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## The courts of Marianna Lubomirska née Bielińska and Joanna von Stein Lubomirska, the wives of the Grand Standard Bearer of the Crown, as an example of a women's court in Old Poland\*

**Abstract:** The current article contributes to the research on the functioning and organisation of female magnate courts in the Polish-Lithuanian state in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The discussed courts belonged to Marianna née Bielińska and Joanna née von Stein, the wives of the Great Standard-Bearer of the Crown Jerzy Ignacy Lubomirski. Both ladies closely collaborated with the Wettin family, then ruling the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania. Special attention has been devoted to Joanna von Stein Lubomirska, who after her husband's death still surrounded herself with a large court and continued numerous economic ventures which allowed her to retain high standards of living.

**Abstrakt:** Niniejszy artykuł mieści się w problematyce funkcjonowania i organizacji magnackich dworów kobiecych w Rzeczypospolitej w XVIII w. Omówione zostały dwory żon chorążego wielkiego koronnego Jerzego Ignacego Lubomirskiego, Marianny z Bielińskich oraz Joanny von Stein. Lubomirskie czynnie współpracowały z panującą w Rzeczypospolitej dynastią Wettinów. Szczególną uwagę poświęcono Joannie von Stein Lubomirskiej, która po śmierci męża wciąż otaczała się znacznym dworem i kontynuowała liczne przedsięwzięcia gospodarcze, które pozwoliły jej utrzymać standard życia na wysokim poziomie.

**Key words:** women's magnate court, Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, court culture, the Saxon era, everyday life of a noble court

**Słowa kluczowe:** kobiece dwór magnacki, Rzeczpospolita Obojga Narodów, kultura dworska, epoka saska, życie codzienne dworu szlacheckiego

Studies on noble women's courts in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth of the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries have only recently attracted the interest of Polish researchers, despite the fact that internationally, these issues have constituted one of the most important research problems for years,<sup>1</sup> with few pioneering works dating back to the previous century.<sup>2</sup> Recent years have brought a significant breakthrough in research on the activities of women in the early modern era in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth, including the organization of women's

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\* The article is a result of the project "Women's noble court in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth in the Saxon times. Structure, people, culture, functions" financed by the National Science Center UMO-2021/41/B/HS3/00253.

<sup>1</sup> See, for example Kettering S. 1986; Hill B. 1996; Crowston C.H. 2001; Kettering S. 2002; Harness K. 2006; Italy's 18<sup>th</sup> Century. 2009; Politics of female households. 2014; Lengyelová T. 2016; Duchoňová D. 2017; Queens Consort. 2017; Gender and Political Culture. 2017; Borgognoni E. 2018; Women Artists. 2019; Modesti A. 2020; Persson F. 2021.

<sup>2</sup> Pośpiech A., Tygielski W. 1978; Augustyniak U. 2000; Kulesza-Woroniecka I. 2008. See also Dwory magnackie. 2005. On the queen's court see Kuras K. 2018.

courts<sup>3</sup>. The cultural and political phenomena of a women's noble court have yet to be elucidated but nowadays studies on private courts of noble and magnate women offer a new approach in Polish academia, corresponding to achievements of historians from elsewhere in Europe.

The aim of the article is to present the functioning of the court of one of the important female figures of the Saxon era Joanna von Stein Lubomirska (1723–1783), the second wife of a representative of a wealthy magnate family Jerzy Ignacy Lubomirski (1687–1753). For comparison, it is worth paying attention also to his first wife, Marianna Denhoff née Bielińska (1685–1730), the former mistress of King Augustus II. The Lubomirski family were closely associated with the King's court, and then with that of his son, Augustus III, playing an important role in the state's politics. The influence of the royal court on certain behaviours and attitudes of the Polish magnates was unquestionable and resulted largely from the desire to please the ruler to achieve specific benefits. However, not everyone accepted foreign patterns. One should also pay attention to the different legal, systemic, and cultural conditions in which women functioned in Poland and Lithuania. There were also significant differences in the wealth of the Polish nobility (magnates, wealthy and middle nobility, poor nobility). These were followed by mental differences that constituted certain behaviours, especially among representatives of the aristocratic class: openness to the world, desire for change, cosmopolitan attitudes.<sup>4</sup>

Magnate courts in the Commonwealth, commonly seen as patrician residences and administration centres, also served as important hearts of economic, cultural, and political life of the province.<sup>5</sup> They brought an element of wonder and unattainability for ordinary noblemen (*szlachta*), who according to the law — but not in social reality — were equal to their “older brethren” and remained on the peripheries of the court world. Nevertheless, for local poor nobility, the court was a source of news from the big world and an important place enabling them to follow their career paths and obtain social promotions, providing them with wealthy patrons' care, and presenting them with a chance for education or a beneficial marriage for their offspring. Magnates willingly opened doors to their sealed world to gain devoted noble clients, who would be at their every beck and call, night and day. Thus, the provincial nobility — just as people from lower classes, townsfolk or even peasantry — were the source of recruitment of court staff and court officials. For this reason, magnate courts were transforming into unique conglomerates including folks from different walks of life — from court owners and court officials to various servants hired either temporarily or permanently.<sup>6</sup> Courts blew the air of freshness, diversity, and big affairs from the distant world into the environment of noble peripheries. Yet their inhabitants had to adhere to one cultural code, speak one language, and use the same gestures that would be understood by potential customers or servants. Magnates eagerly emphasized their “equality” with the poorer nobility in order to win them over for their political ends. While new fashions and changing standards of court behaviours were noticed and accepted, they were scoffed upon by the nobility, deeply rooted in tradition. The sublime environment of court culture — especially in the latter half of the eighteenth century — was too hermetic and too expensive for average noblemen to become part of. Nevertheless, considering rapid transformations taking place in politics and culture, one may say that the nobility often broke through this barrier and did take part, in one way or another, in the court life they witnessed.<sup>7</sup> Family ceremo-

<sup>3</sup> Karkucińska W. 2000; Jakuboszczak A. 2008; Słaby A. 2014; Słaby A. 2015; Tyszką P. 2015; Kicińska U. 2019; Studies on Female Patronage. 2019; Kicińska U. 2020; Popiołek B. 2020a; Kicińska U. 2021; Popiołek B. 2021a; Popiołek B. 2021b; Popiołek B. 2021c; Kicińska U. 2022; Popiołek B. 2022a; Popiołek B. 2022b.

<sup>4</sup> For more, see: Popiołek B. 2022b.

<sup>5</sup> Sawicka-Jurek J. 2005; Stojek-Sawicka K. 2010; Popiołek B. 2020a; Dwór kobiecy. 2021.

<sup>6</sup> More on the subject see Augustyniak U. 2001; Dwory magnackie. 2005; Kulesza-Woroniecka I. 2008; Słaby A. 2014; Kuras K. 2018; Popiołek B. 2020a.

<sup>7</sup> Popiołek B. 2019.

nies, full of glamour and glitter, crept into public life, and lower social classes joined magnate echelons not only as serving staff or clients but also as participants or spectators of various events. For instance, they took part in royal carnivals in entourages of magnates holding important offices or travelling around Europe. Events like these were an opportunity both for mingling and for a social polarization of the two worlds. Serving at a magnate court gave a chance to listen to gossip and adopt certain behaviours and standards, which were becoming increasingly more natural and homely. In fact, no court could exist without a well-functioning staff, court officials or other people, who in turn had to accept certain rules in order to get closer to their patrons.

