to idem, Brzeżany, 23 IV 1706, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 14275/II, p. 14; idem to idem, Lwów, 18 II 1707, ibidem, p. 46.

⁸⁰ Idem to idem, Oleszyce, 3 II 1707, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 14275/II, p. 48.

Special attention deserves the relationship between M. Krogulecki and J.A. Lamprecht which gives a deeper insight into their relations with the patronesses. Apart from a few evidences of cooperation in form of exchange of information about completed tasks,⁸¹ a lot of examples can be found that prove the competition between the officials. Krogulecki stated that Lamprecht and Dumont misled the queen on purpose by informing her that the estates on the lands of Jarosław were burdened with debt, so that they would be of less value in case Sobieska decided to sell them: “Their offer is reducing the price of the estates.”⁸² Perhaps this way The Pantler of Żydaczów tried to discredit his associates in order to insinuate himself into Maria Kazimiera’s favour.

Lamprecht perceived this competition differently. Around 1712 in relation to the inspection of estates on the lands of Tarnopol, Jan Antoni informed the princes that his late brother Mikołaj Krogulecki usucaptured the farms in Czestyłów and Płotycze, where the first one was granted to the Pantler of Żydaczów by the queen in perpetuity and the second one was obtained from Kostkiewiczowie through cession by the brother of Mikołaj.⁸³ Not only did the brother of Mikołaj not want to give up, but he claimed his rights to the farm buildings, subjects and charges for the damages caused by Swedish and Moscow armies. Apart from the effort Lamprecht has put to regain lost lands for Sobiescy through judicial means,⁸⁴ we need to take a closer look at the results of the investigation which has helped reveal any acts of fraud and obstruction of justice committed by the Pantler of Żydaczów. Lamprecht was even threatening, that in case of a lawsuit regarding Czestyłów and Płotycze:

⁸¹ A. Dumont to M. Krogulecki, Danzig, 29 X 1706, AGAD, AR, dept. V, sygn. 3356, s. 7–8; idem to idem, Danzig, 17 XI 1706, ibidem, s. 10–11; J. Hiż to M. Krogulecki, à Léopol, 2 II 1704, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file. 5189, p. 13–15; idem to idem, à Varsovie, 6 I 1707, ibidem, p. 24.

⁸² M. Krogulecki to M.K. Sobieska, Lwów, 9 XI 1705, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 7781, p. 158–159.

⁸³ J.A. Lamprecht to M.K. Sobieska, Tarnopol, 4 I 1712, AGAD, AR, file 8175/I, p. 7; idem do F. Wierusz-Kowalski, Tarnopol, 4 I 1712, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 8175/II, p. 275–276.

⁸⁴ Sobieski and Lamprecht considered different options of solving the conflict. Apart from bringing lawsuits to Magistrate’s Courts – in Ternopil and Halych – and to the Crown Tribunal, they considered a settlement with Kroguleccy or taking over the estates. Finally, in the mid-1713 they paid Krogulecki the value of the pledge and it has been left to the court to determine how this amount should be distributed amongst his relatives. J.A. Lamprecht to F. Wierusz-Kowalski, Warszawa, 25 V 1712, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 8175/II, 305–306; idem to idem, Żółkiew, 13 II 1713, ibidem, p. 419–422; idem to M.K. Sobieska, Żółkiew, 12 IV 1713, ibidem, p. 438–441.

“if YM sends so many complaints, we will also write complaints *expedit* against the late Krogulecki and there can be more of them.”⁸⁵ While examining the files and correspondence from Mikołaj Krogulecki, Lamprecht concluded that his predecessor not only unlawfully took over the settlements without having received appropriate royal privileges from the queen,⁸⁶ but he annexed some of them to the estates on the lands of Tarnopol.⁸⁷ Apart from that, Krogulecki laundered money from queen’s estates:

If the late Krogulecki and Zasiiecki have worked neatly, counting the time from departure of YM, the money from estates could have been declared free from deposit.⁸⁸

It is clear therefore, that the officials didn’t hide their abuses well enough, since they were very easy to find. It was much more difficult for Lamprecht to find the account book kept by The Pantler of Żydaczów, which could have been an evidence of a crime. It quickly became clear, that a copy of this book was held by Sieniawska.⁸⁹

On this occasion, the Castellan of Cracow offered her help in delegating plenipotentiaries to Magistrates’ Courts or – if necessary – in winning tribunal judges over.⁹⁰ It shows that Lamprecht complained on Krogulski’s actions not because of desire for vengeance, but because he wanted to eliminate autocracy of officials and improve the general situation of the estates.

⁸⁵ J.A. Lamprecht to F. Wierusz-Kowalski, Tarnopol, 4 I 1712, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 8175/II, p. 279.

⁸⁶ Idem to idem, Żółkiew, 10 II 1712, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 8175/II, p. 283–284; idem to idem, [Jaworów?], [n.d.], ibidem, p. 350–352.

⁸⁷ Idem to idem, Żółkiew, 1 II 1713, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 8175/II, p. 414–415; idem to idem, Tarnopol, 30 VIII 1712, NAHB, FR, f. 694, descr. 7, no. 882, c. 28v.

⁸⁸ Idem to idem, [n.d., s.l.], AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 8175/II, p. 393. Cf. A. Dumont to M. Krogulecki, Danzig, 31 XII 1706, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 3356, p. 13.

⁸⁹ J.A. Lamprecht to M.K. Sobieska, Jaworów, 21 III 1713, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 8175/II, p. 427–429.

⁹⁰ E. Sieniawska to F. Wierusz-Kowalski, Oleszyce, 20 V 1715, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 14275/III, p. 61–63.

CONCLUSIONS

M. Krogulecki and J.A. Lamprecht represented two different types of official clientele, which determined their relationships with patronesses and has been expressed through possible different ways of treating them by Maria Kazimiera and E. Sieniawska, née Lubomirska. It can be concluded that different characters and motivations which have had a significant impact on their actions were the reasons for them not being willing to cooperate.

Krogulecki was considered a valued official, but has never overstepped his responsibilities. I might have resulted from the feeling of being underestimated.⁹¹ Krogulecki complained to the queen, that:

God's vengeance got to me, a poor man in Lviv. The Swedish incursion took my fortune away and now, when my leasehold will be destroyed, I won't have a place to sleep. I need to do my best to find a corner, where I could finally rest after the strenuous work.⁹²

The fact of not receiving salaries or gratuities impelled him to steal income from the estates of his patroness and to join the service of Sieniawska. J.A. Lamprecht, well-versed foreigner, was the opposite of him. He was willing to raise the estates from ruins after they had been destroyed in the war time and to reform the official system. Lamprecht, full of energy, was engaged in many affairs and acted in a professional and diplomatic way when applying for queen's or Sieniawska's approval for his bold ideas. He never tried to hide his embarrassment of dishonest managers, tax collectors or folwark accounts managers. He acted in a radical way, but only upon approval by the queen and her plenipotentiary. His goal was he general good, not personal advantages.

When judging the positions of both patronesses we can notice similar discrepancies. Maria Kazimiera, who cared about income from the estates, was not interested in financial problems of her subjects. Living in the Eternal City has distracted her attention from the far Rus and their local conditions. This attitude was the reason of frustration of officials, who complained about

⁹¹ U. Augustyniak, „Stary sluga” jako przedmiot badań nad klientelizmem magnackim na Litwie w XVII wieku, „Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej” 2010, vol. LVIII, no. 1, p. 71–85.

⁹² M. Krogulecki to M.K. Sobieska, Lwów, 24 VIII 1706, AGAD, AR, dept. V, file 7781, p. 176. Cf. M. Krogulecki to A. Sobieski, Moszczana, 5 X 1705, NAHB, FR, f. 694, descr. 7, no. 882, c. 13r–13v.

the lack of correspondence and instructions for field work. Sieniawska dealt with her affairs differently – she praised and rewarded her officials for their work, and at the same time did not hesitate to reprimand them and to call them to order. This way she not only controlled their activities, but also was putting pressure on them and secured their respect.

SUMMARY

MANAGERS, SERVANTS AND CORRESPONDENTS. MIKOŁAJ KROGULECKI AND JAN ANTONI LAMPRECHT IN THE CIRCLE OF THE PATRONAGE OF MARIA KAZIMIERA SOBIESKA AND ELŻBIETA LUBOMIRSKA, NÉE SIENIAWSKA IN 1698–1714

The paper presents still relevant problem relating to the activity of two court officers – Mikołaj Korgulecki and Jan Andrzej Lamprecht on service of Queen Maria Kazimiera Sobieska and Elżbieta Sieniawska, née Lubomirska in years 1698–1714. In the following parts of work, were presented several matters – duties in the management of the queen's Ruthenian estates, relationships between clients and their patroness, assessment of the work of the officers issued by the queen and the plenipotent of her affairs and questions connecting and sharing both officials in their service.

Keywords: clientelism, patroness, court officers, economy, Sobieski family

DOI 10.24917/9788380842717.9

Information and services. Jakub Kazimierz Rubinkowski as a correspondent and client of Elżbieta Sieniawska and Anna Katarzyna Radziwiłł

The postal contacts of a postmaster of Toruń Jakub Kazimierz Rubinkowski (1668–1749) with the Crown and Lithuanian magnates reveal a whole network of this type of connections. In the binary communication system of the sender-recipient a special attention is drawn to the silhouettes of two well-known ladies of the Polish Saxon age: Elżbieta Sieniawska (1669–1729), the wife of the Grand Hetman of the Crown and Krakow castellan Adam Sieniawski, nicknamed the “queen without a crown,”¹ and chancellor of the grand Lithuanian Anna Katarzyna Radziwiłł (1676–1746), a widow of Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł. Both figures were perceived by their contemporaries as well as researchers of the past as women of a strong character. Radziwiłł managed the huge property of the Nieświeska ordinance with a firm hand, and above all effectively, she also took care of raising and educating her sons, as well as building their political position appropriate to their social status.² The choice of the title women was dictated not only by their status and gender, although this aspect was also important because the research approach to the

¹ See B. Popiołek, *Królowa bez korony. Studium z życia i działalności Elżbiety Sieniawskiej, ok. 1669–1729*, Kraków 1993.

² In this approach, the mother failed to achieve all the assumed goals, taking into account the infamous story of her younger son Hieronim Florian, but this is a completely separate issue. W. Karkucińska, *Anna z Sanguszków Radziwiłłowa (1676–1746). Działalność gospodarcza i mecenat*, Warszawa 2000, p. 7–56.

problem of clientelism refers to the world of men to a large extent,³ but also the criterion of continuity of correspondence was very important in this respect. This created the possibility of conducting a comparative analysis between the two sets of letters.⁴

Rubinkowski sent letters to Sieniawska for at least a decade (in 1716–1726).⁵ It was a continuation of previous, long-term correspondence with her husband, dated back to the end of the seventeenth century. In total, his cooperation with Adam Sieniawski lasted over thirty years. We can certainly talk about the prolonged duration of this patron-client relation and the almost lifelong fidelity to the concluded service contract. Rubinkowski had an important position among the correspondents and clients of Sieniawska and he stood out of this group. The patron gave him special trust and delegated him various orders.⁶ On the basis of the letters kept, we can say that the correspondence between Rubinkowski and Radziwiłł dates back to at least from 1727 to 1740.⁷ Rubinkowski's correspondence with Sieniawska lasted little longer. A chronology of dated

³ See among others numerous studies by Antoni Mączak: *Nierówna przyjaźń. Układy klientalne w perspektywie historycznej*, Wrocław 2003; *Klientela. Nieformalne systemy władzy w Polsce i Europie XVI–XVIII w.*, Warszawa 1994; *Rządzący i rządzeni. Władza i społeczeństwo w Europie wczesnonowożytnej*, Warszawa 1986 and K. Kuras, *Współpracownicy i klienci Augusta A. Czartoryskiego w czasach saskich*, Kraków 2010; U. Augustyniak, *Specyfika patronatu magnackiego w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w XVII wieku. Problemy badawcze*, “Kwartalnik Historyczny” 2002, vol. 109, no. 1, p. 97–110.

⁴ However, it will be a one-sided perspective from the necessity because we do not have letters of patrons addressed to the postmaster and burgrave of Toruń. In the family archive of Rubinkowski, there is a book that also contains correspondence addressed to him (e.g. letters and royal privileges of Jan III Sobieski), but we do not find letters written to him by the title women there; K. Maliszewski, *Jakub Kazimierz Rubinkowski, szlachcic, mieszczanin toruński, erudyta barokowy*, Toruń 1982, p. 11.

⁵ A very extensive collection of Rubinkowski's letters, for the reality of Old Poland, has over 200 preserved copies and is found mainly in the manuscript of the Czartoryski Library in Krakow no. 5933. Recently, it was published in print. The letter quoted below come from this edition: *Listy Jakuba Kazimierza Rubinkowskiego do Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej (1716–1726)*, they were read from the original manuscripts and commented by K. Maliszewski, A. Kucharski, Toruń 2017 (hereinafter: *Listy Jakuba Kazimierza Rubinkowskiego do Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej*).

⁶ A. Słaby, *Rządzicha oleszycka. Dwór Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej jako przykład patronatu kobiecego w czasach saskich*, Kraków 2014, p. 160.

⁷ Letters written by Rubinkowski to Anna Radziwiłł are in the collection of manuscripts of the old Nieśwież archive: Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw (hereinafter: AGAD), Radziwiłł Archive (hereinafter: AR), dept. V, 13402.

letters and their content enable to establish this. Rubinkowski, practically a peer of Sieniawska, began his service at the age of almost fifty, and it was then that he reached the apogee of his career. However, he initiated his cooperation with Radziwiłł, when he was almost a sixty-year-old man. This temporal dimension also had to affect mutual relations. The continuous and long-term exchange of letters between Rubinkowski and the Radziwiłł family of the Nieświeska line which began almost exactly at the end of writing to Sieniawska in 1726 was symptomatic. Incidentally, Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski died at the beginning of the same year, and the last known letters to his wife Elżbieta were written by Rubinkowski two months after Sieniawski's death. It is worth mentioning that Elżbieta Sieniawska would die only three years later (1729). This is not the only change in the direction of this patron-client relation. Already in the twenties of the eighteenth century, while systematically corresponding with Sieniawska, and at the same time increasingly expressing his dissatisfaction with low or late pay, Rubinkowski offered his services to Paweł Karol Sanguszko, in fact Anna Radziwiłł's brother. Rubinkowski was valuable for the magnate, because he played quite an important role on the local Toruń-Kujawy section of the Vistula river grains to Gdańsk.⁸ Cooperation with Sanguszko probably lasted until 1746.⁹ Besides, he experienced the similar financial problems in service at Anna Radziwiłł.¹⁰ A much more significant disproportion concerns the statistics on letters. Over two hundred Rubinkowski's letters to Sieniawska are known, and only slightly over twenty to Anna Radziwiłł, and hence the ratio is one to ten. The content of the letters indicates that this is not only due to the state of correspondence, but mainly due to the lower frequency of his contacts with the Radziwiłł family and looser bonds of obligations connecting him with the Lithuanian magnate.

⁸ A. Homecki, *Produkcja i handel zbożowy w latyfundiach Lubomirskich w drugiej połowie XVII i pierwszej połowie XVIII wieku*, Wrocław-Warszawa-Kraków 1970, p. 50.

⁹ National Archives in Krakow, Sanguszko Archive, correspondence portfolios, vol. 8, p. 604–629.

¹⁰ He complained that the payment of an annual salary set for him, in the amount of zlotys 100, annually caused problems created by the "governors" of Człuchów. In connection to this, he asked for a document from Anna Radziwiłł, with her decision to the governors to pay him the fee; AGAD, AR, dept. V, 13402, p. 42–43; Rubinkowski to Anna Radziwiłł, Toruń, 4 II 1731. These problems with financial liquidity could have been the result of activities of, among others, Daniel Walter, who was the administrator of the Człuchów starost since 1727; P. Czaplowski, *Senatorowie świeccy, podskarbiowie i starostowie Prus Królewskich 1454–1772*, Toruń 1921, p. 77.

The difference in the manner of sending correspondence was also significant. Letters to Sieniawska were sent from Toruń on ships sailing on the Vistula to Puławy, thanks to the intermediation of Sieniawska's skippers or using postal mailing and the so-called relay system – changes of people and horses, popular since the Renaissance.¹¹ Whereas contact by letter with Anna Radziwiłł, on the route Biała Podlaska–Toruń–Człuchów (Radziwiłł inherited the office of starost of Człuchów from the deceased husband), was maintained by post, and partly thanks to the couriers employed by her. The content of the letters shows that most often the riders or Cossacks had this role. For reasons unknown in the correspondence, there were significant delays, for which couriers were punished, probably with a reduction in the amount of payment.¹² Other letters reveal the existence of an informal circle of correspondence created in the process of sending letters, which took advantage of family ties and kinship as well as servant and client dependence.¹³

In both cases, Rubinkowski appears in a dual role – an informer, valuable due to the important office of the postmaster of the Crown he fulfilled, and a vendor-agent implementing the order for a fixed fee or helping in their implementation. The usual topic of his letters was the latest information of local and national importance, and less frequently of European one. It was of a service, political, administrative, military, economic or moral nature. It usually concerned current or recent events.¹⁴ Some themes returned in the letters cyclically, showing the importance of the topic (the status of orders and related problems, panegyrics and Christmas-occasional wishes, appointments and official changes, the situation on the war frontlines, the tumult of Toruń in 1724 or grain prices in Gdańsk). Sensational and scandalous news, providing a certain amount of entertainment for readers can be also found. Intriguing topics were taken from near and far, for example, the misalliance

11 T. Hoff, *Geografia łączności Polski*, Lublin–Rzeszów 1981, p. 43.

12 AGAD, AR, dept. V, 13402, p. 5; Rubinkowski to N.N., Toruń, 16 III 1727.

13 Having picked up Anna Radziwiłł's mail from Człuchów, Rubinkowski sent it to Warsaw to the "field marshal princess" (i.e. Tekla Róża Flemming, née Radziwiłł, daughter of Anna Radziwiłł, and at the same time the wife of a Lithuanian horseman, Saxon Field Marshal, Minister August II – Jakub Henryk Flemming and a certain Rojkiewicz, p. 7, Rubinkowski to Anna Radziwiłł, Toruń, 24 III 1727.

14 See A. Kucharski, *O sobie, ludziach i świecie. Listy Jakuba Kazimierza Rubinkowskiego do Elżbiety Sieniawskiej jako egodokumenty i źródła wiadomości gazetowych (1716–1726)* in *Kobiece kręgi korespondencyjne w XVII–XIX wieku*, ed. B. Popiołek, A. Słaby, U. Kicińska, Warszawa–Bellerive-sur-Allier 2016, p. 31–44.

of the daughter of a nobleman living near Toruń,¹⁵ allegedly fatal illness of the tsar Peter I, about whom he wrote that suffered from tuberculosis and “he *ab intra* putrefy *et per consequens* stomach cannot digest,” or prophecies of the self-proclaimed prophet from Królewiec, predicting the end of the world.¹⁶

Newspapers written, edited by the head of the Toruń “Postambt” and sent as attachments to letters showed, in a sense, the intensity and abundance of this correspondence. Rubinkowski received the privilege to send letters to Człuchów, and from there return ones to Biała. As he wrote: “I treat this decision and the command of Lady as the Holy Gospel.” Newspapers were not included in the contract, but to win the Lady’s favour, he declared that he would send them with every post. Toruń became a contact point for the Radziwiłłs’ post, and the Cossacks and riders who came from Człuchów received mail from Biała, often bringing letters to be sent. However, this seemingly efficient forwarding system failed quite often for various reasons.¹⁷

The numbers also say a lot about it. Sieniawska’s archives contain at least several dozen handwritten newspapers edited by Rubinkowski. However, in the Nieśwież archive we can find only a few copies entitled “from Toruń” or “from Prussia.”¹⁸ The anonymity of newspapers and the state of preservation of their collections are important problems in reconstructing the quantity and frequency of provided information. An attempt to compare the character of the handwriting also is not working, because Rubinkowski used for edition the newspapers written by his secretaries. Undoubtedly, however, he has to be described as the creator of an efficiently operating information agency, who tried to regularly send newspapers, selecting their content and selecting the latest national and local news, taking into account the expectations of the

¹⁵ In connection with one of the louder local moral scandals he sent a letter to Świętosław Radowicki (to his estates in Zajęczków), “who is in trouble because Mr Wierzbowski kidnapped his daughter.” The case concerned the escape of his daughter Anna and getting married, without the consent of her father, to the leaseholder of nearby Mirakowa, Tomasz Wierzbowski. It is not known what Rubinkowski wrote in this letter. However, the whole family scandal ended with the disinheritance of his daughter; J. Dygdała, *Radowicki Świętosław chorząy chełmiński (1725–1733)* in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 29, Wrocław 1986, p. 755–757.

¹⁶ *Listy Jakuba Kazimierza Rubinkowskiego do Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej*, p. 114, 176.

¹⁷ Rubinkowski wondered why the newspaper was not being sent with letters from the Człuchów starost, with more reliable deliveries, for example, attached to the economic correspondence of Radziwiłłs’ economists; AGAD, AR, dept. V, 13402, p. 16–18; Rubinkowski to Anna Radziwiłł, Toruń, 4 VII 1728.

¹⁸ See AGAD, AR, dept. XXXIV (*Gazetki pisane*).

recipients.¹⁹ In fact, we are dealing here with an objective form of modern journalism, according to contemporary standards, and Rubinkowski enjoyed the sceptical commentary, often using a formula with a critical character: *si credere fas est* – “if it deserves trust.”²⁰

The range of service activities of Toruń’s postmaster for Sieniawska, her husband and Anna Radziwiłł was very wide. It included, as far as it is possible to be stated in detail from their correspondence, various and often delicate tasks. Rubinkowski, as a former royal fiscal official who still had large influences and acquaintances in the environment of customs officers on the Vistula River, was treated as a man for special assignments. Perfectly being familiar with the informal mechanisms of corruption, he facilitated or even allowed “liberation,” that is, exemption from fees for precious loads of magnate barges and scows. He also helped to protect the cargo from robbery, as he pointed out, sometimes even putting his life in peril. He was also able to effectively help in cases of sequestering grain or forest products. He reported, for example, that Anna Radziwiłł’s skipper Szawelski had problems in Toruń, because two ships with potash were “arrested” and manned with guard of tsarist soldiers at the “Montmorantowa graf’s” demand. Szawelski sailed to Gdańsk with the rest of the ships. The intervention of Rubinkowski, who organized a Gdańsk merchant’s guarantee of property, led to the release of detained ships. He emphasized his great merits and commitment with false modesty characteristic of him: “I did all this for the favour of My Excellency Lady Benefactress as her servant.”²¹

The client system in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth transposed the relations of the nobleman-magnates into the mechanisms of operation of the noblemen’s parliamentary council that remained in the orbit of the influences of the magnate’s actions. Here, the role of Rubinkowski, even as a small nobleman, was rather ephemeral. He was, however, an episodic connector of a regional council transmitting instructions to the magnates of the Kujawy nobility, not sparing the efforts, and certainly bribes.²² Of course, this does not allow us to treat him as a political client who had the position of

¹⁹ K. Maliszewski, *Agencja informacyjna Jakuba Kazimierza Rubinkowskiego (ze studiów nad dziejami komunikacji społecznej w XVIII w.)*, “Zapiski Historyczne” 1983, vol. 48, no. 3, p. 49–69.

²⁰ *Listy Jakuba Kazimierza Rubinkowskiego do Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej*, p. 132.

²¹ AGAD, AR, dept. V, 13402, p. 47–49; Rubinkowski to Anna Radziwiłł, Toruń, 15 V 1735.

²² As he wrote: “It was not without my costinvolvement”; *Listy Jakuba Kazimierza Rubinkowskiego do Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej*, p. 250–251.

complete dependence and hierarchical subordination to the magnate. However, we can discover some attempts, rather misguided, of influencing the sessions of the Kuyavian or Prussian regional councils, warranted and incited by the hetman Adam Sieniawski, and maybe also the principal governor of Kraków, Jerzy Dominik Lubomirski.

He monitored the current conditions of the Vistula shipping, informing about the whereabouts of his patrons' fleets. He intervened if necessary. As it was written earlier, he obtained, for example, the release of two barges sequestered by the tsarist army or river vessels with potash belonging to Anna Radziwiłł. He boasted of this success calling himself an effective negotiator and faithful "servant." Above all, the issue of intermediating in finding specialists dealing in rare and searched areas of craft and trade emerges in his letters repeatedly. This included the purchase of books, stove tiles and soap, and luxury goods, including a wide range of colonial products imported by Gdańsk, such as citrus fruits or oysters. Some letters allow you to accurately reproduce the logistics of shipments. For example, a lemon crate ordered in Gdańsk sent to Biała by a carter was delivered to Toruń on December 28, and then sent to the Radziwiłł's palace in Warsaw, into the hands of Mioduski, where it appeared at the beginning of the following year.²³

Among the advantages of Rubinkowski, which made him an extremely attractive commercial agent, one should note the bibliophilic factor consisting in the organization of the purchase of books and their bookbinding preservation for Sieniawska.²⁴ In contacts with Radziwiłł, the letters do not reveal this thread, but this is confirmed by his own literary ambitions expressed in exposing the Sarmatian-Baroque erudition. In gratitude for a favour, he asked to accept his work. At the same time he praised the Radziwiłł library in Nieśwież, to which he wanted to offer "work prepared by myself, which describes in short the actions and heroic victories of the famous Polish monarch Your Majesty Jan III." It was a panegyric work submitted for print as early as 1731, but only published a few years later (in 1739) at the Jesuit printing house in Poznań, in which Rubinkowski propagated the cult of Jan III Sobieski and praised the victory at Vienna in panegyric and hagiographic terms.²⁵ „Honour for

²³ AGAD, AR, dept. V, 13402, p. 39; Rubinkowski to Anna Radziwiłł, Toruń, 7 I 1731.

²⁴ A. Kucharski, *Pośrednictwo Jakuba Kazimierza Rubinkowskiego w konserwacji i zakupie książek dla Elżbiety Sieniawskiej w latach 1725–1726*, "Folia Toruniensia" 2015, vol. 15, p. 43–56.

²⁵ See K. Maliszewski, *Kult Jana III Sobieskiego i wiktorii wiedeńskiej (1683) w polskiej kulturze i tradycji*, "Czasy Nowożytne" 2010, no. 23, p. 50–52.

triumphs thanks to actions and heroic bravery of the Polish King Jan III on the battlefield. After overcoming Ottoman and Tatar armies, your Excellency was given for printing to be immortal for centuries.”²⁶ His last known letter to Anna Radziwiłł (dated January 10, 1740) contains information that he sent her his book *in crudo*, that is, in the raw state, with sheets of paper still unfolded.²⁷

He searched for specialists in Dutch cattle breeding, bookbinders, roofers and clothmakers. Not always such an order was easy to implement. The work of Torun bookbinders was delayed by late payment of money and wages or unfavourable weather conditions: “Here we have rain every day, horrible atmospheric conditions.”²⁸ He had a lot of trouble in finding a manufacturer of fabrics made of a hacked cloth, a Winkler. Rubinkowski could not find him, and he suspected that he either went to the countryside or hid somewhere, perhaps because he was afraid of creditors, which seemed to be confirmed by the following characteristics. Looking for information about him, he learned that he was a colourful character, but at the same time a great craftsman:

Truth, he knows how to do this work with cloth beautifully, he is a very poor man, a drunkard and treats a wife badly what he earns today, he spends on alcohol today, he owes a few thalers for a flat in a tavern, for which I will pay to the tavern and I will give him some money before he leaves.²⁹

Immediately, however, he pointed out that Anna Radziwiłł would not have much benefit from such an employee, unless he had a supervisor while performing his work.³⁰ He even recommended searching for a cloth specialist in Gdańsk.

Permanent correspondence with many representatives of the social and political elite of the Republic, including two powerful women, gave him connection to the culture of luxury. Emanation of the magnate lifestyle must

²⁶ AGAD, AR, dept. V, 13402, p. 51; Rubinkowski to Anna Radziwiłł, Toruń, 22 XI 1739.

²⁷ Ibidem, p. 53.

²⁸ *Listy Jakuba Kazimierza Rubinkowskiego do Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej*, p. 280.

²⁹ AGAD, AR, dept. V, 13402, p. 3–4; Rubinkowski to Anna Radziwiłł, Toruń, 15 III 1727.

³⁰ Perhaps the described attitude of this craftsman resulted not only from personal qualities, but also from the general downturn of the cloth industry in Toruń, because before 1728 the production of this branch of craft completely collapsed and hence the pauperization of manufacturer gradually increased; K. Mikulski, *Pułapka niemożności. Społeczeństwo nowożytnego miasta wobec procesów modernizacyjnych (na przykładzie Torunia w XVII i XVIII wieku)*, Toruń 2008, p. 99–100.

have influenced Rubinkowski and shaped his ambitions and expectations. He already enjoyed prestige as a royal and urban official and a patrician aspiring to the status of Sarmat-landowner. He owned a manor farm and he applied, unsuccessfully, for the office of a Chełmno juror, i.e. a *de facto* sub-judge, which placed relatively high in the hierarchy of non-senatory lands offices of Crown. As a component of this phenomenon, the mentality of this client of the first homes of the Crown and Lithuania can certainly be noticed. What is more, he was the client out of choice and not out of necessity. It was expressed by his pretensions to showing out the symptoms of noble ostentation. He constantly demanded from Sieniawska, with a fairly good result, to send him symbolic determinants of the status of the noblemen: a ceremonial carabela with sophisticated decorations (with gold studs) and a horse of noble blood, because he got bored with “Prussian friezes,”³¹ or a Persian fabric for his daughter. Asking Anna Radziwiłł humbly for hunted roe deer, he expressed the Sarmatian manner of having a lordly table, especially during Christmas.³² Do these insistent requests for subsidies, rewards and gifts and tearful complaints about the lack of “Lord’s grace” or too low and late payments of money are a sign of his small-mindedness in connection with the symptoms of magnate stinginess? Perhaps both of them, but it was not “unequal friendship” in Antoni Mączak’s terms, because in this case we can hardly talk about it, because we are dealing with the pattern of client’s and contractor’s submission to the patron and the principal with the need to subordinate. The entire exchange of commercial and business information, entangled in a network of nuances, is an elaborate economic game in the courtesy forms of epistemographic art. He shared it as a commercial agent and correspondent in one person, trying to generate the largest possible own profit and gain potential benefits for the future. Also our look at the fabulous wealth of the magnates cannot withstand confrontation with the reality here, because Rubinkowski was just one of many Sieniawska’s clients who expected various forms of gratification, and the amount of his property depended on various factors, such as the ever-changing situation in the grain in Gdańsk, which Rubinkowski often wrote about – which should

³¹ *Listy Jakuba Kazimierza Rubinkowskiego do Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej*, p. 316.

³² He thanked, for example, for the roe deer once received from the Człuchów starost and asked again for “game” as a gift for sending correspondence to Człuchów. Two weeks later, when making Christmas greetings, “after Christmas solicit” he applied for the allocation of eight roe deer – “being encouraged by this I would more willingly fulfill my duties”; AGAD, AR, dept. V, 13402, p. 28–29, 31–32; Rubinkowski to Anna Radziwiłł, Toruń, 5 and 18 XII 1728.

not come as a surprise, knowing the large and frequent price fluctuations in this aspect.³³

Therefore, we should pose the question: what type of clientelism was represented by Rubinkowski? He was definitely a client of promotion looking for ways to promote thanks to “grace of the Lady”³⁴ (in his letters it is often quoted phrase, not just a traditional linguistic figure). He had independent sources of income and high social status as a patrician, so he was not a so-called client of survival. Despite this, Rubinkowski’s letters are dominated by the defensive attitude characteristic of this type of client. He boasts of his resourcefulness and diligence. He accounted for delays or problems with the forwarding of letters and goods, indicating the external or intentional circumstances and hostile activities of outsiders and even other Sieniawska’s clients. However, it resulted from the fact of fierce competition in the post-master’s industry and, it seems, from a strong antipathy between them. For example, Rubinkowski often misspelled the name of the postmaster of Warsaw’s Mikołaj Tchórzecki, although he often used his mediation in sending letters and newspapers.³⁵ He also presented a demanding attitude and repeated the same requests with full conviction about their legitimacy a few times, which is typical of clients of promotion, as it has already been mentioned. His outstanding courage is worth mentioning, because he was not afraid of tormenting addressees with repeated requests. They had a different effect and although they were not always successful, Rubinkowski repeatedly received satisfaction even after a long waiting period. There was a mechanism of gratification here, which in the client’s system played an important role in eliminating tensions.³⁶ In many cases, it consisted of granting landed estates, but also – as in Rubinkowski’s case – getting prestigious gifts. In any case, neither Radziwiłł nor Sieniawska were his most important patrons, because he undoubtedly considered the grand chancellor of the Crown Jan Szembek (died in 1731) as his greatest protector, whom he probably owed his entry to the Toruń councillors in 1724.³⁷ He also had family relations with mid-level officials and dignitaries, and godfathers

³³ T. Furtak, *Ceny w Gdańsku w latach 1701–1815*, Lwów 1835, p. 227.

³⁴ K. Maliszewski, A. Kucharski, *Wstęp in Listy Jakuba Kazimierza Rubinkowskiego do Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej*, p. 43.

³⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 24.

³⁶ More: A. Mączak, *Klientela. Nieformalne systemy władzy...*, p. 156–157.

³⁷ K. Maliszewski, *Jakub Kazimierz Rubinkowski, szlachcic, mieszczanin toruński, erudyta barokowy*, p. 54–55.

of his children were, for example, the president of Toruń and the castellan of Gdansk Walerian Kruszyński.³⁸ As a civil servant and merchant of Toruń, he skilfully combined the institutional and personal strategy. This symbiosis makes Rubinkowski someone more important than just an ordinary client. Therefore, it would probably be necessary to use a more precise definition of the title magnates, calling them not patrons, but rather promoters, which in this case enabled acceleration and development of the career path thanks to the power held and sustained connections and influences.

An analysis of Rubinkowski's contacts with Sieniawska and Radziwiłł confirms the next important findings regarding the social position and political role of the Polish magnate. They are expressed in the statement that magnate power, wealth and prestige gave this social layer real control over space.³⁹ This concerned not only the financial and political spheres, and hence the mobility conditioned by the need to move between property complexes and residences, which is evident in Sieniawska and Radziwiłł's travel guides. Men also took part in the Sejm and travelled abroad (for example, on educational, diplomatic or curative trips), sometimes accompanied by wives or sisters. It was also important to control the flow of information by having a private, informal communication agency, which included skippers, economists, couriers, officials, etc. This fact was used not only by the magnates but also by Rubinkowski, who thanks to this obtained a lot of the most up-to-date information giving at least theoretical control over the space of the road and its distances. For example, the reiter from Człuchów informed him that yesterday Zubowicz – skipper of Anna Radziwiłł returning from Gdańsk was in Kozieliec located on the Vistula, north of Fordon, and with a luck he was expected any time in Toruń.⁴⁰

Lines of letter and transport contacts with Sieniawska and Radziwiłł, running between Toruń and Puławy, Lviv, Człuchów, Warsaw, Nieśwież and Biała, intersect each other, giving an idea of the scale of these connections, often effective despite the weakness of communication in the network of postal routes. This geometry, outlined for the purposes of this study, is of course contractual and limited in nature. It must be remembered that Rubinkowski, during his long professional activity lasting over half a century, was bound by orders

³⁸ Information from his family's life was sent to Sieniawska: *Listy Jakuba Kazimierza Rubinkowskiego do Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej*, p. 122–123.

³⁹ A. Mączak, *Nierówna przyjaźń...*, p. 185.

⁴⁰ AGAD, AR, dept. V, 13402, p. 50; Rubinkowski to Anna Radziwiłł, Toruń, 24 V 1739.

and obligations with more representatives of the Polish magnates: Sanguszko, Załuski (mainly Józef Andrzej), Denhoff and Lubomirski or Szembek families. Apart from their numerous headquarters and the capital, it is also necessary to add here Gdańsk extremely important for all of those mentioned. We can draw the conclusion that these connections overcame the territorial and *de facto* systemic divisions between three separate, in a sense, political and territorial organisms, namely the Crown, the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and the autonomous Royal Prussia. It was also a characteristic feature of the entire political and cultural life of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at that time.

A separate problem is the issue of time control. In the realities of the modern era it was much more difficult to achieve and maintain it than it is today. Insufficient communication infrastructure, and therefore poor transport organization and poor road conditions, negatively affected the functioning of the postal service.⁴¹ These are completely obvious reasons, but there were also occasional reasons, independent of the best intentions and the largest investments – climatic or military obstacles (for example, military operations during the Great Northern War), or finally immeasurable, but very important, so-called human factor, and therefore the lack of total predictability of the behavior of subjects and servants obliged to obey the patron's orders – it is worth mentioning here, for example, the punishment of Kozak, who delivered important letters late. This is also evidenced by frequent complaints of Rubinkowski on wilful and rude skippers carrying ships of Sieniawska to Gdańsk. They took part or all of Rubinkowski's remuneration, avoided contact with him and deliberately delayed the transport of goods. They transported valuable chests of books negligently, and they or their subordinates were suspected of deliberately breaking up of parcels of books due to lack of due caution or theft of books. All these elements undoubtedly negatively influenced the effectiveness of Rubinkowski's work as a correspondent and agent of Sieniawski and Radziwiłł families, being also the cause of their dissatisfaction.

To sum up what has been set out above, it should be noted that Rubinkowski was not the only postmaster or editor of written newspapers (Sebastian Fabian Rybczyński also belonged to them)⁴² employed by both magnates, but

⁴¹ See L. Zimowski, *Geneza i rozwój komunikacji pocztowej na ziemiach polskich*, Warszawa 1972.

