

The history of the residence and manorial farm in Wilanów after the death of King Jan III has in recent years been the subject of several source compilations and historical and artistic analyses; therefore, I consider the presented text to be a supplement to the valuable findings of my predecessors. This is prompted by the archival material itself, which does not make a correct interpretation possible without comparison with previously published source documents. Aleksandra Skrzypietz published the property records for the estate in Wilanów concerning the period of 1699 to 1704 from the collection of the Lietuvos valstybės istorijos archyvas (Lithuanian National Historical Archive) in Vilnius,¹ while Anna Kwiatkowska and Krzysztof Kossarzecki published inventories of movable property: the 1696 *General Inventory* of the Wilanów Villa and the other royal residences in Warsaw (Marieville, Kazimierz Palace and Mariemont), as well as those deposited in the Capuchin monastery in Warsaw.²

The subject of the article is the set of sources dating from 1698 to 1699 and 1720. The Manuscript Department of the University of Warsaw Library includes a set of records from the Capuchin monastery in Miodowa Street. The collection of Aleksander Benedykt Sobieski's correspondence (BUW GR, ref. no. 76) includes four

THE CONTINUATION OF THE 'FACTORY' AND THE FORTUNES OF THE WILANÓW PALACE COLLECTION AFTER THE KING'S DEATH. UNKNOWN WILANÓW ARTISTIC ARCHIVAL MATERIALS FROM 1698 TO 1720 IN THE COLLECTION OF THE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY IN WARSAW AND THE ARCHIVES OF THE ORDER OF THE FRIARS MINOR CAPUCHIN IN ZAKROCZYM*

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Michał Wardzyński
Institute of Art History of the University of Warsaw

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- 1 A. Skrzypietz, *Królewscy synowie – Jakub, Aleksander i Konstanty Sobiescy* (Katowice, 2011), passim; ead., 'Wilanowskie "gospodarstwo" królewicza Aleksandra', *Studia Wilanowskie*, vol. 21, 2014, pp. 55–72.
- 2 A. Kwiatkowska, *Inwentarz Generalny 1696 z opracowaniem* (Warszawa, 2012, Series: *Ad Villam Novam*. Materiały do dziejów rezydencji, vol. 6); K. Kossarzecki, 'Nieznany włoskojęzyczny inwentarz z 1696 roku na tle sporów majątkowych pomiędzy Sobieskimi po śmierci Jana III', in: id., *Źródła dodziejów Sobieskich z Archiwum w Mińsku i zbiorów francuskich* (Warszawa, 2012; Series: *Ad Villam Novam*. Materiały do dziejów rezydencji, vol. 7), pp. 10–55.



letters from Jan Kazimierz Żeligowski, overseer of the Wilanów estate, to the prince, who from 1698 had been the sole owner of the Wilanów estate and the Kazimierzowski Palace in Warsaw. Those letters were written, respectively, two in Warsaw, and one each in the nearby Zawady and Lesznowola, on 8 January 1698, 19 March, and 14 and 20 April 1699 (fols 591r–604v).³ They therefore precede chronologically the set of property documents dating from 1699 to 1704, and thanks to the analysis of their contents we can now more precisely trace the beginning and further course of the renovations and construction in the residence itself and in its garden. This is because they contain key information about the appointment of the Swiss-Italian stuccoer Antonio Perti as head of the Wilanów ‘factory’ and the scope of his duties and those of his collaborators, as well as a detailed description of the serious, progressive damage to the palace caused by the lack of adequate supervision in previous years. Żeligowski’s letters are supplemented by news of other investments in Wilanów and of projects undertaken during this period, such as an order for a carriage being placed in Berlin.

The last two documents come from a folder entitled ‘Documents and papers concerning the Capuchin monastery in Warsaw in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries’ (BUW GR, ref. no. 33-e).⁴ This is a list, drawn up on 1 March 1720 in two languages (Italian and Polish), of the movable property in Wilanów which was then divided between the princes Jakub Ludwik and Konstancy Władysław in connection with the imminent finalisation of the sale of Wilanów by Konstancy to their friend Elżbieta Helena Sieniawska née Lubomirska, wife of the Grand Hetman of the Crown.⁵ One of the research tasks is to compare the contents of the 1720 inventory with the Wilanów Inwentarz Generalny [General Inventory] published in 2012 by Kwiatkowska and Kossarzecki, as well as an analogous Italian-language inventory of movable property transported in 1698 from the Wilanów palace to the Capuchin monastery by a trusted courtier of the Sobieski family, the Frenchman Jean-Antoine Lamprecht, on the orders of the queen dowager, and an inventory of this collection in Polish, which was later created for Prince Jakub and Prince Konstancy.⁶

3 University of Warsaw Library, the Manuscript Department (hereinafter: BUW, GR), ref. no. 76, Correspondence and papers of Prince Aleksander Sobieski, 1691–1699, fols 591r–604v.

4 BUW GR, ref. no. 33-e, Documents and papers concerning the Capuchin monastery in Warsaw in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, 1701–1791, pp. 39–44.

5 R. Nestorow, *Pro domo et nomine suo. Fundacje i inicjatywy artystyczne Adama Mikołaja i Elżbiety Sieniawskich* (Warszawa, 2016), p. 307; A. Skrzypietz, ‘Relacje królewiczów Sobieskich z Elżbietą Sieniawską’, in: *Działalność Elżbiety Sieniawskiej. Polityka – gospodarka – kultura*, ed. B. Popiołek (Warszawa, 2020), pp. 103–04, fig. on p. 103.