A circle surrounding Jerzy Ignacy Lubomirski, the Notary of the Crown (*pisarz wielki koronny*) and later Standard Bearer of the Crown (*chorąży wielki koronny*), and his two wives is an interesting example of a magnate court undergoing the aforementioned transformations. Lubomirski was brought up under the influence of West European culture and spent many years of his childhood at the Dresden court. He was the eldest of the three sons of Konstancja née Bokum (d. 1708) and Hieronim Augustyn Lubomirski (d. 1706). His father, the Treasurer of the Crown (*podskarbi wielki koronny*) and later the Grand Hetman of the Crown (*hetman wielki koronny*), was a skilled and accomplished man, and ambitions for the Polish crown were not alien to him.

Due to his father's military and political activity, Jerzy Ignacy became involved as a young man in various military adventures. Loyalty to the King Augustus II made him one of the regulars of royal court. It is probably here that he met his first wife Marianna Denhoff née Bielińska, a royal mistress famous for her great beauty and operatic voice, a participant in royal games and parties.<sup>8</sup> He married her in January 1719, but the marriage happiness of the Lubomirskis did not last long, because Marianna died in 1730 during a difficult childbirth.

Seven years after the death his first wife Jerzy Ignacy got married again, on February 28, 1737, to the pretty fourteen-year-old Joanna Maria Ignacja Karolina von Stein zu Jettingen (1723–1783),<sup>9</sup> the daughter of Anna Maria Guttenberg and Baron Franz Makward Alexander von Stein zu Jettingen. Joanna von Stein<sup>10</sup> brought into the marriage a dowry of 50,000 ducats, her youth, and her attachment to French and German culture, which also happened to be dear to her husband. The marriage may have been an intentional choice since Jerzy Lubomirski had known the girl's father well and had maintained social contact with him at the Dresden court for a long time. As a young man, Jerzy Lubomirski had a chance to experience the royal court and its culture thanks to the positions of both his father and his aunt, Anna Katarzyna Lubomirska née Bokum, the king Augustus II's first Polish mistress.<sup>11</sup> At his parents' home, he had an

<sup>8</sup> Marianna Denhoff née Bieliński was the daughter of Ludwika Maria née Morsztyn and Kazimierz Ludwik Bieliński (d. 1713), Grand Marshal of the Crown, and from 1703 wife of Bogusław Ernest Denhoff (d. 1734). They had two daughters. The marriage with Denhoff was unsuccessful, and Marianna spent most of her time with her parents in Danzig and surrounded by Stanisław Leszczyński, a royal opponent. Although the official mistress of Augustus II at that time was Anna hr. Cosel, the king started an affair with Marianna Denhoff. It was an eminently political relationship, serving to establish an agreement with France, in which her brother-in-law, a French envoy, Jan Victor de Besenval probably had a significant share. She played an important role in the agreement between Augustus II and Louis XIV in 1712, during the Great Northern War. After the affairs with the king ended, she became involved with Jerzy Ignacy Lubomirski, but the marriage with Denhoff was dissolved only in 1718. After that, she married Jerzy Ignacy. Marianna Lubomirska died on April 20, 1730 in Rzeszów. The Lubomirskis had several children, but only two lived to be adults — Teodor Hieronim and Marianna. See more: Gierowski J.A. 1972; Gierowski J.A. 1982, pp. 433–434; Popiołek B. 2018, p. 320.

<sup>9</sup> Dymnicka H. 1972; Penkała-Jastrzębska A. 2021, p. 276.

<sup>10</sup> She signed her letters and bills with the Polish form of her name, Joanna; therefore, this form is used in the text.

<sup>11</sup> Urszula Katarzyna Lubomirska née Bokum (1685–1743), daughter of Henryk Bokum, sister of Konstancja Lubomirska née Bokum, wife of Jerzy Dominik Lubomirski, the Grand Chamberlain of the Crown (divorcee

opportunity to get acquainted with German influences due to his father's close relationship with his cousin Jerzy Aleksander Lubomirski (1666–1735), the Camp Commander of the Crown (obożny koronny), and his first wife, Joanna Karolina Startzhausen<sup>12</sup>. Jerzy Ignacy's younger brother Aleksander Jakub (1695–1772) got married in Dresden on November 24, 1717 to a German lady Karolina Frederyka von Vitzthum von Eckstädt (1701–1755) and spent most of his time in Dresden.<sup>13</sup> Jerzy Ignacy's mother, Konstancja Lubomirska née Bokum, may have spoken German as well since she paid frequent visits to Königsberg, where she usually stayed for a long time. Moreover, she corresponded with the Prussian court in Berlin.

Jerzy Ignacy Lubomirski was fluent in spoken and written French and German. He maintained strong social relationships with people from the Dresden and Warsaw courts. His father's and aunt's positions and later that of his cousin Elżbieta Sieniawska née Lubomirska (1669–1729), the wife of the castellan of Kraków, provided him with political support. Just like his royal protector, Jerzy Ignacy Lubomirski expressed his preference for the French lifestyle, also favored by both of his wives. With no parental supervision, as he and his siblings had been orphaned quite early, the young Lubomirski wasted time on drinking binges in the king's environment and at military camps. In 1713, he got involved in a dispute and a subsequent duel with his neighbour, Józef Jelc. The event culminated in Jelc's death and Lubomirski's imprisonment.<sup>14</sup> Owing to the intervention of his cousin Elżbieta Sieniawska née Lubomirska, a judge was fairly easy on him. Lubomirski was sentenced to two years in prison, which he served intermittently in the years 1721–1722 at the Sanok castle.

Lubomirski was not a prominent individual and in the light of his ambitions, his talents were very mediocre. Despite his eager political support for his mentor Augustus II, Lubomirski never assumed higher office and had to satisfy himself with the position of notary and then office of the Grand Standard Bearer of the Crown (from September 8, 1746). Lubomirski's goal, possibly encouraged by his aunt Urszula Katarzyna<sup>15</sup>, Duchess of Cieszyn, was not only the command of the Crown artillery — a post he failed to obtain anyway — but also the Hungarian crown<sup>16</sup>. Nonetheless, he participated in numerous military actions, so one must credit him with some courage.<sup>17</sup>

Even though Jerzy Ignacy's first marriage to Marianna Bielińska endured only 11 years, their relationship lasted far longer. The lovers, who spent most of their time in Dresden as the King's companions, were waiting for a formal annulment of Marianna's marriage to her first husband, Bogusław Ernest Denhoff (d. 1734). That was supposed to take place in November 1714, but the actual annulment was proclaimed only in 1718. Shortly afterwards, on January 6, 1719, Jerzy Ignacy married his paramour in the king's chapel in Warsaw, not in Dresden, as it has been believed.<sup>18</sup> On January 8, 1719, Michał Franciszek Sapieha wrote in a letter to his

1712), the first Polish mistress of King Augustus II, to whom she gave birth to a daughter (born 1701) and son Jan Jerzy (born 1704), Chevalier de Saxe. She belonged to a small circle of the king's trusted people who founded the so-called Round Table Society in 1726. In 1721, she married Prince Frederick Ludwig of Württemberg.