⁴² *Korespondencja Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej, kasztelanowej krakowskiej*, vol. II, *Jaśnie Oświecona Mościa Książno Dobrodziejko. Informatorzy i urzędnicy*, edited and published by B. Popiołek, U. Kicińska, A. Słaby, Warszawa–Bellerive-sur-Allier 2016, p. 14–86.

definitely he stood out in this group. His multithreaded correspondence and multi-faceted service activities for Sieniawska and Radziwiłł depict the strong economic position of the great cities of Royal Prussia, the growing social role of women from the magnate elite, the realities of mail functioning, and the mechanisms of client systems, not only on the magnate-nobleman's line, and this approach dominates in the works of historians, but also in magnate-townsmen's line. It should be remembered that Rubinkowski made his career not as a nobleman, but a valuable associate of magnates, Toruń townsmen and a royal official with a good position. In his case, we can and we certainly should talk about a clearly appearing informational clientelism. His status and significance for the title magnates resulted mainly from the possibility of constant and punctual delivery and transmission of strategic information over long distances, while maintaining the required confidentiality.

SUMMARY

INFORMATION AND SERVICES. JAKUB KAZIMIERZ RUBINKOWSKI AS A CORRESPONDENT AND CLIENT OF ELŻBIETA SIENIAWSKA AND ANNA KATARZYNA RADZIWIŁŁ

The main aim of this article was the attempt to present a specific professional and service relationship between Jakub Kazimierz Rubinkowski and Elżbieta Sieniawska, née Lubomirska and Anna Katarzyna Radziwiłł, in the years 1716–1740. Jakub Kazimierz Rubinkowski (1668–1749) was a royal postmaster and merchant, who operated in Toruń, at the end of 17th and the first half of 18th century. His activity was very important for two Polish magnate ladies, representatives of the most eminent families in the Nobility of Commonwealth of the Crown and Lithuania: Elżbieta Sieniawska, née Lubomirska and Anna Katarzyna Radziwiłł. Rubinkowski sent their correspondence, edited handwritten newspapers for them, and brokered the purchase and shipping of various goods (grain, forest products, books, soap, cattle and luxury articles). He was connected with them by a client bond. It was a very special clientelism, because Rubinkowski was not a subject to these magnates and he had a strong economic and social position. That is why we can say, that he was rather a client of promotion. These contracts with magnates were not the sole source of his income. He treated it as a source of additional profit, and the same letter contact as a sign of prestige.

Keywords: clientelism, Jakub Kazimierz Rubinkowski, Elżbieta Sieniawska, Anna Katarzyna Radziwiłł, correspondence

DOI 10.24917/9788380842717.10

The patron-servant relation on the example of Elżbieta Sieniawska, née Lubomirska and Izrael Rubinowicz

Patronage, clientelism, foundation – these phenomena are combined with the basic requirement – financial support of the patron and the desire to acquire a client. Building the economic dependence of clients¹ and having funds for self-creation of the image² were one of the main intentions of the magnate. This principle was particularly understood and used by Elżbieta Sieniawska, née Lubomirska (died in 1729),³ castellan of Krakow, who brought the clientele

¹ See A. Mączak, *Klientela. Nieformalne systemy władzy w Polsce i w Europie XVI–XVIII w.*, Warszawa 1994, p. 138–146; J. Burszta, *Handel kupiecki i magnacki między Sieniawą nad Sanem a Gdańskiem od końca XVII do połowy XVIII wieku*, “Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych” 1954, vol. 16, p. 174–232; J.A. Gierowski, *Wrocławskie interesy hetmanowej Elżbiety Sieniawskiej* in *Studia z dziejów kultury i ideologii*, Wrocław 1968, p. 223–248.

² See U. Augustyniak, *Dwór i klientela Krzysztofa Radziwiłła (1585–1640). Mechanizmy patronatu*, Warszawa 2001; R. Nestorow, *Pro domo et nomine suo. Fundacje i inicjatywy artystyczne Adama Mikołaja i Elżbiety Sieniawskiej*, Warszawa 2016; J. Gajewski, *Elżbieta Sieniawska i jej artyści. Z zagadnień organizacji pracy artystycznej i odbioru w XVIII w. w Polsce* in *Mecenas – Kolekcjoner – Odbiorca. Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki (1981)*, Warszawa 1984, p. 281–302; idem, *Architekci hetmanowej Elżbiety Sieniawskiej in Podług nieba i zwyczaj polskiego. Studia z historii sztuki i architektury ofiarowane Adamowi Miłobędzkiemu*, ed. Z. Bania et al., Warszawa 1988, p. 378–390; J. Nowak, *Dobra wilanowskie za Elżbiety Sieniawskiej 1720–1729 w świetle archiwaliów biblioteki Czartoryskich w Krakowie*, “Studia Wilanowskie” 2003, vol. 14, p. 17–48; *Korespondencja Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej, kasztelanowej krakowskiej*, vol. II, *Jaśnie Oświecona Mościa Księżno Dobrodziejko. Informatorzy i urzędnicy*, edited and published by B. Popiołek, U. Kicińska, A. Słaby, Warszawa–Bellerive-sur-Allier 2016.

³ See B. Popiołek, *Królowa bez korony. Studium z życia i działalności Elżbiety Sieniawskiej, ok. 1669–1729*, Kraków 1993; A.P. Link-Lenczowski, B. Popiołek, *Sieniawska z Lubomirskich Elżbieta Helena* in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 37, Warszawa–Kraków 1996–1997, p. 90–96.

almost to perfection.⁴ A well-functioning estate was a priority for her, that's why she managed her goods on her own and controlled her managers on an unprecedented scale.⁵ Having inherited from her uncle Stanisław Łukasz Opaliński, the Nowy Korczyn starost (died in 1704),⁶ many goods,⁷ she faced up the problem of selecting administrative staff for the received lands. The choice of the manager of the Sandomierz estates was a particularly difficult task, which due to its convenient location and numerous granaries was the logistic centre of the entire estate. Therefore, the manager of this property had to be an extraordinary person, and his work was probably placed under exceptional supervision. An official in the Lublin estates, Jew Izrael Rubinowicz (died between June 29, 1742 and June 31, 1743) was chosen.⁸ Rubinowicz remained in the position of the administrator of the Sandomierz estate since 1708⁹ until his

4 See A. Słaby, *Rządziocia oleszycka. Dwór Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej jako przykład patronatu kobiecego w czasach saskich*, Kraków 2014; *Korespondencja Elżbiety z Lubomirskich, kasztelanowej krakowskiej*, vol. I, *Z serca kochająca żona i uniżona sługa. Listy do męża Adama Mikołaja Sieniawskiego z lat 1688–1726*, edited and published by B. Popiołek, U. Kicińska, A. Słaby, Warszawa–Bellerive-sur-Allier 2016; *Korespondencja Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej, kasztelanowej krakowskiej*, vol. III, *Jaśnie Oświecona Mościa Książno Dobrodziejko. Rodzina, przyjaciele i klienci (wybór)*, edited and published by B. Popiołek, U. Kicińska, A. Słaby, Warszawa–Bellerive-sur-Allier 2016; B. Popiołek, *Dobrodziejki i klienci. Z dziejów patronatu kobiecego w czasach saskich in Patron i dwór. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku*, ed. E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, J. Urwanowicz, Warszawa 2006, p. 385–395.

5 See D. Bąkowski-Kois, *Zarządcy dóbr Elżbiety Sieniawskiej – studium historii mentalności 1704–1726*, Kraków 2005; J.A. Gierowski, *Korespondencja urzędników latyfundialnych jako źródło do historii gospodarczej i społecznej w Kraków–Małopolska w Europie Środką. Studia ku czci profesora Jana M. Małeckiego w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, ed. P. Broński, J. Purchla, J. Szpak, Kraków 1996, p. 93–98; U. Kicińska, *Accounts of a patron-servant in the light of economic correspondence of Elżbieta Lubomirski Sieniawska, castellan of Krakow in Tożsamość kobiet w Polsce. Interpretacje*, vol. I, *Od czasów najdawniejszych do XIX wieku*, ed. I. Maciejewska, Olsztyn 2016, p. 61–74; eadem, *Codzienne obowiązki zarządcy majątku – na przykładzie korespondencji Piotra Morzyckiego do Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej in Epistolografia w dawnej Polsce*, vol. VI, *Stulecia XVI–XIX. Nowa perspektywa historyczna i językowa*, ed. P. Borek, M. Olma, Kraków 2015, p. 291–304.

6 B. Popiołek, *Królowa...*, p. 12.

7 A.P. Link-Lenczowski, B. Popiołek, *Sieniawska z Lubomirskich Elżbieta Helena...*, p. 94.

8 I. Rubinowicz to A.A. Czartoryski, Rytwiany, 29 VI 1742, The Princes Czartoryski Library (hereinafter: BCz), MS 5935, no. 34961, p. 808; BCz, MS 11492, p. 11–15. On the basis of the comparison of the last preserved letter from Rubinowicz and the posthumous inventory of his property, the date of his death can be stated.

9 J. Nowak, *Żydzi w kręgach Denhoffów, Sieniawskich i Czartoryskich (II połowa XVII wieku – koniec XIX wieku)*. *Słownik biograficzny*, Kraków 2003, p. 353.

death, so for at least for thirty-five years! The biography of Izrael has been the subject of historians' research many times,¹⁰ however, it is worth paying attention to valuable issues related mainly to the phenomenon of the functioning of patronage and the relationship between the benefactress and the servant. The incredible value of correspondence, as a source for the history of mentality, was proved by Józef Andrzej Gierowski.¹¹ The preserved letters of Rubinowicz, enriched with economic sources, form an excellent basis for answering the following questions: How did communication between the patron and the servant function? What qualities did Rubinowicz possess, since Sieniawska allowed him to keep his office from the inheritance of goods until the end of his days? What benefits did this cooperation bring to both parties and can we talk about a close patron-servant relationship?

The exchange of letters played a huge role in organizing and leading a large estate of Elżbieta Sieniawska, née Lubomirska and a large group of her subjects. The castellan of Kraków organized an almost perfect management model based on correspondence. Letters were not only a tool of control, coercion, but also a form of rewarding through flattery for servants.¹² In his letters Rubinowicz often pointed out the way in which he received the message from Sieniawska. Certainly, the Opatów services were used.¹³ The described correspondence also provides information on fees for services, which amounted to one hundred zlotys in 1723 and remained at that level at least until 1725. It was received by a certain Szejf, post-commander abbot.¹⁴ Unfortunately, the administrator complained about delays.¹⁵ The attempt to identify people involved in sending letters goes beyond any scheme. Most often letters were provided by

¹⁰ See *ibidem*; M. Rosman, *The Lords' Jews: Magnate-Jewish Relations in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the Eighteenth Century*, Cambridge 1990 (polish edition: *Żydzi pańscy. Stosunki magnacko-żydowskie w Rzeczypospolitej w XVIII w.*, transl. W. Tyszka, Warszawa 2005); *ibidem*, *Izrael Rubinowicz: Żyd w służbie polskich magnatów w XVIII wieku*, transl. W. Tyszka, "Sobótka" 1982, no. 3-4, p. 497-507.

¹¹ J.A. Gierowski, *Korespondencja urzędników latyfundialnych...*, p. 93-98.

¹² I. Rubinowicz to E. Sieniawska, Rytwiany, 1 V 1723, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34774, p. 57; *idem* to eadem, Rytwiany, 8 IX 1723, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34788, p. 109; *idem* to eadem, Rytwiany, 21 I 1722, BCz, MS 5934, no. 34727, p. 705.

¹³ *Idem* to eadem, Rytwiany, 31 I 1725, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34843, p. 332; *idem* to eadem, Rytwiany, 6 IV 1723, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34770, p. 41.

¹⁴ *Idem* to eadem, Rytwiany, 20 IX 1723, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34789, p. 113.

¹⁵ *Idem* to eadem, Rytwiany, 19 XII 1712, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34608, p. 235; *idem* to eadem, Na Orle, 1 VII 1722, BCz, MS 5934, no. 34736, p. 737-738.

Sieniawska's subordinates, such as Janaszowski,¹⁶ Jęczmieński,¹⁷ Jagniętkowski,¹⁸ Chuchrowski,¹⁹ Kozak Zwierka,²⁰ however, there were no outsiders, such as: a non-named lieutenant,²¹ reiter,²² dragon,²³ and even a priest chaplain.²⁴ It is also possible to hypothesize that apart from the above mentioned there were special people involved in this activity, which by Rubinowicz were called "de-liberate."²⁵ However, it is difficult to determine whether they performed this function once or whether their role at the court of the patron was specifically assigned to this task.

Calling Sieniawska in the letters, the administrator usually adopted the formula: "Your Excellency Benefactress," and the text preceding the signature was as follows "Your lowest footstool." This scheme was probably reproduced by all administrators²⁶ and Rubinowicz was not an exception in this case. The previous literature on the subject indicates that Sieniawska wanted to send regular reporting letters.²⁷ Therefore, the sender often sent long epistles without any need, so as not to "leave the mail"²⁸ and do not expose Benefactress to complain about it.²⁹ It is worth mentioning that in the case of matters of exceptional importance or knowledge about the imminent possibility of a meeting, direct conversation was planned. This is evidenced by annotations in the letters, for example: "I am not writing any more, because when it is necessary I would talk."³⁰

Business correspondence provides a huge amount of information about the features of the character of the sender. It is a source in this matter so valuable that even after rejecting the autopresentation of the author of the letter, as part

16 Idem to eadem, Rytwiany, 19 XII 1712, BCz, MS 5934, no. 34608, p. 235; idem to eadem, Na Orle, 1 VII 1722, BCz, MS 5934, no. 34736, p. 737–738.

17 Idem to eadem, Rytwiany, 5 I 1713, BCz, MS 5934, no. 34612, p. 251.

18 Idem to eadem, Rytwiany, 30 VII 1719, BCz, MS 5934, no. 34686, p. 547.

19 Idem to eadem, Rytwiany, 31 VIII 1719, BCz, MS 5934, no. 34691, p. 569.

20 Idem to eadem, Rytwiany, 8 IX 1719, BCz, MS 5934, no. 34692, p. 573.

21 Idem to eadem, [s.l.], BCz, MS 5934, no. 34564, p. 47.

22 Idem to eadem, Końskowola, 6 X 1712, BCz, MS 5934, no. 34605, p. 223.

23 Idem to eadem, Lubnice, 21 I 1716, BCz, MS 5934, no. 34669, p. 479.

24 Idem to eadem, Rytwiany, 16 XII 1719, BCz, MS 5934, no. 34696, p. 589.

25 Idem to eadem, Czerniaków, 8 I 1705, BCz, MS 5934, no. 34568, p. 61.

26 *Korespondencja...*, vol. II.

27 U. Kicińska, *Relacje patron-sługa...*, p. 65.

28 I. Rubinowicz to E. Sieniawska, Rytwiany, 27 XII 1724, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34838, p. 309.

29 Idem to eadem, Rytwiany, 20 IX 1723, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34789, p. 113.

30 Idem to eadem, Na Orle, 1 VII 1722, BCz, MS 5934, no. 34736, p. 737.

of the criticism of sources, we can gather a handful of information from side stories, from descriptions of actions and situations that give a certain view of the personality and nature of the author of the source. It is worth paying special attention to the qualities of Rubinowicz, extremely valuable in the relationship of the patron-servant, which helped him stay (for a surprisingly long time) in the hetman service. D. Bąkowski-Kois in his book devoted to the mentality of managers of Sieniawska's estates drew the theory that the own initiative of property administrators was very limited.³¹ However, the mentioned servant often demonstrated ingenuity and initiated various types of ventures. A great example of such behavior was the idea of creating a hamernia. The manager already in 1723³² mentioned the need to create a forge. Initially he asked Benefactress for help in bringing in specialist Ferdynand,³³ but when it was impossible to do it, he independently bought in a specialist who constructed a modern hamernia, which so far only existed in Hungary and near Gdańsk.³⁴ After building the workshop, he personally tried to popularize the factory, but the willingness to have his own benefit could be seen in this procedure, since while asking for advertising the Hamernia in Staszów, he tried to persuade Sieniawska to lease it to him.³⁵

A forge was full of modern solutions and aroused the admiration of the Kiev provincial governor Józef Potocki (died in 1751),³⁶ who was looking for a contact with its contractor. However, being afraid of competition and protecting the interests of his employer, Rubinowicz did not let the governor have the contact with the hamernia.³⁷ The supervisor often suggested better solutions than those proposed by Sieniawska. For example: when he got the order to lower a punt with a cast for the king, he wrote to the Benefactress that there were difficulties with the float and that he would send the parcel with carts to keep the word towards the king.³⁸ The administrator was a person with considerable knowledge in the field of economics and management, that's probably why the patron agreed to the independence of the servant.

³¹ D. Bąkowski-Kois, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

³² I. Rubinowicz to E. Sieniawska, Rytwiany, 30 II 1723, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34766, p. 27.

³³ *Idem* to eadem, Budziska, 12 X 1723, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34793, p. 130.

³⁴ *Idem* to eadem, Rytwiany, 26 IX 1724, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34829, p. 275.

³⁵ *Idem* to eadem, Rytwiany, 4 VII 1725, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34856, p. 387–388.

³⁶ ipsb.nina.gov.pl/a/biografia/jozef-potocki-h-pilawa [access: 25.06.2018].

³⁷ I. Rubinowicz to E. Sieniawska, Rytwiany, 11 I 1725, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34840, p. 318–319.

³⁸ *Idem* to eadem, Rytwiany, 15 XI 1724, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34832, p. 286–287.

Rubinowicz had extensive experience, necessary to manage the key goods, which were the logistic centre of the whole estate. He knew about agricultural techniques,³⁹ he knew how to prepare different kinds of goods for the float, for example Sieniawska suggested a change in the technique of packaging hay for shipment or he remembered to put ice on fresh salmon to extend its durability.⁴⁰ Apart from the knowledge necessary for the good performance of his function, Rubinowicz had a basic knowledge of mining,⁴¹ and even of the geography of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.⁴² Certainly, the Castellan of Krakow valued his servant's ability to save as well. He cleverly used means of transport, for example, adding small quantities of other small goods to large loads, so as not to bother the carriages and not generate additional costs associated with small transport.⁴³ His efficiency was also visible when, due to an unplanned cancellation of the visit by Sieniawska, foodstuffs could get rotten and it was possible to throw them away, which the manager tried to avoid.⁴⁴ In addition, he compared the prices of various products and did well-thought-out shopping.⁴⁵

Administering the huge key goods and managing a large group of people required a lot of patience from Izrael Rubinowicz. In connection with the reconstruction of the Łubnicki Palace, a large group of subjects was recruited, who instead of working on the farm were involved in transporting stones to the factory, mining gypsum or firing bricks. Then the manager signalled to Sieniawska that it was impossible to properly operate the farm due to the excessive work in the palace.⁴⁶ What is more, among the employed artists there were very often quarrels and even fights. The official had to bear with the conflictual character of the plasterer Antoni Perti, who was arguing with other artists, and even it happened that he beat the architect Giovanni Spazzia.⁴⁷ The administrator

³⁹ Idem to eadem, Rytwiany, 9 VIII 1724, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34823, p. 50.

⁴⁰ Idem to eadem, Rytwiany, 18 V 1714, BCz, MS 5934, no. 34635, p. 348; idem to eadem, Budziska, 26 III 1715, BCz, MS 5934, no. 34652, p. 413.

⁴¹ Idem to eadem, Rytwiany, 29 XI 1725, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34871, p. 447.

⁴² Idem to eadem, Budziska, 12 VIII 1724, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34827, p. 267; idem to eadem, Rytwiany, 20 XII 1723, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34797, p. 145.

⁴³ Idem to eadem, Rytwiany, 8 IX 1723, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34787, p. 97.

⁴⁴ Idem to eadem, Budziska, 12 V 1723, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34775, p. 59.

⁴⁵ Idem to eadem, Rytwiany, 15 VIII 1713, BCz, MS 5934, no. 34625, p. 301.

⁴⁶ Idem to eadem, Rytwiany, 20 IX 1724, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34828, p. 270.

⁴⁷ Idem to eadem, Budziska, 12 IX 1724, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34827, p. 266–267.

ignored the teasing of the plasterer and commented on the situation with a short phrase – “I have something to think about and walk around.”⁴⁸

However, when it came to matters that grossly violate the good of the community and the proper functioning of the farm, Rubinowicz was a stern supervisor. The rebels were put in bonds and separated,⁴⁹ he imprisoned a butcher who did not comply with the ban on buying cattle outside of goods for fear of the prevailing plague,⁵⁰ while the farmhand who did not ensure the safety of the malt house and the distillery, causing a fire, after catching him he ordered to scourge him with tethers.⁵¹ In addition, he threatened to put the co-worker Janaszowski in bonds, because he did not want to go to Benefactress.⁵² However, he deducted part of the salary income of employees who disobeyed their duties.⁵³ In Rubinowicz’s opinion, the big advantage of “a good servant,” was probably his devotion in the performance of his function. In financial matters, he often lent his own money or paid in advance to finalize the contracts on time.⁵⁴ The manager was very devoted to his work – even at the time of health problems he decided to return from Krakow to estate before the end of treatment, so as not to expose the farm to losses, saying that “I almost died on the way there.”⁵⁵ The credibility of the disease seems to be confirmed by the fact that the burgrave of the Łubnik castle Antoni Wideński had already noted four years earlier that Rubinowicz had gone to cure his defect.⁵⁶ Moreover, as early as 1713, a Jew complained of illness and asked for a settlement because he was afraid of death.⁵⁷

It is worth adding that faithfulness was a necessary condition in the service for Sieniawska. Rubinowicz often assured Benefactress about his devotion, and the above-mentioned examples seem to confirm his words of respect “to the lady whose bread I eat.”⁵⁸ Numerous complaints against the manager undermined his authority at the hetman, but he was always able to defend

48 Idem to eadem, Rytwiany, 15 VIII 1713, BCz, MS 5934, no. 34625, p. 302.

49 Idem to eadem, [s.l.], 1723, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34760, p. 4.

50 Idem to eadem, Rytwiany, IX 1723, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34787, p. 106.

51 A thick braided rope.

52 Idem to eadem, Rytwiany, 3 VIII 1723, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34782, p. 13.

53 Idem to eadem, Rytwiany, 15 V 1726, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34887, p. 513.

54 Idem to eadem, Rytwiany, 20 V 1723, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34776, p. 63.

55 Idem to eadem, Rytwiany, 15 V 1724, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34811, p. 201.

56 A. Wideński to E. Sieniawska, [s.l.], 22 V 1720, BCz, MS 5977, no. 46118, p. 213.

57 I. Rubinowicz to E. Sieniawska, Rytwiany, 28 VI 1713, BCz, MS 5934, no. 34618, p. 278.

58 Idem to eadem, Rytwiany, 8 XI 1724, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34831, p. 281.

himself against false accusations, Moshe Rosman writes about it in more detail.⁵⁹ Probably the complaints sent to him to the Cracow lady were due to envy, which was a very frequent phenomenon. Interestingly, Izrael was not able to be faithful in private life as he had illegitimate children.⁶⁰ Unfortunately, the sources do not mention Benefactress's opinion on the subject.

The relationship between Izrael Rubinowicz and Elżbieta Sieniawska consisted mainly in the exchange of goods and services. Sieniawska, thanks to this relationship, had a faithful, hardworking servant who provided her with a steady income necessary to run a political activity (for example, it amounted to four hundred twenty three thousand zlotys in 1708–1719⁶¹). An interesting issue, however, are the benefits for the servant from having such an influential patron, such as broadening relations among the influential person of the contemporary world or the opportunity to enrich themselves.

The time of service and the amount of Rubinowicz's possessions have already been stated but these lists should be slightly expanded. J. Nowak states that the first mention of Rubinowicz, who competed for the Końskowola lease, is in the letter of Mikołaj Krogulecki from 1702.⁶² In contrast, from the letter of the administrator from 1726⁶³ we learn that he already served the Sieniawski family for twenty-five years, so a simple calculation allows to conclude that he began his service in 1701. However, the sources, do not answer the question of what he did during the first year of service, before he took up the Końskowola lease and collaborated with Stanisław Barański, the administrator of Czerniaków.⁶⁴ The first letters of Rubinowicz from 1705 were addressed from the Lublin estates,⁶⁵ whereas from 1709 it was already from the Sandomierz estate.⁶⁶ Probably he was moved due to some misunderstandings, because Elżbieta Sieniawska wrote in a letter to her husband from 1706: "Rubinowicz will not be in Puławy any more. I got a letter from the starost of Płock, I will show it to You Lord, but all this is not true about Rubinowicz."⁶⁷ The Jew remained in the service of Sieniawska until

⁵⁹ M. Rosman, op. cit., p. 200.

⁶⁰ J. Nowak, *Żydzi w kręgach Denhoffów...*, p. 357.

⁶¹ M. Rosman, op. cit., p. 191.

⁶² J. Nowak, *Żydzi w kręgach Denhoffów...*, p. 352.

⁶³ I. Rubinowicz to E. Sieniawska, Rytwiany, 6 III 1726, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34881, p. 487.

⁶⁴ J. Nowak, *Żydzi w kręgach Denhoffów...*, p. 352–353.

⁶⁵ I. Rubinowicz to E. Sieniawska, Czerniaków, 8 I 1705, BCz, MS 5934, no. 34568, p. 62.

⁶⁶ Idem to eadem, Koniemłoty, 16 X 1709, BCz, MS 5934, no. 34575, p. 95–98.

⁶⁷ *Korespondencja Elżbiety z Lubomirskich...*, vol. I, p. 113.

her death, and then served to her daughter Zofia, née Sieniawska, *primo voto* Denhoff, *secundo voto* Czartoryska (April 15, 1699–May 21, 1771),⁶⁸ becoming an example of a typical “old servant.”⁶⁹ The manager’s letters break off on June 29, 1742.⁷⁰ The extended research makes it possible to complete the findings of Moshe Rosman and Janusz Nowak on the date of Izrael’s death, because among the sources concerning the city of Staszów there is a document in which a list of things remaining after dead Rubinowicz was given, dated July 31, 1743.⁷¹ On the basis of these dates, it appears that Rubinowicz died between June 29, 1742 and June 31, 1743. So he served the Sieniawski family and then their daughter for forty-two years (including thirty-four years as the manager of the Sandomierz estates, as mentioned above). The quoted document provides a lot of information about the wealth of an influential servant. He had: a brick manor house in which there was a shop and four cellars, several chambers and a stable; two gardens, in which there was a barn and two stables, a granary, a malt house with a hall, a compartment and a chamber; a tenement house on a market located on two squares, with a brick store in front of it, three cellars, a stable, a granary; two fields in Kamionki; two pieces of land behind the Camaldolese farm; field at the top of the hill. M. Rosman recalls that Sieniawska allowed her trusted administrator to float the grains on her ships without paying customs duties.⁷² Besides, he probably owned his own *dubas* (river ship) and *punt*. His co-worker Antoni Wideński mentioned it,⁷³ and Rubinowicz complained that the *punt* with his grain drowned, because it was already destroyed and asked for borrowing *dubas* to transport the rest of the wheat, which was “saved from this unhappiness.”⁷⁴

Apart from holding the post of manager of the Sandomierz estates, Rubinowicz also leased Koniemłoty with a farm and the village of Święcica. The history of this lease was a bit complicated, as it was often mentioned in the sources. In the economic documents there was an inventory of the village of Koniemłoty and the village of Święcica written on January 15, 1724,

68 See W. Konopczyński, *Maria Zofia Czartoryska* in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 4, Kraków 1938, p. 248–249.

69 A. Mączak, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

70 I. Rubinowicz to A.A. Czartoryski, Rytwiany, 29 VI 1742, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34961, p. 808.

71 BCz, MS 11492, p. 11–15.

72 M. Rosman, *op. cit.*, p. 198.

73 A. Wideński to E. Sieniawska, Łubnice, 4 IV 1721, BCz, MS 5977, no. 46124, p. 240.

74 I. Rubinowicz to E. Sieniawska, Łubnice, 8 IX 1712, BCz, MS 5934, no. 34 602, p. 213.

for Gołuchowski, the castellan of Zawichów.⁷⁵ This document informed that Rubinowicz held a lease there for seventeen years – from 1707 to 1724. The change of ownership was caused by the pledging of goods⁷⁶ and it provoked bitterness to the previous administrator, who in one of his letters wrote that he trusted that Benefactress would not hurt him. Unfortunately, the Castellan of Zawichost was not a good host, Rubinowicz criticized his work, which resulted in less than six month lease⁷⁷ The castellan handed over the lease. It returned to Rubinowicz,⁷⁸ which, however, already in 1726, wanted to give up the lease, explaining this with numerous duties.⁷⁹

The property of the administrator was therefore impressive, it even allowed him to take care of the famous rabbi Chacham Tzvi Ashkenazim.⁸⁰ The benefits of the relationship between Sieniawska and Rubinowicz were not only limited to financial matters. The patronage of such a significant persona guaranteed the conclusion of significant acquaintances. Rubinowicz met very influential people, including the governor of Sandomierz, Jakub Władysław Morsztyn⁸¹ or Anna Cetner, née Tarło, provincial governor of Smoleńsk.⁸² In addition, he had numerous contacts with other officials. From a letter addressed to the writer and secretary of Sieniawska, we learn that Rubinowicz paid him thirty red zlotys for the rabbination in Sieniawa for his son-in-law⁸³ – probably it was the so-called consensus for giving the rabbi's office, which is mentioned by Adam Kaźmierczyk.⁸⁴ Familiarity with Sieniawska helped the manager solve a number of private matters, such as, for example, tax exemption for three years for his son Marek Rubinowicz.⁸⁵

The cities belonging to the Sieniawski, Denhoff and Czartoryski families were known for numerous Jewish communities.⁸⁶ On the basis of sources, one can assume that Staszów was not an exception here. This is evidenced by

75 BCz, MS 11499, p. 1–19.

76 I. Rubinowicz to E. Sieniawska, Koniemłoty, 5 I 1724, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34799, p. 153.

77 Idem to eadem, Rytwiany, 28 VII 1724, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34821, p. 241–242.

78 Idem to eadem, Rytwiany, 10 VII 1724, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34820, p. 238.

79 Idem to eadem, Rytwiany, 29 V 1726, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34888, p. 515.

80 M. Rosman, op. cit., p. 184–197.

81 I. Rubinowicz to E. Sieniawska, Łubnice, 25 X 1715, BCz, MS 5934, no. 34663, p. 455.

82 Idem to eadem, Rytwiany, 9 VII 1713, BCz, MS 5934, no. 34619, p. 279.

83 Idem to eadem, Rytwiany, 23 II 1729, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34908, p. 595; M. Rosman, op. cit., p. 204–205.

84 A. Kaźmierczyk, *Magnaci i Żydzi in Patron i dwór...*, p. 150.

85 M. Rosman, op. cit., p. 205.

86 A. Kaźmierczyk, op. cit., p. 17.

the census of residents included in the inventory of the city of Staszów from April 23, 1733.⁸⁷ The document did not specify the division into nationalities in the case of property owners, but in the list of bailiffs there was and you could even see the advantage of the Jewish population over Catholic (20 to 19). Perhaps this was influenced by Rubinowicz himself, who thanks to his position could get some privileges for fellow believers at Sieniawska. He already used her protections, helping in obtaining permission to build a synagogue in Staszów.⁸⁸

Sieniawska's estate, dispersed in various parts of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, as well as the role of the property manager and Sieniawska's trust, opened numerous journeys to Rubinowicz, as evidenced by the places of sending letters. Certainly these experiences developed his horizons. In addition, information obtained outside the home worked in his favour, and also in favour of Sieniawska herself.

The above considerations focused on professional contacts. However, can we speak on the basis of economic correspondence about the creation of a private relationship or intimacy between a patron and a servant? As Antoni Mączak wrote: "a personal contact of a servant and a master, a client and a patron (here both roles cover) is a powerful lever of promotion."⁸⁹ Rubinowicz was aware of this dependence, which is evident in his letters. According to D. Bąkowski-Kois, Rubinowicz was the only administrator who expressed condolences to Sieniawska after the death of her husband Adam Mikołaj in 1726.⁹⁰ In his letter, he mentioned Benefactress's husband well, he wrote about how the castellan of Kraków interceded for him and helped him regain the grace of Sieniawska.⁹¹ Also when his wife died, he mentioned it to his patron, mentioning the qualities of the deceased, he complained about how much he would miss his wife.⁹² In the letters there are also some references to gifts, Rubinowicz got a gift from Sieniawska in the form of a colour,⁹³ and the patron received from him a horse as part of a name day gift.⁹⁴

87 State Archives in Krakow: Wawel branch, Potocki Archives from Krzeszowice, count 2342, Inventory of Rytwiński and Łubnik key, IV 1733, p. 32–39.

88 M. Rosman, *op. cit.*, p. 107.

89 A. Mączak, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

90 D. Bąkowski-Kois, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

91 I. Rubinowicz to E. Sieniawska, Rytwiany, 6 III 1726, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34881, p. 487–488.

92 Idem to eadem, Rytwiany, 19 IV 1724, BCz, MS 5935, no. 34808, p. 191–192.

93 Idem to eadem, Włostowice, 16 II 1709, BCz, MS 5934, no. 34573, p. 87–89.

94 Idem to eadem, Rytwiany, 23 VII 1713, BCz, MS 5934, no. 34622, p. 291.

Summing up, it should be stated that at the current stage of research, unfortunately, it is impossible to unambiguously assess whether the given relationship between the patron and the servant significantly extended beyond professional contacts. It is also unclear whether these examples of references to private life in the letters were evidence of a bond, or merely functioned as a polite form expressing respect. In letters functioning as a tool of the client's system, "tears flowed densely"⁹⁵ and it's impossible to assess their honesty. However, certainly, one can put forward the thesis that Rubinowicz's traits must have had a huge impact on a successful, almost thirty-year-long cooperation, which brought huge benefits, not only material ones. Comparing the client's system to the theatre, clients play the performance by Sieniawska, Rubinowicz, with innate talent, almost flawlessly took care for technical element behind the scenes, becoming an indispensable link in the circle of the patronage of Elżbieta Sieniawska.

SUMMARY

THE PATRON-SERVANT RELATION ON THE EXAMPLE OF ELŻBIETA SIENIAWSKA,
NÉE LUBOMIRSKA AND IZRAEL RUBINOWICZ

The article shows relationships between Elżbieta Sieniawska, née Lubomirska (died in 1729), the castellan of Krakow and Izrael Rubinowicz (died in 1742/43), of Jewish origin, the general manager of the Rytwiany–Lubnice complex, including the town of Staszów. In the light of their correspondence it is possible to prove his features of character that enabled him to keep his position for almost 35 years. Looking at the letters Rubinowicz can be considered as a creative, economic, faithful and hard-working man, who possessed wide knowledge in many fields of economy, farming and modern means of transport. This office allowed Rubinowicz to gather quite a big wealth and gain other profits. Thanks to his powerful patron, E. Sieniawska, Rubinowicz was acquainted with numerous influential individuals and families, which enabled him to secure children's future and support the Jewish community.

Keywords: patronage, correspondence, Elżbieta Sieniawska, Izrael Rubinowicz, source of economics

DOI 10.24917/9788380842717.11

⁹⁵ A. Mączak, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

The patronage of famous magnates over a unique client Elżbieta Drużbacka, née Kowalska

The impoverished noblewoman Elżbieta Drużbacka, née Kowalska connected her life with the patronage of two magnates – Elżbieta Sieniawska, née Lubomirska and Barbara Sanguszko, née Dunin. They were women with different personalities and different relationships with the client networks, who represented other generations. There was a fifty year gap between Sieniawska and Sanguszko. The client (born in 1698) was twenty-nine years younger than of her namesake, but twenty years older than the other patron. Despite generational differences, Elżbieta managed to establish good client relations with both magnates who had different temperament and different family situations.

Sieniawska was despotic, pragmatic, she vigorously managed her vast estate, especially because she had separate property with her husband Adam. She was the terror of the courts. She was involved in politics and she was very perverse in this. She became known as a experienced patron of the arts. Her marriage was stormy. She was eighteen when in 1687 she married Adam, who was twenty-one years old. She was not a faithful wife. Her two hot love affairs with prince Aleksander Sobieski and Franciszek II Rakoczy are known. But she cared for her daughter Zosia.¹

¹ B. Popiołek, *Królowa bez korony. Studium z życia i działalności Elżbiety Sieniawskiej, ok. 1669–1729*, Kraków 1993; K. Stasiewicz, *Herod-baba Elżbieta z Lubomirskich Sieniawska*, “Prace Literaturoznawcze” 2015, vol. 3, p. 171–181; R. Nestorow, *Pro domo et nomine suo. Fundacje i inicjatywy artystyczne Adama Mikołaja i Elżbiety Sieniawskich*, Warszawa 2016.

Barbara Sanguszko was the third wife of a famous ladies' man, Paweł Karol, who was thirty-eight years older than her. On her wedding day she was seventeen (born 1718) and her husband was fifty-five. The spouse settled down. His hopes for extending the Lubartowicz family came true. A young wife, giving birth almost every year, during the absence of her husband – the great Lithuanian marshal – took care of children, household matters, and a service who liked her. At the age of thirty-two, she became a widow with six children, who were then between one and eleven years old. The pretty, pleasant princess Barbara did not remarry, despite the fact that many men sighed to her. She disclosed organizational talents. She straightened out the financial matters with stepson Janusz Aleksander. Then she could own the great fortune for herself and she managed it well. She managed economic and commercial operations efficiently and being forced to frequent trips, as a caring mother, she left her children under the care of trusted carers: Maria Grochowska vel Grocholska, Maria Tomkiewicz, Wawrzyniec Zadarnowski and Biber unknown by name. After the death of her husband, she also began to be engaged in politics, but not on such a scale and not in a Machiavellian way like Sieniawska. She kept in touch with the court of Augustus III and his wife, with the Branicki family from Białystok, the Mniszech family, and French diplomats. She also continued the foundation activity.²

We can notice the activities of both educated princesses in the same fields: economy, commerce, politics, and patronage. But the cultural activity of Sanguszko, and later widow Barbara, was not limited only to artistic foundations in many places in the vast Commonwealth. It also consisted in creation of an intellectual climate conducive to the development of an elite court environment enabling it to interact with similar groups.

Sieniawska and Sanguszko had great writers in their families. Elżbieta's father was an excellent writer Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski. His daughter did not inherit his talent. A poem addressed to Adam Sieniawski, cobbled under the influence of domestic unpleasantness survived in her *silva rerum*.³ The stepmother of Princess Barbara, Helena, née Potocki, by whom she was brought up, kept the manuscripts of well-known poets, her grandfather Waław

² B. Popiołek, *Kobiety świat w czasach Augusta II. Studia nad mentalnością kobiet z kręgów szlacheckich*, Kraków 2003, p. 228, 244; A. Jakuboszczak, *Sarmacka dama. Barbara Sanguszkowa (1718–1791) i jej salon towarzyski*, Poznań 2008, p. 21–137.

³ *Silva of Elżbieta Sieniawska*, BCz, 2753 IV, c. 10. The poem printed by B. Popiołek, *Kobiety świat w czasach Augusta II...*, p. 193.

Potocki and father-in-law Stanisław Morsztyn. In Winiary, she organized intellectual and literary meetings at which Elżbieta Drużbacka was also present. Princess Barbara acquired some of her stepmother's habits. She collected manuscripts of works of authors interesting to her, she created a literary salon in Lubartów, and she also wrote herself. During the life of Drużbacka and her patron Sanguszko there were aesthetic changes in culture, which was reflected in the cultural activity of the marshal of the grand Lithuanian.⁴

We should mention the family connections of Drużbacka's patrons. Marianna Lubomirska, the daughter of cousin: Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski, was the second wife of Paweł Karol Sanguszko. In 1731 the stepson of Barbara Sanguszko: Janusz Aleksander married Konstancja Kolumba Denhoff, stepdaughter of Zofia Maria Denhoff, daughter of Elżbieta Sieniawska. Konstancja as a nine-year-old girl from 1724 until her marriage was at the stepmother's court.⁵

The patron-client relationship will be considered from the client's perspective, because preserved sources allow for this.

For many years the Kowalski family of the Wierusz coat of arms were servants of the Sieniawski family, owners of vast estates in the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Unknown by name, the brother of Elżbieta Kowalska was a senior servant at the court of Castellan of Kraków – Elżbieta Sieniawska, and Kowalska was admitted to the female court (*Frauenzimmer*) of the same magnate most probably before 1708, according to the client's custom of that time.⁶ The girl, by appearance and character, must have attracted the demanding castellan, since she had assigned her to accompany her only child, and later to act as her chamberlain. An intelligent young girl was able to use the situation that the fate sent her. She benefited a lot from the contact with the princess educated carefully by her mother. The maidservant gained a certain

4 E. Aleksandrowska, *O Barbarze Sanguszkowej, jej literackim salonie i nieznannej twórczości poetyckiej* in *Kultura literacka połowy XVIII wieku w Polsce*, ed. T. Kostkiewiczowa, Wrocław 1992, p. 113–145; K. Stasiewicz, *Aktywność kulturowa dworu księżnej Barbary z Dunińów Sanguszkowej* in *Dwory magnackie w XVIII wieku. Rola i znaczenie kulturowe*, ed. T. Kostkiewiczowa, A. Roćko, Warszawa 2005, p. 159–171.

5 B. Popiołek, *Zawodność pamięci – dzienniki, raptularze i parapamiętniki czasów saskich* in *Memuarystyka w dawnej Polsce*, ed. P. Borek, D. Chemperek, A. Nowicka-Struska, Kraków 2016, p. 154.

6 In the Sieniawska manor register containing the names of maids accepted from August 1708, there is no Elżbieta Kowalska. See A. Słaby, *Rządźdycha oleszycka. Dwór Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej jako przykład patronatu kobiecego w czasach saskich*, Kraków 2014, p. 226.

amount of knowledge, read a lot, learned French, got to know good manners, she observed the principles of palace diplomacy, that is, she acquired the skills needed to be in company. At the castellan's court, Kowalska received not only education, but financial security (she received seventy-nine zlotys a quarter) and care. Here, she also met her husband, the treasurer of Żydaczów Kazimierz Drużbacki, the Lew coat of arms (born in 1692), the youngest son of Jan from his second marriage to Katarzyna Weber, and she married him probably in 1719.⁷ Perhaps on the occasion of the wedding, she received a trousseau from Sieniawska, as it was accepted.⁸

It should be mentioned that other members of the Drużbacki family were servants at the Sieniawski family for years. The half-sister of Kazimierz, the treasurer of Podole, Katarzyna Alojza Kawecka vel Kawiecka was a trustworthy castellan's maidservant, and later of her daughter Zofia. Sieniawska dealt with her cases in the Lublin tribunal.⁹ Princess Elżbieta commended unknown by the name Drużbacki to her husband in 1714. She also informed Adam about the winning case of Drużbacki with Telefus.¹⁰ In 1720, Kazimierz's mother

⁷ K. Stasiewicz, *Relacje rodzinne Elżbiety z Kowalskich Drużbackiej* in *Kobieta i mężczyzna. Jedna przestrzeń – dwa światy*, ed. B. Popiołek, A. Chłosta-Sikorska, M. Gadocha, Warszawa 2015, p. 317–324.

⁸ For example, Barbara Sanguszko paid her courtiers in varied sums, from four to twenty thousand zlotys (A. Jakuboszczak, op. cit., p. 136).

⁹ Kawiecka is mentioned in the letters of Elżbieta Sieniawska to her husband Adam: Puławy, 22 May 1723, Lublin, 10 October 1724 (*Korespondencja Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej, kasztelanowej krakowskiej*, vol. I, *Z serca kochająca żona i uniżona sługa. Listy Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej do męża Adama Mikołaja Sieniawskiego z lat 1688–1726*, edited and published by B. Popiołek, U. Kicińska, A. Słaby, Warszawa–Bellerive-sur-Allier 2016, p. 447, 481). Zofia Sieniawska, later Denhoff often mentions Kawiecka (from 1724) in letters to her mother: Oleszyce, 8 VI 1722; Oleszyce, 28 III 1724; Ryczywół, 8 X 1724; Czepielów, 24 IX 1725; Czepielów, 12 XI 1725; Wielgolas, 10 I 1726; Wielgolas, 11 I 1726 [*Korespondencja Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej, kasztelanowej krakowskiej*, vol. III, *Jaśnie Oświecona Mościa Księżno Dobrodziejko. Rodzina, przyjaciele i klienci (wybór)*, edited and published by B. Popiołek, U. Kicińska, A. Słaby, Warszawa–Bellerive-sur-Allier 2016, p. 39, 44, 56, 69, 78, 85, 86]. Kawiecka writes letters to Castellan Krakow: Grodno, 4 X 1726; Warszawa, 20 XI 1726; see *Korespondencja...*, vol. III, p. 242–244.

¹⁰ Puławy, 8 VI 1714; Puławy, 9 VI 1714; Lublin, 19 VIII 1714; see *Korespondencja...*, vol. I, p. 354, 366. In the letters of Sieniawska to the manager of the Tenczynek Andrzej Zabagłowicz the Drużbacki family, tenants of Krzeszowice are mentioned: Przemysł, 20 II 1727; Oleszyce, 19 III 1727; Dzików, 27 XI 1727. (*Korespondencja Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej, kasztelanowej krakowskiej*, vol. II, *Jaśnie Oświecona Mościa Księżno Dobrodziejko. Informatorzy i urzędnicy*, edited and published by B. Popiołek, U. Kicińska, A. Słaby, Warszawa–Bellerive-sur-Allier 2016,

rented part of the aldermanship (“wójtostwo”) in Cieplice from Sieniawska, to which the right she bought for thirty thousand zlotys, in two instalments, from predecessors – Mikołaj Pakoszewski, a Sochaczew Cup-bearer and his wife Konstancja, née Pohorecka.¹¹

The young Drużbackis were still at Sieniawska’s court. On October 15, 1723, Kazimierz began to serve the princess as a valet in Lublin. In the years 1720–1723 his wife was in Oleszyce and Laszki in the centre of family war between the parents of Princess Zofia for a candidate for her husband. Drużbacka was on the side of her protector, who promoted Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł. She also tried to please her daughter, who did not like the younger Prince, Michał, or the much older widower Stanisław Ernest Denhoff, friend and father’s candidate. The situation became complicated after Drużbacka’s departure with the castellan to Warsaw. That’s when Zofia probably met handsome August Czartoryski. On arrival, the lady complained, and at night she wrote letters to August’s mother, Izabela, and his sister Konstancja Poniatowska. Drużbacka, fearing the castellan’s anger, told the writer not to send these letters and secretly burned them in front of her confidante. The princess apologized to her mother for her attitudes and the marriage negotiations were still going on. In January 1721 during the talks of Elżbieta Sieniawska with Kazimierz Złotkowski, the marshal of the court of Anna Radziwiłł, there were two trusted maidservants: Drużbacka and Kawiecka. A few weeks later, we could see a treasurer of Żydaczów sitting at Laszki together with the castellan and two suitors. Złotkowski informed Anna Radziwiłł that Elżbieta Drużbacka, who was well acquainted with court matters, willingly gave him the information he needed, and she received three hundred zlotys for that. Adam Sieniawski pushed through his candidate. Zofia married Denhoff on February 1, 1724.¹²

p. 501, 503, 519). There are errors in the comments. In the letter from Przemyśl, Nowogród cup-bearer’s district is mentioned. It was not reported that it was about Jan Drużberek and his wife Katarzyna of Lancut. In the other letters mentioned above, the tenant of Krzeszowice is once Franciszek, sometimes the husband of Elżbieta Drużbacka, Kazimierz. Franciszek and Kazimierz were cousins of Jan Nowogródek, a nobleman; see. K. Stasiewicz, *Elżbieta Drużbacka – najwybitniejsza poetka czasów saskich*, Olsztyn 1992, appendix 1, p. 143.

¹¹ K. Stasiewicz, *Elżbieta Drużbacka...*, appendix 3A, p. 150.

¹² Eadem, *Manewry matrymonialne w rezydencjach Sieniawskich na Ukrainie*, “Pamiętnik Kijowski”, vol. 8: *Polskie dwory i rezydencje na Ukrainie*, ed. H. Stroński, A. Korytko, Kijów–Olsztyn 2006, p. 115–120; A. Muszyńska, *Starania Michała Kazimierza Radziwiłła „Rybeńki” o rękę Marii Zofii z Sieniawskich in Codziennosc i niecodziennosc oswieconych*, vol. 2, *W rezydencji*,

The Drużbacki family then with two young daughters, Marianna and Anna, moved to Cieplice, located about ten kilometres away from Sieniawa, especially since Katarzyna Drużbacka was deathly ill. In her will of 1722, she already appealed to her benefactors – the Sieniawski family: “I dearly ask for your protection of my dearest son, so that you may have him and his wife and children under protection which they will highly consecrate.”¹³

The aforementioned son wrote to Elżbieta Sieniawska from Cieplice on January 21, 1725:

Bedridden Mother not forgetting about Your Excellency Benefactor, keeping in memory blessings experienced in the service of Your Excellency writes the last words in which she gives us, orphans, for the protection and care of Your Excellency Benefactor, the only happiness we inherit is that she gives us, the unworthy, to gracious and benevolent hands, which makes me and my children forever indebted to you [...].¹⁴

Elżbieta Drużbacka was still a trusted servant of Sieniawska and Denhoff. She became a mediator in the transmission of messages between the castellan and her daughter, as evidenced by Zofia’s letter to her mother, written on August 29, 1725 from Czepielów: “Before I am lucky enough to honour Your Excellency Benefactress, I am sending Mrs. Treasurer, who will tell why I did not experience this honour and maybe that is the reason for my strong worry that cannot be adequately described.”¹⁵

The life of the young Drużbacki family in Cieplice was hard. The years after the Northern War were lean. According to the mother’s will, Kazimierz had to pay off his half-brother Franciszek. The Drużbacki family borrowed money from the Podole Cup-bearer Konstancja Mroczkowa and they paid an interest rate from the sum borrowed for a few years. The resourceful

w podróży i na scenie publicznej, ed. B. Mazurkova, with participation of M. Marcinkowska and Sz.P. Dąbrowski, Katowice 2013, p. 89–100.

¹³ B. Popiołek, „Za wszelkie świadczone mnie łaski i dobroczynności”. *Testament Katarzyny Drużbackiej z 1722 roku*, “Annales Universitatis Paedagogicae Cracoviensis” 2009, Studia Historica VIII, p. 215.

¹⁴ E. Marczevska-Stańdowa, *Listy Elżbiety Drużbackiej*, “Archiwum Literackie” 1960, vol. 5, p. 20. Quotations from the letters, with the exception of those addressed to Barbara Sanguszko, will come from this edition. In parentheses, we will give pagination.

¹⁵ An unpublished letter, BCz, MS 2860 IV, p. 271.

treasurer tried to handle the financial problems in various ways: she repaired expensive Denhoff dresses, offered her a barrel of good wine to buy, and she begged for financial help.¹⁶ And when it did not come, the treasurer asked Antoni Bekierski, a servant taken over from the Sieniawski family by their daughter, to “remind Benefactress during pleasant and good times of [their] business, which by her word in Lviv, she declared to implement and fulfil her obligation.” (p. 28).

It should be added that the Drużbacki family encountered violent changes in the Sieniawski family. In 1726 Adam Sieniawski died, in 1728 his son-in-law Denhoff, and the following year, his wife Elżbieta. In June 1731, Zofia had a second marriage to August Czartoryski. On 6 March 1732 the Drużbacki family, with the consent of Czartoryski, heirs of Sieniawski, received the right for the period property of part of the district of Cieplice, bought by them and Kazimierz Witosławski.¹⁷

Drużbacka’s situation became dramatic after her husband’s death in early 1736. The widow, thanks to the support of the after mentioned Czartoryski family, was given the post of the chamberlain of Aleksandra Czartoryska, the daughter of Michał, Zofia’s brother-in-law. She consulted the matter with her brother who was in service to the Czartoryski family. The treasurer took up a job in Warsaw in 1737 after the marriage of her older daughter, Marianna, to Andrzej Wojciech Wiesiołowski and after providing the care to younger Anna by the newly-weds. Drużbacka looked at the unregulated Cieplice affairs with concern. In the reporting and begging letter addressed to August Czartoryski from Gdańsk on October 12, 1737, she renewed her request for financial help. The prince ignored her. The situation was stalemate. Not breaking the ties with the heirs of Sieniawska, Drużbacka established client relations with Konstancja Kolumba Sanguszko who resided in Baranów, Karolina Urszula, née Branicka, wife of the cousin of castellan Sieniawska, Jan Kazimierz Lubomirski, who often resided in Głogów and the Sanguszko family from Lubartów. The letter written from Baranów on July 7, 1739 to Barbara Sanguszko said that the client’s system had already been established because Drużbacka thanked a marshal of Lithuanian for favours provided to her:

¹⁶ Information on Jewish life in the Jewish region is included in the works K. Stasiewicz, *Elżbieta Drużbacka...*, p. 14–15, 176–178; eadem, *Relacje rodzinne Elżbiety z Kowalskich Drużbackiej...*, p. 319.

¹⁷ K. Stasiewicz, *Elżbieta Drużbacka...*, appendix 3A, B, p. 151.

Knowing the infinite obligations for the favours of Your Excellency Benefactress, I would be quiet in my gratitude for them and from this place, falling down to the feet of Your Excellency, I am supplicating that I should never go out of the protection and respect of Your Excellency Benefactress, for which God Himself will let me be satisfied.¹⁸

Družbacka was still hoping to settle the disputes in Cieplice, getting rid of the troublesome co-owner Kazimierz. In a letter to August Czartoryski sent from Cieplice on November 16, 1740, she wrote:

Dear Lord Benefactor's inability to stay in Sieniawa harmed me in this way, that I could not bring my supplication to the Lord who was always gracious to me, that you would deign to recognize damage and discomfort for so many years due to living so close to me, which I mentioned being in Warsaw, I asked you Dear Lord Benefactor, looking at services of my family for a long time in comparison to just few years of Lord Witosławski, to do a favour for me and gave me the consent to buy his land, so that we would be protected by Dear Lord Benefactor in the joined part, with giving twelve thousand to Lord Witosławski, but if I was so unhappy in the charity of Dear Lord Benefactor, so that you would not let me what I am asking for, let me be more reasonable (or with my lifelong worrying) let me leave Cieplice to Lord Witosławski, as I am no longer able to bear this subjection and permanent damage about which I can never doubt that the goodness of the heart of Lord Benefactor would exclude me from my protection and allowed others to look for nodding their heads in the coming years; it can never be like that, because immediately showing my honour to the Lord, I have the infallible hope that until the end of my life I will be preserved in constant protection, with adoration I am the lowest servant of Your Excellency Lord Benefactor.

Elżbieta Družbacka (p. 32–33)

¹⁸ K. Stasiewicz, *Barbara Sanguszkowa i Elżbieta Družbacka w świetle nowych źródeł*, Olsztyn 2011, p. 23. Letters to B. Sanguszko will be quoted from this edition, giving pagination in brackets.

The problem was not solved and after 1740 she moved to Rzemień near Mielec, a village in then Sandomierz province, leased from Sanguszko. It can be assumed that the treasurer of Żydaczów established closer client contacts thanks to son-in-law Andrzej Wiesiołowski, who was a trusted servant of the Lubartowicz family. From 1737, he was the Polish commissioner of the property of Paweł Karol Sanguszko, and in later years he became a member of the committee which examined town and guild privileges in Tarnów.¹⁹

Direct and postal contacts of Drużbacka with Princess Barbara were frequent. Out of forty-five of the preserved letters written by the treasurer as many as sixteen were addressed to the aforementioned addressee.²⁰ Sanguszko commented the fidelity of the client, the services provided by her with thankfulness. Drużbacka in a letter written from Rzemień on June 14, 1751 underlines:

My work is not worth so great humility of the Benefactresses thanking me for the trouble which I have performing it with my hand. If I was not scared of being scolded, I would have so much material for the unsympathetic but honest and reliable praises, that I would have to write it for my whole life (p. 47).

The coming years showed that the princess promoted and supported a worthy servant in moments difficult for her. From 1747, an aging Drużbacka, tired of eternal struggle, thought about turning to her patron, asking for help in finding a peaceful *locum*. It took her four years to dare to write two letters from Rzemień (February 29 and June 14, 1751) in this matter. She wrote with conviction on June 14:

I think I am too bold here and take too much liberty with so extensive writing to Dear Lady Benefactress, but the trust into your virtues makes me bold, that you will never murder yourself with the love for your neighbours, even those who are the vilest and you will never blame your Benefactress's servant for the misdemeanour, who is so completely and utterly wise and

¹⁹ J. Skrabski, *Paolo Fontana: nadworny architekt Sanguszków*, Tarnów 2007, p. 42–43; F. Herzig, *Tarnów miasto od r. 1567 do r. 1907*, Tarnów 1911, p. 62.

²⁰ K. Stasiewicz, *Korespondencja Elżbiety Drużbackiej jako źródło do rekonstrukcji jej biografii oraz cech języka osobniczego in Kobiectwo kręgi korespondencyjne w XVII–XIX wieku*, ed. B. Popiołek, U. Kicińska, A. Słaby, Warszawa–Bellerive-sur-Allier 2016, p. 145 and appendix 3. *Listy Elżbiety Drużbackiej z lat 1728–1763* (p. 153–154).

full of perfection. After all, I now declare that it would be the best for me to die in the protection of Dear Lady Benefactress, which I am still asking for, but I do not enforce the reasons I have expressed. Because I must, although full of my regret, seek a way not to die not in Rzemień but anywhere else. I ensure myself that in this and in the other world I will not cease to keep my soul and heart glued to Your Excellency Benefactress as the lowest servant Elżbieta Drużbacka (p. 43, 45).

The patron found a satisfactory solution for her favourite client. In 1752, she began to build a monastery for Bernardine in Tarnów, in which she could settle in devotion. She informed her of the idea that the noblewoman liked. At the request of Sanguszko, and perhaps on her own initiative, Drużbacka became an intermediary between the princess and nuns. The treasurer of Żydaczów wrote to her benefactress from Rzemień on January 31, 1753:

Yesterday I came back from Tarnów, where I deliberately went to see my home, which I owe to favour of my Dear Lady Benefactress, she sipped. how nice and peaceful I will rest under the shadow of the wings of my Protectorate, with a momentary sighing to God, so that after the life of Benefactress as long as possible, he would build her apartment close to his face, and would content her heart with prosperity completely together with her kindest family. One thousand times I say God bless you (p. 51).

The treasurer settled in devotion in the second half of 1754, from where she travelled to the family, patrons and friends. A friendship between the patron and the client was born, keeping the proper distance and respect. Drużbacka took part in court celebrations. She was invited together with Wiesiołowski for Shrove Tuesday in Kolbuszowa in 1748. She was supposed to go to Zasławia for the wedding of the oldest daughter of Sanguszko, Anna, who on 28 September 1755 married a starost of Busko Antoni Barnaba Jabłonowski. Drużbacka could not go because of her son's illness. When the personal contact was impossible, she sent her Christmas and name day greetings with gratitude for the favours and remembrance in her prayers. There were also congratulations on the birth of the "desired grandson" of Stanisław Paweł Jabłonowski.²¹

²¹ K. Stasiewicz, *Korespondencja Elżbiety Drużbackiej...*, p. 148.

The princess and the treasurer shared interests in literature and translations. In the salon of the marshal in Lubartów, Elżbieta learned new literary tendencies which she used in her works. Some poems were written on commission, but most were written of her own free will about different events in the Lubartowicz family.²² Princess Barbara collected Drużbacka's works, she kept the habit of copying them out. It was probably Józef Andrzej Załuski who turned to her in order to obtain the treasurer's poems to be published in the first volume of the planned anthology of contemporary poets. The princess certainly possessed *Set of Rhythms (Zbiór rytmów)*, because in a note to a letter from Drużbacka written in Baranów on December 17, 1750, she asked Załuski for a copy of the poetry of a noblewoman:

I do not want to pass it in a separate letter by somebody else but directly to You Lord Benefactor, that I show my respect to you asking you to be a stable in your heart for me [and] to send me such a beautiful work of the heroine, for which I strongly urge you as the one who is your kind sister and humble servant Sanguszkowa of your Dear Lord Benefactor (p. 39).

In turn, in a letter written from Głogów on March 29, 1762, Drużbacka dared to ask her patron for mediation in retrieving the manuscript of *Christian History by Princess Eufrata*, whom Piotr Fryderyk Dunin, relatives of Sanguszkowicz, left in Zasław at Drozdowski, plenipotentiary of the princess, overseer of the local treasury.

Client contacts were associated with financial benefits. The letters of Drużbacka written at the end of her life (died 1765) to the Lithuanian marshal said that she received financial support from her and even pleaded for it (Głogów, 15 March 1762, Gumniska, 26 March 1763).

When reading the letters, we can notice the existence of a "client network,"²³ i.e. different types of contacts between clients, maintained on various principles. In the case of Drużbacka and Colonel Wojciech Jakubowski, we can talk about friendship. Both occupied prominent positions in the politically and socially connected courts of Griffin and Sanguszkowicz families. Colonel was

²² Eadem, *Elżbieta Drużbacka...*, appendix 5, items 5, 22, 37, 56, 75, 78, 87, 90, 92, 94, 95; eadem, *Zmysłowa i elokwentna prowincjuszka na staropolskim Parnasie. Rzecz o Elżbiecie Drużbackiej i nie tylko...*, Olsztyn 2001, p. 82–85.

²³ Phrase A. Mączak (*Klientela. Nieformalne systemy władzy w Polsce i Europie XVI–XVIII w.*, Warszawa 1994, p. 261).

associated with the French party, which included Jan Klemens Branicki from Białystok and Sanguszkó, he leased several villages from Princess Barbara, looked after her sons, and as a poet like Drużbacka, he was present socially and literary in the marshal salon in Lubartów and in Versailles of Podlasie. There were rumours about the affair of the confirmed bachelor Jakubowski with the widowed treasurer of Żydaczów. The poet described the behavior of the ladies' man in epigrams.²⁴

Drużbacka arranged service issues with the skipper of the Sanguszkó family Zachariasz Kulikiewicz (collection of needlework from dyeing, the clock from repair, purchase from Carcani of the French red faience bowl).²⁵ She was sensitive to the needs of lesser clients, that is why she interceded for them at Sanguszkó. One of them was a certain Cegłowski. Drużbacka wrote on 7 July 1739 from Baranów:

Mr. Cegłowski going with the business known to Your Lady Benefactress, asked me for an intercession, that you as Dear Benefactress, as a Generous Lady would look at his profession and obtained his calm and completion of his business, [...] because he, with his simplicity, does not dare to say about his business... (p. 23, 25).

The treasurer resembles the princess her previous request to take the orphan, Miss Anna Lisowska, to serve her and the already communicated case of "the situation of these ten children" (Tarnów, 9 December 1754). We know that Lisowska became a Sanguszkó maidservant. In 1767, she married Stanisław Lubański, and got a cash dowry from Sanguszkó.²⁶ Drużbacka also asked the princess to look after Kumanowski twins orphaned by their mother. Their father, son-in-law of the governor of Sanguszkó, Biber, begged her for mediation in obtaining help from the Lithuanian marshal (Głogów, 26 July 1762).

The preserved materials show that Barbara Sanguszkó had great sympathy and kindness for Drużbacka, and that she repaid with her trust, kindness and devotion. In the *Regestrze rzeczy znajdujących się w skarbcu pałacu*

²⁴ See E. Drużbacka, *Wiersze wybrane*, ed. K. Stasiewicz, Warszawa 2003, p. 73–78.

²⁵ K. Stasiewicz, *Dobra patronka i wdzięczna klientka. Barbara Sanguszkowa i Elżbieta Drużbacka w świetle nowych źródeł* in eadem, *Barbara Sanguszkowa i Elżbieta Drużbacka...*, p. 19, 27–33.

²⁶ A. Jakuboszczak, op. cit., p. 136.

Zasławskiego from December 29, 1773, among the mentioned portraits, there was also Drużbacka's, who the princess ordered herself to send, although the client was dead for several years.²⁷

The client contacts of Miss Kowalska, later Drużbacka, with the two mentioned magnates were not identical. They were determined not only by the age and personality of the patrons, but also by the life stage of Elżbieta in which she met them. Elżbieta was at the court of Sieniawska from childhood. Here the client's personality was shaped, she received education, employment, she got married and thanks to the care of the magnate she moved to Cieplice leased from her. At the court of Sieniawska's herod-baby, Drużbacka learned the art of anticipation and patience. The princess, having hundreds of clients and various errands to do, introduced the hierarchy of importance in the order in which they were processed. This is evidenced by the treasurer in a letter written to August Czartoryski when she asked her patron for solving the Cieplice case:

In an extraordinary grace for me, she never refused to make a declaration of looking at my hurt, but it was always more difficult for her to bring it into effect, so she told me to wait until she will be free of more important issues, but I am always left with written declarations that have been agitated by the hands of Lord. Królikiewicz (p. 31).

Contacts with Barbara Sanguszko were cordial, warm, but also the client's situation was different. Drużbacka leased *Rzemień* without problems, she did not serve at the court, but she was often invited there as a trusted person, a talented poet, the life of the party. In this case, the relationship between the patron and the client was not only caring, but also promotional and inspiring.

Although the personalities of Elżbieta Sieniawska and Barbara Sanguszko were different, although the attitudes towards Drużbacka of both patrons were not the same, and client accents were different, while considering the patron-client relationship from the perspective of client Drużbacka, we can notice the characteristics of the magnate patronage in general:²⁸

²⁷ AP Kraków, Wawel Branch, Sanguszko Archive, Arabian Teams, Portfolio 223/2.

²⁸ A.K. Link-Lenczowski, *W kręgu dworu Sieniawskich w XVIII wieku* in *Patron i dwór. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku*, ed. E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, J. Urwanowicz, Warszawa 2006, p. 201–202. Scattered information in the cited book A. Słaby.

- 1) The court was the client education centre. The service there ensured not only education, but also the maintenance, the possibility of marriage, and the receipt of a lease.
- 2) The service of the given family at a patron lasted for several generations. This was the case for the Kowalski and Drużbacki families.
- 3) The clients asked for care for their families after their death. Katarzyna Drużbacka asked the Sieniawski family for it. Her son Kazimierz, with his wife and children, remained in Cieplice leased by her.
- 4) After the death of the patrons servants were often inherited by their heirs. This happened to the Kowalski and Drużbacki families after Sieniawska's death. They went under the supervision of the Czartoryski family.
- 5) Delaying patrons with financial help was widespread. Many years of service was used by clients as an argument for priority in dealing with controversial matters. Drużbacka used this manoeuvre in the games with Witosławski.
- 6) The clients got to the patrons with requests directly or through influential people on the courts. The treasurer of Żydaczów tried to get the promised money by Bekierski. The existence of the "client network" is also confirmed by Drużbacka's mediation in dealing with the affairs of other people at B. Sanguszko.
- 7) The clients tried to persuade the patrons about their usefulness to obtain support and care in various ways: by assuring them of zeal and loyalty in their service, reminding of blessings which they experienced and gratitude for them, promising further services, thanking and praising, being affectedly modest, participating in court ceremonies (for example, weddings, funerals), frequent correspondence on various issues, Christmas wishes, name days wishes, congratulations (for example on the occasion of the birth of a descendant), remembrance in the prayers. We find all these ways in the activities of Elżbieta Drużbacka.

SUMMARY

THE PATRONAGE OF FAMOUS MAGNATES OVER A UNIQUE CLIENT ELŻBIETA
DRUŻBACKA, NÉE KOWALSKA

Elżbieta Drużbacka, née Kowalska, was the client of Elżbieta Sieniawska and Barbara Sanguszko. These contacts were not identical. This was not only the result of generational differences, different personalities of the magnates, but also the period of the life of the client in which she took care of them. At the court of Sieniawska, Drużbacka received education, work, lease, and she got married. Princess Sanguszko, however, exercised over her favourite client not only a caring, but also inspiring and promotional functions. When considering the patron – client relationship from the client's perspective, the author notices the characteristics of the magnate patronage in general.

Keywords: individuality patron, grateful client, “client network”, characteristics of the magnate patronage

DOI 10.24917/9788380842717.12

Patron's activity of the widow Konstancja Marianna Szczukowa, née Potocka, Lithuanian deputy chancelloress¹

In old Poland, as research in recent years shows,² women perfectly found “their place in society, joining in the processes of shaping broadly understood households, their family structures [and – U.K.] economics.”³ The aforementioned

-
- ¹ The article prepared as part of the project financed from the funds of the National Science Centre grant on the basis of Decision No. 2015/19/B/HS3/01797 for the implementation of the scientific grant entitled “Benefactresses and clients. The specificity of women's patronage and clients relations in the Saxon era,” implemented in 2016–2019.
 - ² Cf. J. Dumanowski, *Domus, gens, familia. Więzy rodowe szlachty polskiej w czasach saskich in Między barokiem a oświeceniem. Obyczaje czasów saskich*, ed. P. Stasiewicz, P. Achremczyk, Olsztyn 2000, p. 20–26; A.P. Link-Lenczowski, *W kręgu dworu Sieniawskich w XVIII wieku in Patron i dwór. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku*, ed. E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, J. Urwanowicz, Warszawa 2006, p. 201–208. See also W. Karkucińska, *Anna z Sanguszków Radziwiłłowa (1676–1746). Działalność gospodarcza i mecenat*, Warszawa 2000; A. Jakuboszczak, *Sarmacka dama. Barbara Sanguszkowa (1718–1791) i jej salon towarzyski*, Poznań 2008; *Administracja i życie codzienne w dobrach Radziwiłłów XVI–XVIII wieku*, ed. U. Augustyniak, Warszawa 2009; A. Słaby, *Rządząca oleszycka. Dwór Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej jako przykład patronatu kobiecego – na przykładzie dóbr Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej in Epistolografia w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, vol. VI, *Stulecia XVI–XIX. Nowa perspektywa historyczna i językowa*, ed. P. Borek, M. Olma, Kraków 2015, p. 279–290; U. Kicińska, *Korespondencja jako źródło do badań aktywności gospodarczej kobiet w epoce saskiej in Kobiety w kręgu korespondencyjnym w XVII–XIX wieku*, ed. B. Popiołek, U. Kicińska, A. Słaby, Warszawa–Bellerive-sur-Allier 2016, p. 44–56; eadem, *Zofia Maria z Sieniawskich Czartoryska – życie w cieniu matki i męża in Słynne kobiety w Rzeczypospolitej XVIII wieku*, ed. A. Ročko, M. Górńska, Warszawa 2017, p. 59–75.
 - ³ B. Popiołek, *Kobieta zaradna Konstancja Marianna z Potockich Szczukowa podkanclerzyna litewska in Słynne kobiety w Rzeczypospolitej...*, p. 23.

economic activity also allows to draw attention to the extremely important issue of women's patronage, "and in principle the role of women in shaping complicated social ties and client systems."⁴ Until now, the great influence of Old Polish ladies on the formation of patron relations has been underestimated, despite the fact that they often attracted supporters and kept them faithful and loyal to each other. The formation of patronage was therefore associated with the growing position of women in Saxon times and their increasing influence on political and economic matters, which, as you know, was dependent (at least at the marriage stage) on the position of the husband in the country.⁵ This gave the opportunity to establish and tighten contacts that facilitated their family leadership, modeling its position and building the image – making them "protectors, benefactresses and advocates of various issues."⁶ Therefore, the women's patronage had a very wide range – legal, economic, educational, church and artistic.⁷

4 B. Popiołek, *Między przestrzenią domową a wielką polityką. Aktywność publiczna kobiet w czasach saskich* in *Drogi kobiet do polityki (na przestrzeni XVIII–XXI wieku)*, ed. T. Kulak, M. Dajnowicz, Wrocław 2016, p. 39; A. Mączak, *Stan, klasa i klientela. Spór o metodę historiografii i antropologii społecznej* in *Kultura, polityka, dyplomacja. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Jeremie Maciszewskiemu w sześćdziesiątą rocznicę jego urodzin*, ed. A. Bartnicki et al., Warszawa 1990, p. 221–222; D. Makiłło, „Dwór” i „patronat”. Dwa historyczno-socjologiczne pojęcia w historyczno-prawnym naświetleniu in *Patron i dwór...*, p. 181–186. See also A. Mączak, *Rządzący i rządzeni. Władza i społeczeństwo w Europie wczesnonowożytnej*, Warszawa 1986; idem, *Klientela. Nieformalne systemy władzy w Polsce i Europie XVI–XVIII w.*, Warszawa 1994; U. Augustyniak, *Dwór i klientela Krzysztofa Radziwiłła (1585–1640). Mechanizmy patronatu*, Warszawa 2001; *Dwory magnackie w XVIII wieku. Rola i znaczenie kulturowe*, ed. T. Kostkiewiczowa, A. Roćko, Warszawa 2005; Z. Bania, *Fundator i jego dzieło na przestrzeni dziejów* in *Studia nad sztuką renesansu i baroku*, vol. VIII, ed. J. Lileyko, I. Rolska-Boruch, Lublin 2007, p. 7–14; *Dom, majątek, klient, sługa. Manifestacja pozycji elit w przestrzeni materialnej i społecznej (XIII–XIX wiek)*, ed. M.R. Pauk, M. Saczyńska, Warszawa 2010.

5 Cf. A. Jakuboszczak, *Aktywność polityczna wielkopolskich szlachcianek w XVIII wieku* in *Drogi kobiet do polityki...*, p. 47–48.

6 B. Popiołek, *Dobrodziejki i klienci. Z dziejów patronatu kobiecego w czasach saskich* in *Patron i dwór...*, p. 385.

7 See D. Makiłło, *Fundacje staropolskie. Aspekty prawne ich powołania oraz istnienia* in *Fundator i mecenap. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku*, ed. E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, J. Urwanowicz, Białystok 2011, p. 11–20; J. Pietrzak, *Księżna Dobrodziejka. Katarzyna z Sobieskich Radziwiłłowa (1634–1694)*, Warszawa 2016; A. Słaby, *Szlachcianki na politycznej scenie czasów saskich – polityka czy obrona interesów domowych?* in *Wnuczki Pandory. Kobieta w społeczeństwie od starożytności do współczesności*, ed. A. Głowacka-Peńczyńska, P. Grysińska-Jarumuła, M. Opióła-Cegiełko, Bydgoszcz 2016, p. 71–83; U. Kicińska, *Relacje patron–sługa w świetle korespondencji ekonomicznej Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej, kasztelanowej krakowskiej*

A significant part of the patrons, however, began their protectorate activity only in the period of widowhood, which involved was connected with a change in their legal and material position. After the death of her husband, the widow could dispose of the property, which was left at the stage of marriage. Therefore, it was not only a dowry, that gave her considerable material sovereignty, but above all a life-term use, which was usually left on all movable and immovable properties and money sums that the spouses had at the time of the wedding, as well as those which were to obtain in the future. It is worth noting that life-term use was particularly beneficial for the spouse who, due to the death of his husband or her wife, became a widow/widower and resigned from another marriage.⁸ Thus, the above provisions, and in particular the statement of the security, as well as the acquisition of goods based on life – term use had, as Urszula Augustyniak emphasizes: “obvious repercussions for the organization of the entire court and client system.”⁹

Konstancja Marianna Szczuka, née Potocka (died in 1733), the wife of Stanisław Antoni (died in 1710),¹⁰ Lithuanian deputy chancellor, and daughter of

in *Tożsamość kobiet w Polsce: interpretacje*, vol. 1, *Od czasów najdawniejszych do XIX wieku*, ed. I. Maciejewska, Olsztyn 2016, p. 61–74.