<sup>12</sup> Penkała-Jastrzębska A. 2021, p. 276.

<sup>13</sup> Penkała-Jastrzębska A. 2021, p. 276.

<sup>14</sup> Popiołek B. 2020b; Popiołek B. 2020c.

<sup>15</sup> See more: Popiołek B. 2018, p. 319.

<sup>16</sup> The Lubomirski dreams of the Hungarian crown went back to the times of the Kurutsi Uprisings in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when Hieronim Augustyn Lubomirski supported the insurgents with his own military units and weapons. The frontier Spiš starostwo remained in the hands of the Lubomirskis for a long time. The uprising of Ferenc Rákóczi II was actively supported by Jerzy Ignacy's cousin, Elżbieta Sieniawska, who was one of the leading organizers of aid for the insurgents from 1701. See more: Hopp L. 1966, pp. 131–150; Popiołek B. 2020c, pp. 16–20.

<sup>17</sup> Nabywaniec S., Zych S. 2002/2003, p. 141.

<sup>18</sup> The prenuptial agreement specified the date of the wedding as January 5, 1719. See the prenuptial agreement of Marianna née Bielińska and Jerzy Ignacy Lubomirski, created in Warsaw on January 4, 1719, AN Kraków, Castr. Crac. Rel. 174, pp. 1478–1481.

mother, *Mde la comtesse Bilińska a fini son regne en epousant Mr le General Lubomirski*<sup>19</sup> Marianna Lubomirska received a wonderful wedding gift from the king: a palace and a bouquet of diamond flowers. Soon afterwards, the newlyweds came back to their residence in Rzeszów. Jerzy Ignacy had managed his family lands and estates after his father's death in 1706; however, the actual division of the property between the brothers — Jan Kazimierz (1692–1737), the starosta of Bolimów, and Aleksander Jakub (1695–1772), the grand sword bearer of the Crown (*miecznik wielki koronny*) — took place in 1722.<sup>20</sup> During the young brothers' absence from the country, the management fell into the hands of their uncle and protector, Jerzy Dominik Lubomirski (d. 1727), the deputy Chamberlain of the Crown (*podkomorzy nadworny koronny*), and two court officials, Wojciech Hołodyński and Stanisław Pili. The expensive foreign journeys of Jerzy Ignacy's younger brothers were an additional burden for the Rzeszów estates, which is reflected in the correspondence of their guardian Major Chmielewski with Wojciech Hołodyński. The adolescents' behaviour was something their guardian frowned upon. He complained that the young men got themselves into fights and gambling, squandering already scarce money which was supposed to cover their foreign education.<sup>21</sup> Unlike his thrifty father, Hetman Lubomirski, Jerzy Ignacy did not pay much attention to his lands or estates, where he was a rather occasional visitor, as he preferred court and military life. Only his marriage to Marianna Bielińska made him move to Rzeszów permanently. At the time, the Rzeszów estates were in a very bad condition; the castle was empty and basic things had to be purchased.<sup>22</sup>

Lubomirski was very wealthy, but his haphazard investments and unfortunate management of his lands and estates resulted in financial loss and devastation of the property.<sup>23</sup> The estates, which had been left without direct supervision by their owners, gradually fell into ruin, as they were robbed by their administrators and troops marching across the lands of the Commonwealth. Owing to his short marriage to Marianna Bielińska, he finally got involved in the economic matters of his estates and the organization of the court. Little is known about that period of Lubomirskis' life, aside from the fact that they had a few children, only two of whom survived — son Teodor Hieronim (1720–1761) and daughter Marianna Ludwika (d. 1767),<sup>24</sup> wife of Adam Jordan. At that time, the Lubomirskis maintained close social contact with other members of their family, especially with Teresa née Mniszech and Józef Lubomirski, the voivodes of Czernihów, and Ignacy's brother Jan Kazimierz, and his wife, Urszula Lubomirska née Branicka, the starostas of Bolimów. During the spring of 1730, having been invited by the king, the Lubomirskis intended to travel to Dresden, but Marianna was expectant.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, her husband's cousins visited her in Rzeszów. The ladies found deep friendship, and Teresa Lubomirska stayed with Marianna until her last breath.<sup>26</sup> “On the Easter Saturday evening, I learned from his Lordship notary of the Crown about his Lady's poor health, and he obliged me to hurry to them, despite such a great ceremony yesterday, for I had to leave on the Easter Day, once I came here, I saw the very weak Lady, who gave birth to a son a week ago, and what happens to her

<sup>19</sup> M. Sapieha to his mother, January 8, 1719, BN Warszawa, BOZ mf 709, call no. 940, n. pag.

<sup>20</sup> Nabywaniec S., Zych S. 2002/2003, p. 139; Borkowski R. 2014.

<sup>21</sup> Chmielewski to W. Hołodyński, Paris, April 21, 1713, CPAHU Lwów, f. 835, op. 1, call no. 1489, pp. 7–8.

<sup>22</sup> AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 196, p. 5.

<sup>23</sup> Lipelt R. 2002.

<sup>24</sup> About this marriage Popiołek B. 2022c, p. 408–411.

<sup>25</sup> Teresa Lubomirska née Mniszech to Józef Wandalin Mniszech, Przeworsk, March 22 1730, ZNiO, call no. 2644/I, p. 44.

<sup>26</sup> Teresa Lubomirska née Mniszech to Józef Wandalin Mniszech, ZNiO, call no. 2644/I. See more: Popiołek B. 2022a, note 700.

next, I shall not fail to inform,<sup>27</sup> Teresa wrote to her father. Marianna Lubomirska died on April 20, 1730 in Rzeszów, two weeks after going into labour.

The Lubomirskis were used to life at the royal court and enjoyed surrounding themselves with luxury, which was reflected in the organization of their court. However, based on the surviving court bills from that period, it is difficult to recreate its exact structure. Without a shadow of a doubt, Marianna Lubomirska had great influence on the arrangement of her court since it was she who negotiated with her staff, signed contracts with court officials and made orders for assorted foods, as court bills with her signature show. Inventories of expenses include mainly victuals such as beef, dairy, bread, cereal, fruit, and occasionally, fish. It seems that the cuisine at the Lubomirskis' court was rather traditional and heavy, even though they preferred the French fashion. This is understandable, especially due to the fact that Marianna's mother, Ludwika Maria Bielińska née Morsztyn (d. 1730), spent a part of her life in France, and Marianna's sister Katarzyna married a French envoy to the Commonwealth Jean Victor de Besenval (1671–1736), and left with him for Switzerland.<sup>28</sup>

Despite his frequent visits to Dresden, Lubomirski spent a great deal of time at his Rzeszów estates, which required a thrifty hand and new investments.<sup>29</sup> In 1720, he started rebuilding the Rzeszów castle, which included its expansion and decoration in his favourite style, Saxon rococo. The construction works were supervised by Karol Henryk Wiedemann, a moderately talented architect and military engineer brought from Saxony. In 1724, he started the renovation of the fortifications, and in 1730, began restoring the main part of the castle, especially the roof and the main gate, and expanding the outer reinforcements. The works continued for a few years but came to a halt in 1735 due to a fire, which caused considerable damage and left Lubomirski with no alternative but to start everything from scratch.<sup>30</sup> Marianna's death and the need to organize care for their young children, finalize the religious foundations (which had been undertaken by the spouses together), and reengage with public life after the death of King Augustus II, were factors that contributed to a temporary cessation of the construction investments.

Lubomirski's close ties with the royal court of Augustus III and his marriage to Joanna von Stein assured him a stable place in the orbit of court influence; however, he stood no chance for a spectacular career in politics. Joanna and Jerzy Ignacy Lubomirski were frequent guests at the king's courts in Warsaw and Dresden, passionately engaging in court intrigues. Jerzy Ignacy's second marriage received a great deal of attention from his relatives. "I am reporting to your Ladyship Benefactress, that his Lordship general Lubomirski has already got engaged to her Ladyship Stein, his Lordship Sułkowski's sister, and gifted her beautiful presents, both jewellery and estates, and different trinkets. He assigned her fifty thousand talars and she has fifty thousand talars more from his Lordship Sułkowski,"<sup>31</sup> as one young Przebendowska (first name unknown), who belonged to Queen Maria Józefa court, informed her aunt.

In 1738, one year into their marriage, the spouses opposed the political party of the Czartoryskis — "the Familia" — and joined the coterie of the Saxon minister Henryk Brühl (1700–1763). The clique's intrigues resulted in ostracizing Józef Aleksander Sułkowski,<sup>32</sup> a former favorite of King Augustus III, depriving him of his offices and the king's grace. The support for

<sup>27</sup> Teresa Lubomirska née Mniszech to Józef Wandalin Mniszech, Rzeszów, April 10, 1730, ZNiO, call no. 2644/I, p. 46.

<sup>28</sup> Popiołek B. 2018, p. 583.

<sup>29</sup> Nabywaniec S., Zych S. 2003/2003.

<sup>30</sup> *Inwentarz ruchomości zamku rzeszowskiego 1753 r.*, H. Łopaciński Public Library in Lublin, inventory no. 1755.

<sup>31</sup> J. Przebendowska to Konstancja Mniszech née Tarło, [1738?], AGAD, Archiwum A. Czolowskiego, call no. 365, p. 34.

<sup>32</sup> See Perłakowski A. 2013.

Brühl's faction came with a reward for the Lubomirskis — Jerzy Ignacy received the office of starosta of Libusza, which he later passed on to his beloved wife. Despite this fact, Joanna's sister, Maria Franciszka von Stein, married the aforementioned former king's favorite, and Joanna got romantically involved with Henryk Brühl after her husband's death.

Jerzy Ignacy Lubomirski's second marriage to the young Joanna von Stein resulted in a significant change in the lifestyle and organization of the Rzeszów court. Enchanted by his beautiful wife, Lubomirski undertook a number of initiatives, which were intended to raise the profitability of their lands and estates, and most of all, beautify the residence and satisfy his wife's every whim. The Rzeszów residence comprised a castle and lavish gardens and became an important centre of court life in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at the time. Jerzy Ignacy Lubomirski died in 1753. After his demise, his wife and their children had to leave the Rzeszów estates, which, as a result of division of property, were inherited by Teodor Hieronim, the eldest son from Jerzy Ignacy's first marriage to Marianna née Bielińska. Joanna Lubomirska never favored her stepchildren, Teodor Hieronim, the Cupbearer of the Crown — who inherited the Rzeszów estates — or his sister, Marianna Jordan. This animosity affected her relationship with her husband. Joanna's relationship with her stepson was good as long as his father, Joanna's husband, was alive. But Jerzy Ignacy's death forced Joanna to leave Rzeszów. From then on, she divided her time between Warsaw and her residence in Libusza. Nevertheless, the condition of the Libusza estates, which were leased and shared with Józef Gordon, led to a peasants' revolt in 1755–1758, which was arbitrated by Józef Andrzej Załuski and late Jerzy Ignacy Lubomirski's son-in-law Adam Jordan who acted as a commissioner.<sup>33</sup> Only after Teodor Hieronim's death could Joanna Lubomirska come back to Rzeszów. Joanna and Jerzy Ignacy had five offspring: three sons — Adolf (1738–1775), Franciszek Grzegorz (1752–1812) and Jerzy as well as two daughters: Józefa Zofia, the wife of Adam Poniński, the Great Treasurer of the Crown, and Barbara, who married Kasper Lubomirski (1724–1780), the son of the Voivode of Kraków. The eldest of Joanna's sons was educated in Vienna and later moved to Dresden, where he led an adventurous life. He disregarded the admonitions of his mother and brother-in-law Adam Poniński and eventually ran into debt and ended up in a prison in Dresden. Spending about six years in prison, he wrote insistent letters to Poniński asking for the cancellation of his debts.<sup>34</sup> He accused his mother of having renounced him and Poniński of appropriating his rights to the Cudnów estate. The property of Teodor Hieronim, who died without children, was divided only in 1776. In the contract concluded on June 19, 1776, Adam Poniński received the rights to a part of the property of Adolf Lubomirski (the Cudnów estate) and 90 thousand złotys for settling court cases, and the other brothers — Franciszek Grzegorz and Jerzy — 30 thousand złotys each<sup>35</sup>. This may indicate that Adolf Lubomirski was still absent from the country at the time.

During the many years of her widowhood, Joanna Lubomirska successfully managed her estates and maintained her court thanks to profit gained from potash, saltpetre, glass, and iron production at the Cudnów estates.<sup>36</sup> It is not known, however, whether she was the one driving these economic initiatives or whether she just continued the existing production, which allowed her to lead a comfortable life. Apart from smelting raw iron, the Cudnów manufactory produced cauldrons, wires, and sheet metal. Lubomirska sold them to Moscow and Kyiv and was supported in this endeavour by her plenipotentiaries, deputy voivodes Jan Balicki

<sup>33</sup> Wiślicz T. 2013.

<sup>34</sup> Adolf Lubomirski to Adam Poniński, from Dresden, March 23, 1771, AGAD, AR V, call no. 8647, pp. 31–34.

<sup>35</sup> AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 15, pp. 94–97.

<sup>36</sup> See letters from different people to Joanna von Stein Lubomirska, the wife of the Standard Bearer of the Crown, in economic matters, AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 645; AGAD, AR V, call no 8687.

and J[an?] Kemiński. She also held some minor church foundation events,<sup>37</sup> finishing what her husband had begun, and was eagerly involved in politics, especially in the events of the Confederation of Bar in 1768, an armed association of nobility that aimed to defend Catholic faith and the Commonwealth's independence against Russia.<sup>38</sup> Generally, Joanna Lubomirska was considered Henryk Brühl's mistress, whilst others whispered of her intimate relationship with King Augustus III, which assured her a significant position at his court. She fervently weaved intrigues with other ladies from the Lubomirski family, especially with the young Urszula Lubomirska née Branicka (1697–1776), the widow of the starosta of Bolimów. Consequently, the deaths of Brühl and Augustus III shook Joanna's position considerably. In response, she occupied herself with caring for her estates in Libusza and Rzeszów. Joanna died on March 30, 1783 in Libusza.