⁸ Cf. J. Pielas, *Wdowa-matka a kwestie majątkowe w rodzinach szlachty koronnej w XVII wieku* in *Spółeczeństwo staropolskie*, vol. III, *Spółeczeństwo a rodzina*, ed. I.M. Dacka-Górzyńska, A. Karpiński, Warszawa 2011, p. 173–174; J. Kuchta, *Pozycja majątkowa wdów z rodów szlacheckich w XVII–XVIII w.* in *Rodzina i gospodarstwo domowe na ziemiach polskich w XV–XX wieku. Struktury demograficzne, społeczne i gospodarcze*, ed. C. Kuklo, Warszawa 2008, p. 82, 261–267; P. Sulej, *Mariaże magnackie w XVI–XVIII wieku na podstawie intercyz przedślubnych* in *Spółeczeństwo staropolskie...*, p. 78, 81–85; J. Pielas, op. cit., p. 173; I. Kulesza-Woronecka, *Rozwody w rodzinach magnackich w Polsce XVI–XVIII wieku*, Poznań–Wrocław 2002, p. 23. See also A.D. Alvarez, *A Widow's Will: Examining the Challenges of Widowhood in Early Modern England and America*, Dissertations, Theses, & Student Research, Department of History, “Paper” 2013, vol. 57, p. 5; digitalcommonp.unl.edu/historydiss/57/?utm_source=digitalcommonp.unl.edu%2Fhistorydiss%2F57&utm_medium=PDF&utm_campaign=PDFCoverPages [access: 1.05.2018].

⁹ U. Augustyniak, *Dwory kobiece i dziecięce w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w XVII w.*, “Mówią Wieki” 1995, no. 4, p. 14.

¹⁰ Stanisław Antoni Szczuka (around 1654–1710) came from Lithuania, he was the son of Stanisław and Zofia Szpilewska, née Neronowicz, the daughter of Stefan, a subsidiary of Rzeczycki, a widow of Andrzej Bobrzecki. He was educated in Vilnius, he knew French, German and Italian. From 1675 he was the royal secretary, from around 1684 the regent of the lower royal office, from 1688 the secretary of the secular crown, and finally from July 27, 1699, the Lithuanian sub-chancellor. Cf. H. Palkij, *Szczuka Stanisław Antoni h. Grabie* in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 47/3, Warszawa–Kraków 2011, p. 469–481. See also T. Zielińska, *Stanisław Antoni Szczuka*

Teofila Helena, née Męcińska (died after 1695) and Bogusław Potocki, the starost of Jabłonowo belonged undoubtedly to the group of these resourceful widows.¹¹ Konstancja was brought up in the court of Maria Kazimiera, hence she was in close relationships with both the queen and the Sobieski princes. She was particularly connected with her aunt from her father's side – Anna Gorajska, née Potocka (died in 1704), deputy cup-bearer of Chełmsko, the chamberlain of the royal court of Jadwiga Elżbieta von Pfalz-Neuburg (died on August 11, 1722), the wife of Jakub Sobieski.¹² The mentioned acquaintance opened to Szczuka many significant social contacts that helped her to carry out extensive patronage. A significant influence on the behaviour of Marianna Konstancja was held by Anna Stanisławska (died in 1695), the provincial governor of Kiev, who not only arranged her marriage to Szczuka, which was finally concluded in the Warsaw castle on 6 February 1695, but she also contributed to the fact that she changed her previous religion from Calvin to Catholic.¹³ Szczuka's marriage was considered successful and consistent. Konstancja accepted a lot of advice from her husband. Thanks to it later as a widow she was able to manage the property efficiently, at the same time acting as an entrepreneurial and resourceful patron.¹⁴

The patron's activity of Konstancja Szczuka was traced on the basis of correspondence from the period of her widowhood, covering the years 1710–1733. The supplications which were sent to the Lithuanian deputy chancelloress in times of danger or oppression from dishonest administrators about whom the inhabitants of her properties complained were also used as an additional material. The above-mentioned archival material allowed to analyze the extremely important aspects of Szczuka's life, among which the death of her husband should be mentioned first and the condolences sent to her on the occasion, both from the

jako referendarz koronny 1688–1699, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" (hereinafter: KH) 2004, vol. 111, e.g. 3, p. 5–22; A. Michałowska, *Stanisław Antoni Szczuka – początki kariery patrona*, KH 1995, vol. 102, no. 3/4, p. 61–90.

¹¹ Cf. H. Palkij, *Szczuka Stanisław Antoni...*, p. 472.

¹² See A. Skrzypietz, *Jadwiga Elżbieta von Pfalz-Neuburg – małżonka królewicza Jakuba Sobieskiego*; wilanow-palac.pl/jadwiga_elzbieta_von_pfalz_neuburg_malzonka_krolewicza_jakuba_sobieskiego.html [access: 19.04.2018].

¹³ Anna Stanisławska was the daughter of Maria Mohylanka and Stanisław Potocki, the niece of Anna Potocka, née Mohyła. She got married three times: to Dominik Kazanowski, Bogusław Słuska and Michał Stanisławski, the governor of Kiev. She died probably on February 6 or 12, 1695. Cf. P. Targosz, *Sawantki w Polsce XVII w. Aspiracje intelektualne kobiet ze środowisk dworskich*, Warszawa 1997, p. 92–93. See also H. Palkij, *Szczuka Stanisław Antoni...*, p. 472.

¹⁴ Cf. H. Palkij, *Szczuka Stanisław Antoni...*, p. 472; B. Popiołek, *Kobieta zaradna...*, p. 24–26.

relatives of the deceased and his clients, which were expressed in letters of condolence. The deputy chancelress's concern for both her orphaned children as well as for her husband's clients, who lost their patron at the time of Szczuka's death, was also important. A separate category of letters was also those of an economic nature – giving evidence of the activity and resourcefulness of Szczuka's widow. Correspondence included epistles, which were sent by secular and spiritual people, forming the clientele of the Lithuanian deputy chancelress which counted on her assistance in economic, educational, artistic and church matters.

Stanisław Antoni Szczuka died of pneumonia on May 19, 1710. The body of Lithuanian lieutenant was transported to the family town Szczuczyna, where, according to his will, he was buried in the underground of the local church, along with his two children.¹⁵ Since then, Konstancja entered the period of widowhood, not deciding to remarry. She took over the management of her estate, located mainly in Radzyń and Szczuczyn, which she successfully managed for over twenty years.¹⁶ After the death, of Szczuka, the Abbess of the Warsaw convent of nuns of the Holy Sacrament wrote to Konstancja, expressing sadness,¹⁷ comforting her with words:

¹⁵ Cf. H. Palkij, *Szczuka Stanisław Antoni...*, p. 477.

¹⁶ In addition to the mentioned Radzyń, the property of the Szczuka family included villages in the Vistula River region, the village of Szczuka-Barany and the royal village of Szczuczyno (Szczuka-Litwa), which were gradually purchased by Stanisław Antoni, becoming the beginning of the Szczuczynski estate. In this area Szczuka in 1689 started to build the city of Szczuczyn and a defensive mansion. On November 9, 1692, the Lithuanian deputy chancellor received a privilege from Jan III for the location of Szczuczyn on the Magdeburg Law (confirmed in Warsaw by August II on March 14, 1699). Thanks to this, the city was given the opportunity to organize fairs twice a week and four markets. Szczuka also had two palaces – one in Warsaw at the exit of Długa and Miódowa streets, the other in Radzyń; Cf. H. Palkij, *Szczuka Stanisław Antoni...*, p. 471–472, 477. See also A. Czapska, *Powstanie, rozwój urbanistyczny i zabytkowa architektura Szczuczyna od końca XVII do połowy XIX w.* in *Studia i materiały do dziejów powiatu grajewskiego*, ed. M. Gnatowski, H. Majecki, Warszawa 1975, p. 355–383; I. Grochowska, *Stanisław Antoni Szczuka i jego działalność w ziemi wiskiej w latach 1682–1710*, Warszawa 1989; I. Grochowska, *Podkanclerzy Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego Antoni Szczuka. Założyciel Szczuczyna w ziemi wiskiej* in *Dwa Szczuczyny. Miasta, które łączą nie tylko nazwa. Szkice i materiały do dziejów miast*, ed. M. Gnatowski, Łomża 2001, p. 13–22; J. Kowalik, *Pałac w Radzynie Podlaskim i jego mieszkańcy* in *Radzyń Podlaski. Miasto i rezydencja*, ed. G. Michalska, D. Leszczyńska, Radzyń Podlaski 2011, p. 71–99; J. Kowalik-Bylicka, *Dobra ziemskie Radzyń. Historia majątku od XVIII do XX wieku*, Lublin 2015.

¹⁷ Benedictines from the Perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament were called shortly the nuns of Holy Sacrament; see E. Breza, *Nazwy zakonów i zgromadzeń zakonnych żeńskich*, "Slavia Occidentalis" 2013, no. 70/1, p. 35–62; repozytorium.amu.edu.pl/bitstream/10593/13345/1/2013_SO_Ling_art3.pdf [access: 19.04.2018].

[...] I should have sent a letter of condolence with heavy regret sooner, in which [...] Benefactress you are separated from your beloved and very worthy spouse, and I know that no creature can be [...] Benefactress's consolation, but only Almighty God himself, whom all of us have fervently begged for these few days, to give you relief and consolation in this unbearable crucifix that he gave to [...] Lady and Benefactress.¹⁸

It is worth noting that the ties between the patron and the servant were extremely long-lasting. This concerned especially the small and middle nobility, among whom they were continued even after the death of the patron, when the widow took over the care of the client and his family, and the client himself declared to serve to the new patron.¹⁹ Szczuka who took over a significant number of clients after her deceased husband also acted according to this rule. On the other hand, they addressed their objections and complaints and official supplications to her counting on further support and help from the new carer. Although on the basis of the analyzed correspondence, it can be noticed that help and further protection was sought at Kontancja mainly by women – closer and further relatives, asylum seekers and nuns, it should be pointed out that Paweł Łempicki was also among them. On June 2, that is, almost two weeks after the death of Stanisław Antoni, he wrote to the Lithuanian deputy chancelloress that “deploring the loss of [his – U.K.], Lord and Benefactor [...] due to the daily condolence [...] he does not [...] [forget – U.K.] to comfort Lady Benefactress, offering [his – U.K.] services [...], in order to have favourable influences at this troublesome time for the whole home.”²⁰ And this – as he further said – “in the same way as [...] Honorable Benefactor [praised – U.K.] [...] [his – U.K.] protection, so [...] Lady Benefactress with eagerness and gratitude may [...] [have – U.K.] honour to give all orders.”²¹ A similar act of

18 Abbess of the Benedictines from the Perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament to K. Szczuka, Warszawa, 27 May 1710, Central Archives of Historical Records (hereinafter: AGAD), Public Archives of Potocki (hereinafter: APP), MS 163a, vol. 47, p. 150.

19 Cf. B. Popiołek, *Dobrodziejki i klienci...*, p. 389; U. Augustyniak, „Stary sługa” jako przedmiot badań nad klientelizmem magnackim na Litwie w XVII wieku, “Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej” (hereinafter: KHKM) 2010, vol. 58, no. 1, p. 79–80; A. Pośpiech, W. Tygielski, *Społeczna rola dworu magnackiego w XVII–XVIII w.*, “Przegląd Historyczny” (hereinafter: PH) 1978, vol. 69, no. 2, p. 224–226.

20 Paweł Łempicki to K. Szczuka, Chełmża, 2 VI 1710, AGAD, Archives of the Potocki family from Radzyń (hereinafter: APzR), file 441, p. 12–13.

21 Idem to eadem, Chełmża, 2 VI 1710, AGAD, APzR, file 441, p. 12–13.

loyalty to the deputy chancelloress was declared by a certain woman named Szaniawska,²² which one month after the death of her protector called by her “father Benefactor” declared to Konstancja that “she is not only with this letter, but also with her whole person [...] [to – U.K.] show her honour to the Lady and Benefactress as soon as possible to give herself to her [...] protection [...] forever.”²³ Also, representatives of richer noble and magnate families who had previously received much help from Stanisław Antoni turned to Szczuka with a request for further care. Now, they asked his widow for a similar support. This was done by Konstancja Denhoff, née Słuszko (died in 1723), the provincial governor of Malbork, who, writing to Szczuka at the end of June 1710, stated that having “an unforgettable memory of dignity and incomparable qualities of the late. Lord Deputy Chancellor,”²⁴ then she expressed her willingness and desire to “serve [...] You Lady and Your interests [...] with her unchanging esthete and friendship towards me.”²⁵

It should be emphasized that an important manifestation of client relations – understood as “absolute fidelity and obedience to the patron” and one of the “chief values defining the mutual relationship of the client and the magnate,” and “fully characterizing the professional ethics of the former”²⁶ – was loyalty. Loyal clients were required to be available and conscientious when carrying out the patron's instructions, as well as to be constantly vigilant over his/her interests.²⁷ The loyalty of the servants (even the smallest ones) after the death of Szczuka was visible not only in the declaration of willingness to help the Lithuanian deputy chancelloress in the preparation of funeral ceremonies or when taking over the property, but in things as seemingly trivial as respect for clothes and all sorts of things that he left. The one Lipiński wrote to Konstancja widow that “apparently it would be recommended to dry things in the box of Excellency Benefactor to prevent them from damage from moles, because there are furs [first and foremost lynx robe – U.K.], and I do not have the key,

22 It is worth mentioning that at this stage of research we are not able to decipher fully the names or surnames of some of the people quoted in the article, while others only title themselves with dignity or a function they had.

23 P. Szaniawska to K. Szczuka, [s.l.], 24 VI 1710, AGAD, APzR, file 441, p. 15.

24 P. Denhoff to K. Szczuka, Czepielów, 28 VI 1710, AGAD, APzR, file 441, p. 18.

25 Ibidem.

26 P. Stojek-Stawicka, *Duchowna klientela Radziwiłłów w XVIII wieku* in *Patron i dwór...*, p. 413.

27 Ibidem; see also A. Mączak, *Wierność i miłość. Z zagadnień motywacji stosunku klientalnego*, “Zeszyty Naukowe WSP w Opolu” 1988, vol. 26, p. 103–115.

nor I dare to open [this chest – U.K.] to have a trouble.”²⁸ It seems that this concern resulted not only from the attachment of this client and his respect to the deceased protector, but also from the desire to please Konstancja, which he expressed with the words “I trust or I cannot doubt that the readiness of the servant [...] in the Lord’s memory with the gratitude of benevolent favour will be the prize.”²⁹

The petitions addressed to the Lithuanian deputy chancelloress were of various character. Protectory activities included not only matters of the highest importance, but also those, it might seem, more trivial, which, however, were of great importance to small clients. For example, it is worth pointing out the situation of Mrs. Kuczyńska, the wife of Mikołaj Józef, probably one of the managers of the Szczuka estate, who asked her guardian for help in finding a suitable servant. In one of the letters, the above-mentioned sender thanked: “we as servants thank [...] Benefactress for the taken care and diligence,”³⁰ which she had for her striving for “Mistress.”³¹ In the next letter to Konstancja, a few days later, Kuczyńska renewed her request, writing that “in the hope of charitable favours to receive [...] Benefactress I submit my request and supplicate so that you would inform me of your goodness towards me or the unspeakably deserved mercy, if there was no Mistress near for me to the future date.”³²

In addition, requests for support and protection were directed to Szczuka by widows and widowers seeking help in overcoming the difficulties they faced every day. The new life circumstance often forced them “to adopt a servile attitude, regardless of gender and social status.”³³ This situation was particularly affecting women who, having “no proper protection or support from the family, they had to take care of themselves and their children’s careers.”³⁴ So did Anna, née Rochenkowicz, the widow of Jan Wit, who remained in “heavy trouble” and “orphanage,” and who was forced by “great poverty” to “have to

²⁸ J. Lipiński to K. Szczuka, Ostrów, 17 IX 1710, AGAD, APzR, file 441, p. 40, 63.

²⁹ Idem to eadem, Ostrów, 6 XII 1710, AGAD, APzR, file 441, p. 63–64.

³⁰ L. Kuczyńska to K. Szczuka, [s.l.], 2 IX 1730, AGAD, APzR, file 445, p. 5.

³¹ Ibidem.

³² Eadem to eadem, [s.l.], 6 IX 1730, AGAD, APzR, file 445, p. 7–8.

³³ Cf. B. Popiołek, *Dobrodziejki i klienci...*, p. 390–391; U. Augustyniak, *Podlaska klientela Krzysztofa II Radziwiłła in Drobną szlachta podlaska w XVI–XIX wieku. Materiały z sympozjum w Hołnach Mejera 26–27 maja 1989 roku*, ed. P.P. Kuczyński, p. 87.

³⁴ B. Popiołek, *Dobrodziejki i klienci...*, p. 390–391.

gratify [...] to Benefactress”³⁵ – “With deep humility and submissio[n]”³⁶ she begged Szczuka to “now show the effect of your [her] declarations in a most agile way”³⁷ she would send her three thousand five hundred and sixth tynes, “without doubt” that “[her – U.K.] present need [...], which is well-known in the orphanage – she will find pity and mercy in the eyes of the Lord.”³⁸ The proposed sum was to be intended primarily – as Witt emphasized – “for the food of her poor Family.”³⁹

It was also possible to happen that the patrons were late in paying off their subjects on time, as it is indicated by the begging letters addressed to Szczuka. In 1726 the old widow Anna Kuming posted to Konstancja a request to pay the sum of six hundred and eighty-seven Polish zlotys, which her husband when he was still alive, “orally demanded on Lady,”⁴⁰ “begging for her mercy”⁴¹ and asking that “in [her – U.K.] old age [...] she would not let her to be for a victim any more [...], but according to an account with which, [...] [her – U.K.], [...] generous hand would return her happiness ordering to give [her – U.K.] treasury [...]”⁴² We should also mention the request of Maria Anna de la Grange d’Arquien Wielopolska (died in 1733), who interceded for her servant who was at that time on duty at Szczuka in her estates in Wielki Las. This was the wife of the blacksmith Sebastian Walaszek, and the daughter of a certain Kamiński, who served at Wielopolska in Kock. According to the Chancelloress of the Crown, “[this – U.K.] woman orphaned after the death of her husband, which was not a long time ago remained with five small children would like to come back to her father so that she could help him in the farm because his wife, i.e. her mother recently also died.”⁴³ Hence, in the further part of the letter, Wielopolska wrote to Szczuka that she hoped that her “intencession could receive the desired result,”⁴⁴ arguing, in addition, that “she sees that it could be an easier thing [to her – U.K.] as the woman has no son,

35 A. Witt, née Rochenkowicz to K. Szczuka, Warszawa, 7 I 1715, AGAD, APzR, file 447, p. 29.

36 Ibidem, p. 31.

37 Ibidem, p. 31–32.

38 A. Witt, née Rochenkowicz to K. Szczukowa, Warszawa, 4 VII 1715, AGAD, APzR, file 447, p. 31–32.

39 Eadem to eadem, Warszawa, 7 I 1715, AGAD, APzR, file 447, p. 29.

40 A. Kuming to K. Szczuka, Kraków, 12 V 1726, AGAD, APzR, file 447, p. 79.

41 Ibidem.

42 Ibidem.

43 M. Wielopolska to K. Szczuka, Warszawa, 21 VI 1731, AGAD, APP, file 163a, vol. 47, p. 252–254.

44 Ibidem.

but only daughters, and that she does not take anything with her, only what the grace of her Lady [...] will allow.”⁴⁵

A large part of Szukowa’s correspondence which surveyed is economic letters that allow to conclude that Konstancja was an efficient and resourceful guardian of her goods. It is worth noting that in the eighteenth century in the magnate estate there were two different management systems on the territory of the Republic of Poland, i.e., giving their possessions as leases or pledges or maintaining goods in own administration, both hereditary assets and goods under life-term use or temporary management as well as royal properties. In the Szczuka families, the second system was by far the dominant one. It was based on the staff of officials, tenants, and economists who created an extremely diverse group.⁴⁶ Konstancja, as mentioned, took over management of family goods, mainly Radzyń and Szczuczyn, whom she managed for twenty-three years of widowhood.⁴⁷ For a better organization of work, she took over not only her husband’s former clients, but also managers of individual properties, with whom she remained in constant contact. In addition, in the management of goods, Konstancja could count on the help of Marshal Stanisław Sobolewski, a Warsaw cup-bearer.⁴⁸

Analyzed archival material allows to conclude that the period after 1710 was not a time of peace for the Lithuanian deputy chancelloress because her properties were affected by natural disasters and the activities of dishonest lessees.⁴⁹ In addition, her property was looted by the Moscow, Saxon and Swedish troops going through the Republic of Poland. In November 1710, Franciszek Bobrowski, the deputy starost of the Wąwolnica, reported to his protector that he had not yet collected rents, because, as he explained, for “this time when Moscow went through – it was impossible to collect, because

⁴⁵ Ibidem.

⁴⁶ Cf. T. Zielińska, *Oficjaliści w dobrach magnackich w XVIII wieku jako urzędnicy ziemscy* in *Świat pogranicza*, ed. M. Nagielski, A. Rachuba, P. Górzyński, Warszawa 2003, p. 267; A. Pośpiech, W. Tygielski, op. cit., p. 215–216. See also U. Kicińska, *Codziennie obowiązki zarządcy majątku – na przykładzie korespondencji Piotra Morzyckiego do Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej* in *Epistolografia w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej...*, p. 293–305.

⁴⁷ See M. Banach, *Ludność klucza radzyńskiego w XVIII wieku*, “Radzyński Rocznik Humanistyczny” (hereinafter: RRH) 2014, vol. 12, p. 49–59; J. Kowalik, *Ludność Radzyna podlaskiego na przestrzeni wieków. Przyczynek do dziejów społeczności miasta*, RRH 2008, vol. 6, p. 126–139.

⁴⁸ Cf. B. Popiołek, *Kobieta zaradna...*, p. 37.

⁴⁹ Cf. ibidem, p. 32.

he could not look into the eyes of people.”⁵⁰ The administrator also lamented about the great poverty that touched his property, where “there is no [even – U.K.] lard in the court, because Moscow people [...] [his – U.K.] one porker and another porker from Zawady from the mill killed and ate.”⁵¹

Begging supplications were also addressed to Konstancja Szczuka, née Potocka. One of them was made by the inhabitants together with the mayor of the city of Knyszyn, who officially complained about the local subordinate, Szaniawski, who “harasses the poor with heavy executions, without any message and answers of the mayor, as well as he plunders the entire town, [...] invades the town and sends [people – U.K.], who make great excesses, they rob chambers, boxes and deprive people of everything.”⁵² Hence the desperate inhabitants asked their protector for intervention, “so that [they would not suffer from – U.K.] these invasions of the city and oppression any more.”⁵³ It is worth mentioning that in letters addressed to the Lithuanian deputy chancelloress, we will also find information on what products her court was supplied with. Jan Madujewicz, the manager of her family estate in Sidra, reported that “the farm is going here with its proper mode and if only God would give the weather, we would like to sow as soon as possible.”⁵⁴ At the same time, he asked his protector if he should send her “cherries fried in sugar and rose, also dry cherries, pears and the other ones in honey” and the honey itself,⁵⁵ a also that he is waiting for a resolution whether “flours and dairy products [...] should be sold.”⁵⁶

The element of economic activity of Szczukowa was also the undertaking of trade initiatives. The person responsible for importing different products for her was, as one might suppose, a Lublin townswoman, Regina Cellejowa, who in January 1713 wrote to her that she bought her a *kitajka* “eight minted thalers.”⁵⁷ The goods were also supplied to Szczukowa by a certain Zielinski, who reported to his guardian from Lublin in May 1714 that “private orders, whatever ordered I received, in the past and now I sent back by post after

⁵⁰ F. Bobrowski to K. Szczuka, Wąwolnica, 14 XI 1710, AGAD, APzR, file 441, p. 52.

⁵¹ Ibidem, p. 53.

⁵² A supplication of the residents of the city of Knyszyn, [b.d.], AGAD, APzR, file 441, p. 177.

⁵³ Ibidem, p. 178.

⁵⁴ J. Madujewicz to K. Szczuka, Sidra, 27 IX 1714, AGAD, APP, file 163a, vol. 49, p. 39.

⁵⁵ Ibidem, p. 39–40.

⁵⁶ Ibidem, p. 39.

⁵⁷ R. Cellej to K. Szczuka, Lublin, 5 I 1713, AGAD, APzR, file 447, p. 14.

opening shops.”⁵⁸ Among the purchased items there was a blue *kitajka* (silk materials) purchased for seven Polish zlotys, because – as he explained – could not get a cheaper one – “in this color and species” as well as a pound of snuff.⁵⁹ A year later, the aforementioned merchant lamented that in Lublin, “almost all commodities went up, and that it was difficult to get something good and not to pay expensive,”⁶⁰ he also added that “in one store only at Mr. Gostomski’s [...] [he chose – U.K.] stockings, and so expensive, that he did not want to sell them cheaper than fourteen zlotys and sixteen groszys.” By the way, he also sent Szczuka “a quarter-pound snuff.”⁶¹

On the basis of the correspondence analyzed, it should be stated that Konstancja Szczuka also exercised a very broad religious patronage. Among the clients devoted to her, we could meet priests, monks and nuns who asked her for legates or thanked her for her church and monastery foundations. Requests for support and protection were addressed to Szczuka from the Jasna Góra’s provincial Konstanty Moszyński (died in 1738),⁶² asking her to have “this Saint place in her grace and respect.”⁶³

Nuns who asked her for financial support and financial help also sent letters to their protector. Among them, those sent by sister Anna from St. Bartłomiej, abbess of the Lublin Barefoot Carmelite nuns, who sought to make Szczuka “appear at [them – U.K.] and let them be pleased [...] with such a desired pleasant stay.”⁶⁴ Another time the nun mentioned not only invited her to “the feast of

⁵⁸ J. Zieliński to K. Szczuka, Lublin, 6 V 1714, AGAD, APP, file 163a, vol. 49, p. 395.

⁵⁹ Ibidem, p. 395–396.

⁶⁰ J. Zieliński to K. Szczuka, Lublin, 12 V 1715, AGAD, APP, file 163a, vol. 49, p. 789.

⁶¹ Idem to eadem, Lublin, 12 VII 1715, AGAD, APP, file 163a, vol. 49, p. 789–790.

⁶² Konstanty Moszyński was an Italian bishop, provincial of the Pauline Fathers. He studied at the Jesuit college in Piotrków, then in 1688 he joined the Pauline Fathers in Częstochowa, and a year later he made his religious vows. He studied philosophy in Częstochowa and theological studies at Skalka in Kraków. In 1694 he was ordained priest. Then he was educated in the Pauline study in Tall, Hungary, where he obtained his doctorate in theology. After returning to Poland for five years he worked as a professor in Częstochowa, at that time he was elected a provincial definitor. Later he was a professor of theology in Krakow. In 1706 he was elected to be the provincial of the Pauline Order in Poland. He held this office in 1706, 1710–1713, 1716–1719, 1722, 1725–1728. He was also the prior of the Jasna Góra monastery three times. He died in 1738. Cf. B. Kumor, *Konstanty Moszyński herbu Łodzia* in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 22, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1977, p. 127–128.

⁶³ P. Moszyński to K. Szczuka, Jasna Góra, 11 VI 1712, AGAD, APzR, file 441, p. 117.

⁶⁴ Sister Anna from Saint Bartłomiej, adviser of the Discalced Carmelites, to K. Szczuka, [s.l.], AGAD, APzR, file 445, p. 47.

[the most holy] Virgin to [their – U.K.] poor church,”⁶⁵ to “decorate it with her kind appearance,⁶⁶ but she even begged for “helping with a penny,”⁶⁷ because there was no money to buy “fish, root [and] wine for such a ceremony,”⁶⁸ “or to pay for the music.”⁶⁹ It seems that after the death of the aforementioned abbess Anna, her successor abbess Wiktoria also sought the Lithuanian deputy chancelloress's favour. This is evidenced by a letter sent to Szczuka by one of her sisters, in which she wrote that – “Reverend Mother Wiktoria will send [...] Beloved Benefactress pictures depicted after the death of our mother Anna, whose soul to help the saints and pious prayers, we recommend to our beloved Benefactress.⁷⁰ Analyzing the type of requests and the level of support that Konstancja gave to the nuns, one can conclude that they led an exceptionally modest life and every kind of grace (even a quince jar, for which another Carmelite girl named Eufrozyna asked⁷¹), was extremely important to them. In exchange for the shown help, nuns declared fidelity, loyalty and lifelong prayer for the health of their benefactress.

Finally, it is worth mentioning the educational patronage carried out by Lithuanian chancelloress. The Szczuka family had five children – three sons: August Michał (died in 1702), who died of smallpox in childhood; Marcin Leopold Stefan (died in 1728), later a starost of Wąwolnica, and Jan Kanty (died in 1724), later a starost of Większnie, and two daughters – Wiktoria (died in 1735) and Anna Maria (died in 1705) who died at the age of two.⁷² Stanisław Antoni, therefore, orphaned three young children, whose educational effort was taken by widowed Konstancja. Szczuka especially cared for their education, because,

65 Ibidem, [s.l.], AGAD, APzR, file 445, p. 49.

66 Ibidem.

67 Ibidem.

68 Ibidem.

69 Ibidem.

70 Sister Helena from Saint John the Evangelist, Blessed Carmelite to K. Szczuka, [s.l.], AGAD, APzR, file 445, p. 75.

71 Eufrozyna, the Barefoot Carmelite to K. Szczuka, [s.l.], 25 VI 1725, AGAD, APP, file 163a, vol. 47, p. 385.

72 Marcin Leopold Stefan (13 November 1698–1728) served as the governor of the Wąwolnica region. He married Elżbieta, née Potocka, the daughter of Aleksander Smoleński, Jan. Jan Kanty (1699 or 1700–1724) was a starost of Wielkopolska. His wife was Salomea Anna Sapięha. Cf. H. Palkij, *Szczuka Stanisław Antoni...*, p. 478. See also B. Popiołek, *Kobieta zaradna...*, p. 30; U. Kicińska, *Listy Kazimierza Młockiego, preceptora młodych Szczuków, jako przykład źródła do badań nad staropolskimi podróżami edukacyjnymi* in *Źródła do dziejów staropolskich podróży edukacyjnych*, ed. D. Żołądź-Strzelczyk, M.E. Kowalczyk, Wrocław 2017, p. 327–344.

as it was mentioned before, she gained education at the side of Marysienka Sobieska. She gave her daughter Wiktoria for a short time to attend the Order of Visits. For her sons, however, she hired a teacher – a certain Kazimierz Młocki, who went with the young Szczuka for studies in Krakow, Częstochowa, and then traveled abroad with them. It is worth noting that the education of the young Szczuka family required significant financial contributions, for which the Lithuanian deputy chancelloress was fully responsible.

The foreign journey of the Szczuka family was to be a continuation of learning initiated in Poland. It began in Prague in 1712, however, due to the plague spreading there, Marcin Leopold and Jan Kanty were forced to return to the country. Education was continued in Krakow at the Academy there. At that time, however, as indicated by the correspondence, there was a dispute between the preceptor Młocki and Krakow's academics. As reported in a letter addressed to Szczuka, by the rector of the Krakow Academy Marcin Węgrzynowicz (died in 1717),⁷³ the incident was to take place at the beginning of 1714 during dinner, which the tutor ate in the company of a certain “public professor.” During this ceremony, Preceptor Młocki plunged into the polemic about the historical and poetic issues with the aftermentioned scholars, for which – as Węgrzynowicz reported in the letter later – he “got a slap” and probably “this tragedy would not end up with this, if not for foresight of others which stopped it with a sword.”⁷⁴ As a result of this event, Młocki took offense with the academy and forbade his pupils to attend learning. Eventually, another well-known Krakow scholar – former Rector of the Academy Andrzej Krupecki (died in 1725) intervened in the case,⁷⁵ and as he wanted to alleviate

⁷³ Marcin Węgrzynowicz came from a well-known and well-deserved Krakow family. He studied at the Faculty of Philosophy of the Krakow Academy. He finished his studies in 1681. He was ordained priest after the promotion. In 1691 he went to Italy, where in Rome he received a doctorate in both laws. In 1692, he became the parish priest of Tczyca in the Miechów deanery, in 1702 he became a canon of the Krakow cathedral, and from 1705, the archdeacon of Piła. He held the office of the rector of the Krakow Academy from April 1713 to 1714, replacing Andrzej Krupecki in this position. He died in April 1717. He was buried in St Mary's church in Krakow. Cf. Z. Pietrzyk, *Poczet rektorów Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego 1400–2000*, Kraków 2000, p. 207.

⁷⁴ M. Węgrzynowicz to K. Szczuka, Kraków, 18 III 1714, AGAD, APP, file 163a, vol. 47, p. 145.

⁷⁵ Andrzej Grzegorz Krupecki was a lawyer, professor and rector of the Krakow Academy. He graduated from the Faculty of Liberal Arts at the University of Krakow and there, from 1668, he began his teaching career as an extraneous associate professor at the Faculty of Artium. In November 1675 he was seconded by the university to the position of professor of philosophy at

the conflict, in which in his opinion “Mr. Młocki’s preceptor’s aversion and headiness did more harm,”⁷⁶ and “Mr. Młocki, taking an offence to one person, he could not pass by the entire Academy, and he does not let Lords of Deputy Chancellors attend the school,⁷⁷ he did all the efforts to make the situation easier. The dispute was finally resolved, and the young Szczuka in August 1714 went to study in Częstochowa, where they stayed for two years. In August 1716, Marcin Leopold and Jan Kanty began their international journey. First they went to Prague, from there to Dresden, and in April 1719 they arrived in Rome.⁷⁸ During his many years of service, the preceptor Młocki has repeatedly assured his protector of loyalty and fidelity to her person.

Szczuka, however, failed to properly manage the sons’ careers. Despite their good education, they did not achieve high positions in the state. Both died prematurely, without their descendants. Daughter Wiktoria (died in 1735) and she married Jan Stanisław Kątski (died in 1727), castellan of Krakow,⁷⁹ and after

the Lubrański Academy in Poznań. He left the post after three years and began to teach philosophy in the Benedictine monastic study on Łysa Góra. For some time he was also a private teacher at the court of the crown chancellor Jan Wielopolski. He returned to the Krakow Academy in 1679. In the years 1685–1688 he was the rector in the Lubrański academic colony. Finally, he connected his career with Krakow, where in 1702–1704, 1706–1710, 1711–1713 and in 1716 he was the rector of the Krakow Academy and from 1711 he served as the deputy chancellor of that university, and in the Krakow consistory he was entrusted with the function of judge surrogate. In addition, in the years 1698–1725 he was a parish priest in Niegradów. He died on February 15, 1725 in Krakow, having given in his testament 8800 zlotys to the university. He was buried in the cathedral church in Wawel. Cf. W. Baczkowska, *Krupecki Andrzej Grzegorz* in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 15, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1970, p. 405–406; Z. Pietrzyk, op. cit., p. 206.

⁷⁶ A. Krupecki to K. Szczuka, Kraków, 19 II 1714, AGAD, APP, file 163a, vol. 47, p. 141.

⁷⁷ Ibidem, p. 142.

⁷⁸ Cf. U. Kicińska, *Listy Kazimierza Młockiego...*, p. 331–333. See also M. Kamecka, „Do cudzych krajów”. *Edukacyjne podróże szlachty polskiej do Francji w epoce saskiej*, Białystok 2012, p. 62–63.

⁷⁹ Jan Stanisław Kątski was the son of Marcin, castellan of Krakow, and Urszula, née Denhoff, a chamberlain of the Crown. In his youth, he studied abroad and served in the Louis XIV musketeers department. In 1719 he married Wiktoria Szczuka. From 1720 he was the general of the major of the Crown troops, and two years later he was appointed a royal sword-bearer, from 1726 until his death he was a general of the Crown artillery and the head of his pedestrian regiment. After his death in 1727, Stefan Humiecki took care of his only daughter Marianna (died in 1768). Young Kątska was married to Eustachy Potocki, a Lithuanian artillery general, and she brought the huge fortune of Kątski and Szczuka families into the Potocki home; see E. Rabowicz, P. Stok, *Jan Stanisław Kątski h. Brochwicz* in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 12, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1966–1967, p. 314–315.

his death she married Jan Cetner (died in 1734),⁸⁰ great chef of the Crown.⁸¹ To her death Konstancja kept close contact with her daughter, who, together with her children, became the sole heir to the property of the Szczuka family.⁸²

CONCLUSION

When summarising, it should be stated that women in old Poland, especially widows – “have been carrying an extremely busy life,”⁸³ struggling with the problems of everyday life, which resulted primarily from the obligation to maintain the family and multiply family assets. Konstancha Marianna Szczuka, née Potocka also acted in this way, as evidenced by the correspondence and supplications examined for the purposes of this article, and later this picture will probably be complemented by other sources. Currently, the confirmation of her resourcefulness and entrepreneurship should be seen in the words of a Cracovian. A Jordan, a widower who “was impaired by envious judgments which took away”⁸⁴ his wife who was the only “support [of his – U.K.] life,”⁸⁵ appreciated the wonderful attitude of Konstancja during the widowhood, writing to her that – “in your person [...] I have an example that in misfortune you cannot lose hope, but this what two heads used to think about together, this one [Your current – U.K.] should cope [with ease – U.K.] now.”⁸⁶

⁸⁰ Cf. B. Popiołek, *Kobieta zaradna...*, p. 35.

⁸¹ Jan Cetner was the son of Franciszek, the governor of Smolensk, and Anna, née Tarło. He was the great chef of the Crown. He belonged to the group of the most trusted people of August II. Although he tried to marry Anna Orzelska, he eventually married Wiktoria, née Szczuka, the widow of Jan Stanisław Kątski. He died in 1734. Cf. W. Konopczyński, *Cetner Jan, h. Przerowa* in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 3, Kraków 1937, p. 240.

⁸² Cf. B. Popiołek, *Kobieta zaradna...*, p. 39.

⁸³ Eadem, *Między przestrzenią domową...*, p. 32.