The Lubomirskis' high social and financial status required an adequate setting: a representative residence and a well-organized court. Family background, lifestyle, and inclination toward the French-Saxon culture were all reflected in the Lubomirskis' residence. They were also fascinated by the subtle rococo art, which resulted in beautifully designed gardens, Chinese pavilions, and orangeries. Sadly, nothing is known about the number of their court staff, the rotation of their servants or the duties of the people working there.

While the exact determination of the personnel at the court of prince Jerzy Ignacy Lubomirski's first wife is impossible, one may assume that it constituted both Poles and Frenchmen, and maybe even Germans.<sup>39</sup> It seems, however, that throughout Jerzy Ignacy's second marriage, the staff of the Rzeszów court changed, especially at the court of Joanna Lubomirska. The only thing known for a fact is that in 1713, the person responsible for the bills and purchases of Marianna née Bielińska and Jerzy Ignacy was J. Karwowski, unknown by his full name.<sup>40</sup> Documents from the 1730s show that "Mrs. Grocholska"<sup>41</sup> played an important role as a member of the court staff. Probably, she was a storeroom maid (*szafarka*), responsible for dispensing products to the kitchen. In the same decade, Henryk Gesynka (*Gesyng?*) was commander of the Rzeszów castle, as confirmed in the sources of 1735,<sup>42</sup> and we know that at least some part of the staff included Germans, such as lieutenant Johann Christian Bergner and Johann August Elterin. Ludwik Świdorski, a Pole, was the standard bearer of the castle. The castle gardens fell under the supervision of a gardener named Moryc, probably of German background, as hiring German gardeners was quite common at the time.<sup>43</sup> There may have been more gardeners for in 1707, gardener Balcer Wolski, who worked for Jerzy Ignacy's mother, Konstancja Lubomirska née Bokum, complained to her treasurer about the lack of money for the garden workers' wages.<sup>44</sup> There is no mention of an orchestra at the Lubomirskis' court; however, its lack would have been odd as Marianna Lubomirska was famous not only for her unique beauty but also her operatic voice, which she used in performances at the royal court.<sup>45</sup>

<sup>37</sup> About the coronation of the Virgin Mary in Bernardine church in Rzeszów see the rough draft of the letter by Joanna von Stein Lubomirska to N.N., Rzeszów 1763, AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 646, pp. 42–43.

<sup>38</sup> Konopczyński W. 1991.

<sup>39</sup> Kitchen expenses inventory from June 22, 1727, expenses of a storeroom maid, AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 229, p. 4.

<sup>40</sup> Register of things dispensed to the court, July 7, 1713, AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 192, p. 22.

<sup>41</sup> Register of meat, tallow and flowers by Mrs. Grocholska, 1730, AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 192, p. 24.

<sup>42</sup> Receipts for food for the servants, AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 172, p. 1 and 5.

<sup>43</sup> E.g. Jan Baptysta Kendel (d. after 1730) was a gardener working for Jerzy Ignacy Lubomirski's cousin, Elżbieta Sieniawska. See Nestorow R. 2005a; Nestorow R. 2005b.

<sup>44</sup> Balcer Wolski to Wojciech Hołodyński, Warsaw, January 20, 1707, CPAHU Lwów, f. 835, op. 1, call no. 1498, p. 18.

<sup>45</sup> See Żórawska-Witkowska A. 1997, p. 261.



Undoubtedly, some of these people kept their positions, especially those who served Jerzy Ignacy Lubomirski. The inventory from 1753 shows that the Rzeszów castle incorporated a kitchen, a credenza (*kredens*), and a *kandytiera* meaning confectionery.<sup>46</sup> Obviously, that called for the presence of appropriate people who could handle these rooms and manage the court kitchen. Some changes may have occurred after his death, but we can only speculate whether some of his servants were dismissed or went to work for his eldest son, Alfred. It is worth mentioning that among the court staff there were people with German and French names. This is unsurprising, considering Joanna von Stein's nationality and her husband's preferences after spending most of his life at the Dresden court. Servants were usually supervised by a marshal of the court, who was a link between court employees and their masters.<sup>47</sup> Most often, a marshal had extensive powers to manage the staff and administer the estates. Sometimes, he merged this function with the responsibilities of treasurer, as he had access to court expenses. Obviously, everything depended on the size and structure of the court and its owners' choices. In 1755, a certain Dydyński, sometimes referred to as marshal, at other times as standard bearer,<sup>48</sup> was entitled to spend money from the court treasury and pay the bills and staff. A certain Demier, perhaps a Frenchman of an unknown first name, mentioned in the court files from 1756,<sup>49</sup> was a marshal at the court of Lubomirski's wife. More and more Germans appeared amongst the court staff and court officials, mainly butlers and house stewards, especially in Lubomirska's immediate environment. This does not mean, though, that all Polish staff were dismissed. The reign of the second Saxon king must have resulted in an influx of German settlers and people looking for work at magnate courts. In many cases, determining a national or cultural affiliation of court staff solely based on names and surnames can be misleading, as names were often written down incorrectly. Most probably, Lubomirska's personal secretary, Santoriusz, was also German; there is mention of him in a court payroll from 1762 stating his wage of 12 zlotys and an allowance for bread and beer.<sup>50</sup> In 1766, Santoriusz gave up his position at the court and became a postmaster in Malbork.<sup>51</sup> The same payroll mentions two noblewomen referred to as "Mrs. Adamska" and "Miss Klasówna," maybe a German (Klaus?); a storeroom maid Kozłowska; a kitchen maid; two laundry maids; and a chamber girl, responsible for clothing and dressing.<sup>52</sup> The court bills show that these workers received regular wages plus a meager allowance for beer and bread. *Tabella zapłaty tygodniowej...* also mentions a "credenza boy" (*kredencarczyk*) responsible for tidying and keeping order in a cupboard; two cooks, Szymon and Kozłowski; a baker Sebastian Gajerski; and a cook's assistant, Karol. In 1762, other servants were still present at Joanna Lubomirska's court, in what is noted as *Tabela laffy miesięcznej ludziom przy dworze JO Księżnej chorążynnej wielkiej koronnej...*<sup>53</sup> They were a house steward Pushmann, who still worked for Joanna

<sup>46</sup> Malczewski J. 1995, p. 28.

<sup>47</sup> Compare: Kozdrach M. 2014.

<sup>48</sup> AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 192, p. 145.

<sup>49</sup> Receipt confirming the collection of kitchen victuals by P. Demier, the marshal of the Lubomirska's court, July 24, 1756, AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 192, p. 106.

<sup>50</sup> *Tabella zapłaty tygodniowej strawnego officjantom i innym ludziom przy dworze JO. Księżnej chorążynnej koronnej służącym w 1 Augustii 1762* [a table of weekly allowances for officials and other people serving at the court of Her Ladyship the Duchess, the wife of the standard bearer of the Crown, on August 1, 1762], AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 191, p. 20.

<sup>51</sup> Jan Balicki to Joanna von Stein Lubomirska, Zamość, March 23, 1766, AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 645, p. 4.