⁸⁴ M. Jordan to K. Szczuka, Kraków, 20 I 1714, AGAD, APP, file 163a, vol. 47, p. 136.

⁸⁵ Ibidem.

⁸⁶ Ibidem, p. 136–137.

SUMMARY

PATRONAGE OF KONSTANCJA MARIANNA SZCZUKA, NÉE POTOCKA,
THE WIDOW OF A DEPUTY CHANCELLOR OF LITHUANIA

Women in old Poland, due to their significant participation in the development of both economic activity and economics, influenced the formation of women's patronage, which can be divided into legal, economic, educational, church and artistic. However, in case of the majority of women patrons their protectorate activity coincided with the onset of their widowhood, which involved a change in their legal and material status. This was connected with the property which was bequeathed to a widow at the moment of entering into marriage and which could be managed only after her husband's decease. One of such resourceful widows was Konstancja Marianna Szczuka, née Potocka (died in 1733), the wife of Stanisław Antoni, a deputy chancellor of Lithuania (died 1710). Her exceptional economic and protectorate activity took place during her widowhood period, that is 1710–1733. Konstancja received begging letters and supplications with pleas for her help and support. Noteworthy, however, is her highly developed religious patronage visible in numerous ecclesiastical and monastic legacies, as well as educational patronage, which involved effort to raise and educate her own children. Konstancja died as a role model portraying her as a generous and resourceful widow who not only did not squander the family heritage of the Szczuka, but also significantly contributed to its sustenance and multiplication.

Keywords: patronage, clientelism, widow, widowhood, correspondence

DOI 10.24917/9788380842717.13

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

¹ The article was created as a result of research carried out under the grant of the National Science Center entitled “Benefactresses and clients. The specificity of women’s patronage and clients relations in the Saxon era”, Reg. No. 2015/19/B/HS3/01797.

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, *Kobiecy 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 Żołądz-Strzelczyk for the tips on the Fredro genealogy; see *Ojcowskie synom przestrogi. Instrukcje rodzicielskie (XVI–XVII w.)*, introduction and explanations D. Żołądz-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 Kraków (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 nowożytnej 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

DOI 10.24917/9788380842717.14

Anna Franciszka Zamoyska, née Gnińska as protectress – scope of research¹

Dynamic development of historiography concerning research on the political and economic activity of women shows the spectrum of their activities conducted in the shadow of official or national policy. This was possible, among other things, due to the inclusion of women from the elites into a number of systems and networks of client dependencies.² The latter posed an informal tool used to assert various interests, ranging from minor issues relating to family estate,

¹ The article was prepared under the project funded by the National Center for Science, awarded for the implementation of the scientific grant “Dobrodziejki i klienci. Specyfika patronatu kobiecego i relacji klientalnych w czasach saskich,” based on Decision No. 2015/19/B/HS3/01797, implemented in 2016–2019.

² For more on female patronage, see S. Kettering, *The Patronage Power of Early Modern French Noblewomen*, “The Historical Journal” 1989, no. 32/4, p. 817–841; B.J. Harris, *Women and Politics in Early Tudor England*, “The Historical Journal” 1990, no. 33/2, p. 259–281; A. Johnson, “*Virtue’s Friends*”: *The Politics of Friendship in Early Modern English Women’s Writing*, Miami 2010; B. 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; B. Popiołek, *Kobięcy świat w czasach Augusta II. Studia nad mentalnością kobiet z kręgów szlacheckich*, Kraków 2003; eadem, *Dobrodziejki i klienci. O patronacie kobiecym w XVIII w.* in *Patron i dwór. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej XVI–XVIII w.*, ed. E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, J. Urwanowicz, Warszawa 2006, p. 385–395; 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; A. Słaby, *Rządząca oleszycka*.

through filling offices, military and church vacancies to national politics at the highest levels, giving real power and money.³ The strength of past dignitaries was demonstrated above all by a dedicated group of supporters. Acquiring it was easier because of finances, but above all because of the meticulously and laboriously built network of dependencies, based on close attachment for one another, enforcement of a sense of gratitude and devoted service. Women could easily join in this unofficial range of activities, whether out of necessity (maintaining family estate) or passion, realizing their ambitions and abilities. In the context of discourse over the activity of elites, including women's activities at public level, the issue of maintaining the rights to the ordination by Anna Zamoyska, née Gnińska, until the eldest son Tomasz Józef becomes independent, arises interest. Many years of successful efforts showed that Anna Franciszka, despite many unfavourable circumstances, maintained her position, thus remaining among the elite of the country. It required considerable entrepreneurship, decision-making, flexibility and, most importantly, building a strong environment supporting her efforts to maintain the ordination in a women's management.⁴ This allows us to conclude that there was

Dwór Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej jako przykład patronatu kobiecego w czasach saskich, Kraków 2014 (with references).

- ³ For more on patronage in modern times, see A. Mączak, *Korupcja w dziejach nowożytnych. Przegląd problematyki*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" 1986, no. 3, p. 779–803; idem, *Klientela. Nieformalne systemy władzy w Polsce i w Europie XVI–XVIII w.*, Warszawa 2000; idem, *Nierówna przyjaźń. Układy klientalne w perspektywie historycznej*, Wrocław 2003; idem, *Rządzący i rządzeni. Władza i społeczeństwo w Europie wczesnonowożytnej*, Warszawa 1986 (ed. 2, Warszawa 2002); M. Czeppe, *Kamaryla Pana z Dukli: kształtowanie się obozu politycznego Jerzego Augusta Mniszcha*, Warszawa 1998; U. Augustyniak, *Dwór i klientela Krzysztofa Radziwiłła (1585–1640). Mechanizmy patronatu*, Warszawa 2002; D. Makilla, „Dwór” i „patronat”. *Dwa historyczno-socjologiczne pojęcia w historyczno-prawnym naświetleniu* in *Patron i dwór...*, p. 179–186; K. Kuras, *Współpracownicy i klienci Augusta A. Czartoryskiego w czasach saskich*, Kraków 2010; U. Augustyniak, *Dwór i klientela Krzysztofa Radziwiłła (1585–1640)*, Warszawa 2001; idem, *W służbie hetmana i Rzeczypospolitej: klientela wojskowa Krzysztofa Radziwiłła (1585–1640)*, Warszawa 2004; idem, *Specyfika patronatu magnackiego w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w XVII wieku. Problemy badawcze*, "Kwartalnik Historyczny" 2002, no. 1, p. 97–110; B. Popiołek, *Najniższy podnózek, służa i więzień pański – klientalne listy proszalne czasów saskich*, "Kraakowskie Studia Małopolskie" 2011, vol. XVI, no. 16, p. 151–166; S. Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France*, Oxford 1986; idem, *The Historical Development of Political Clientelism*, "Journal of Interdisciplinary History" 1988, no. 18/3, p. 419–447.
- ⁴ For more on the issue of environmental support in managing the ordination and the fate of the first Ordinatee's widow in Zamość; see P. Tyszka *W cieniu wielkiego kanclerza – Barbara z Tarnowskich Zamoyska*, Warszawa 2015.

a network of connections and groups whose work and support influenced the success of the subtreasurer's widow Zamoyska, and at the same time ask a question: was she only a party seeking support, or did her strong influence result in her becoming the addressee of supplications and requests? Which areas of interest were addressed? And finally, to what extent did she respond to such requests? Consequently, one might also wonder about the existence and scope of her patronage in times of independent rule. Anna's correspondence alone allows to conclude that she maintained a wide corresponding circle, which encourages to take an interest in the issue of protectorate. The basis for tracing the fate of Anna Franciszka, the great subtreasurer, is an extensive correspondence collected in the Central Archives of Historical Records in the Zamoyski Archive and in the Library of Zamoyski Ordination in the National Library. A set of letters from the Zamoyski Archive are mainly letters of Anna Franciszka addressed to her family, mainly to her sons, as well as a large set of letters in an alphabetical order addressed to Zamoyska. It is not possible to discuss the entire activity of Anna Franciszka in such a short text, hence the purpose of this article is only to recognize the scope of the subtreasurer's activities in the area of protectorate and to indicate research postulates in the field of female patronage.

Anna Franciszka Zamoyska, née Gnińska was born around 1655 in the family of the governor of Chełmno, Jan Chryzostom Gniński (died in 1685), later sub-chancellor of the Crown⁵ and Dorota, née Jaskólska⁶ (died in 1679/1682). From the beginning of his political career, Gniński was closely associated with the royal court. In 1645, he participated in a deputation sent by Władysław IV to Paris to bring Maria Gonzaga to Poland and he supported a pro-French party until 1669. After the election of Jan III Sobieski, he became his close associate and a supporter of the royal decisions, in exchange he was appointed a member of diplomatic missions on peace matters with Turkey, as well as a deputy of the royal council or the tax tribunal. The Gniński family had five children – three sons: Jan Chryzostom, the abbot of Wągrowiec, later (from 1690) the Bishop of Kamieniec, Jan, the governor of Braclaw (from 1694 the governor of Pomerania), and Władysław, staroste of Radzyń and Gródek and two daughters:

⁵ Jan Gniński became the sub-chancellor in 1681, after resigning from the post of the governor of Chełmno and accepting ordination as a priest after the death of his wife; see A. Przyboś, *Jan Gniński* in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 18, Wrocław, p. 149–151; Z. Żygulski, *Światła Stambułu*, Warszawa 1999, p. 245, 249, 251, 342.

⁶ H. Wiśniewska, *Świat płci żeńskiej baroku zaklęty w słowach*, Lublin 2003, p. 286, 294.

Anna Franciszka, the wife of Marcin Zamoyski, the great subtreasurer of the Crown, and Konstancja Dorota, Cistercian abbot in Ołobok.⁷

Franciszka grew up in a politically involved house, closely associated with the environment of the royal court. Her parents were keenly interested in the current affairs of the country, Dorota herself was involved in the management of family estate in the absence of her husband. As for the period in question, we are well acquainted with the warm relationship of Anna Franciszka with her parents, especially with her father, with whom she kept lively correspondence, confessing her concerns.⁸ Her family and partner atmosphere of the house definitely influenced her personality, determined attitude and management skills.

In 1675, Gnińska married Marcin Zamoyski, the IV Ordinate, with a huge dowry in the amount of one hundred thousand zlotys.⁹ The Zamoyski family had four sons – Tomasz Józef (died in 1725), Michał Zdzisław (died in 1735), Marcin Leopold (died in 1718), Jan Franciszek and a daughter Marianna Teresa (died in 1751), later Dzieduszycka.¹⁰ Zamoyski died in 1689, and from that time, for fifteen years, until the eldest son, Tomasz Józef, reached majority, Anna Franciszka independently managed the ordination, repelling attacks from the outside (threat from the Swedes) and from the inside – the local government was constantly raising the question of the fortress and ordination being in the women's management.¹¹ The burden of the situation that she had to face, and the importance of managing the ordination by herself,

7 For more on the family and last will of Anna Franciszka, see B. Popiołek and U. Kicińska, *Panie Zamoyskie: Anna Franciszka z Gnińskich, Teresa z Potockich i Urszula z Kalińskich – okruchy biografii w świetle korespondencji i aktów ostatniej woli*, "Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej" 2017, vol. 65, no. 1, p. 19–38.

8 Her father addressed her in an extremely tender way: "Anusinka, with all my heart, my beloved daughter," "Anusia, my beloved daughter from the heart"; see B. Popiołek, *Kobiety świat... pasim*; A. Słaby, *Ojcostwo – relacje ojców i córek w świetle korespondencji okresu saskiego w W kręgu rodziny epok dawnych. Dzieciństwo*, ed. B. Popiołek, A. Chłosta-Sikorska, M. Gadocha, Warszawa 2013, p. 297–309.

9 Citation according to: T. Zielińska, *Kosztowności jako składnik wyposażenia szlachcianek w XVII i XVIII w. in Miasto – Region – Społeczeństwo. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Andrzejowi Wyrobiszowi w sześćdziesiątą rocznicę Jego urodzin*, ed. E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, J. Urwanowicz, Białystok 1992, p. 298–299.

10 Marianna Teresa married Jerzy Stanisław Dzieduszycki (died in 1730), a great royal equerry, in 1702; see H. Wiśniewska, op. cit., p. 294.

11 B. Popiołek, „Forteca w białogłowskich rękach” – kobiety fundatorki i administratorzy zamków i dóbr w czasach saskich in *Zamki i przestrzeń społeczna w Europie Środkowej i Wschodniej*, Warszawa 2002, p. 580–589.

are perfectly understandable after considering the specific legal situation that prevailed in the ordination. Ordination belonged to a particular type of estate that developed throughout modern Europe, but in Poland this term referred to the entire estate on which it was established. The functioning of ordination in the former Polish legal system provided the ordinates with great tools of power and consolidation of estates, and at the same time deprived them, if there was no lawful ordinate heir in the male line. Ordinates were created to secure consolidated estates, by excluding from statutory inheritance, prohibiting alienation and, finally, excluding females from the inheritance.¹² It therefore comes as no surprise that leaving the estate in the hands of a female ordinate, with the prospects of long-term management due to the young ordinate's minority, awoke strong opposition and attempts of the male members of the family to take control over the ordination. Consequently, it was a very active and busy time for Anna. In addition to constantly making efforts to maintain the estate, she tried to organise religious matters in Zamość, brought Basilians to the city, and funded the church to the Poor Clare Sisters and organs for the collegiate church in Zamość. After the death of her husband, in line with the custom in this type of circumstances, Zamoyska could certainly count on a group of friends and servants who wanted to maintain their own *status quo*.¹³ Nevertheless, in order to secure her own position and environment, she had to, first of all, maintain her estate and the rights to ordination for her sons. It kept her busy throughout the last decade of the seventeenth century.¹⁴ To this end, she constantly sought powerful friends and organized the support of the nobles at the local government assemblies to which she sent her representatives. In 1698, Radziwiński informed her about an assembly that was interrupted by someone named Janicki. The sender mentioned to

12 For more on the issue of ordination, see A. Melań, *Ordynacje w dawnej Polsce*, "Pamiętnik Historyczno-Prawny" 1926, vol. VII, no. 2; T. Zielińska, *Ordynacje w dawnej Polsce*, "Przegląd Historyczny" 1977, vol. LXVIII, no. 1, p. 17.

13 Cf. the situation of the servants after the death of the owner of the estate, such as Stanisław Łukasz Opaliński, whose service was taken over by Elżbieta Sieniawska, née Lubomirska, or after her death, when the surrounding environment declared loyalty to her daughter Maria Zofia and asked her for protection and possibility of continuing the service; see A. Słaby, *Dwór Elżbiety Sieniawskiej...*, p. 137, 224, 265.

14 B. Popiołek, „Forteca w białogłowskich rękach” – kobiety fundatorki i administratorzy zamków i dóbr w czasach Augusta II in *Zamki i przestrzeń społeczna w Europie Środkowej i Wschodniej*, ed. M. Antoniewicz, Warszawa 2002, p. 581.

the subtreasurer that – “you need [Janicki – A.S.] as a friend.”¹⁵ In further words he emphasized the importance of gathering loyal friends to push all interests of Anna Franciszka through local government assemblies, as he writes – “the more friends we have, the better.”¹⁶ Konstanty Wapowski [royal master of the pantry? – A.S.]¹⁷ delegated to one of the assemblies informed the ordinate that “as per *requisitio*,¹⁸ I served as much as I could on the past assembly and I wanted to protect your subjects, but there were many stubborn men, and it was difficult to break them to interrupt the assembly, but I did not let them agitate as they wanted, and I could not agitate as I wanted.”¹⁹ Wapowski was constantly assuring that “I will always try to obey your trustworthy commands.”²⁰ Her efforts were supported by her brothers who did not occupy high-ranking offices, but they could influence the local nobility and, above all, they were well-connected by marriage. Jan Krzysztof Gniński (died in 1703), married to Teresa Potocka (died in 1713), gained the support of the Potocki family who were then growing in strength, and with them he became friends with the governor of Bełż Voivodeship – Adam Mikołaj Sieniawski. These relations were even more important because after the death of her brother, Anna Franciszka, to maintain both contacts and the estate, quickly wed Teresa to her eldest son – Tomasz Józef who at that time was the staroste of Płoskirów. Władysław, on the other hand, married Marianna and joined the Szydłowski family.

Zamoyska built her position with the help of old friends of the Zamoyski family. After Marcin Zamoyski’s death, primate Michał Stefan Radziejowski

15 Radziwiński to A. Zamoyska, Łuck, 9 IV 1698, Central Archives of Historical Records (hereinafter: CAHR), Zamoyski Archive (hereinafter: ZA), 532, p. 80.

16 He also mentions people who were addressed by them at that time, namely the Volyn castellan and staroste of Włodzimierz; see to A. Zamoyska, Łuck, 9 IV 1698, CAHR, ZA, 532, p. 80.

17 Cf. “[...] 8. our assembly and resolution were mutually agreed upon, so we sing them with our hands to let everyone know as soon as possible and let the message reach the castles of all three lands. Voivode Jabłonowski general of the Russian Soil, Mikołaj Kossakowski K.K., Stanisław Józef Fredro Castellan of Lviv, Alexander Jabłonowski the great warrant officer of the Crown, Konstanty Wapowski royal master of the pantry [...], Kazimierz Wiszowaty R.J.K.M. Kazimierz Marcin Przedwojewski [...]” see *Laudum zjazdu wiszeńskiego*, Wisznia, 1 XII 1702, “Akta grodzkie i ziemskie z czasów Rzeczypospolitej Szlacheckiej z Archiwum tzw. bernardyńskiego we Lwowie”, vol. XXII, *Castr.Leop.Rel.* 48o, p. 789–798; historia.wiszowaty.pl/dokumenty.htm [access: 25.11.2017].

18 *Requisitio* (Latin) – in this sense it means request (requisition).

19 K. Wapowski to A. Zamoyska, Jarosław, 9 X 1690, CAHR, ZA, 1435, c. 1.

20 *Ibidem*, c. 2.

wrote a letter to the subtreasurer, assuring her of his support – “thank you for your trust, making sure that the friendship I had with the great subtreasurer of the Crown will be maintained with you,”²¹ he also informed her about the situation in Bolimow Forest and made sure that his subjects were cared for. Radziejowski supported Zamoyska, and thus enabled her to act as a protector of others – “I received your letter [about – A.S.] the interest of your (sister) Cistercian abbot in Ołobok [Konstancja Dorota Gnińska].”²² The cardinal, as is clear from his response, was financially supporting the assembly, as he writes that he “long ago began to save [the assembly – A.S.] from collapse” and he assured that he intends to continue with his support “from piety and from righteousness, and most of all to your name that I respect.”²³ The cardinal satisfied other requests of Zamoyska, as in 1700, when her sister obtained a primate’s license and a blessing to go to “Wroclaw of Silesia” in order to visit her niece, i.e. Zamoyska’s daughter. Anna was also interested in the Church’s affairs and she repaid her favours – in the same year, 1700, Radziejowski thanked her for “the recently donated grace in the deanery of Zamość,” i.e. handing it over to the suffragan bishop of Chełm, and he asked her for further assistance in “supporting the suffragan bishop [of Chełm – A.S.]”²⁴ This cooperation was not always successful, which can be seen in a letter from 1701, in which the primate reports on the matter of inns, with which Anna supposedly had links, and ensures that, despite everything, he believes in her loyalty. However, shortly after the relationship with Zamoyska returned to its former track and a year later Radziejowski wrote – “I am pleased with this honour of receiving your letters,”²⁵ he assured of his support and sent Christmas greetings. The primate also informed her about the political situation of the country, especially about the Swedes who threatened the security of her estate. He gave her advice in this regard – “I do not see the need to move away with all the fortune to the Russian countries, because in the current confusion that land seems to be the safest to the Lady who has all protection and fortress.”²⁶ The relationship with Radziejowski, which is undoubtedly considered as friendly,

21 M.S. Radziejowski to A.Z. Zamoyska, Radziejowice, 9 VIII 1689, CAHR, ZA, 532, p. 4–5.

22 The letter is about Konstancja Dorota Gnińska, the sister of Anna Franciszka, Cistercian abbot in Ołobok in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 8, Wrocław 1959–1960, p. 151.

23 M.S. Radziejowski to A.Z. Zamoyska, Łowicz, 27 IV 1699, CAHR, ZA, 532, p. 8.

24 Idem to eadem, Łowicz, 5 VIII 1700, CAHR, ZA, 532, p. 10.

25 Idem to eadem, Radziejowice, 5 IV 1702, CAHR, ZA, 532, p. 15.

26 Idem to eadem, Radziejowice, 29 IV 1702 Warszawa, CAHR, ZA, 532, p. 17.

shows how Zamoyska builds her network of contacts aimed at strengthening her position in the country, but also winning the support of a more powerful person who would be able to provide care for her estate and, consequently, help her family. Their relationship was natural since both estates were adjacent (Zamoyska's Bolimow starosty) and this, among other things, prompted the primate to support and protect Zamoyska – “I take this burden on myself” – he wrote to the subtreasurer in April 1704.²⁷ When it comes to protection of her estate, Zamoyska repeatedly referred to Stanisław Jan Jabłonowski, the Great Hetman of the Crown.²⁸ She also had the support of the Great Chancellor of the Crown, Jerzy Albrecht Denhoff (died in 1702)²⁹ – “with regards to all that you have written in your letter, I would like to serve you willingly and do what I owe to your house, and I ask you to trust my service.”³⁰ The support of powerful, influential people secured not only the rights to the ordination, but also allowed normal management of the estate. This means maintaining structures and relationships that provided continuous functioning of the estate, building capital based on income and, above all, a group of devoted people. All of these factors made it possible for the subtreasurer to undertake protector activities, and residents of her estates turned to her in various situations, “choosing you as the mother and benefactor.”³¹ The letters of people with lower status always included requests for kindness and assurances of servility and readiness to serve. To some extent, it was imposed by the convention of courteous manners towards more powerful people, but also by the desire to guarantee protection for more challenging times. Hence, the greatest curse in such situations was to lose the favour, not always for obvious reasons. Such a situation was experienced by Zofia Dedyńska who knew that the only rescue can be provided by the subtreasurer – “I have become a widow and there is no one who would help me, I am kindly asking for you protection.”³² Despite her efforts to obtain protection of Mrs. Zamoyska, she lost her trust for reasons that were not clear to her, so she suspected that “hateful human jealousy

²⁷ Ibidem, p. 18.

²⁸ A. Zamoyska to J. Jabłonowski, CAHR, ZA, 515, *passim*.

²⁹ Jerzy Albrecht Denhoff (1640–1702), great chancellor of the Crown, bishop of Kamieniec in 1685–1687, Przemyśl in 1689–1701 and Cracow in 1701–1702, Canon of Cracow; see K. Piwarski, *Jerzy Albrecht Denhoff* in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 5, Kraków 1939–1946, p. 113–114.

³⁰ To A. Zamoyska, Tarnogród, 10 I 1690, CAHR, ZA, 507, p. 53.

³¹ Z. Dedyńska to A. Zamoyska, CAHR, ZA, 507, p. 47.

³² Ibidem.

ruined your trust in me. I do not know what I have done wrong against you.”³³ In such situations, the only solution was to gain personal access to benefactors or to send a letter to ask for forgiveness, which Dedyńska sought – “falling at your feet, I am kindly asking for forgiveness and protection that I wish to receive.”³⁴ Typically, one explanation was not enough, so a few letters were sent in situations similar to those of the aforementioned Dedyńska, especially if the matter involved accommodation. Dedyńska tried to solve the problem with her own initiative and proposed a cash contribution: “I have eighteen thousand zlotys which I would like to give to you, asking for accommodation in this country or closer to your side for consolation.”³⁵ After the death of her husband, Dedyńska was harassed and “compressed” by her successors, without having a life estate that she had “with regard to a certain property,” but as she wrote: “I gave way for many reasons” and consequently “I feel like I am sitting in a chamber.”³⁶ Letters of widowed women are therefore the lion’s share of requests for protection, especially if orphaned children were involved and their mothers wanted to secure a better future for them.

Not everyone, however, had the opportunity to meet with the benefactors directly or even send a direct letter, especially if their affairs and even themselves remained anonymous to the state. At that point it became necessary to look for intermediaries/brokers who, having good contact with the patron, were able to obtain favours for others. It was also good to have an intermediary who would support the efforts for various offices and positions in the estate, which pertained to a more affluent nobility, engaged in the public life of the country or administrative life of the estate. The rate of the favour was greater, therefore greater support was needed for those who were seeking this kind of favours. Numerous requests on behalf of subjects or persons seeking promotions³⁷ were brought to Zamoyska by Maciej Radzimiński³⁸ while the subtreasurer was still alive – “the side of this man whom I recommended as the deputy of Lord of regality for the Lady and Benefactor. Where the conscience shows you, Lady and Benefactor, that I am not supporting him for my own interest but

³³ Ibidem, p. 48.

³⁴ Ibidem.

³⁵ Ibidem, p. 50–51.

³⁶ Ibidem, p. 51.

³⁷ M. Radzimiński to A. Zamoyska, 1 VII 1693, CAHR, ZA, 532, p. 28.

³⁸ Maciej Radzimiński, heir of Malic, lieutenant of cavalry troops of Stefan Grudziński, cavalry troop commander from 1693 (died in 1698).

because I see a lot of potential in him,”³⁹ so he requested again – “I bring my request again.”⁴⁰ Two years later, Radzimiński wrote another recommendation of Mr. Dybowski who was first recommended verbally and then through a letter.⁴¹ He also intermediated in lease of the estates, recommending people to offices.⁴² Zamoyska was also addressed by leaseholders – Radzimińska [?], taking the utmost account of the future of her children, she asked – “I give my orphans and myself into your grace and protection, humbly asking you to be our Benefactress.”⁴³ A year later, she begged Zamoyska to let her stay in the former leased property “with the old contract,” it probably concerned the lease in Tomaszów.⁴⁴ At that time, the woman mentioned earlier service provided to the subtreasurer and received help, hoping to extend her care – “as always in every occasion and in my need I received grace and protection from you.”⁴⁵

Begging letters were also addressed to the ordinate by members of the clergy, asking for protection of the funded monasteries and churches that to some extent was regulated by the right of patronage, which defined the duties of the founder and his or her successors.⁴⁶ There were numerous supplications for providing additional support to failing assemblies or requests for support of clerical careers. Zuzanna Radoszewska, a nun, interceded for her nephews. She referred to Zamoyska as a “caregiver of poor orphans,”⁴⁷ she thanked Zamoyska for the “innumerable benefits,”⁴⁸ her family experienced, and recommended it to the “unchanging grace and mercy” of the subtreasurer.⁴⁹ On behalf of her niece, she asked for intercession and support for her intention to go to the convent, because, as she wrote – “she has an inclination to the convent but she does not have a friend who would help her.”⁵⁰ The son of the Radoszewski

³⁹ M. Radzimiński to A.Z. Zamoyska, 24 VI 1693, CAHR, ZA, 532, p. 24.

⁴⁰ Ibidem, p. 25.

⁴¹ Idem to eadem, Krzeszów, 7 VIII 1695, CAHR, ZA, 532, p. 42.

⁴² Idem to eadem, Bieliny, 4 VI 1694, CAHR, ZA, 532, p. 31.

⁴³ Z.J. Radoszewska to A. Zamoyska, Poznań, 24 VIII 1695, CAHR, ZA, 532, p. 41.

⁴⁴ Ibidem, p. 48.

⁴⁵ Ibidem, p. 49.

⁴⁶ See B. Szady, *Prawo patronatu w Rzeczypospolitej w czasach nowożytnych*, Lublin 2003; M. Różański, *Patronat parafii w dekanacie szadkowskim w drugiej połowie XVIII w.*, “Biuletyn Szadkowski” 2010, vol. 10, p. 103–116.

⁴⁷ Z.J. Radoszewska to A. Zamoyska, CAHR, ZA, 532, p. 111.

⁴⁸ Ibidem, p. 108.

⁴⁹ Ibidem, p. 109.

⁵⁰ Ibidem.

family, probably a nephew of the abovementioned Zuzanna, with the support of Zamoyska, was able to receive education and undertake service for the country – as was said by his father “you promised to support him in further service for the Republic of Poland.”⁵¹ All of these supplicants were given consideration, as in one of the subsequent letters, Radoszewska thanked for the support granted to her family and niece.⁵² Zamoyska was looking for support for her brother, as a friendly priest, Dłużewski, wrote – “I am also trying to support the Kamieniec nominee, your brother, in receiving the glory of God, for I have already helped four priests in reaching the cathedral service,”⁵³ while revealing his effectiveness in the promotions of the clergymen. Father Dłużewski was not involved only in religious matters. In the same letter he draws the attention of the subtreasurer to a lucrative staroste, which was put up for sale. He highlighted the importance of a good location and close distance from Warsaw, which made him think that it was: “very comfortable,” at the same time recommending himself for the future: “I am willingly waiting for your orders.”⁵⁴ Further correspondence and arranging business in Lublin indicated that their cooperation continued to move forward – “I remember your command and I intend to help your interest in Lublin.” This is also evidenced by the inclusion of his family in the subtreasurer’s service – “I wrote to my son in Lviv, adjuring him to serve your interests,” and finally by a conventional, but in this case, real assurance of further service: “I am ready to serve you.”⁵⁵ Stanisław Jabłonowski also referred to the right of patronage, he interceded with Zamoyska on behalf of Mrs. Gilbaszewska, widow of Lord Prosecutor of the Crown, asking for support for her son, parish priest in Krzeszów – “I am asking you, the patron of the omitted place, to support him in the grudges and harm he receives from his keeper.”⁵⁶

Zamoyska also received many supplicants concerning military vacancies, Stanisław Jan Jabłonowski wrote on behalf of Stamirowski, his companion from the armoured banner, so that Zamoyska would recommend him to the vacancy after Uliński, warrant officer of the Hussarian banner, the nephew of Jabłonowski.⁵⁷ Zamoyska was also addressed in everyday matters, asking for

51 J. Radoszewski to A. Zamoyska, 2 II 1698, CAHR, ZA, 532, p. 104.

52 Z.J. Radoszewska to A. Zamoyska, CAHR, ZA, 532, p. 111.

53 J. Dłużewski to A. Zamoyska, from a camp, [b.d.], CAHR, ZA, 507, p. 66.

54 Idem to eadem, [b.m.d.], CAHR, ZA, 507, p. 67.

55 Ibidem, p. 73.

56 Jabłonowski to A. Zamoyska, Lwów, 4 XI 1699, CAHR, ZA, 515, p. 20.

57 Idem to eadem, from the camp in Jazłów, 16 IX 1692, CAHR, ZA, 515, p. 8.

friendly favours, like Karol Rey who asked the subtreasurer who was going on a trip to Warsaw to take his wife with her – “let her serve you during this trip”⁵⁸ and “keep her under your protection” – the main idea was to safely reach Warsaw and join her husband who promised to return the favour.⁵⁹

In addition to political matters, Anna was occupied with economic matters that determined her position among the elite. They were also the foundation for building patronage and, consequently, the widely understood policy of prestige. She was interested in even the smallest matters, such as direct requests for specific decisions concerning the seedbed.⁶⁰ This is, however, a separate issue, closely related to economic matters and management of the ordination.

The preserved archives testify to the enormous involvement of the subtreasurer in the life of the ordination, which is reflected in her correspondence. She was interested in a whole spectrum of issues, she tried to know every single detail about her estate to manage it properly. This gave her the opportunity to spread her protectorate over various planes and to build relationships that were helpful in pushing through her own interests. To this end, she had to actively seek support of influential dignitaries, because formal management of the ordination did not belong to her. The quoted excerpts from the ordinate’s correspondence reveal the entanglement in a network of various dependencies, which she had to maintain due to her position. At the same time, they portray her as the creator of arrangements and a friendly group of supporters, acting on her behalf at the local government assemblies, and finally as a benefactor for people who sought promotion or simple grace and support in random situations. In conclusion, Anna Zamoyska represents an interesting attitude of a woman from the turn of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, who, finding herself in a difficult family situation, managed to maintain one of the most important fortresses of the Republic of Poland and hand over the rights to the Zamoyski ordination to her sons. After the death of her husband, she could no longer count on the support of her parents, her brothers occupied middle-ranking offices, and the entire Republic of Poland was interested in the successors of the Zamoyski family, trying to establish custody over them, and thus gain control over the ordination. Maintaining the rights to the ordination required strategic, thoughtful action, based on the loyalty of people around her.

⁵⁸ K. Rey to A. Zamoyska, CAHR, ZA, 532, p. 119–120.

⁵⁹ *Idem* to eadem, CAHR, ZA, 532, p. 119–120.

⁶⁰ Letters to A. Zamoyska, CAHR, ZA, 532, p. 68.

As a result, Zamoyska not only looked for powerful friends who would enable her to pursue her interests, but also became a protector herself. She gained favour of the party, and her letters emphasized the importance of her position and the power of influence given to her through the house that she represented. The title subtreasurer was very prestigious. This is worth emphasising, because as a woman deprived of her husband's influence, she could not directly lobby the process of filling offices, which was the easiest bargaining card to find new friends. This testifies to the strength of her character and the influence she had on shaping the circle of supporters. The quoted correspondence showed a spectrum of issues, concerning various levels, as well as the language and style of the requests. This also shows enormous involvement of Anna Franciszka Zamoyska in creating an environment that would implement her plans, reveals the diversity of connections and effectiveness of the protector's actions. An interesting matter is the organization of economic administration, the extent of patronage and, finally, verification of the existence of patron activities that were not talked about in correspondence filled with political and current affairs. Nonetheless, the issue of the subtreasurer's patronage has not been the subject of many studies and certainly deserves extended analysis. The fate of Anna Franciszka Zamoyska, as well as her environment and the ordination that had no official ordinates would be worth tackling in further research. Her actions should also be compared with other similar cases, when a woman managed an ordination. As in the case of Teofila Zasławska-Ostrogaska (died in 1709)⁶¹ who after the death of her brother Aleksander Janusz Zasławski-Ostrogski (died in 1673) assumed management of the ordination on behalf of her son Aleksander Dominik (died in 1720). After his death, the ordination was once again taken over by a woman – the management was assumed by his sister Marianna Teofila Lubomirska, supported by her husband – Paweł Sanguszko Lubomirski.⁶² After her death, the ordination passed to the only son of the

61 Teofila Ludwika Zasławska, *primo voto* Wiśniowiecka, *secundo voto* Lubomirska (1654–1709), daughter of the governor of Cracow, Władysław Dominik Zasławski-Ostrogski and Katarzyna, née Sobieski, V ordinate of the Ostrogski ordination. In 1671, she married Dymitr Jerzy Wiśniowiecki (died in 1682), and after his death Józef Karol Lubomirski (died in 1702), which prevented the Lubomirski family from raising claims to the ordination; see I. Czamańska, *Wiśniowiccy. Monografia rodu*, Poznań 2007, p. 341–346.

62 Marianna Teofila Lubomirska (1693–1729), the first wife of Paweł Karol Sanguszko, marshal of the Lithuanian court and Lithuanian Treasurer, who was the father of her only son Janusz Aleksander Sanguszko.

Sanguszko family – Janusz Aleksander (died in 1775), who made his mark in the history of the ordination as the VIII and last ordinate. A brief summary of the history of these two ordinations leads to the conclusion that violations of the rules of inheritance in the 18th century were omitted and women assumed management of the estates on behalf of their sons, thus becoming more independent and influential. A more extensive research would allow to formulate general conclusions about women who assumed management of ordinations at the beginning of the 18th century.

SUMMARY

ANNA FRANCISZKA ZAMOYSKA, NÉE GNIŃSKA AS PROTECTRESS – SCOPE OF RESEARCH

In the 18th century, more and more popular it became embracing management of the ordination of the widowed women, who thus wanted to secure the property for posterity. One example is the action of Anna Franciszka Zamoyska, née Gnińska who after the death of her husband, treasurer Marcin Zamoyski, managed for several years ordination Zamoyska until adulthood son. At this time built around themselves a strong party, which enabled her to maintain ordination and boost their own political plans. She became at that time a strong protector, and her actions are part of growing up patronage of feminine at this time.

Keywords: Anna Franciszka Zamoyska, née Gnińska, Marcin Zamoyski, patronage of feminine, women in politics, 18th century, ordination

DOI 10.24917/9788380842717.15

The women's patronage in France in the 18th century. Old patterns and new ideas

The position of women in France before 1789 reflected the tendencies prevailing at that time throughout the Old Continent. Women did not have any political rights and they could not inherit estates (the law differed in this respect depending on the region);¹ they were generally considered weaker and less suitable for participation in public life than men.² Home, family life and private life were considered appropriate for the “weaker sex.” According to the writers of the Enlightenment, women found fulfilment through the role of housewife. At the same time, it was in the age of the Enlightenment when the role of women was significantly redefined in comparison with previous periods. Their status, position, and even biopsychical characterization became the subjects of debate oscillating around women's nature. Antoine-Léonard Thomas in the work published in 1772: *Essai sur le caractère, les mœurs et l'esprit des femmes dans les différents siècles*, emphasized the uniqueness of a woman and her ability to sacrifice, moving in the caustic structures of the surrounding reality.³ The only innovative element in this essay was equalization of men and women's *esprit* which aroused deep indignation of Denis Diderot, who decided to polemize with Thomas (the author of *Essai* owed

1 Ch. Dousset, *Femmes et héritage en France au XVIIe siècle*, “Dix-septième siècle” 2009, no. 244, p. 477–491.

2 The situation of women in the times of ancien régime is described by: M.-J. Bonnet, Ch. Fauré, *Femmes in Dictionnaire de l'Ancien Régime*, ed. L. Bély, Paris 2015, p. 536–540.

3 A.-L. Thomas, *Essai sur le caractère, les mœurs et l'esprit des femmes dans les différents siècles*, Paris 1772.

his fame to this polemic). In the essay *Sur les femmes*, published for the first time in 1773, Diderot followed conservative slogans that could be found in the *Encyclopaedia*, underlining natural and insurmountable differences between the sexes. He argued that women experience some emotions that cannot be seen in men, and thus the Enlightenment idea of universalism does not apply to the “weaker sex.”⁴ The heated debate, which flared up around the differences between men and women that justified the diversity of their political and social statuses, although it concerned previously unknown aspects, did not lead to any revolutionary conclusions, invariably placing women in reality determined by ancien régime. A symbol of educated ladies representing higher class in the 18th century France was the boudoir, while the office associated with a workplace and home management was the exclusive domain of men.⁵

Limited role of women did not rule out their informal participation in various spheres of life. Women were protectresses, they participated in shifts between court factions or, residing in the provinces, exerted various influences, taking advantage of their positions and their acquaintances. A special place in this group belonged to queens and the favourites of rulers, set at the highest levels of government. Expectations were usually very high and disproportionate to their official positions. From a formal point of view, the monarch was the head of state and he made all decisions.⁶ This state did not exclude the existence of an unofficial sphere, which he used to share his thoughts, or consulted trusted people. An iconic figure was themorganatic wife of Louis XIV, Françoise d’Aubigné, known as Madame de Maintenon (1635–1719). The ruler vested exceptional trust in her and allowed her to deal with the most important matters concerning French politics. This royal strategy was extremely flattering to Madame de Maintenon and she did not hesitate to mention her position in correspondence.⁷ Women were also exceptionally active in the fields of culture and art, spreading their patronage and creating their own artistic foundations. One of the most famous ladies in the eighteenth century, Louise-Bénédicte de Bourbon, known as the Duchess of Maine (1676–1753), created a thriving

4 This article uses the edition from 1919. D. Diderot, *Sur les femmes*, Paris 1919, p. 11–12. The various versions of the Enlightenment debate about the position of women are thoroughly analysed by P. Hoffmann, *La femme dans la pensée des Lumières*, Genève 1995.

5 *Codziennosc w dawnej Francji. Życie i rzeczy w czasach ancien régime’u*, ed. M. Figeac, Wilanów 2015, p. 44–45.

6 F. Cosandey, *La reine de France: symbole et pouvoir, XV^e–XVIII^e siècle*, Paris 2000, p. 19–125.

7 N. Zemon Davis, A. Farge, *Histoire des femmes. XVI^e–XVIII^e siècles*, Paris 1991, p. 182.

artistic centre in Sceaux, famous for its performances, concerts and celebrations.⁸ A group of ladies “truly charming in conversation”⁹ was also particularly numerous. The women created the environment of salons, participating in their activities or simply imitating a certain and fashionable behaviour style. Its indispensable element was the activity of women in the fields of patronage, artistic patronage or charity campaigns, making the representatives of the fair sex a particularly dynamic part of the eighteenth-century community.

The presence of women in the culture of the Enlightenment as well as in social and political life was multi-faceted.¹⁰ Women were the subject of philosophical disputes, the muses of artists and they themselves formed or participated in educational and even scientific activities. They occasionally dealt with trade using appropriate education and formal opportunities created by their fathers or husbands, such as Hélène de Meyer Skinner (1771–1854) from Bordeaux who run successful commercial interests at the end of the 18th century on behalf of herself and her family.¹¹ Not all of them deserved to be named as patrons; for most of them, the mere presence in the structures of the “big world” was a sufficient fulfilment of all life ambitions. The figures of these women can be found on the pages of many diaries; they were usually captured when going to the theatre, opera or various parties. At the same time, there was a large group of women who were not satisfied with the participation in the Enlightenment circles. These ladies, paying special attention to the model tested during the centuries based on a combination of commitments and loyalty, pursued their particular or family interests based on client relations, circles of interests or existing relationships. In this regard, they had the existing decades-old patterns and traditional family connections. An institution that promoted a certain vision of female patronage was undoubtedly the royal court, in which the ladies had a stable position since the

⁸ On the subject: C. Cessac, *La Duchesse du Maine (1676–1753). Entre rêve politique et réalité poétique*, Paris 2016.

⁹ H.-L. de Oberkirch, *Wspomnienia*, transl. E.T. Sadowska, introduction S. Meller, Warszawa 1981, p. 18.

¹⁰ D. Godineau, *Kobieta in Człowiek oświecenia*, ed. M. Vovelle, transl. J. Kornecka, Warszawa 2001, p. 401–432. This phenomenon in relation to the previous century was described by: N. Zemon Davis, *Kobiety na marginesach. Trzy siedemastowieczne życiorysy*, transl. B. Hlebowicz, Warszawa 2012.

¹¹ S. Marzagalli, *Mariée et indépendante? Une femme d'affaires à la fin du XVIII^e siècle: Hélène de Meyere, épouse Skinner*, “Annales du Midi: revue archéologique, historique et philologique de la France méridionale” 2006, no. 118, p. 73–84.

creation of the Queen's household (*maison*) by Anne de Bretagne.¹² Patterns based on strong presence of expressive female individualities were perpetuated especially during regency, which in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were successively taken over by Catherine de' Medici, Marie de' Medici and Anna of Austria. The court, sometimes referred to as the "system," that is a complex network of connections between various official and secret groups and factions, was an ideal field for women's activity.¹³ Royal wives and women who belonged to the ruling family had a privileged position. The ambitions of Mme de Maintenon related to influencing the decisions of Louis XIV to obtain support for the loyal people were already mentioned above. Marie Adélaïde of Savoy (1685–1712), the wife of the Duke of Burgundy Louis Ludwig Bourbon, gained an equally strong position at the end of her life. She enjoyed the full confidence of the monarch who allowed her to make independent decisions regarding the members of her court. In this way, the Duchess of Burgundy obtained an irreplaceable possibility of promoting loyal people. She put her closest sympathizers in a small group called a circle.¹⁴ The premature death of Marie Adélaïde in 1712 interrupted the promising career of the protectress in the highest political and cultural circles.¹⁵

The royal court was above all the centre of power, focusing the attention of everyone – including women – interested in political influence. Maintaining a stable position in this group was extremely difficult, and the careers of protectresses were extremely varied. The position of Charlotte-Éléonore-Madeleine de La Mothe-Houdancourt, Duchess of Ventadour (1654–1744), lady of queen Marie-Thérèse Walburge Amélie Christine de Habsbourg, and then the governess of the royal children, was exceptionally stable. She owed her position to a close relationship with King Louis XV; the great-grandson of the Sun King probably owed his life to her common sense and mistrust of the medics' knowledge. The Duchess was also responsible for raising the children of Louis XV and Maria Leszczyńska; hence, her ability to influence the monarch was invaluable. Following the example of her predecessors, the Duchess wanted

¹² C. zum Kolk, *The Household of the Queen of France in the Sixteenth Century*, "The Court Historian" 2009, vol. 14, p. 10–16.

¹³ The concept of the court as a system, based on Memoirs of Duc de Saint-Simon, was presented by: E. Le Roy Ladurie in cooperation with J.-F. Fitou, *Saint-Simon ou le système de la Cour*, Paris 1998.

¹⁴ Ch. de Villermont, *Les Rupelmonde à Versailles 1685–1784*, Paris 1905, p. 75.

¹⁵ J.-F. Solnon, *La Cour de France*, Paris 1987, p. 353–355.

to hand her office over to a member of her family – her original successor was supposed to be Anne-Julie-Adélaïde de Melun d'Espinoy, Princess of Soubise, and after her sudden death in 1724, the position was ceded to her granddaughter, Marie-Isabeau-Gabrielle de Rohan, Duchess of Tallard (1699–1754).¹⁶ However, it is worth mentioning that the strong position of the Duchess did not result only from her friendship with the monarch or her prestigious role at the court. The Duchess was above all a representative of an influential clan that was based on the alliance of old families: Rohan, Lorraine, Gramont, Duras, Mazarin and Mailly, which combined with royal trust, made her a respectful person that could influence the choice of members of the court or the royal administration.¹⁷ An example of her strength, but also the skill of manoeuvring in the court world, was the nomination for an honourable cavalier of the queen, which – contrary to the initial wariness of the monarch – she obtained for her relative, Louis Charles, comte de la Mothe-Houdancourt.¹⁸ It was widely known that the Duchess cared for her family members, successively applying for financial benefits.¹⁹

The influence of royal favourites was much more ephemeral, with the exception of Jeanne-Antoinette Poisson, Marquise de Pompadour. Louise-Julie de Nesle, comtesse de Mailly (1710–1751), the first official mistress of Louis XV, wanted to be considered a mighty woman. To this end, she proudly talked about her actual and alleged successes, which the monarch partially demystified, not wanting to be regarded as overly subordinate to the suggestions of others. Her defeats were an open secret and were commonly discussed in the court, such as the situation in 1740, when she unsuccessfully nominated Michel-Étienne Turgot as the Mayor of Paris. On the other hand, the amount of requests addressed to her, suggest that the royal favourite *ex officio* was considered to be an effective protectress.²⁰ The position of Marie-Anne

16 W.R. Newton, *La Petite Cour: Services et serviteurs à la Cour de Versailles au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris 2006, p. 304–305.

17 J. Rogister, *Queen Marie Leszczyńska and Faction at the French Court 1725–1768* in *Queenship in Europe 1660–1815*, ed. C. Campbell Orr, Cambridge 2004, p. 193.

18 *Mémoires du duc de Luynes sur la cour de Louis XV (1735–1758)*, ed. L.-É. Dussieux, E. Soulié, vol. IV, Paris 1860, p. 253.

19 *Mémoires de Saint-Simon. Nouvelle édition*, ed. A. de Boislisle avec la collaboration de L. Lecestre, J. de Boislisle, vol. XXXVIII, Paris 1926, p. 186, 217–218.

20 *Journal et mémoires du marquis d'Argenson*, ed. E.-J.-B. Rathery, Paris 1859–1861, vol. II, p. 363; vol. III, p. 219.

de Mailly-Nesle, Marquise de La Tournelle and duchess de Châteauroux, was comparable. Her remarkable career at the court was unexpectedly cut short by her death in 1744, and she was soon replaced by Marquise de Pompadour, a woman who was a remarkable adviser to the king and patron of culture and art.²¹ Her best-known successor, Jeanne Bécu, Comtesse du Barry, was so unpopular that she was even called the party's head, indicating the allegedly gigantic influences and unlimited protectionist powers; in fact, the Comtesse's position clearly differed from the image promoted as an act of propaganda, and her impact on the king was minimal.²² A different role was given to Marie Antoinette, the wife of Louis XVI. The queen, following the style of the era, not only invested a lot of efforts and resources in the expansion of Trianon, but also promoted new customs, completely different from those that reigned under Louis XV. This change was illustrated by the conflict between the ruler and Anne-Claude-Louise d'Arpajon, Comtesse de Noailles, known as Madame l'Étiquette, the honorary lady of her predecessor Maria Leszczyńska, and the appointment of her friend, Marie-Thérèse-Louise de Savoie-Carignan, Princess of Lamballe, as a courtier.²³ The dauphin, and then the monarch, was not fond of the caustic standards of behaviour imposed by Versailles and sought to change them (she managed to succeed, much to the indignation of old courtiers).²⁴ The queen, being aware of her position, willingly played the role of a protectress. The newly introduced quality consisted in adopting an active attitude; Marie Antoinette's activity was not limited only to listening to requests and supporting trusted people. She arbitrarily decided to embrace a given persona or initiative with her patronage, sometimes acting impulsively and under the influence of emotions, as in the case of Pierre-Claude de Maurey d'Orville or Yolande-Martine-Gabrielle de Polastron, comtesse de Polignac.²⁵ As a result, she gathered a group of trusted people who participated in the events that she promoted and shared her world of values (at least declaratively).

Women with their patronage were able to gain a particular social position or an exceptional status, for example a widow, which was equivalent to

21 K. Kuras, *Niedoceniana faworyta. Przerwana kariera diuszesy de Châteauroux in Ab Occidente referunt...* „Zachód” doby nowożytnej w badaniach historyków polskich, ed. M. Markiewicz, K. Kuras, R. Niedziela, Kraków 2018, p. 277–290.

22 J.-F. Solnon, op. cit., p. 587.

23 J.-L.-H. Campan, *Mémoires sur la vie privée de Marie-Antoinette*, vol. 1, Paris 1823, p. 50–51, 132–133.

24 Ibidem, vol. 3, p. 87–88; J.-F. Solnon, *Histoire de Versailles*, Paris 2003, p. 290–294.

25 J.-L.-H. Campan, op. cit., vol. 3, p. 101–102; vol. 1, p. 138–139.

gaining financial independence,²⁶ or having access to financial resources of the family or husband. Women had some independence with regard to the matters of the house, for example, Angélique de Fénelon, the wife of Joseph-François-Ignace de Labat, baron de Savignac of Bordeaux, freely shaped the composition of her staff, choosing the ones she preferred.²⁷ She often changed babysitters; her chambermaids were to serve with commitment, and if any of them did not live up to her expectations, she was immediately laid off.²⁸ Baroness de Savignac had to persistently enforce some of the cyclic changes in the staff despite clear disagreement of her husband.²⁹ At the same time, she was able to reward people she appreciated. In 1716, she handed over Luidor to Mme Princeau, who gave her valuable services during labour and confinement.³⁰ Marie-Françoise de Bournonville, duchess and marshal de Noailles (1656–1748), had a completely different position and influences in the court and with the most important French families. The death of her husband, Adriene-Maurice de Noailles, in 1708 barely affected her position and influences, and the Duchess remained a valuable mediator in seeking offices and honours. For example, in 1729, Louis-François-Armand de Vignerot du Plessis Duke de Richelieu owed her the award of *cordons bleu*.³¹ The marshal's position was stable enough to allow her to negotiate the promotion of trusted people (probably a large part of her husband's clients) with influential royal ministers; first, it was Michel Chamillart Marquis de Cany who was responsible for the finances of Louis XIV, then Jean-Frédéric Phélypeaux Count de Maurepas who was the Minister of the Fleet for Louis XV. Their cooperation illustrates just how much the eighteenth-century patron was able to achieve. While Chamillart often referred to financial difficulties of the Crown (which was true, because his ministry fell in the period of the war of the Austrian Succession),³² Maurepas, acting over a dozen years later, guaranteed nomination success. The marshal's efforts concerned various aspects of career development; most often, they

26 Ch. Dousset, op. cit., p. 478–479.

27 *Chronique du Bordelais au crépuscule du Grand Siècle: le Mémorial de Savignac*, ed. C. Le Mao, Bordeaux 2004, p. 418.

28 Ibidem, p. 427.

29 Ibidem, p. 456.

30 Ibidem, p. 468.

31 Duke de Richelieu to Duchess de Noailles, [b.m.], 1729, Bbibliothèque Nationale de France (hereinafter: BNF), MS français 6944, no. 49.

32 Michel Chamillart to eadem, [b.m.], 5 VI 1704; ibidem, no. 15.

included requests for positions distributed by the monarch, but there were also some requests for a raise of salary.³³ Minister de Maurepas was well acquainted with the background of trying for various offices in the fleet; therefore, as soon as he learnt that a person supported by the Duchess had received an office, he did not hesitate to inform her.³⁴

The activity of Duchess de Noailles is a model example of female patronage existing within a wide network of family clientele, whose existence in relation to the Duke and the Marshal's family is beyond any doubt. The influence of Marshal de Noailles reached the Paris parliament, where he located all of his adherents.³⁵ While functioning as part of clans, women usually participated in building a party strategy, developing its plans to strengthen economic and political position, and finally conducting their daily work of strengthening the existing client relationships, among others by replying to correspondence or creating opportunities for personal meetings with important people. Families often established alliances through marriages and, consequently, strengthened cooperation between their clients. A typical example of the functioning of women in a wide spectrum of family connections was the fate of women from the Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain family, who were actively involved in building the potential of united families (according to Sarah Chapman, in this regard women surpassed men who were formally considered family heads).³⁶ Eléonore de La Rochefoucauld-Roye entered the family in 1697, marrying Jérôme de Pontchartrain. She brought an exceptionally valuable element – friendship and recognition of the old aristocracy – to her husband's family of the *noblesse de robe*. Her father was not only a count, but he also came from an environment of princes and dukes, which in itself was a sufficient recommendation. Marie de Maupeou, the wife of Louis de Pontchartrain, the first head of the Parlement of Brittany, general controller and then chancellor, actively cooperated with her husband to stabilize her family's position, taking part in various negotiations and trying to multiply their economic potential. Her

³³ Count de Maurepas to eadem, Marly, 27 I 1728; *ibidem*, no. 7; *idem* to eadem, Wersal, 1 XII 1728, *ibidem*, no. 8.

³⁴ *Idem* to eadem, Marly, 4 X 1731, *ibidem*, no. 9.

³⁵ J.J. Hurt, *Louis XIV and the Parlements: The Assertion of Royal Authority*, Manchester 2004, p. 126.

³⁶ For more details, see S. Chapman, *Patronage as Family Economy: The Role of Women in the Patron-Client Network of the Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain Family, 1670–1715*, "French Historical Studies" 2001, vol. 24, p. 11–35.

interpersonal talents and position on the court were widely appreciated.³⁷ The importance of family connections in the process of creating a client network and pursuing one's own goals is shown in the example of Marie-Françoise de Rochechouart, Princess de Chalais (1686–1771). Her husband, Marquis de Cany, died in 1716. She became known at the royal court in the twenties of the eighteenth century due to her marriage with Jean-Charles de Talleyrand-Périgord, prince de Chalais. In 1725, she was given the post of the lady in waiting. She remained at the post until 1740, after which she made sure that it would be handed over to her daughter, and decided to leave Versailles. The example of Princess de Chalais shows the significance of women in building strong relationships between families at the court, and at the same time shows the reluctance of some women towards the reality of Versailles who left it whenever it was possible.³⁸ This is surprising as a lot indicates that there was a close relationship between her family and the monarch.³⁹

Building a strong family position was probably also one of the goals of all activities carried out by Marquise de Pompadour in the forties and fifties of the eighteenth century. Using her friendship with the king, she took care of her father François Poisson, for whom the monarch purchased Marigny-en-Orxois. That is where he spent the rest of his life (died in 1754), honoured with presents and appreciated by Louis XV and his favourite. The brother of the marquise was “honoured” in a different way. In 1746, Abel-François Poisson received the *survivance* of the post of general director of buildings, arts, gardens and royal manufactories; up until this point, he had a salary of eight thousand livres per year. Trying to cover her family with the royal patronage, the Marquise did not just put her friendship with Louis XV on the line; there are many indications that she was forced to make a series of compromises with the leaders of major coteries, for which she had pay in a certain way (usually mediating in negotiations with the monarch himself and giving her support to the given case).⁴⁰

The forms of patronage were most often associated with the interests of women, their personality, education and spiritual needs. For this reason, the pattern of protectress activity included all religious and charitable activities.

³⁷ Ibidem, p. 17–21.

³⁸ L. Horowski, *Die Belagerung des Thrones: Machtstrukturen und Karrieremechanismen am Hof von Frankreich 1661–1789*, Stuttgart 2012 [CD 2: Prospographie, p. 217–218].

³⁹ *Mémoires du duc de Luynes...*, vol. I, p. 194.

⁴⁰ The issue of creating a network of family influences by the Marquise was widely discussed by R. Muchembled, *Mystérieuse Madame de Pompadour*, Paris 2014, p. 115–121.

The trends were set by Queen Maria Leszczyńska, who, as a religious person devoted to the matters of religion, supported various church foundations, openly opposed the expulsion of Jesuits from France, and participated in the ceremonies of vesture of court ladies, such as Marie-Chrétienne-Christine de Gramont, Countess de Rupelmonde, in 1751. When the court lady chose to live in a monastery, the monarch did not give up her guardianship. A symbol of strong relationship was her presence during the ceremony – the queen gave the countess a white veil which was a sign of the change in her status. She also made sure that she would receive a salary from the royal budget.⁴¹ The abovementioned Duchess de Noailles, due to her position at the court, was considered a good intermediary in dealing with Cardinal André-Hercule de Fleury, responsible for distributing church benefits. In 1731, one of the abbots directly wrote that he perceives her as the only chance to maintain his valuable sinecure.⁴² Female patronage over church initiatives gained popularity in the age of Enlightenment; women were not only more willing than men to enter the monasteries, but they predominated in a respectable group of founders and persons ordering holy masses.⁴³

Women – depending on their financial resources – also played the role of educational patrons. When the daughter of Baron de Savignac, Beaugramont, wanted to continue her education above home based learning, her grandmother bore all costs of keeping her granddaughter in the Sainte-Madeleine pension in Bordeaux. In return, she received regular supplies of a certain type of wine from the baron's cellars, but it was a symbolic compensation.⁴⁴ This casus is characteristic because it constituted a break with the dominant model of a woman-educator, personally responsible for her children's education.⁴⁵ The change of that stereotype was facilitated by patterns from the royal court itself – themorganatic wife of Louis XIV founded a school in Saint-Cyr for two hundred and fifty girls from impoverished noble families. The Marquise was personally involved in the creation of a program of education and recreation for her pupils; she also tried to provide them with a good position in

41 Ch. de Villermont, op. cit., p. 295–302, 304.

42 Abbot de Basterot to Duchess de Noailles, Bordeaux, 15 IX 1731, BNF MS français 6944, no. 55.

43 J. de Viguierie, *Quelques aspects du catholicisme des Français au XVIII^e siècle*, "Revue Historique" 1981, vol. 265, p. 354.

44 *Chronique du Bordelais...*, p. 514.

45 K. Offen, *The Woman Question in France 1400–1870*, Cambridge 2017, p. 43–45.

society by arranging their marriages.⁴⁶ At the same time, Mme de Maintenon, friendships, exercised unofficial control over the education of the future King Louis XV.⁴⁷ The involvement of women in education increased in the second half of the eighteenth century after the publication of, among others, treatises on education by Jean-Jacques Rousseau. A model example of the incorporation of new educational trends was set by Elisabeth d'Aliès de Mondonville, the wife of the head of the Parlement in Toulouse, Valentin Du Bourg (1721–1794). At first, she supervised the education of her children, and then she advised her family and the closest circle of friends on children upbringing (the advices also included such controversial matters as vaccination for smallpox that she clearly supported). Creating her own educational program, she drew from the newest trends of the Enlightenment, primarily inspired by treatises about education. Du Bourg taught commitment in matters of social importance, which she herself showed every day, by visiting prisoners, caring for the sick, or meditating on matters within her husband's jurisdiction. Elisabeth also recognized the need for wide education of the people, but she did not achieve any spectacular successes in this field.⁴⁸

On the other hand, it is difficult to assess the scale of women's interest in education and estimate the scale of their involvement in the development of new trends. This issue cannot be reduced to the activity undertaken in Parisian salons run by, among others, Marie de Vichy-Chamrond, Marquise du Deffand, Julie-Jeanne-Éléonore de Lespinasse and Marie-Thérèse Rodet, known as Mme Geoffrin.⁴⁹ Women, especially in the second half of the century, tracked information about all scientific innovations, not only talking about them, but also actively participating in demonstrations of fashionable mesmerism. Marie-Mathilde, Princess de Bourbon (1750–1822), organized magnetic séances, inviting a wide circle of friends and people interested in “animal

46 M. Bryant, *Partner, Matriarch, and Minister: Mme de Maintenon of France, Clandestine Consort, 1680–1715* in *Queenship in Europe...*, p. 83, 86.

47 M. Fumaroli, *Gdy Europa mówiła po francusku*, transl. W. Brzozowski, J.M. Kłoczowski, introduction A. Grześkowiak-Krwawicz, Warszawa 2017, p. 73–75.

48 Ch. Dousset, *La présidente Du Bourg: diffuser et mettre en pratique ses lectures. Réflexion à partir d'un exemple toulousain* in *Femmes éducatrices au siècle des Lumières*, ed. I. Brouard-Arends, M.-E. Plagnol-Diéval, Rennes 2007, p. 75–92.

49 J. Kowalski, A. Loba, M. Loba, J. Prokop, *Dzieje kultury francuskiej*, Warszawa 2007, p. 362; A. Jakuboszczak, *Sarmacka dama. Barbara Sanguszkowa (1718–1791) i jej salon towarzyski*, Poznań 2008, p. 141–153; M. Fumaroli, op. cit., p. 299–325.

magnetism”⁵⁰. The Enlightenment fervour was also no stranger to women who, in a profound and rational way, sometimes crossing the determined place and boundaries between the sexes, gained a solid place in the world of science. The leading example is the life of Marie-Geneviève-Charlotte Thiroux d’Arconville (1720–1805). Initially, there was no indication that her biography would differ significantly from the pattern dominating in the reality of the epoch: at the age of fourteen, the daughter of a tax collector married a counsellor of the Paris parliament and devoted herself completely to the duties of wife and mother. The breakthrough in her life proved turned out to be smallpox, which she underwent at the age of twenty-three and which completely changed her lifestyle (Mme d’Arconville gave up popular entertainment) and redefined her interests, focusing on areas such as history, physics, chemistry, natural history, biology and medicine. Unlike many women of her time, Mme d’Arconville did not try to create a well-functioning salon. Instead, she focused on independent studies and gathering knowledge through correspondence with great dorms and writers of her time. She was admitted to an anatomy course as one of the few women, and thanks to many years of efforts, she created her own private library and chemical laboratory, which became the basis of her independent studies, which were published anonymously. Her library contained historical works, including descriptions of the life of Marie de’ Medici and Francis II, as well as works devoted to anatomy and chemistry (some of them were translated from English, for example *Traité d’ostéologie* published in 1759). Madame d’Arconville did not create any special science school; perhaps she did not even aspire to do so. An expression of her activity as a patron was the charitable initiatives she undertook in her hometown Meudon. She funded a small hospital ward that was served by Daughters of Charity and she herself took over the financial side of the entire enterprise.⁵¹

Charity activities also included looking after people or groups of people in need. Their choice depended on the patron and her preferences. In this context, one can consider the efforts of the cousin of King Stanisław Leszczyński, Maria Anna, née Jabłonowska, Duchess de Talmond, to become

⁵⁰ H.-L. de Oberkirch, op. cit., p. 141–145; R. Niedziela, *Paryż przed Rewolucją (1774–1789). Obraz miasta w oczach cudzoziemców*, Kraków 2015, p. 159–164.

⁵¹ *Biographie universelle, ancienne et moderne*, vol. 45, Paris 1826, p. 428–430. Mme d’Arconville was mentioned in the publication *Madame d’Arconville. Une femme de lettres et de sciences au siècle des Lumières*, ed. P. Bret, B. Van Tiggelen, Paris 2011.

the patron of Poles arriving at the river Seine.⁵² The initiation of her efforts happened in the fifties and sixties of the eighteenth century. The patronage, which she spread over Poles who came to France, reflected her interests and her personality. The Duchess animated Polish circles present around Queen Maria and was interested in Polish aristocrats who came to Paris. In January 1741, she participated in a presentation of her brother, Stanisław Wincent Jabłonowski, at the French court and the ceremony of giving him the Distinguished Order of the Golden Fleece. In December 1751, she took part in a dinner organized by Maria Leszczyńska for Jan Karol Mniszech and his wife, and after the meal she conferred in the monarch's office together with the queen and Katarzyna, née Zamoyska (with whom she was related). She tried to influence French diplomacy in Poland to defend the interests of the Jabłonowski family (after the death of her brother, voivode of Rawa, Stanisław Wincenty Jabłonowski in 1754, she tried to preserve the left starosties in the hands of her family). In 1761, she facilitated the admission of Józef Aleksandr Jabłonowski, voivode of Novgorod, into the Royal Academy of Sciences (*Académie Royale des Sciences*). A few months later, she asked him to send a letter with information about the history of the reign of Jan III Sobieski (she piloted this initiative in 1755).⁵³ Her goal was to present the figure of her father, whose military achievements (in the opinion of de Talmont) were at the level of Marshal Turenne's feats.⁵⁴ Once again, the Duchess became known as the true, and not only declarative, patron of Poles coming to the French capital after the collapse of the Bar Confederation. In 1772–1773, she assisted Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł (she was his aunt) in Paris, using her contacts to organize his passport and recommendation letters, and she even contacted him with the French ambassador in Turkey. She valued his patriotism and talked about his affairs within the circle of people close to Queen Maria Leszczyńska who died in 1768.⁵⁵ As a person relatively close to the monarch, she must have known that her real influence was small. The Duchess always emphasized her close connection to Poland

⁵² K. Kuras, *Talmont (Talmont) de, Maria Anna z Jabłonowskich (1701–1773)* in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 52, Warszawa–Kraków 2018, p. 132–135.

⁵³ A.M. de Talmont to J.A. Jabłonowski, Paris, 12 IX [1761], the Czartoryski Library in Cracow (hereinafter: CLC), MS 1137 II, p. 41.

⁵⁴ Idem to idem, Versailles, 4 V [b.r.], CLC, MS 1137 II, p. 45.

⁵⁵ Idem to K.S. Radziwiłł, Paris, 12 VIII 1772, Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, AR V, no. 16063.

(she wrote: “je suis polonaise”)⁵⁶ and declared that she did not forget Polish. She remained in contact with representatives of Polish elites through correspondence and was very fond of Poles; she invited those who came to the French capital to visit the Luxembourg Palace. She encouraged Teofila Sapieha, née Jabłonowska to come to Paris with her family; it is possible that she met her in December 1773. At the same time, she accepted members of the Sapieha family – the Lithuanian carver Józef with his wife and Ignacy Bohusz (through whom she encouraged Bar Confederates to emigrate to France and offered them some help).⁵⁷ Her protectionism should be assessed with caution. The Duchess was not a particularly wealthy person (King Stanisław took care of her financial security), but she tried to use the relationships she had made in France when taking care of the Poles, especially the members of her family. Her patronage included primarily her family and close friends, whom she could offer an introduction to the royal palace, basic information about the functioning of the court and position of individual persons. The activity of Duchess de Talmond was typical of the mid-eighteenth century. She found an original, but not demanding niche, which enabled her to feel a part of the world represented by Mme du Deffand, Marquise de Pompadour or other women involved in salon discussions or significant social problems.

CONCLUSIONS

Women in eighteenth-century France undertook the role of patrons, as long as it suited their social position, family aspirations and financial resources. Women gathered around the royal court were exposed to expressive patterns that created wives or favourites of rulers and their imitation was often part of family policy. The involvement of women in cultural, social, educational, charitable and even scientific activities was fostered by the growing belief in the anachronism of old patterns concerning the place and role of women in society, which culminated in debates regarding their place in public space and their rights during the French revolution.⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Idem to J.A. Jabłonowski, Paris, 7 X 1763, CLC, MS 1153 III, c. 209–210.

⁵⁷ *Z pamiętnika konfederatki księżnej Teofili z Jabłonowskich Sapieżyńny (1771–1773)*, ed. W. Konopczyński, Kraków 1914, p. 144.

⁵⁸ For more details, see T. Wysłobocki, *Obywatelki. Kobiety w przestrzeni publicznej we Francji przełomu wieków XVIII i XIX*, Kraków 2014.

The activity of women in the eighteenth century was synchronized with the dynamics of the epoch; at first, the prevailing patterns were those promoted by the court, which, together with the development of the Enlightenment ferment, included growing circles of women devoted to increasingly diverse forms of patronage. Women in France were active not only in salons, but also in the fields of science and art. At the same time, they continued to undertake traditional and proven forms of activity, such as church foundations or charity.

SUMMARY

THE WOMEN'S PATRONAGE IN FRANCE IN THE 18TH CENTURY.
OLD PATTERNS AND NEW IDEAS

The aim of the paper is to analyze various forms of women's patronage in the 18th century France, taking into account the social and material position of women. In the Enlightenment period, women benefited from best practices promoted by the royal court, successive queens and royal favorites. The development taking place in the 18th century not only intensified intellectual life, but also slightly modified the place of women in the society. As a result, women became an indispensable part of the Enlightenment culture, occupying an important place in literary salons. At the same time, they continued their traditional patronage activity, expanding its spectrum and possibilities in line with the spirit of the epoch.

Keywords: women's patronage, France, 18th century, the French court

DOI 10.24917/9788380842717.16

Izabela Czartoryska's arts patronage

Izabela Czartoryska, née Flemming, one of the most influential women from the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, drew attention both in her times and in modern times. Her colourful private life as well as her patriotic and cultural activities were of significant interest. Together with her husband Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski, she co-founded the Puławy court, the second, next to the royal court in Warsaw, most important political and cultural centre of the Republic of Poland of that time. She was known as a collector and creator of the first Polish museum, initiator of landscape gardens, inspiration for theatrical performances, writer and patriot who took part in the political events of the turn of the century.

One of the fields of her activity was artistic patronage. However, unlike the literary, collector, educational or patriotic activities of Izabela Czartoryska, this issue has not been discussed separately. The authors of various elaborations usually only briefly mention that she was a patron of art. A relatively largest number of information on this subject can be found in the works of art historians analysing either the activities of outstanding artists of the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries,¹ or individual works.² This state of affairs raises the question of whether Izabela Czartoryska could be described as a patron

¹ See, for example: M. Kwiatkowski, *Szymon Bogumił Zug. Architekt polskiego oświecenia*, Warszawa 1971; T.S. Jaroszewski, *Chrystian Piotr Aigner – architekt warszawskiego klasycyzmu*, Warszawa 1970; S. Lorentz, *Efraim Szreger – architekt polski XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1986.

² See, for example: M. Kwiatkowski, *Powązki*, "Rocznik Warszawski" 1969, vol. 9, p. 123–161; idem, *Powązki Czartoryskich. Zug czy Szreder?*, "Zeszyty Wolskie" 2008, no. 9, p. 3–18; J. Putkowska, *Warszawska podmiejska rezydencja Izabeli Czartoryskiej w Powązkach*, "Kwartalnik Urbanistyki i Architektury" 2008, no. 3, p. 20–32.

of art, and if so, what was the scope of this patronage and was it a separate activity unrelated to the broad artistic and scientific activity of her husband.

Izabela was not a scholar, she did not have a solid and broad education. She was self-taught and gained her knowledge through reading, traveling and conversing with artists and scholars. “The specific »renaissance« of the her interests – as Alina Aleksandrowicz writes – has [...] the characteristics, as many other representatives of the epoch, of humanistic encyclopedicism, curiosity with many manifestations of life, sciences and arts.”³

Izabela, born in 1746, was orphaned by her mother and brought up at the court of her grandmother, Eleonora Czartoryska. She did not receive any education. At the age of fifteen, she married Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski, who was twelve years older.⁴ Through marriage, she entered the social and intellectual elite of Europe, which made it possible for her to establish an extensive network of contacts and gain the opportunity to constantly expand her knowledge. Above all, however, she had the opportunity to be a member of the court of Adam Kazimierz, whose life moved in two currents. The first, most noticeable one was the current of an active social life and the second, deeper one – “a serious intellectual and national movement.”⁵

It was a modern court that was not created by a former type of clientele, but carefully selected persons, “a group of friends looking for manners and teachings, writers, poets, artists, youth, whom the Duke always eagerly gathered around himself.”⁶ The court was predominantly Polish, although there were times when most employees were foreigners, such as specialists, artists, gardeners and craftsmen, like James Savage, who had a decisive influence on the shape of the Puławy Park.⁷

Czartoryski had close relations with the artists. Some of them were members of the household, others were employees and clients engaged in artistic activities.

³ A. Aleksandrowicz, *Izabela Czartoryska. Polskość i europejskość*, Lublin 1998, p. 8.

⁴ H. Waniczkówna, *Czartoryska (Izabela) Elżbieta* in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. IV, Kraków 1938, p. 241; Z. Kuchowicz, *Wizerunki, niepospolitych niewiast staropolskich XVI–XVIII wieku*, Łódź 1972, p. 380–381, 390.

⁵ S. Lempicki, *Opiekunowie kultury w Polsce*, Lwów 1938, p. 53.

⁶ L. Dębicki, *Puławy (1762–1830). Monografia z życia towarzyskiego, politycznego i literackiego*, vol. I, Lwów 1887, p. 153.

⁷ Z. Gołębiowska, *Angielskie wzorce i inspiracje w życiu dworu puławskiego na przełomie XVIII i XIX wieku*, “*Annales Universitatis Mariae Curie-Skłodowska Lublin–Polonia*” 1991/1992, vol. XLVI/XLVII, sectio F, p. 212.

This was the case for Jan Piotr Norblin or Franciszek Dioniz Kniaźnin, who were employed as educators and teachers of Czartoryski's children. Franciszek Karpiński and Jan Ursyn Niemcewicz were adjutants of the duke. Józef Szymanowski, Franciszek Zabłocki, Jan Paweł Woronicz and many other artists were very much attached to the court of the Czartoryski family.⁸ Others, such as Piotr Aigner, were connected to the Czartoryski family through patronage.

The attitude of the Czartoryski family to artists is evidenced by the salaries paid to them. They were not too high. For example, Kniaźnin, who "served in Puławy as the court poet and teacher, was valued disproportionately lower than a cook, a treasurer or a plenipotentiary, because he received one thousand five hundred zlotys a year."⁹ The main gardener Savage received two thousand eight hundred zlotys for his work, a bonus from personal resources of the duchess, a flat with firewood and light, and one sixth of the propagated plants.¹⁰ For comparison – the cook's salary was sixty-four thousand three hundred zlotys a year.¹¹

The Czartoryski court competed with Warsaw of Stanisław August Poniatowski, and the Czartoryski family brought their own original proposals and culture-formative potential which was largely influenced by Izabela, referring to "the model of the French ladies," protectresses of the arts and sciences.¹²

We do not know what were the beginnings of Izabela's interest in art. It does not, however, seem as if she had a solid preparation in this field, which can be evidenced by her words in one of the letters sent to her son, Adam Jerzy, who was in Italy: "You are surprised – writes Izabela – that I do not order my employees to prepare paintings or statues. They are expensive, and I am not very fond of them."¹³

She did not strive for conscious and planned promotion of specific artists or certain trends in art. She usually used the help of artists already associated

8 L. Dębicki, op. cit., vol. I, p. 156, 164; idem, *Puławy (1762–1830). Monografia z życia towarzyskiego, politycznego i literackiego*, vol. IV, Lwów 1888, p. 41; H. Jurkowska, *Pamięć sentymentalna. Praktyki pamięci w kręgu Towarzystwa Warszawskiego Przyjaciół Nauk i w Puławach Izabeli Czartoryskiej*, Warszawa 2014, p. 246–247, 286.