<sup>52</sup> *Tabella zapłaty tygodniowej...*, AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 191, p. 20. Compare: Dumanowski J., Jankowski R. 2011.

<sup>53</sup> *Tabela laffy miesięcznej ludziom przy dworze JO Księżnej chorążynnej wielkiej koronnej...* [a table of monthly payment for people at the court of Her Ladyship the Duchess, the wife of the grand standard bearer of the Crown], AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 192, p. 166.

Lubomirska in 1781;<sup>54</sup> a physician Gaertner; a porter Ballon (Baron?); a guard (*wachmistrz*) Zarzycki; and six butlers — Etalkowski and Stefan (Polish-sounding names), as well as Beck, Franz, Johann, and Mathias (German-sounding names). Moreover, the payroll mentions two footmen (*laufer*), Chesse and Rubenau (foreigners, judging by their names); three Polish *hajduks*; two Polish postilions (*foryś*); and two Polish coachmen (*stangret*), Złamańczyk and Ruciński. Among the court officials there were two chefs, Thiele and Chappner, maybe of French origin; a “credenza servant” (*kredencarz*) Jasiejski (Jasieński?); and a “candy boy” (*kandyterczyk*) Antoni, who must have been a confectioner’s help.<sup>55</sup> In another payroll from 1764, Antoni is referred to as “kandyter” (confectioner), which may suggest his promotion.<sup>56</sup> In 1762, all of them received varied wages in cash, and the footman Chesse additionally got livery wage, an allowance for underwear and shoes. The staff payment register of 1764 includes a coiffeur called Wolski, who appears in the payroll tables of several subsequent years. Moreover, the court hired new Polish butlers, Leopold, Stanislaw, Ignacy and Józef. A certain Ruciński held a position of coachman and Sebastian Gajerski was a baker. For the first time, the table mentions a male storeroom maid, Odelgiewicz, who would serve Lubomirska in the following years. The payroll also includes female servants: a laundry woman Albrechtowa and her helper (“a laundry girl”); a kitchen maid; a scullery maid; and a credenza girl.<sup>57</sup> In 1766, Mrs. Adamska, Mrs. Albrechtowa (probably the same laundry woman mentioned above), Mrs. Zielińska, Miss Stromengerówna, and “a girl for the Misses,”<sup>58</sup> who might have been either a chamber maid responsible for clothing and dressing or a servant, were all still working for Joanna Lubomirska. The same goes for Dumańska, Jakutowiczówna, Rosenbuszowa, and a chamber maid Malska,<sup>59</sup> all of whom still remained at the court in 1769. There must have been an orchestra at Lubomirska’s court since the bills mention a surname, or rather a function — “a musician Feltmaier” — who was paid 25 zlotys per quarter.<sup>60</sup> The same document also mentions a gardener Kartner, who received a monthly payment of 108 zlotys; a bookkeeper “Rosenbuszek,” probably Rosenbuszowa’s husband; a castle court legal assessor Klinkowski; a burgrave Albrecht, supposedly the abovementioned laundry woman’s husband; and a hunter Kulakowski.<sup>61</sup> The well-kept, wonderful Rzeszów gardens required not only a permanent head gardener, but also many helpers such as other gardeners, garden security, carpenter’s helpers, a court carpenter, a fisherman, and hired hands (*parobek*) at the folwark.<sup>62</sup> Apart from the court staff, there was a group of courtiers. The bills use this term in reference to “His Lordship Dunin, the courtier.”<sup>63</sup> The court also hired different commissioners, plenipotentiaries, and economists, who worked directly at the Lubomirskis’ estates: Jan Balicki, oberleutnant J. Kempski, W Kożeszowski, and Sosnowski. Well-paid court staff usually remained faithful to their patroness, serving her for many years. Especially Jan Balicki,

<sup>54</sup> Sumariusz różnych wiktuałów na kuchnie Pańską Jmci Pani p. kamerdynera Puchmanan zapłaconych... [a summary of different victuals for the kitchen of Her Ladyship paid by the house steward Puchmanan], AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 192, p. 54.

<sup>55</sup> Tabela laffy miesięcznej... , AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 192, p. 166.

<sup>56</sup> Zapłata miesięczna ludziom służącym przy dworze JO Księżnej JMć Chorążyny w [ielkiej] koronnej pro anno 1 Augusti 1764 [monthly payment for the people serving at the court of Her Ladyship the Duchess, the wife of the grand standard bearer of the Crown, on August 1, 1764], AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 192, p. 168.

<sup>57</sup> Zapłata miesięczna... , AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 192, p. 168.

<sup>58</sup> Payroll from 1766, AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 192, p. 212.

<sup>59</sup> Salary for servants from August 1769, AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 192, p. 225.

<sup>60</sup> List of payment from 1764, AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 192, p. 176.

<sup>61</sup> List of payment from 1764, AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 192, p. 175.

<sup>62</sup> List of payment from 1764, AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 192, p. 176.

<sup>63</sup> AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 192, p. 247.

who looked after the household and legal matters, showed significant engagement. He would suggest different solutions to the duchess and propose ideas how to reclaim and expand her property in terms of economy. Kożeszowski, who was hired as a town scribe, asked his lady benefactress Joanna Lubomirska, “due to your inborn graciousness, to release [me] from this function and use [me] for the household function as a practitioner and an experienced house-keeper.” This change may have been the consequence of his worsening financial condition: “having a mere grosz to scrape by, not only have I spent my wage, and it can be different, on food, but also I have sold much of my own property, and so as not to use up all of it through this work and services, I am humbly supplicating to you, my Lady, for the promotion I am requesting to the function of the Rzeszów custodian.”<sup>64</sup> Lubomirska was a tough negotiator and did not let any fraction of her lands or estates be taken away from her. She fought personal battles with her relatives over the profitable Cudnów estates, which had been taken over by the Lubomirskis as a result of the transaction of Kolbuszów in 1753. Some of her staff tried to undertake their own initiatives, which were unfavorable to the duchess, and incite her eldest son, Adolf Lubomirski, to act against her.<sup>65</sup>

Noteworthy, Lubomirska often changed her place of stay. As her Rzeszów residence had been taken away, she moved to the Libusza estates. But when she reclaimed the Rzeszów estates, she would also visit Warsaw, where she stayed in the chambers of the Lubomirski palace, rented from Zofia Lubomirska née Krasińska, the wife of the voivode of Lublin. Joanna would always announce her visits and have her staff (Mrs. Balicka and Mrs. Gibes) adapt the Warsaw residence to her needs.<sup>66</sup> Probably, the Lubomirskis did not own a residence in Warsaw since Joanna always had her people rent suitable rooms in the neighbourhood of the marshal's palace. As a last resort, she was ready to stay in front of the enclosure with the Virgins of the Sacraments: “the room need not be so shapely as long as it is comfortable,”<sup>67</sup> she wrote in one of her letters. In times of need, the duchess even turned to the archbishop of Lwów and asked him if she could rent a few rooms in the palace, as she was worried that at the time of the Sejm congregation, which was about to happen in Warsaw, all suitable buildings would have been rented out.<sup>68</sup> As we can see, even wealthy magnates gave up maintenance of costly residences in Warsaw and chose to rent them in order to reduce the expenses. Lubomirska sought to stay at Warsaw residences for two reasons: she had “a big business with the Court,” and her daughter, Barbara Lubomirska, was moving out of “her beloved accommodation at the monastery.”<sup>69</sup>

Interestingly, there is no mention of any people serving Lubomirska's children, and at least three of her offspring were minors at the time of Jerzy Ignacy's death. It is hard to say whether there actually was a children's court. There may have been one, yet it is not included in the bills from the 1760s that historians have found. Lubomirska's letters confirm that her eldest son Adolf studied at the Academy of Vienna and then spent time in Dresden at the king's court. Her two youngest sons were also educated in Vienna, and Joanna hoped they would benefit from that education more than her firstborn.<sup>70</sup> There is some information about the Lubomirskis' offspring

<sup>64</sup> W. Kożeszowski to Joanna von Stein Lubomirska, n. d., AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 645, p. 134.