9 G. Pauszer-Klonowska, *Pani na Puławach. Opowieść o Izabeli z Flemmingów Czartoryskiej*, Warszawa 2011, p. 198.

10 Z. Gołębiowska, op. cit., p. 212.

11 G. Pauszer-Klonowska, op. cit., p. 198.

12 A. Aleksandrowicz, op. cit., p. 13.

13 *Listy księżny Izabelli z hr. Flemmingów Czartoryskiej do starszego syna księcia Adama*, gathered by S. Duchńska, Kraków 1891, p. 49.

with the Czartoryski court. The art and artists served her to achieve the intended goal – a splendid lifestyle. The art – architecture and garden art, theatre performances, literature – was supposed to lead to that goal. The implementation of the project in Powązki was supposed to create the perfect place for a peaceful life and upbringing of children in the spirit of Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s pedagogy. The palace and park complex in Puławy is the result of her fascination with the past and eruption of patriotic feelings. Both projects – Powązki and Puławy – had a common denominator, which was the cult of nature evident in the creation of English landscape parks. The choice of both lifestyles and the way of their implementation were influenced by Izabela’s literary fascinations, travels and personal preferences, and above all her personality – the type of her emotionality entering into exaltation, the innate sense of taste and aesthetics, the fascination with nature and history, and finally patriotism.

A stimulus to gather more knowledge about artistic issues was also Izabela’s collector’s passion, as Ludwik Dębicki writes, along with the construction of Puławy and building up collections, she began to read books and complete the “very superficial education she received, insufficient knowledge that she gathered around the world.”¹⁴

At the same time, it is worth distinguishing her patronage activity from her collector’s activity. In this article, patronage is understood as a specific type of behaviour consisting in the direct involvement of the patron in the life of the artist and the creation of a given work as well as the inclusion of this work in the general circulation of values,¹⁵ in a situation where the individual preferences of the patron have a wider impact of “shaping specific trends and patterns that in certain situations might become a valid cultural norm.”¹⁶ There is no doubt that this statement refers to the activities undertaken by Izabela Czartoryska. The works created under her influence fostered the development of two trends in Poland: sentimentalism and preromanticism. It cannot be denied that the works created within her circle, especially those concerning dissemination of knowledge about the past and strengthening patriotic attitudes, had a significant educational influence.

¹⁴ L. Dębicki, op. cit., vol. I, p. 99.

¹⁵ K.M. Dmitruk, *Wokół teorii i historii mecenatu* in *Z dziejów mecenatu kulturalnego w Polsce*, ed. J. Kostecki, Warszawa 1999, p. 15.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 21.

Izabela's first independent project was an architectural design of the park in Powązki, realized in a sentimental trend. The Czartoryski family started to lease Powązki in 1770, and Izabela decided to use it set up her village residence to complement the city residence, which was the Blue Palace in Warsaw.¹⁷ She wanted to create an ideal place for raising children in close proximity to nature and away from strangers, but also an enclave of privacy available only to family members and close friends. Prestigious considerations also played an important role.

The main initiator and author of the whole concept was undoubtedly the owner herself, drawing inspiration from similar projects realized in England and France, especially the Parisian Petit Trianon, which she saw during her visit in 1769. Zygmunt Batowski claims that Jan Piotr Norblin played an important role in shaping the concept of the residence. Both of them have contributed a lot, as is mentioned by Marek Kwiatkowski, "when it comes to giving the Powązki a proper atmosphere and establishing a content program."¹⁸

Norblin was closely affiliated with the Czartoryski family. Born and educated in France, he met Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski who was traveling through Europe in the 1770s. The Czartoryski family involved him in their activities during his stay in London. They employed him as a drawing teacher for their children and they brought him to Poland in the spring of 1794. Norblin still worked as a drawing teacher for the children of the Czartoryski family, for which he received a salary, he was also a court draughtsman, artistic advisor, organizer of theatre performances. He was their client, but also a friend – he even had his own hut in Powązki. As an artist, he decorated the walls of the Powązki houses with paintings "in the manner of Watteau." He also saved Powązki from oblivion, perpetuating their views on paper at the request of his other patron, Helena Radziwiłł, née Przeździecka.¹⁹

In order to implement such a large project as Powązki, one of the most magnificent suburban residences of Warsaw from the second half of the 18th century, it was necessary to employ architects, painters, gardeners and highly qualified craftsmen. However, the most important aspect was a detailed

¹⁷ M. Kwiatkowski, *Powązki...*, p. 126.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 148–149.

¹⁹ L. Dębicki, *op. cit.*, vol. IV, p. 49, 50; J.M. Michałowski, *Jan Piotr Norblin in Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. XXIII, Wrocław 1978, p. 174–177; M. Kwiatkowski, *Powązki...*, p. 132; A. Kępińska, *Jan Piotr Norblin*, Wrocław 1978, p. 14.

plan determining the works that commenced in March 1771.²⁰ Due to the lack of archives and any architectural documentation, it is difficult to determine the author of the project.²¹ According to Marek Kwiatkowski, it was Szymon Bogumił Zug,²² and according to Stanisław Lorentz – Efraim Szreger (Schreger), a highly appreciated architect who worked for Adam Kazimierz in the seventies of the 18th century in the modernization of the Blue Palace and his sister Izabela Lubomirska during the construction of a residence in Mokotów.²³

A large part of the vast landscape park in Powązki was covered by a pond, meadows, artificial caves, cascades and islands. In the central part, one could find luxuriously decorated thatched roof houses located on an artificially elevated hill. The largest one belonged to Izabela, and smaller to children and friends of the family. The property also included the ruins of a colonnade, triumphal arch and amphitheatre. Two inns and a farm were connected with the park.²⁴

In 1789, the Czartoryski family gradually moved to Puławy, and Powązki slowly lost its meaning. In 1794, the Prussians devastated it, then the land was sold and the next owner build a brewery and a tobacco factory. Before the First World War, there was a military cemetery, and in 1944 the Powązki property was burnt.²⁵

Izabela's second project was an architectural design of the garden in Puławy, realized in a preromantic trend. She was the initiator and the soul of all artistic activities undertaken in Puławy, inherited by Adam Kazimierz after his father.²⁶ The artistic concept was part of Izabela's new plan, aimed at transforming Puławy into a centre of patriotism, in which the cult of the past encourages optimism about the future. It was an expression of her new fascinations – patriotic and historical. In Puławy, the past and the future, nature and history, Poland and Europe were supposed to intertwine to form a compact whole. The main goal was to commemorate the past to lift up the spirit of the nation. The park and architecture constituted the setting for the activity of the Puławy court and collector's passion of Izabela. Thus, architecture and

²⁰ J. Putkowska, op. cit., p. 26.

²¹ M. Kwiatkowski, *Powązki...*, p. 123.

²² Ibidem, p. 148–149. Cf. idem, *Szymon Bogumił Zug...*; idem, *Powązki Czartoryskich...*

²³ S. Lorentz, op. cit.

²⁴ M. Kwiatkowski, *Powązki...*, passim.

²⁵ Ibidem, p. 154, 157.

²⁶ T.S. Jaroszewski, op. cit., p. 106.

garden art played a major role, but other branches of art were also included in Izabela's vision: theatre, music, literature, craftsmanship and painting. All this was to create a compact whole.²⁷

Not everything in Puławy is the result of Izabela's work. She was definitely the inspiration for the garden with small garden architecture, the originator of the Greek House, Marynka Palace, Temple of Sybil, Gothic House, perhaps even the reconstruction of the Puławy Palace.

The announcement of new fascinations and a new lifestyle for the duchess was the play *Mother of Spartan*, modelled on Greek tragedy, staged in the summer of 1786 in Puławy. It was an opera with a patriotic implication and Izabela played one of the parts.²⁸ The play, even though it was not very good, was popular across the country, as it was a manifestation of Izabela's political interests and patriotic feelings. The text was written by Książnin. He often wrote texts for similar performances, as the custom of organizing amateur dramatics began in Powązki, and was continued in Puławy. The performances were usually staged only once and were intended for a small group of spectators. Apart from Książnin, the texts, according to Dębicki, were written by Niemcewicz, who was a friend of the Czartoryski family.²⁹ The Czartoryski family were also associated with Franciszek Lessel who was the author of lost music. His father created the court orchestra, and Franciszek himself gave concerts in Puławy and composed music at the request of the duchess. He was also unhappily in love with her illegitimate daughter, Cecylia Beydale.³⁰

The new fascinations of Izabela manifested themselves in the creation of the Puławy Park and other architectural works. Izabela focused her attention on the arrangement of the park. Her interest in garden art surfaced earlier, and was expressed in the fascination with the poem *the Gardens* written by Jacques Delille. Izabela commissioned its translation to Franciszek Karpiński as soon

²⁷ H. Waniczkówna, op. cit., p. 242.

²⁸ G. Pauszer-Klonowska, op. cit., p. 96, 103, 129. The duchess liked acting so much that at her request Książnin wrote another play, this time it was a comic opera *Gypsy*, staged in the autumn of 1786 in Siedlce in the property of Hetmaness Ogińska. The music was written by Michał Ogiński.

²⁹ L. Dębicki, op. cit., vol. IV, p. 41.

³⁰ H. Rudnicka-Kruszewska, *Lessel Franciszek in Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 17, Wrocław 1972, p. 93–94. For more details, see Z. Burowska, *Franciszek Lessel – rys biograficzny* in *Franciszek Lessel. W 200 rocznicę urodzin kompozytora*, ed. M. Podhajski et al., Gdańsk 1980, p. 57–61; H. Rudnicka-Kruszewska, *Sprzeczne informacje o Franciszku Lesslu. (Przyczynki biograficzne)* in *Franciszek Lessel. W 200 rocznicę...*, p. 69–82.

as the poem was published (1782). Karpiński translated the text together with his pupil, Izabela's daughter, Maria Anna (then Wirtemberska) as part of the lesson on the Polish language and literature.³¹ Czartoryska met the author of the poem during her stay in Paris, but personal contact developed after the translation of the work into Polish. Czartoryska and Delille corresponded with each other, and the description of the Puławy Park, included in the second extended edition of the poem from 1801, was provided to Delille by Izabela herself. Delille's works became more popular though the Duchess.³²

Izabela favoured the concept of a picturesque landscape garden, promoted by Delille, based on "the assumption of open space, the composition of which allows us to read the order of nature itself, not the order created by man" and providing "important elements to the aesthetic and cultural assumptions of Puławy. These were assumptions that opposed the classicism of Stanisławowski style."³³

The park was created by gardeners that were brought for this purpose by Izabela: first Jan Jan Bogusław Rychter from Germany, then James Savage from England and Dionizy Mac Clair from Ireland (Mikler in Polish version). The most renowned gardener, Savage, was initially employed for three years, but he became permanently associated with Puławy. From 1794, he was the main gardener, he also supervised all gardens, the staff and gardening equipment.³⁴

The garden was expanded, rearranged and given a romantic and landscape character. Izabela filled it with a lot of stones and monuments with commemorative inscriptions devoted mostly to the family and friends of the house.³⁵ Her thoughts and experiences related to arranging the garden were recorded in her book *Myśli różne o sposobie zakładania ogrodów* published in Wrocław in 1805 by Wilhelm Bogumił Korn. The artwork for the book was made by Jan Zachariasz Frey, who from 1804 was the court painter of Puławy.³⁶

More architectural objects were placed in the park setting. The first is a picturesquely situated conservatory called the Greek House (1778–1791), and then a palace in the Corinthian style called the Marynka palace (1790–1794),

31 F. Karpiński, *Pamiętniki*, foreword P. Chmielowski, Warszawa 1898, p. 99.

32 A. Aleksandrowicz, op. cit., p. 41–42.

33 Ibidem.

34 T.S. Jaroszewski, op. cit., p. 107; Z. Gołębiowska, op. cit., p. 193, 212; G. Pauszer-Klonowska, op. cit., p. 129, 201, 205.

35 T.S. Jaroszewski, op. cit., p. 107.

36 G. Pauszer-Klonowska, op. cit., p. 212.

designed for Izabela's daughter Maria and her husband. The author of both projects was Piotr Aigner, the court architect of the Czartoryski family.

During the Kościuszko insurrection, Puławy was destroyed by the Russians. Izabela returned in the summer of 1796 and from that moment, until 1806, Puławy enjoying well-earned rest. The palace was reconstructed, although Adam Kazimierz had a decisive voice. The palace gained a new shape, and the interiors were renovated. Puławy was rebuilt by a team of architects, including Piotr Aigner, Wojciech Jaszczold and Joachim Hempel. Norblin and his assistant, Aleksander Orłowski, an excellent painter, draftsman and graphic artist³⁷ recommended by Izabela, had a huge share in the works carried out in the interiors. The palace did not survive in its form to modern times, it is known from Norblin's paintings and from memoirs.

Piotr Aigner was the most outstanding architect working in Puławy. The talented boy, the son of a master carpenter from Puławy, drew attention of Stanisław Kostka Potocki who sent him to study in Italy. Upon his return, Aigner was a military builder and professor at the School of Engineers. During the insurrection, he worked in the Weaponry Department of the War Commissariat.³⁸ He was employed in Puławy in the late 80s of the eighteenth century, and at the turn of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, "he finally confirmed his unrivalled position as the main architect in Puławy."³⁹ "As Izabela's general adviser in matters of architecture, Aigner, with gardener James Savage, shaped Puławy" – says Tadeusz Stefan Jaroszewski.⁴⁰ Puławy brought Aigner fame and promotion.

However, the permanent court architect was Joachim Hempel, who took up this position in 1785 and held it until his death in 1810. Aigner and Hempel shared responsibilities. Aigner prepared designs, and Hempel was the contractor of those designs. Aigner worked independently, without being subject to Hempel. His designs were approved directly by the Czartoryski family.⁴¹

In 1796, Puławy, in line with Izabela's plan, were slowly transformed into a "small homeland." An important factor contributing to this transformation was the development of Izabela's collector's passion, related to national memorabilia. Czartoryska decided to construct a separate building – the Temple

³⁷ Ibidem, p. 136–137, 193, 196.

³⁸ Ibidem, p. 233.

³⁹ T.S. Jaroszewski, op. cit., p. 28.

⁴⁰ Ibidem.

⁴¹ Ibidem.

of Sybil devoted to various memorabilia.⁴² Aigner was the one who proposed the construction of a building modelled on the Roman Temple of Vesta in Tivoli. He built a cork model that the Duchess later placed in her museum. This model has not been preserved to modern times.⁴³

In the winter of 1798, employees started to transport granite stones on sleighs and carts. The foundation stone lying ceremony took place on the day of Zofia Czartoryska's wedding with count Stanisław Kostka Zamoyski (May 20, 1798), and Książnin wrote a poem to commemorate this occasion. The construction lasted from spring to autumn of 1799. The Duchess was personally involved in the construction and it is said that she handed over bricks to her employees to speed up the work.⁴⁴ Izabela systematically informed her son Adam Jerzy about construction progresses. On February 23, 1800, she wrote: "I want to finish my temple this year, so I have to save all of my money for this purpose, refusing even the slightest fancy."⁴⁵ In the summer of that year she reported: "The temple underground is finished, and the whole temple will be finished next year."⁴⁶ In 1801, she wrote with satisfaction: "The temple is finished. It is magnificent; I cannot keep my eyes off of it. Everyone admires my temple."⁴⁷

The Temple of Sybil was one of the first buildings, not only in Europe, but also in the world, specially designed for museum purposes. From the museological point of view, its interior is exquisite.⁴⁸

The temple was located on the edge of a high embankment falling towards the Vistula River. An inscription, constituting the message of the entire concept chosen for buildings in Puławy, was placed above the entrance: "The Past of the Future." The temple was shaped like a rotunda covered with a dome. A colonnade surrounded the top storey built of stones. Natural light was getting into the building through a dome illuminating its interior. "The temple had an almost mystical atmosphere – writes Zdzisław Żygulski – saturated with

42 H. Waniczkówna, op. cit., p. 243, 245.

43 Z. Żygulski jun., *Dwieście lat Muzeum Księżąt Czartoryskich* in „*Czas! Ludzie! Ich dzieła!*” *Teatr obrazów księżnej Izabeli Czartoryskiej. Obrazy i miniatury z Domu Gotyckiego i Świątyni Sybilli w Puławach*, the concept of D. Dec, J. Wałek, Kraków 2001, p. 29.

44 L. Dębicki, op. cit., vol. I, p. 99.

45 *Listy księżny Izabelli...*, p. 49–50.

46 *Ibidem*, p. 66.

47 *Ibidem*, p. 73.

48 Z. Żygulski jun., op. cit., p. 27.

a bluish light flowing from the oculus, covered with amethyst glass. Visitors did not even have to move; they could look at the entire display area from one spot.⁴⁹

The bottom storey made of brick embedded in the slope was the foundation of the top one. In comparison with the upper room, it was a dark crypt located underground. The Duchess intended to place a symbolic tomb made of black marble with the inscription: "Valiant Poles," but ultimately it was decided to place a memorial obelisk of Prince Józef Poniatowski.⁵⁰

Another building that was built in the Puławy Park was the Gothic House. Buildings of this type were trendy in contemporary romantic architecture, and Izabela saw similar ones during her travel across England. The house was also an expression of her fascination with gothic and knight tradition, characteristic of the Romantic age. The design and construction of the building was entrusted to Aigner, and its magnificent interior was created by Wojciech Jaszczold (architect, painter and stucco decorator) and Fryderyk Bauman, assistant and student of Aigner.⁵¹

The building was embedded in the surrounding greenery. The interior, lit with colourful light coming through the medieval stained glass windows, created a mysterious atmosphere. It was the place where Izabela kept the collected monuments of foreign origin. The house walls were decorated with, among others, paintings of Leonardo and Rafael brought by Adam Jerzy from Italy and Rembrandt (bought from Norblin). The ceremonial inauguration took place in 1809.⁵²

The Puławy Park was a source of inspiration for many writers. Książnin wrote many works under the inspiration of Izabela, Niemcewicz created the poem *Puławy*, Karpiński wrote idylls and, with her encouragement, translated the *Gardens* written by Delille, Woronicz was the author of the poem the *Temple of Sibyl*, the verses of which were engraved on the trunks of park trees.

From 1811, Izabela spent more time in Warsaw and she finally moved to Sieniawa in 1812. In the subsequent years, she circulated between Puławy and Warsaw. She was still interested in art, maintaining contact with the literary community and dealing with theatre. Puławy was destroyed during the

⁴⁹ Ibidem, p. 29.

⁵⁰ J.J. Dreścik, „Otwieram świątynię pamięci”. *U początków Muzeum Czartoryskich* in „*Czasy! Ludzie!, Ich dzieła!*”..., p. 14.

⁵¹ Z. Żygulski jun., op. cit., p. 31; T.S. Jaroszewski, op. cit., p. 106, 134.

⁵² Z. Żygulski jun., op. cit., p. 31; A. Aleksandrowicz, op. cit., p. 243.

November Uprising, but Izabela managed to hide collections of the museum and the library.⁵³

The Puławy project, according to Zdzisław Żygulski, “was a flourishing expression of aristocratic culture, aware of its goals, supported by huge financial resources, engaging enlightened, energetic and sacrificial people. [...] By creating a great cultural centre in Puławy, [the Czartoryski family – K.D.] combined museum and library collections with archival materials, brought and took care of artists, musicians, poets and masters of garden art, and organized theater performances and concerts. They were, of course, inspired by the great artistic patronage of King Stanisław August Poniatowski, whose museum dreams remained in the *Musaeum Polonicum* project.”⁵⁴

The magnate families of that time wanted to show the cultural rank of Poland on a European scale, being aware of the importance of art as means of propaganda, sometimes even more effective than politics.⁵⁵ Izabela Czartoryska has considerable merits in this field. Her patronage activity was related to the scientific and cultural activity of her husband, Adam Czartoryski, but Izabela was able to isolate the field of her own independent activity related to the creation of the Powązki and Puławy projects. These in turn were a reflection of her worldview and aesthetic taste.

On the other hand, Stanisław Łempicki wrote that the Czartoryski family were the ones who “moved the beautiful tradition of our cultural guardianship from the eighteenth century to the next century [...]. [Puławy – K.D.] operated in free and failing Poland, then during the Napoleonic wars, during the times of the Duchy of Warsaw and during the Congress Kingdom, creating our own type of patronage, growing out of national ideas and goals.”⁵⁶

SUMMARY

IZABELA CZARTORYSKA'S ARTS PATRONAGE

Izabela Czartoryska, née Flemming, one of the most influential women of the 18th and 19th century, was known as an art collector, the founder of the first Polish museum, the initiator of several landscape gardens, and an ardent patriot. Among her many interests was arts

⁵³ H. Waniczkówna, op. cit., p. 245.

⁵⁴ Z. Żygulski jun., op. cit., p. 32.

⁵⁵ B. Majewska-Maszkowska, *Mecenat artystyczny Izabelli z Czartoryskich Lubomirskiej (1736–1816)*, Wrocław 1976, p. 14.

⁵⁶ S. Łempicki, op. cit., p. 55.

patronage. She was the force behind two landscape architecture concepts, a sentimentalist one in Powązki and a pre-romanticist one in Puławy. Izabela Czartoryska contributed to the development of sentimentalism and Pre-Romanticism in Poland, with Puławy – devoted to patriotism and celebration of Polish history – having been particularly important for the Polish society given the demise of Polish independence.

Keywords: Izabela Czartoryska, arts patronage, Powązki, Puławy, Romanticism, patriotism

DOI 10.24917/9788380842717.17

LUCYNA KUDŁA

Pedagogical University of Cracow

Founder of female religious schools in the nineteenth-century Galicia

The nineteenth century brought many changes to the lands referred to by the term Galicia. The changes were political, economic and administrative in nature. They resulted from transformations caused by the change of borders, emergence of temporary states and change of invaders. It also affected education in Galicia. The most favourable period for Polish education is related to the introduction of autonomy, which allowed for faster development of education at various levels, disseminated access to education to children and youth from various social groups and expanded learning opportunities for girls.

Galicia enabled female religious congregations to act and develop openly and freely. They influenced the large-scale development of charity and education at various levels. Female religious congregations that dealt with the upbringing and education of girls were developing dynamically. New congregations appeared in addition to orders traditionally involved in nursing, educational and teaching activities such as the Benedictine nuns, nuns of the Order of the Holy Sacrament, handmaids of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, nuns of the Visitation, Presentation Sisters, Canonesses and Norbertine Sisters. Galicia was a shelter for congregations removed from the Prussian and Russian partitions, an example may be the Ursuline congregation or the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, nuns of the Order of the Holy Family of Nazareth, Felician Sisters and sisters of the Marinoii Family. Due to favourable conditions and social demand for nursing, educational and teaching works, the development of activities was progressing quite quickly

and new religious institutions were created. Most of the monastic schools were established in Cracow and Lviv.

The act of establishing private schools and scientific-educational institutions was regulated by the Act of 1869. These schools were supposed to teach and educate at the level of public schools. They were under the supervision of public school authorities and that is why it was necessary to receive an authorization of the National School Board to establish any school. The compliance with terms and conditions and full curriculum applicable in public schools as well as regulations of the authorities regarding the use of specified textbooks determined the receipt of public school privileges. Certificates issued by monastic schools were equivalent with public school certificates. The requirements of school authorities were very strict. Private schools underwent annual inspections of school inspectors who controlled the condition of school rooms, the level and conditions of teaching, school equipment, teaching aids, the condition of school libraries, teachers' qualifications, educational and teaching methods. A positive opinion of such a lustration gave the opportunity to apply for a state subsidy granted to schools. Failure to comply with educational regulations led to the loss of funds and public powers. An example may be the school of Presentation Sisters in Cracow, where in 1871 the authorities demanded to exclude the school from enclosed religious orders and build an entrance from the street for the needs of the emerging teacher seminar. The congregation lost control over the building. The head of the school did not agree to such a condition, and the school lost its subsidy and public powers. This forced the congregation to transform the school into a private one, supporting itself from student fees and financial aid from outside.¹

Difficult economic situation of religious orders and lack of funds often contributed to the establishment of schools, nurseries, boarding houses or dormitories which enabled the congregations to gain funds necessary to maintain their activity. These institutions were opened and run even by congregations that had not been involved in educational or teaching activities and by congregations that were purely contemplative in nature.

Religious congregations in Galicia managed all types of schools: folk, faculty, high schools, middle schools, teacher seminars. They also managed well-developed child-care institutions: orphanages, nurseries and educational care centres. The nuns also ran schools and vocational courses to enable girls and

1 R. Gąsior, T. Matuła, *Szkoła Sióstr Prezenteń w Krakowie w latach 1627–1918*, Lublin 1998, p. 255.

women to obtain professional qualifications. All congregations used external assistance. Support was provided by the clergy, bishops and simple priests of the parishes that were close to the schools. Of course, some support was also provided by the landed gentry and aristocrats who were guided by philanthropy. In addition, assistance was provided by various social committees, associations, municipal and communal authorities.

The landed gentry often funded those institutions for personal reasons. By establishing nurseries or schools – and therefore providing care for children – mothers could work for the court. Family traditions were often cultivated and nuns were employed to help in parish churches, run nurseries and schools and to provide medical care to the population in the area. The founders supported congregations joined by their relatives, thus paying off financial liabilities (dowries). At the end of the 19th century, especially in Eastern Galicia, where the Russians prevailed, Polish schools and nurseries were supposed to maintain the national character. They taught Polish, cultivated Polish patriotic traditions, and led religious education.

There is no information about the funds of many folk and faculty schools. It can be presumed that they were partly supported with salaries associated with school foundations or the congregations' own funds and charity. The schools founded by individual founders were supported with their own assets. The founders worth mentioning are the Czartoryski family, especially Duke Jerzy Konstanty and Duchess Wanda. She was a distinguished social and patriotic activist and a spokeswoman for women's education. Her commitment and funds contributed to the establishment and maintenance of a folk school in Czerwona Wola. The Servant Sisters of Stara Wieś, who ran a nursery, were brought there. The funds of the Czartoryski family were used to build a new brick nursery with a chapel and a classroom. Initially, there was only one class. The school also established a boarding school.²

The merits of Duchess Jadwiga Sapieha, née Sanguszko, the founder and benefactor of the school in Krasiczyn, are also worth mentioning. She had the support of her husband, Duke Adam Sapieha, a spokesman for organic work and president of the Galician Economic Society. They were the parents of Duke Bishop Adam Sapieha. She continued the philanthropic work of her mother-in-law, Jadwiga Sapieha, who founded the first orphanage and nursery

² S. Kieniewicz, *Czartoryski Jerzy Konstanty ks. (1828–1912)* in *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. IV, Kraków 1938, p. 278.

in Krasiczyn. Jadwiga Sapieha, née Zamoyska brought Servant Sisters of Stara Wieś to Krasiczyn who, with her support and financial help, led a nursery and educated poor children.³ The Servant Sisters had experience in establishing schools, because they ran an institution in Krzeczów (near Myślenice), where they benefited from the material help of Duchess Cecylia Lubomirska. The Servant Sisters also established a school in Borzęta (near Myślenice). In view of educational needs and in fear of employing a teacher with radical social views, as well as having good experience with educational work of the sisters, the owners of the estate entrusted them with running a school. Despite various difficulties and resistance coming from the authorities, the funders were persistent and successful (1906). The ongoing financial assistance of the Lubomirski family lasted until the Second World War. It resulted in an expansion of the school.⁴

It is worthwhile to mention the initiative of the Sisters of Mercy in Przeworsk, which was taken as a result of the declaration of the Lublin governor Antoni Lubomirski and his wife Zofia, née Krasieńska. Their funds enabled the construction of a school and a hospital. The sisters, who came from Warsaw, were responsible for nursing the sick, surrounding them with care and running a school for girls. The founders asked the sisters to pay particular attention to the children coming from their family. For this purpose, the Lubomirski family allocated sixty thousand Polish zlotys located in the Przeworsk estate. Over time, more children attended the school.⁵ The founder of the Daughters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul was Franciszka Rzewuska, née Cetner. She entrusted the sisters with the task of nursing the sick in their homes and educating girls. Their activity was to be paid from interests on the sum of sixty thousand. She also provided the sisters with a residential building that was actually a school. Over time, Rzewuska's contribution proved to be too modest to sustain the growing number of those in need, but benefactors also offered some support.⁶ The Daughters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul

³ M. Syska, *Działalność opiekuńczo-wychowawcza Zgromadzenia Sióstr Opatrzności Bożej w latach 1857–1905*, Lublin 2004, p. 171.

⁴ M. Syska, *Działalność wychowawczo-oświatowa Służebniczek Starowiejskich w archidiecezji krakowskiej w latach 1869–1992*, "Nasza Przeszłość" 1999, vol. 92, p. 325–326.

⁵ B. Czajeczka, *Szkoły klasztorne żeńskie w Galicji w latach 1867–1914*, "Nasza Przeszłość" 1984, vol. 61, p. 246.

⁶ A. Dzierżak, *Powstanie i organizacja galicyjskiej prowincji Sióstr Miłosierdzia*, "Nasza Przeszłość" 1996, vol. 86, p. 144.

also received a building in Moszczany, whose founder was Maria Wurtemberska, née Czartoryska. The aim was to take care of orphans that came from her estate. It was decided to establish an orphanage in old farm buildings. The founder offered a manor farm in Moszczany that was supposed to support their activities. Approximately thirty girls were cared for.⁷

Eleonora Jabłonowska, née Skarbek founded a charity institute in Bursztyn (Rohatyń County). Twenty thousand florins were designated for the foundation, and sixty thousand for the support of Daughters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul. Those funds were used to support the girls – orphans. The founders reserved the right to choose girls – orphans. Over time, the number of people in need increased.⁸

Helena Ponińska, née Górka brought the Daughters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul to Czerwonogród (Zaleszczyki County). The sisters were to take care of six sick people and six orphans in an educational institution. The founder offered the sisters a building and twenty thousand guilders located in the Czerwonogród estate. The interests on those sums were to be paid to sisters in cash and in kind. The founder even asked the superior in Paris to teach some subjects in French. However, the mother superior thought that this was not considered appropriate. Nevertheless, the number of orphans increased.⁹

Sometimes sponsors gave their properties to the congregation in exchange for the possibility of deciding about the school's activity. An example is the donation of the Poniatowski palace in Jazłowiec by the Błóżowski family to the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary. The building was a ruin and was put into eternal use of the order (1863). In exchange for the donation, the funders had the right to choose students from their family who would receive permanent scholarship.¹⁰ The superior of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, mother Marcelina Darowska, had to devote her own funds, which she received from her parents, to the reconstruction of the property. The case was quite complicated, because M. Darowska was formally a subject of the Russians. If they had discovered that an order in Galicia was established, they would have confiscated the lands of M. Darowska. She also did not have a permission to open the school, and the

⁷ Ibidem, p. 147.

⁸ Ibidem, p. 148.

⁹ Ibidem, p. 150.

¹⁰ E. Jabłońska, *Zarys działalności Matki Marceliny Darowskiej na polu organizacji szkolnictwa żeńskiego 1863–1911*, "Nasza Przyszłość" 1958, vol. 7, p. 221–233.

congregation did not have an approval of the Austrian government. Formally, the new school of the Sisters of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Jazłowiec was established as a parish school for the parish priest of Jazłowiec, Jan Kalinowicz.¹¹ Therefore, educational and religious activities required a lot of effort and determination, sometimes against the law.

Court, communal and individual subsidies were sometimes “to be or not to be” for religious congregations. They could rarely count on financial support from the state. Some of them evolved over time into teaching and educational facilities. Some of them ended their activity mainly due to the decrease of funds.

In addition to primary and secondary schools, various initiatives were undertaken to prepare girls to perform a profession. Complementary courses were often organized at faculty schools. Under the changing economic conditions, girls from the families of intellectuals, middle class and even landed gentry had to get a job. Some of them decided to choose the teaching profession or administrative work, and others saw their future in crafts. The schools of lace-making, embroidery and weaving were also very popular. Religious congregations introduced classes in artistic embroidery and lace-making as a complementary course of their learning program. They also created separate schools of lace-making and embroidery. An example might be the school run by the Benedictine nuns in Przemyśl or the school of lace-making run by the Sisters of Mercy in Przeworsk. A similar school was created by the Sisters of St. Clare in Stary Sącz. It was moved from Muszyna and started its activity in 1895. The carer and benefactor was Countess Helena Stadnicka. Despite material support, the school survived only three years.¹²

The Daughters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul were traditionally involved in nursing. They fulfilled their duties well, but they lacked the assistance of specialist nurses. The Daughters of Charity ran their own outpatient clinic in Cracow at Warszawska Street. It was supported by the Association of the Sisters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul and partially by the Association of Financier Sisters. Its head, Maria Epstein, initiated the creation of a school for nurses and then became its director. She was a born nurse, she helped the wounded during the First World War, and after it ended, she cared for the wounded participants of the Silesian Uprisings. She joined the

¹¹ Ibidem, p. 223.

¹² B. Czajeczka, op. cit., p. 247.

Dominican Order.¹³ The initiative was endorsed by the professors of the Faculty of Medicine of the Jagiellonian University and heads of hospitals in Cracow. The Sisters of Charity became founders, because they selflessly donated the estate at Filipa 15 Street for the needs of the school. For this purpose, Maria Popiel (the financier of the congregation) donated seven thousand Rhine goldens. Architect Waclaw Krzyzanowski made sure that the building was rebuilt, and the Sisters of Charity ran the school's business department free of charge. However, the nursing school struggled with financial difficulties, which made it impossible to transform it from a philanthropic initiative into an independent institution that would have the chance to stay in business. Thus, philanthropy allowed to maintain the activity of such a school.¹⁴

Galicia needed a school for rural housewives. The Diet of the Kingdom of Galicia commissioned (1890) the National Department to conduct negotiations with female orders, private persons and institutions regarding the organization of such schools.¹⁵ The establishment and maintenance of schools by religious congregations was practiced in all European countries. In Galicia, the mission of establishing schools was carried out by the Handmaids of the Sacred Heart of Jesus (in Korczyn), and the Sisters of Mercy built a business school in Biały Kamień with a boarding house for housewives. The Servant Sisters of Stara Wieś held gardening and apiculture courses in Stara Wieś (Brzozów County). Such initiatives required assistance and financial support from local landowners. An example can be the Skarbek foundation in Drohowyż, where children were educated and trained in crafts at the expense of the landowner.¹⁶

Religious congregations also took the trouble of running boarding houses for non-local students. They were established by Ursuline Sisters, Sisters of the Holy Family of Nazareth, Daughters of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul or Sisters of the Holy Family. The poorest students received scholarships, and their amount was recorded in school records. They usually came from donations, testaments and interests from sums under the management of charitable institutions. In the school of the Sisters of St. Clare in Cracow, the superior mother once a year chose poor, but moral, pious and diligent students. The chosen

¹³ S. Ryłko, *Magdalena Maria Epstein OP (1875–1947)*, kspipp.pl/o-nas/nasze-publicacje/19-maria-magdalena-epstein-op-1875-1947-cz-2 [access: 16.06.2018].

¹⁴ B. Czajeczka, op. cit., p. 249.

¹⁵ *Sprawozdanie Wydziału Krajowego w przedmiocie wykształcenia kobiet w zakresie gospodarstwa wiejskiego i domowego*, 1906, p. 4.

¹⁶ B. Czajeczka, op. cit., p. 251.

students were from poor and large families, especially orphans, daughters of widows or unemployed. The scholarships amounted to one hundred and fifty zlotys and were given to six students. The amount was not large, but it helped the poorer students. The founder was Father Franciszek Serafin Piątkowski. The scholarships were taken from the interests on the sum of ten thousand Rhine goldens under the management of the Archconfraternity of Mercy and the Pious Bank in Cracow. The candidates selected by the abbess were subjected to an examination and the best ones received the scholarship. Over time, the number of scholarship recipients and the amount of the scholarship were changed. The scholarship was enough for a month of modest living.¹⁷

The activity of religious congregations in the field of education in the nineteenth-century Galicia was thriving. They used the foundation to support various social groups in territories and environments that did not receive state aid. They took care of children and sick who faced hard living conditions. They were precursors of the education of girls at various levels. They enabled them to get a profession. They developed their religious houses and expanded their estates. They introduced new management patterns without neglecting their own education.

SUMMARY

FOUNDER OF FEMALE RELIGIOUS SCHOOLS IN THE NINETEENTH-CENTURY GALICIA

In the latter half of the nineteenth century Galicia became an autonomous province within the Dual Monarchy. In addition to political reforms, changes in education were proposed. Polish language and teaching history of Poland were introduced to schools. Also, some private schools for girls were founded, with an objectives to raise their level of education and prepare them for studies at universities. Schools run by religious congregations played a significant role among them. These were mainly Catholic orders. Schools and children's bodies were founded with the help of funders. They were landowners who accepted nuns in their estates. Vocational schools for girls were created, they were taught the profession and they were given the opportunity to maintain themselves. The nuns cared for the Catholic upbringing and development of patriotism.

Keywords: private schools, Galician autonomy, education, church in Poland

DOI 10.24917/9788380842717.18

¹⁷ Ibidem, p. 279–280.

Jadwiga Zamoyska, née Działyńska – a portrait of activist and writer

The combination of discourses concerning the national liberation and emancipation movements on the Polish lands (I have to point out that it was not a collision-free, but exceptionally interesting, and above all effective marriage) in the nineteenth century and in the first four decades of the twentieth century resulted not only in the necessary moral and political changes (including granting electoral rights to women at the end of November 1918), but it also drew attention to the need of taking a closer look at bottom-up initiatives, undertaken by citizens of a country that did not exist on the political map of Europe for more than one hundred and twenty years. Despite a complicated geopolitical situation, it was believed that the regaining of independence was only a matter of time, and a reborn country would need educated representatives¹ of all states.

The main character of this text does not perfectly match the themes related to patronage and clientelism (it was more of an educational patronage),² but it does not change the fact that the School of Women's Household Work, founded by her in 1882, was one of the most interesting ventures initiated by a woman

¹ See B. Czajeczka, „Z domu w szeroki świat”. *Droga kobiet do niezależności w zaborze austriackim w latach 1890–1914*, Kraków 1990; *Kobieta i społeczeństwo na ziemiach polskich w XIX wieku*, ed. A. Żarnowska, A. Szwarc, Warszawa 1995; *Kobieta i edukacja na ziemiach polskich XIX i XX wieku*, ed. A. Żarnowska, A. Szwarc, vol. II, part 1, Warszawa 1995.

² For more information, see J. Dybiec, *Mecenat naukowy i oświatowy w Galicji 1860–1918*, Wrocław–Kraków–Warszawa 1981; A. Mączak, *Klientela. Nieformalne systemy władzy w Polsce i Europie XVI–XVIII w.*, ed. 2, Warszawa 2000; A. Słaby, *Rządząca oleszycka. Dwór Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej jako przykład patronatu kobiecego w czasach saskich*, Kraków 2014 (with references).

in the second half of the nineteenth century. Therefore, the first component of a two-dimensional portrait of Jadwiga Zamoyska, née Działyńska will be the presentation of her educational and organizational activities. I think that Działyńska should be treated as a social worker, initiator and carer. An involved spokeswoman of women's education (both in practical and spiritual dimensions), originator of one of the factions of Christian education, described as a "brave woman" or even a "biblical woman," is recalled as an almost holy woman, completely devoid of private or personal aspirations, devoting all of her attention to others, serving the representatives of all social states – from peasantry to aristocracy. Her pedagogical project, educational idea and concept of a woman's functioning in society³ were derived from internal beliefs and from experience acquired in and outside the family home. It is worth recalling some details from Zamoyska's biography, which will allow us not only to understand her intellectual background, but also to realize that her work with and for (not only) young women was a consequence of long reflections and a response to real needs. I want to show her as a woman of flesh and blood – trying to transform the model of a secular saint for her own needs, trying to stifle the wrongs suffered, struggling with the feeling of being controlled from the outside, which she tried to transform into the possibility of deciding about herself and others, raising the awareness of – her and other people's – empowerment.

Jadwiga Działyńska was one of the children of Adam Titus Działyński and Gryzelda Celestyna Zamoyska. She was born at the beginning of July 1831 during the November Uprising. The father of the small aristocrat – adjutant of the General Jan Zygmunt Skrzynecki – was actively involved in the uprising and was quickly repulsed by the partitioning authorities, which is why he decided to move to Paris for some time. The Działyński family was deprived of their estate which, among other things, resulted in frequent changes of place of residence. Jadzia lived in Małopolska – with the Potocki family in Cracow (one of the members of the Potocki family, Róża, became the wife of Władysław Krasiński, whose mother, Eliza Krasińska, née Branicka, became a close friend of Jadwiga) or in Żurawica, Wysocko (Duchess Maria Anna Wirtemberska was very fond of her), Krasiczyno, Oleszyce.⁴ The future school founder spent a lot

³ See C. Kustra, *Kobieta i praca w koncepcji wychowawczej Jadwigi z Działyńskich Zamoyskiej (1831–1921)*, Toruń 2012.

⁴ See M.J. Gondek, *Jadwiga Zamoyska i jej program pracy społecznej*, "Człowiek w Kulturze" 2015, no. 17, p. 241–242.

of time at a library in Kórnik. Jadwiga's mother was strict, reserved (she taught her daughter not to pay attention to praise, she treated kindness with suspicion, did not try to attract the attention of others and was always ready to give up everything and strive for higher goals) and demanding (involved in charity, just like her husband – he wanted to improve the situation of peasants), she took care of her daughter's education – one of her teachers was Wanda Żmichowska (Narcyza's sister, writer, author of the famous *Poganka*), who was not very fond of her. On the other hand, she admired Anna Birt, an English teacher. The house of the Działyński family was filled with patriotic atmosphere, profound piety, unfeigned ability to sacrifice with simultaneous scepticism and a certain chaotism of views and beliefs. The youngest members of the family, including Jadwiga, were brought up in the cult of homeland (waiting for its liberation), science and religion; they were taught that worldly possessions are less important than the expected eternal possessions, such as savings, modesty, and skills needed in day-to-day life, for example growing fruit and vegetables. Jadwiga's life changed dramatically on one of her foreign trips, when her mother's brother, General Władysław Zamoyski, decided to marry his sister's daughter. Papal indult was necessary due to the second degree of kinship. Although Jadwiga valued her uncle, he personified the figure of a national hero – she was taught to worship them – she did not want to become his wife. Nevertheless, she gave in to the pressure of her mother and her brother, and after an unusually modest marriage, she moved to Paris.

She gave birth to four children: Władysław, Witold and two daughters, two of whom survived – the eldest son and the youngest daughter. Their marriage was filled with travels, learning new foreign languages, improving skills necessary for a resourceful and responsible lady of the house. *De facto* Jadwiga was the secretary of her husband, she made many efforts to help his diplomatic activity (involving, among others, reminding countries such as England, Turkey or France about the uncomfortable political situation in Poland) run as efficiently as possible. At that time, Działyńska was almost transparent; she disappeared in numerous obligations provided for a closer and further family. She gradually got used to the role of the mother, trying (with a better or worse result) not to duplicate the mistakes made by her own mother.

What led Jadwiga Zamoyska to the establishment of a school that has lasted for over sixty years? The idea grew slowly but systematically. Her plans accelerated after the death of her husband in 1868. The aristocrat, remembering various schools and educational institutions visited during numerous

trips across the Europe, started to plan a school for girls/women. The school was meant to teach them how to run a household and complete their earlier education. However, before this happened, she lost her second child, Witold (he died of typhus in 1874). Maria Joanna Gondek, who wrote a paper about Zamoyska's pedagogical heritage, gives further details:

After many heavy experiences, during illness, hardships and loneliness, she found spiritual support among the Fathers of the Resurrection and priests of the French Oratory. Together, they created and refined a social work program focused on bringing up a young generation of Polish women, who would be perfectly prepared to take on family responsibilities and effectively contribute to the revival of their homeland. [...] The oratorians advised Zamoyska to return to Poland and establish a school, assuming spiritual protection over the initiative. [...]

Jadwiga Zamoyska devoted the remaining 40 years of her life to the School of Women's Household Work that she had founded in 1881 [it should be 1882 – A.P.]. Her reflections on work and education found their real shape, supported by life experience. The school commenced its activities in Kórnik after the death of Jadwiga's brother, Jan Działyński, who had no children of his own and gave Kórnik to Jadwiga's son, Władysław. The building in Kórnik, dedicated to the care of Blessed Lady, Mother of Good Council, pursued its goals through intense prayer, study and work. It was symbolized by a cross, book and distaff.⁵

The three items selected as an emblem summarized Zamoyska's educational program combining deep religiosity with the necessity to educate women not only with regard to the minimum textbook knowledge, but above all with its practical application to all kinds of work⁶ – symbolized by a distaff, associated with female activity.

It is believed that the school was established on 24 June 1882 – the day on which Zamoyska, her children and co-workers settled in Kórnik. In addition to

⁵ M.J. Gondek, op. cit., p. 244–245.

⁶ Zamoyska devoted a lot of attention to her work, she wrote, among others, *O pracy* (first edition published in 1900), in which she precisely explained its types, indicated their usefulness and deep roots in Christian ethics. See M. Sztaba, *Aktualność i ważność idei „trójpracy” Jadwigi Zamoyskiej dla integralnego rozwoju osoby*, „Pedagogika Społeczna” 2015, no. 1, p. 93–114.

her son and daughter, who were very enthusiastic about their mother's project, she was supported by: Ludwika Chżyńska (a talented dressmaker who wanted to help poor girls was born in Wielkopolska and moved to Paris in 1880), Julia Zaleska (a Lithuanian, whose education at Lambert Hotel in an institute for daughters of emigrants was paid for by Zamoyska), Zoelie de Geloës (a would-be Daughter of Charity of Saint Vincent de Paul, decided to join the group of activists formed around Zamoyska).⁷ It should be emphasized that both the initiator and her brave assistants had to learn a lot – including how to take care of administration, logistics, and how to conduct classes. Therefore, not only them, but also the students – the first were two girls from the neighbouring village and two girls from Kórnik – were constantly gaining new skills and worked together.⁸ It should be emphasized that at the beginning the school was free, and there were no intentions of changing that. Furthermore, the first students were completely supported by the school. Later on, some students (i.e. their guardians) were able to pay for their own needs. Over time, older students took over some of the responsibility for the younger ones. The girls learned how to cook, take care of the garden, how to do laundry, they cared for animals in the pig house and cowshed – next to practical classes they attended classes such as arithmetic, calligraphy, spelling, Polish history, but also biblical history, singing, and educational talks conducted by Zamoyska herself. At first, the local church authorities were not very positive about its activity, but finally they agreed to delegate a priest to Kórnik, who realised that the school was a necessary place, despite the rapidly emerging difficulties from the Prussian administration.

However, the so-called Prussian deportations dealt a real blow to the school. In August 1885 the government of the partitioner issued a decree forcing all people of “Polish speech,” who were born outside Germany, to leave the Prussian state by 1 October 1885. The Zamoyski family were among the thirty thousand people subject to deportation. The General appealed against the decision, but the authorities of the aggressor state were relentless and she had to leave Kórnik.⁹

The untiring activist returned to Kórnik after the First World War in the 1920s. By limiting her supervision over the school, she focused on writing – she

⁷ See C. Kustra, *op. cit.* p. 71.

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 71–72.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 75.

wrote texts devoted to her educational concepts, worked on her husband's extensive memoirs, and took care of his correspondence. In 1921, she was awarded the Order of Polonia Restituta. She died two years later, in the first days of the month of November.¹⁰

Let us go back to 1885. Zamoyska started looking for the next location for her school, she even came to Kórnik in 1886, but she was arrested for a short time, and then she moved the school to Lubowla, then to Kalwaria Zebrzydowska, and finally to Kuźnice (Władysław Zamoyski bought Zakopane at an auction). In September 1889, Jadwiga signed a contract with countess Róża Krasieńska née Potocka, giving Jadwiga a lease of villa Adasiówka (now called Księżówka), while the neighbouring buildings were rebuilt so that the School of Women's Household Work would not have to move any more.

The move to Kuźnice started a run of good luck in the history of the School – Zamoyska could employ a larger number of teachers, two inns-restaurants, divided into three branches, were opened and maintained by students¹¹ – depending on the wealth of their parents or, in other words, on the social class from which they came, the I branch constituted the girls from the highest class, the II branch slightly less affluent girls, the III branch mostly peasant girls. Although the scope of their classes varied, all of them worked physically. Zamoyska failed when it comes to the education of peasant girls – she could not teach them moral rules, besides she did not know how to explain that in their environment they were often ridiculed, undermined or referred to as “different.” As they acquired more knowledge, they distanced themselves from the peasantry and their relatives,¹² they no longer fit into the family neighbourhood. Nevertheless, despite some minor educational failures, Zamoyska started thinking about establishing a branch of the school. The brave originator constantly tried to maintain good contacts of her institution with the church. In 1906, Zamoyska and her colleagues visited Pope Pius X. With the outbreak of the First World War, Zamoyska, as a French citizen, could not return to Zakopane from Paris, where she went with her daughter before the European turmoil broke out.¹³ After regaining independence, the school in Zakopane developed dynamically. It was managed by a specially established foundation:

¹⁰ J. Zamoyska, *W domu rodzinnym i na emigracji. Wspomnień część I*, ed. E. Bątkiewicz, M. Bieniaś-Szkopek, [b.m.] 2014, p. 7.

¹¹ See C. Kustra, op. cit. p. 76–78.

¹² Ibidem, p. 79–81.

¹³ Ibidem, p. 81–86.

The Zakłady Kórnickie Foundation (ZKF) owes its creation to the donation of Jadwiga Zamoyska, née Działyńska and her son – Władysław Zamoyski, who handed their entire estate over to the Polish nation. Pursuant to the Act of 30 July 1925, the donors wanted to allocate the entire ZKF estate for the purposes specified in the Act. This clearly shows that the founders, as well as the local government, wanted to establish a special legal norm, going beyond the scope of laws regulating a certain area of life. These intentions are further emphasized by the patronage of the President and Primate of Poland. The local government approved the founders' intentions by creating a *lex specialis* which, according to the legal doctrine, is always before the *lex generalis*. The Foundation was established by a special Act – as requested by the donors. This was intended to protect it against interference of national authorities in its functioning. The Act of 1925 constituted the basis on which the Zakłady Kórnickie Foundation maintained schools of women's household work in Kuźnice and Kórnik, the Kórnik Library and Museum, and the Department of Forestry Research (now the Institute of Dendrology PAS). In addition to these facilities, the Foundation's assets were: 6757 ha of agricultural land, 712 ha of lakes, 4943 ha of forests, sawmill, distillery, residential houses in Kórnik, Działyński Palace in Poznań and properties in Zakopane with a total area of 6538 ha. Net income was allocated to the implementation of statutory objectives, including maintenance of scientific and school departments.

After the end of the Second World War, pursuant to the decree of 12 December 1944, the state took over the forests belonging to FZK, which brought 60% of income before the war. After the Second World War, the agricultural property was completely devoid of livestock. The financial situation of agricultural properties was catastrophic, and difficulties in obtaining working capital loans deepened this state of affairs.

In this state of affairs, the Foundation's authorities – in accordance with the recommendation of the President, as the patron of the Foundation – decided to hand over the agricultural farms to the state, and the state was supposed to take over responsibility for maintaining the buildings. As long as the ZKF Act was in force, the transfer was based on management and use. As a result of arrangements made with the Minister of Agriculture, the state-owned agricultural farms took over the agricultural property of FZK. In the middle of 1949, the School of Women's Household Work in Kuźnice was taken over and after two years it was liquidated. In 1950, the Ministry of Higher Education

leased – for a nominal fee – the Department of Dendrology and Pomology in Kórnik.¹⁴

It is worth returning to the beginning of the Foundation's activity to look more carefully at the intentions, plans and postulates that Zamoyska intended to implement in her new educational institution. In the booklet published in 1899, she described in detail what were her motives, what duties were entrusted to her colleagues, what she required from her students and what she wanted to achieve.

In the introduction, the author proves that her times are synonymous with opposing Christian orders of bravery and sacrifice, which could greatly contribute to strengthening the sense of social responsibility. According to her, women are especially predestined to receive education in the nation filled with the spirit of love for neighbours – they have the responsibility to raise new generations, which was greatly facilitated by school rules, such as the lack of selfishness, aversion to excessive wealth (Zamoyska was a realist, she was perfectly aware that money is necessary in her business) or emphasizing the importance of working together.¹⁵ The widow was particularly interested in exploiting the potential of unmarried women as those who can fully concentrate on working with and for women. The originator of the School believed that the women of her times could choose one of the three ways: religious, marital and “celibacy among the world.”¹⁶ On top of that, she appealed to mothers to let their unmarried daughters do more than just fulfil the duties of “maids for the family” and she encouraged social work treated as a kind of service. She wanted to “teach students of all social classes to be good Christians, good Polish women and skilful housewives.”¹⁷ The proposed learning egalitarianism did not work in practice, but it was extremely important. In the booklet, Zamoyska also outlined the figure of a potential student, strongly emphasizing that knowledge and skilful use of that knowledge are essential for a woman aware of her social duties. The students should be aware of the huge responsibility that lies on their shoulders, besides, they should understand that work is something that ennobles them (this was not obvious at the time when higher classes were convinced that work for women is a necessity

¹⁴ Cited after: fzk.pl/historia/ [access: 6.05.2018].

¹⁵ Cf. J. Zamoyska, *Zakład Kórnicki. Szkoła Pracy Domowej w Zakopanem*, Poznań 1899, p. 2–15.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 19.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 24.

forced by life circumstances rather than a duty, and certainly not a possibility for development).¹⁸

In spite of the turmoil and minor educational failures, the school founded by Zamoyska was quite successful, and her pupils felt strong attachment long after they had left school, which can be evidenced by two graduate reunions – in 1922 (on the fortieth anniversary of the school's establishment, Zamoyska was not present due to poor health) and in 1927 (organized thanks to the cooperation with Maria Zamoyska who was nurturing the memory of her mother). After the second meeting, the graduates published a small book with a summary of the three solemn days – from April 21 to April 24, 1927. The book mentioned Jadwiga and described how her ideals influenced her students' lives¹⁹. Father Antoni Bogdański prepared a speech showing Zamoyska as a “matriarch of our spirit,”²⁰ a teacher of “real Polish women,”²¹ with good repute, unable to condemn anyone working intensively on self-improvement. He referred to her educational activity as an apostolic activity aimed at “enlightening the Nation.”²² It is difficult not to notice that the biography turned into hagiography, which comes as no surprise considering that the concepts promoted by Zamoyska fit into the religious trend of raising women, which states that they should have a developed political consciousness combined with an ability to sacrifice.²³

Zamoyska was an active social worker, using the solutions provided not only by Catholic thought but also by pedagogical thought of her era.²⁴

¹⁸ Ibidem, p. 28–38. See *Kobieta i praca. Wiek XIX i XX*, ed. A. Żarnowska, A. Szwarc, Warszawa 2000. Maria Nietyksza reports: “Gainful work of women from lower classes was a natural matter in the nineteenth century, accepted in their own environments and in the general opinion. [...] Women from plebeian environments worked in the cities. They constituted a professionally active part of the society: the working class (in a broad sense – not only industrial) and the lower middle class. [...] Gainful work of women from the so-called enlightened and more affluent classes was generally not accepted in their own environments. Moral and legal barriers prevented them from achieving a professional position. Gradual changes in public opinion were influenced by economic, social and political transformations.” M. Nietyksza, *Ramy prawne zarobkowania kobiet w Królestwie Polskim w XIX i na początku XX wieku na tle porównawczym* in *Kobieta i praca...*, p. 15–16.

¹⁹ See *Ze spuścizny Jeneralowej Zamoyskiej. Wspomnienie Zjazdu Kuźniczerek w Warszawie z dnia 22 IV 1927*, Warszawa 1927.

²⁰ Ibidem, p. 14.

²¹ Ibidem.

²² Ibidem, p. 46.

²³ See C. Kustra, op. cit., p. 62–67.

²⁴ Ibidem, p. 55–59. This is mainly about the concept of the so-called new education propagated by, for example, John Dewey. The emphasis was primarily put on the necessity of developing

Not many remember that she was also a talented writer. Her remarkable memories²⁵ from over a quarter of a century ago were thoroughly interpreted by Dorota Siwicka who emphasized their unique nature using the tools taken from feminist literary criticism. It demonstrated the huge, personal and difficult to pronounce trauma that had such a great impact on her life and that lies in her autobiographical narratives.²⁶

Zamoyska became a Polish Mother against her will. And from this perspective, she condemned many of her earlier behaviours, reactions and gestures, such as “would that!” which she used to try to stop the birth of her first child. She surely regarded similar behaviour as a manifestation of a sinful rebellion against the obligation imposed by God on a “married woman.” At the same time, her objection retained the ambivalence of many romantic revolts – even the condemned remained well-founded. It is not easy to find another equally consistent and far-reaching work against existence in Polish literature – probably not only in autobiographical literature. The work in which a dramatic death wish is intertwined with a strong refusal to procreate. As to exist “not for the world” means not giving birth. The relationship between Zamoyska and her daughter must have been special, since she decided to leave her such a legacy.

I suppose that she also wanted to give her daughter a certain lesson, a “ray of light” which she missed in her own life, and to convince her that she had

individual dispositions, based on general human morality. Learning was to take place not through acquiring knowledge from textbooks, but through physical work and practical classes. The teacher was supposed to be a tutor who supports students.

²⁵ See J. Zamoyska, *Wspomnienia*, manuscript, introduction, footnotes and indexes by M. Czapska, London 1961. In 2014, a two-volume publication was released: J. Zamoyska, *W domu rodzinnym i na emigracji. Wspomnień część I*, ed. E. Bątkiewicz, M. Biniś-Szkopek, Fundacja Zakłady Kórnickie, [b.m.] 2014; J. Zamoyska, *Między Londynem a Stambulem. Wspomnień część II*, ed. E. Bątkiewicz-Szymanowska, M. Biniś-Szkopek, Fundacja Zakłady Kórnickie, [b.m.] 2014. In this work, I use the first edition, quotes are marked with the page and abbreviation JDZ. However, I must point out that the edition from a few years ago in comparison to the one prepared by Maria Czapska (which she started working on before the outbreak of the Second World War) is based on the original manuscript. In addition, according to the editors, the thesis of Czapska that Zamoyska did not intend to publish her memories, as they were too intimate, is wrong. The preserved letters indicate that in the 1920s, so shortly before her death, the aristocrat worked with editors to publish them. See J. Zamoyska, op. cit., part I, p. 8–9.

²⁶ More on this can be found in my book *Czy w tej autobiografii jest kobieta? Kobięca literatura dokumentu osobistego na początku XIX wieku do wybuchu II wojny światowej*, Kraków 2013. With references about autobiographies of Polish women and autobiographical theories, including those that take into account readings taken from feminist literary criticism.

the opportunity to make a choice that she herself was deprived of. She can get married and she will then be doomed to perform the wifely duties, but she can also not get married – and remain herself. She wrote that her married sister's conviction that "there comes a time when your teeth grow and there comes a time when you have to get married!" (p. 132) was wrong. A man's life is not a realization of biological necessities – according to the author – but a matter between him and God.²⁷

The recurring theme in *Wspomnienia* is the artist's reluctance to marry and the repeated gesture of self-limitation, silencing of one's emotions, aspirations, desires for total sacrifice for others. An attempt to create a narrative community between the mother and the daughter (which is one of the most frequently mentioned differentiator of women's literature in general) takes on a special meaning in the context of the whole story told by Jadwiga. As rightly noted by Dorota Siwicka:

When writing *Wspomnienia*, Zamoyska did not have to play the role of a "writing woman," which is largely determined by the creation of the artist's self in women's autobiographies. She did not have to mask her uniqueness by making her story similar to men's autobiographies, or – on the contrary – try to make it fit into socially acceptable patterns of "female otherness." There are no indications that would suggest that she took the expectations of the readers, and thus also of the male audience, into consideration when creating an image of herself. She did not appear as "different," she wrote as a woman to other women. This allowed her to openly ask about the uniqueness of both sexes. Zamoyska faced this problem almost all the time: how can a woman cope with the fact that she is a woman?²⁸

Being a woman for Jadwiga was both a blessing and a curse, a reason why she was able to pursue her intentions and a cause of irremovable sadness overcome by heroic faith and concentration on improving the situation of women. The evident struggle for emancipation was clearly contrary to the propagated ethics of resignation and disciplining one's own intentions resulting from unfortunate marriage vows (this explains her reluctance to formalized relationships and

²⁷ D. Siwicka, *Hańba i ohyda: o autobiografii Jadwigi z Działyńskich Zamoyskiej*, "Teksty Drugie" 1993, no. 4/5/6, p. 68–69. Siwicka quotes *Wspomnienia* written by Zamoyska, published in 1961.

²⁸ D. Siwicka, op. cit., p. 57.

the emphasis she put on the social significance of unmarried women who are educated and aware of their duties). Miss Działyńska, becoming Mrs. Zamoyska, promised solemnly that she would not try to find any pleasure or sense of fulfilment. She intended to focus on usefulness, acquiring new skills and getting rid of limitations so that nobody – her husband, children, etc. – would get insulted.

In autobiographical fragments addressed to her daughter – creating a space of understanding between two women, establishing a community of experiences and a possibility of conducting an honest conversation – Zamoyska does not reconstruct the circumstances of the School's establishment and does not talk about its ideas, but stops at her own childhood (which was not paved with roses, on the contrary, it was quite harsh and demanding),²⁹ youth (that ended quickly with the proposal of General Zamoyski and marriage in 1852), marriage (lasting to the aforementioned husband's death in 1868, marked by the loss of her first daughter, Maria) – until the mid-1860s. The book *Wspomnienia* was written between 1893–1895, the Kórnik foundation had been functioning for more than a decade, but she did not mention it in her autobiography.

I can only speculate why it happened. Perhaps, since Maria (the second daughter, named after her deceased sister, who took not only her mother's love, but also a part of Jadwiga's expectations for life) was a faithful companion in the management of her mother's school, Jadwiga decided that there was no need to write about their joint activities? It is also possible that the autobiography as an existential project was an alternative to everyday activities, which is why they did not become its part. In addition, the immanent concentration on the past often precludes concentration on the present, which is the starting point for a story whose vector is directed towards what was and not what is or what will be. The autobiographic proactivity – but not the proactivity of actions – was unfamiliar to Zamoyska, focused on the already closed stages of life, bringing more suffering than joy.

I believe that the school as such was the realization of her youthful intentions³⁰ or, more precisely, dreams of not having a family of her own (in the

²⁹ “[...] the thought of death became very ordinary to me, it was not terrifying, but it became the ultimate solution of everything earthly; in the face of many troubles and sorrows that I have experienced during childhood years, the thought of death was a real consolation for me. With every sorrow I told myself: »in fifty years...« and I calmed down. It was easy for me to renounce all of the desired pleasures as they were short-lived.” JDZ, p. 14.

³⁰ “I was called original; I was called »wild«; they said that I was »marbled«; they said that I was a Spartan; that I should have taken an emblem on English needles. »You can break me, but you

traditional meaning), providing her with the autonomy of action, far-reaching independence, and above all enabling her to make individual and global decisions, focused on real effects, largely dependent on the initiatives taken by the autobiographer. While designing her adult life, the author focused on self-education combined with providing support, but she did not intend to marry. Forced to marry, she had to postpone her plans for more than a dozen years to support her husband; after becoming a widow, she returned to her plans, not only creating a thriving institution, but also – remembering the suggestions of her favourite teacher, Miss Birt, regarding her literary talent – writing several works in which she explained her educational program, based on Christianity and on feminism – in a quite conservative dimension, but with a strong and solid background.

Zamoyska, educating future generations of students, emphasized the important role that women played in society, first under partition, and then after Poland regained its independence. Her project inextricably intertwined the problem of women's role in society with the national matter.

SUMMARY

JADWIGA ZAMOYSKA, NÉE DZIAŁYŃSKA – A PORTRAIT OF ACTIVIST AND A WRITER

The aim of this paper is to reconstruct the portrait of Jadwiga Zamoyska, née Działyńska, who was both an authoress of one of the most interesting autobiography written by woman in the end of the 19th century and a founder of School of Women's Household. Zamoyska from 1882 took care of her students and teachers, she was ready to fight for good terms and conditions. Being well educated she also coined her own concept of pedagogy for women – stressing the meaning of education and work (in and outside the household). That made Jadwiga Zamoyska, née Działyńska an emancipationist, conservative, but still focused on women's rights to be an equal with men citizens of Poland.

Keywords: woman, autobiography, emancipation, school, history, Zakopane, Kórnik

DOI 10.24917/9788380842717.19

cannot crush me«. They made jokes, but no one objected to my desires; they had a convenient site for everyone, I did not oppose anyone, and I served everyone. I used to say that servants are the happiest people in the world, because everyone is calling on them and they have a guarantee that when they come they will not be exiled. My father designed the house he wanted to build for me on the island of Trzebawia so I could live there. [...] I have never heard of any kind of project, nor have I ever known or met anyone that would suit me.” JDZ, p. 13–132.

References

- Aleksandrowicz A., *Izabela Czartoryska. Polskość i europejskość*, Lublin 1998.
- Augustyniak U., *Dwór i klientela Krzysztofa Radziwiłła (1585–1640). Mechanizmy patronatu*, Warszawa 2001.
- Bąkowski-Kois D., *Zarządcy dóbr Elżbiety Sieniawskiej – studium historii mentalności 1704–1726*, Kraków 2005.
- Borkowska M., *Panny siostry w świecie sarmackim*, Warszawa 2002.
- Borkowska M., *Zakony żeńskie w Polsce w epoce nowożytnej*, Lublin 2010.
- Borkowska M., *Życie codzienne polskich klasztorów żeńskich w XVII–XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1996.
- Chapman S., *Patronage as Family Economy. The Role of Women in the Patron–Client Network of the Phélypeaux de Pontchartrain Family, 1670–1715*, “French Historical Studies” 2001, vol. 24, p. 11–35.
- Chrościcki J., *Sztuka i polityka. Funkcje propagandowe sztuki w epoce Wazów. 1587–1668*, Warszawa 1983.
- Connor R.E., *Women, Accounting, and Narrative. Keeping Books in Eighteenth-Century England*, London–New York 2004.
- Dijkstra B., *Defoe and Economics. Fortunes of Roxana in the History of Interpretation*, London 1987.
- Dobrowolski P.T., *Świat ze słów: angielskie miesięczniki XVIII wieku. Media, informacja i opinia publiczna*, Warszawa 2018.
- Dwory magnackie w XVIII wieku. Rola i znaczenie kulturowe*, ed. T. Kostkiewiczowa, A. Roćko, Warszawa 2005.
- Fundator i mecenas. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku*, ed. E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, J. Urwanowicz, Białystok 2011.
- Gąsior R., Matuła T., *Szkoła Sióstr Prezentek w Krakowie w latach 1627–1918*, Lublin 1998.
- Goldgar A., *Tulipmania. Money, Honor, and Knowledge in the Dutch Golden Age*, Chicago–London 2007.
- Heuvel D. van den, *Women and Entrepreneurship. Female Traders in the Northern Netherlands, c. 1580–1815*, Amsterdam 2007.
- Jakuboszczak A., *Sarmacka dama. Barbara Sanguszkowa (1718–1791) i jej salon towarzyski*, Poznań 2008.

- Jaroszewski T.S., *Chrystian Piotr Aigner – architekt warszawskiego klasycyzmu*, Warszawa 1970.
- Johnson A., "Virtue's Friends". *The Politics of Friendship in Early Modern English Women's Writing*, Miami 2010.
- Jurkowska H., *Pamięć sentymentalna. Praktyki pamięci w kręgu Towarzystwa Warszawskiego Przyjaciół Nauk i w Puławach Izabeli Czartoryskiej*, Warszawa 2014.
- Karpiński F., *Pamiętniki*, introduction P. Chmielowski, Warszawa 1898.
- Kępińska A., *Jan Piotr Norblin*, Wrocław 1978.
- Kicińska U., *Codzienne obowiązki zarządcy majątku – na przykładzie korespondencji Piotra Morzyckiego do Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej in Epistolografia w dawnej Polsce*, vol. VI, *Stulecia XVI–XIX. Nowa perspektywa historyczna i językowa*, ed. P. Borek, M. Olma, Kraków 2015, p. 291–304.
- Klasztory bernardyńskie w Polsce w jej granicach historycznych*, ed. H.E. Wyczawski, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 1985.
- Kłaczewski W., *Jerzy Ossoliński. Wielki kanclerz Rzeczypospolitej*, Lublin 2011.
- Kobiece kręgi korespondencyjne w XVII–XIX wieku*, ed. B. Popiołek, A. Słaby, U. Kicińska, Warszawa 2016.
- Kobieta i mężczyzna. Jedna przestrzeń – dwa światy*, ed. B. Popiołek, A. Chłosta-Sikorska, M. Gadocha, Warszawa 2015.
- Kronika fundacyjna klasztoru mniszek zakonu kaznodziejskiego na Gródku w Krakowie (1620–1636)*, ed. A. Markiewicz, Kraków 2007.
- Kuchowicz Z., *Wizerunki niepospolitych niewiast staropolskich XVI–XVIII wieku*, Łódź 1972.
- Kukło C., *Demografia Rzeczypospolitej przedrozbiorowej*, Warszawa 2009.
- Kuras K., *Współpracownicy i klienci Augusta A. Czartoryskiego w czasach saskich*, Kraków 2010.
- Kwiatkowski M., *Szymon Bogumił Zug. Architekt polskiego oświecenia*, Warszawa 1971.
- Lorentz S., *Efraim Szreger – architekt polski XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1986.
- Łempicki S., *Opiekunowie kultury w Polsce*, Lwów 1938.
- Majewska-Maszkowska B., *Mecenat artystyczny Izabelli z Czartoryskich Lubomirskiej (1736–1816)*, Wrocław 1976.
- Markuszewska A., *Festa i muzyka na dworze Marii Kazimiery Sobieskiej w Rzymie (1699–1714)*, Warszawa 2012.
- Mączak A., *Klientela. Nieformalne systemy władzy w Polsce i w Europie XVI–XVIII w.*, Warszawa 1994.
- Mączak A., *Rządzący i rządzeni. Władza i społeczeństwo w Europie wczesnonowożytnej*, Warszawa 1986.

- Miłobędzki A., *Architektura polska XVII wieku*, vol. 1–2, Warszawa 1980.
- Nestorow R., *Pro domo et nomine suo. Fundacje i inicjatywy artystyczne Adama Mikołaja i Elżbiety Sieniawskich*, Warszawa 2016.
- Newton W.R., *La Petite Cour. Services et serviteurs à la Cour de Versailles au XVIIIe siècle*, Paris 2006.
- Patron i dwór. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku*, ed. E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, J. Urwanowicz, Warszawa 2006.
- Penkała A., „Panięskie ochędóstwo”. *Kwestie posagowe i wienne w małżeństwach szlachty województwa krakowskiego w czasach saskich*, Kraków 2016.
- Penkała A., *Przeciw prawu, tradycji i obyczajowi. Sprawy procesowe szlacheckich małżeństw w księgach sądów grodzkich z terenu województwa krakowskiego w czasach saskich*, Kraków 2017.
- „Per mulierem...” *Kobiety w dawnej Polsce – w średniowieczu i dobie staropolskiej*, ed. K. Justyniarska-Chojak, S. Konarska-Zimnicka, Warszawa 2012.
- Pietrzak J., *Księżna dobrodziejka Katarzyna z Sobieskich Radziwiłłowa (1634–1694)*, Warszawa 2016.
- Popiołek B., *Kobięcy świat w czasach Augusta II. Studia nad mentalnością kobiet z kręgów szlacheckich*, Kraków 2018.
- Popiołek B., *Królowa bez korony. Studium z życia i działalności Elżbiety Sieniawskiej, ok. 1669–1729*, Kraków 1996.
- Popiołek B., „Woli mojej ostatniej testament ten...”. *Testamenty staropolskie jako źródła do historii mentalności XVII i XVIII wieku*, Kraków 2009.
- Putkowska J., *Architektura Warszawy XVII wieku*, Warszawa 1991.
- Queenship in Europe, 1660–1815*, ed. C. Campbell Orr, Cambridge 2004.
- Rosman M., *The Lords' Jews. Magnate–Jewish Relations in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth during the Eighteenth Century*, Cambridge 1990 (polish edition: *Żydzi pańscy. Stosunki magnacko-żydowskie w Rzeczypospolitej w XVIII w.*, transl. W. Tyszka, Warszawa 2005).
- Słaby A., *Rządzicha oleszycka. Dwór Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej jako przykład patronatu kobiecego w czasach saskich*, Kraków 2014.
- Snodgrass M.E., *American Colonial Women and Their Art. A Chronological Encyclopedia*, Lanham 2017.
- Stawiński P., *Boży eksperyment*, Lublin 2012.
- Szylar A., *Działalność wychowawczo-edukacyjna żeńskich zgromadzeń zakonnych w Małopolsce w okresie potrydenckim do 1815 roku*, Kraków 2012.
- Śliwińska B.G., *Dzieje Zgromadzenia Sióstr Świętej Katarzyny Dziewicy i Męczennicy*, Olsztyn 1998.

- Tomkiewicz W., *Z dziejów polskiego mecenatu artystycznego w wieku XVII*, Wrocław 1952.
- Transregional and Transnational Families in Europe and Beyond. Experiences since the Middle Ages*, ed. Ch.H. Johnson et al., New York–Oxford 2011.
- Wobec Króla i Rzeczypospolitej. Magnateria w XVI–XVIII wieku*, ed. E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, J. Urwanowicz, Kraków 2012.
- Women in Port. Gendering Communities, Economies, and Social Networks in Atlantic Port Cities, 1500–1800*, ed. D. Catterall, J. Campbell, Leiden 2012.
- Women's Writing from the Low Countries: 1200–1875. A Bilingual Anthology*, ed. L. van Gemert et al., Amsterdam 2010.
- Z dziejów mecenatu kulturalnego w Polsce*, ed. J. Kostecki, Warszawa 1999.
- Źródła do dziejów staropolskich podróży edukacyjnych*, ed. D. Żołądź-Strzelczyk, M.E. Kowalczyk, Wrocław 2017.
- Żołądź-Strzelczyk D., „Pod każdym względem szlachetne ci dają wychowanie...” *Studia z dziejów wychowania szlachty w epoce staropolskiej*, Wrocław 2017.


Establishing and maintaining ties of patronage by women is an equally complex issue, deserving a special attention of researchers. There were various methods for establishing a loyal environment willing to fulfil tasks contracted by the patron and in certain circumstances assist in achieving goals she set for herself. Research concerning the modern era has proven that female activity successfully developed both in the household sphere and outside of it. Family relations and close social contacts were essential, not without consequence was also the loyalty of people responsible for managing the wealth.

Women gained a circle of trusted correspondents, the favour of whom could translate into direct benefits for the patron and for those who assisted her hoping for promotion or to achieve their private goals. This monograph aims to fill that research gap, at least a little.

From Introduction

Uniwersytet Pedagogiczny
im. Komisji Edukacji Narodowej
w Krakowie
Prace Monograficzne 890

ISSN 0239-6025
ISBN 978-83-8084-271-7


WYDAWNICTWO NAUKOWE
UNIWERSYTETU PEDAGOGICZNEGO