<sup>65</sup> Joanna von Stein Lubomirska to Sosnowski, n. d., AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 646, p. 1.

<sup>66</sup> Rough draft of a letter by Joanna von Stein Lubomirska to Balicka, n. d., AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 646, p. 7.

<sup>67</sup> Benedictine Nuns of Perpetual Adoration of the Blessed Sacrament on Krakowskie Przedmieście street, Warsaw. Rough draft of a letter by Joanna von Stein Lubomirska to Ruski, n. d., AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 646, p. 8.

<sup>68</sup> Rough draft of a letter by Joanna von Stein Lubomirska to the archbishop of Lviv (Ferdynand Onufry Kicki?), n. d., AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 646, p. 8.

<sup>69</sup> Rough draft of a letter by Joanna von Stein Lubomirska to Balicka, Rzeszów, July 28, 1766, AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 646, p. 25.

<sup>70</sup> Rough draft of a letter by Joanna von Stein Lubomirska to the duchess, the wife of the voivode of Kraków (Zofia Lubomirska née Krasińska?), n. d., AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 646, p. 6.

in the court shopping lists, especially in reference to clothes and haberdashery; for instance, fabric for the outfits for “His Lordship little prince” and his sister “the princess.” Generally, the purchases included ribbons for shirts and caps for “the little prince,” stockings and ribbons “for Her Ladyship princess’s head,” *baszł*<sup>71</sup> for “the pannier for Her Ladyship the Princess,” or blue tabbinet<sup>72</sup> for a dress.<sup>73</sup>

Hiring such an international mixture of staff must have resulted in many misunderstandings, for example in terms of communication. Nothing is known about the principles of selecting the staff and the requirements they had to meet. Most often, Lubomirska spoke German and maybe French, but the court bills were signed only in German. However, it seems that she knew Polish well enough, since this language was used in communication with the administrators of her estates. While rough drafts of her letters are in Polish, it is not known whether she wrote them herself. In one of her letters, she apologizes to the recipient for writing in German, as she prepares to depart and has no time, after her German secretary fell ill.<sup>74</sup> It appears that the court staff included mainly Polish- and German-speakers, and the French were hired mostly at the court kitchen, a very specific area of court life.

The bills show that such people constituted quite a large group among the staff. In 1690, when Jerzy Ignacy Lubomirski’s parents were still alive, the Rzeszów castle hired four cooks, Jan Orzechowski, Jan Ciężak, Kreza and Rozzhini, as well as a baker of an unknown name. Also, it is not known who the main chef was under Marianna née Bielińska’s management. It is known, though, that she signed the bills herself. The kitchen provisions included mostly big amounts of bread, cereal, chicken, pigeon, milk, sour cream, butter, as well as beets, lettuce, dock, turnips, thyme, bay leaves, and “vodka to tea.” Some records mention crayfish or veal for borsch, broth or *górniczka*.<sup>75</sup> The court kitchen was also supplied with fruit, mainly apples and melons, which were provided by the gardener Moryc. Some orders reveal the preferences of the duchess or her children: “food for the nightingale” or “a chain for the dog.” Hence, one can deduct the presence of these animals at the court.<sup>76</sup> Animals, mainly big and small dogs, birds — nightingales and parrots — and cats were important residents of noble houses as they brought joy and pleasure. Jerzy Ignacy Lubomirski loved dogs and had large kennels.

A. Słowikowski was a chef at the Rzeszów castle. In January 1758, he signed an employment contract which stated that his annual remuneration (*ordynaria*) would include four halfmeasures<sup>77</sup> (*półmiarek*) of rye, two halfmeasures of wheat, a hog, and two barrels of butter. The contract does not say anything about the chef’s payment in cash.<sup>78</sup> Słowikowski does not appear in later documents. For some time, a *pisarz prowontowy*,<sup>79</sup> Krzeczkwicz, was in charge of dispensing products to the kitchen. It is also known that at different times Joanna Lubomirska hired several kitchen staff: confectioners Claisie (most probably French), Raynchart and Antoni; a chef Benedykt; cooks Fryderyk, Dominik, Adamiec, and Dutkiewicz; a baker Sebas-

<sup>71</sup> Stiff material used for making panniers.

<sup>72</sup> Tabbinet — poplin-like silk, glossy fabric.

<sup>73</sup> Inventory of products ordered for Her Ladyship at Abramka Szmuklerka, AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 192, p. 32.

<sup>74</sup> Rough draft of a letter by Joanna von Stein Lubomirska to the wife of the voivode of Kraków (Zofia Lubomirska née Krasieńska?), n. d., AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 646, p. 6.

<sup>75</sup> *Górniczka* was meat with bone from the cervical and thoracic parts of the upper part of the beef or horse quarters. Kitchen delivery, June 22, 1727, AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 229, p. 5.

<sup>76</sup> AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 229, p. 3. See too: Schama S. 1997; Sartorial Politics. 2019.

<sup>77</sup> *Półmiarek* — literal translation: *halfmeasure*; unit of measurement.

<sup>78</sup> AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 188.

<sup>79</sup> A scribe responsible for registering income.

tian Gajerski;<sup>80</sup> a male storeroom maid; and female kitchen maids whose names are missing.<sup>81</sup> Documents from 1771 also mention Franciszek bażantnik,<sup>82</sup> who worked in the kitchen.

The court inventories include lists of products, especially wine,<sup>83</sup> stored in a cellar, so one can assume that this room was also used by the kitchen staff<sup>84</sup>. The cuisine at the Rzeszów court — based not only on its residents' preferences but also an obligatory fashion characteristic of the Saxon-French rococo — was dominated by light dishes, mainly poultry (turkey, chicken, poularde, pigeon, partridge), and dairy (mainly milk, sour cream, and eggs). Veal, small amounts of fish, vegetables, and dried forest mushrooms also found their place among the ingredients used at the court. The pantry inventories also mention some heavier dishes, mainly meat — beef, beef tongue and mutton — and big amounts of different types of vinegar — grape or honey, which may have been used for marinades and sauces. Other preferred dishes included soups, French pâté, roulades, spiked meat, and different kinds of sauces served with dinners, for instance “szampionowy,” made of champignon mushrooms.<sup>85</sup> Pleasures drawn from eating sweet treats were by all means welcomed. And so there were fresh fruit (pears, plums, apples, lemons, melons, and even figs), almonds, raisins, chestnuts, condiments, onions, oil from Gdańsk and Spain, wine, and sweets. Presumably, this was the reason for hiring the abovementioned “kandyter” (a candy maker), whose job was to prepare baked goods such as sponge cakes, wafers, and French tortes. Joanna Lubomirska must have liked sweet cuisine since her menu was full of sugary additions, raisins, almonds, and condiments such as cinnamon, black pepper, and nutmeg.<sup>86</sup> The kitchen expenses also include coffee, milk and cream for coffee, and croissants, which indicate the French nature of the court cuisine.<sup>87</sup> At the time, coffee was a quite common a beverage, hence only occasional purchases of this product — mere 1 or 3 *okkas*<sup>88</sup> — are puzzling. In addition, vegetables such as lettuce, escarole, kale, turnip, parsley, horseradish, onion, and pickled cucumbers found their place on the Lubomirskis' dining table. Different kinds of cereal played an important role in the diets of the residents of the Rzeszów castle. Despite their inclination toward the French cuisine, there were also dishes based on a traditional baroque cuisine. They were served to celebrate fêtes with honourable guests or other special meetings. These dishes included cakes colored with painter's gold and covered with lazur<sup>89</sup> (“[payment] for painter's gold for kandytoryja”<sup>90</sup>). These products are included in different orders and purchases.<sup>91</sup> Little fish was ordered, which may suggest its rare occurrence in the court menu. Usually, tench, crucian carp and pike were bought. Also, small amounts of stockfish<sup>92</sup> and herring were ordered for the duchess.<sup>93</sup>

<sup>80</sup> AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 188 (inventory no. 519).

<sup>81</sup> AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 188 (inventory no. 519).

<sup>82</sup> Receipt for Franciszek Bażantnik for the payment at the Rzeszów castle, AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 192, p. 223.

<sup>83</sup> AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 231 (inventory no. 519).

<sup>84</sup> See more: Dumanowski J. 2003; Dumanowski J. 2008; Kuropatnicki A.K. 2012; Gentilcore D. 2016; Popiołek B. 2016; Sikorska M. 2019; The power of taste. 2020; Popiołek B. 2021c; Popiołek B. 2022b.

<sup>85</sup> AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 228 (inventory no. 519).

<sup>86</sup> Bill from Gałdzina Fraimowicz, a spice seller from Rzeszów, for different spices for Her Ladyship taken in Zwiężczyca on August 14, 1756, drawn up and finalised, AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 192, p. 105.

<sup>87</sup> Weekly kitchen expenses from March 31 and April 6, 1770, AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 229 (inventory no. 519).

<sup>88</sup> 1.282 kg.

<sup>89</sup> Blue pigment.

<sup>90</sup> Customary expense from August 1762, AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 183, p. 208

<sup>91</sup> Bill from Gałdzina Fraimowicz, a spice seller from Rzeszów, for different spices for Her Ladyship taken in Zwiężczyca on August 14, 1756, drawn up and finalised, AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 192, p. 105.

<sup>92</sup> Air-dried cod.

<sup>93</sup> Specification of fish bought from the Boguski pond in “8bris (October) anno D[omi]ni 1768,” AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 192, p. 167.

The kitchen expenses also covered items which were not ingredients, but they were connected with the kitchen in some other way. Among these purchases were utensils such as baking trays for pastry and pâté, ladles, necessary maintenance cost of kitchen devices such as stoves and grates, and even “binding of register books,” which suggests that the court documentation was carefully taken care of. Finally, there are notes of purchases such as hair powder and hair pomade for prince Adolf, pomade and *mouches*<sup>94</sup> for the duchess, incense powder for smudging rooms, and fly poison.

There must have been a laundry room at the court, which can be deduced not only from the names of hired laundry women but also frequent orders of laundry starch and soap used for the “chędożenie”<sup>95</sup> of underwear: both ordinary bars and “good” soap for the duchess.

The cellar at the court clearly indicates stronger beverages such as French, Rhine, and perhaps Hungarian wines, as well as meads and mulled vodkas. The inventory from 1746–47 provides a long list of these liquors — 2541 bottles.<sup>96</sup> Such products must have been easy to get since Rzeszów was an important trade centre visited by many merchants from different countries, who sold their goods there, and, as a result, the court gained high income from selling trade concessions.<sup>97</sup> The management of the alcoholic products was supervised by Kowalewski, “the scribe of the Rzeszów propination.”<sup>98</sup> The cellar was also used for storing mustard and vinegar, *ergo*, marinated products as well.

The two Rzeszów courts which are introduced here were quite similar both in terms of organization and functioning as well as nationality of the personnel, with a stronger emphasis on the German element during the management of Joanna von Stein Lubomirska. The ladies had different temperaments and personalities. At the time of her marriage to Lubomirski, Marianna née Bielińska was a mature woman, aware of her goals, yet gentle and compliant. Therefore, it seems that her husband played an important role in the organization of the court. Perhaps it was influenced by the considerable mobility of the Lubomirskis, who constantly moved between Dresden, Warsaw, and Rzeszów. The same could be said about the young Joanna von Stein at the beginning of her marriage. However, after her husband’s death in 1753, she took over the entire management of the court and organized the court life in her own way. The fragmentary archival materials do not allow for far-reaching conclusions. We know nothing about the organization of the children’s courts in this family, which employed nurses and caretakers, and yet these must have played an important role, given such numerous offspring. Moreover, our knowledge of the artistic and cultural undertakings of the Lubomirskis’ court is negligible. The type of parties, celebrations and, consequently, the influence of the court on the local environment remain a secret. It seems that the circle of Joanna Lubomirska did not differ significantly from other women’s courts of that era.<sup>99</sup> Due to scant sources, we must build our narrative about the activities of women’s courts carefully. Certainly, women’s courts did not differ from men’s courts in structure, but they differed in their functions: political commitment, education of girls or matrimonial policy. Certainly, despite the Lubomirska’s considerable political influence, her court did not match the organizational scale of such centers as those established by Izabela Branicka née Poniatowska, Maria Zofia Czartoryska née Sieniawska or Anna Paulina Jabłonowska née Sapieha.<sup>100</sup> However, whether the courts of Polish magnates can be

<sup>94</sup> Beauty patches glued on the face.

<sup>95</sup> Washing by beating.

<sup>96</sup> Inventory from 1746–1747, AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 231 (inventory no. 519).

<sup>97</sup> Peckowski J. 1908.

<sup>98</sup> Receipts for wages and alcoholic beverages from 1769, AP Rzeszów, AL, call no. 208, p. 2.

<sup>99</sup> See: Popiołek B. 2021a; Popiołek B. 2022b.

<sup>100</sup> Kolekcje. 2021.

compared with Italian, French or English women's courts, who functioned in different political and legal structures, remains an open question.

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 AN Kraków [Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie], Castr. Crac. Rel. 174.  
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 BN Warszawa [Biblioteka Narodowa w Warszawie], BOZ [Biblioteka Ordynacji Zamoyskiej] mf 709, call no. 940.  
 CPAHU Lwów [Centralne Państwowe Archiwum Historyczne Ukrainy we Lwowie], f. 835, op. 1, call no. 1489; 1498.  
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