6 Central Archives of Historical Records (hereinafter: AGAD), Radziwiłł Warsaw Archive (hereinafter: AWR), Section X, Sobieski Papers, uncollated document, *Connotacya*

Necessary information was also provided by the records related to the Sobieski family and the Warsaw monastery, which are kept by the Archives of the Warsaw Province of the Order of the Friars Minor Capuchin at the 'Honoratianum' Spirituality Centre in Zakroczym and by the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw.

The four letters from Jan Kazimierz Żeligowski to Aleksander Benedykt Sobieski can be divided into two groups due to the distance of over a year between the first and the other three. In a short report dated 8 January 1698, the courtier reported to the prince only on minor matters concerning the day-to-day management of the estate. The people mentioned here – Werner (probably the same as the Brandenburg-Prussian resident in Warsaw),⁷ Mikołaj Hrybunowicz Baybuza (Aleksander's servant),⁸ and the Frenchman La Mulin (who rented horses and carriages), as well as the Warsaw (?) merchant Italian Diverzi (Diversi?), from whom sugar was bought, do not appear in later correspondence.⁹

The letters dating from the spring (19 March, and 14 and 20 April) of 1699 enable us to reconstruct the logical sequence of events; moreover, the information they contain is of key importance for tracing the next stage of the Wilanów villa's 'factory'. The first account opens with the important news that an inventory of the Wilanów manor was drawn up before 19 March 1699, i.e., after the prince's departure from Warsaw. The inventory was carried out by Żeligowski himself and a certain Chorabiowski, a trusted servant of the Sobieski family, listed later, in June of that year, as a commissioner.¹⁰ On the day the inventory was compiled, the courtier noted the presence of King Augustus II the Strong 'at the Dutchman's', said Dutchman probably being the lessee of the manorial farm and meadows in Wilanów. The monarch, having been served dinner, worked on documents related with the convocation of a general session of the parliament in Warsaw, planned for June that year (Fig. 1).¹¹ Most probably on the same day, Żeligowski planned a meeting with the stuccoer Antonio (Perti) (noted from 1696

Rzeczy roznych ruchomych po śmierci Maius Krola Imci Jana III u OO. Kapucynów Warszawskich lokowanych mianowicie..., 1698. Cited after Kwiatkowska, *Inwentarz Generalny*, p. 49, fn. 93.

7 Skrzypietz, *Królewscy synowie...*, p. 425, fn. 683.

8 Kossarzecki, 'Nieznany włoskojęzyczny inwentarz', p. 45, fn. 91.

9 BUW GR, ref. no. 76, fols 591r–591v.

10 *Ibid.*, fol. 592r. Some information about Chorabiowski's role at the court of Aleksander Sobieski in this period is given by A. Skrzypietz, 'Wilanowskie "gospodarstwo" królewicza Aleksandra', *Studia Wilanowskie*, vol. 21, 2014, pp. 55–72, here an online version: pp. 1–18, see p. 17, fn. 209–210.

11 BUW GR, ref. no. 76, fols 593r–593v. For the ordinary pacification *sejm* (parliament), see W. Konopczyński, *Chronologia sejmów polskich 1493–1793* (Cracow, 1948), p. 159.

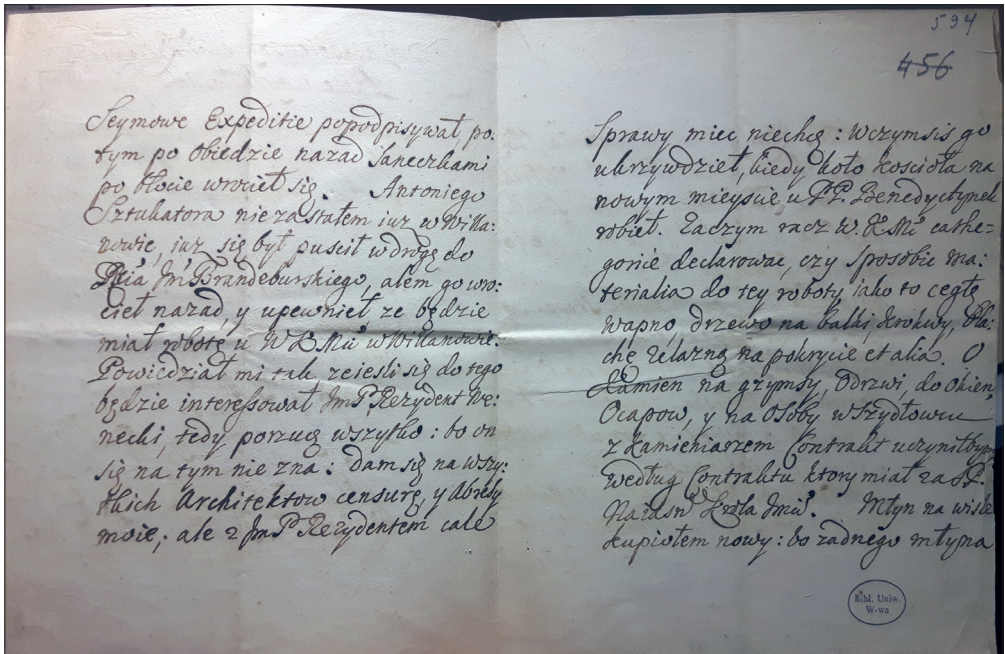


Fig. 1

University of Warsaw
Library, Manuscript
Department, a section of
Jan Kazimierz Żeligowski's
letter to the prince, 19 March
1699 from Warsaw

– d. after 1744) of Muggio in Mendrisiotto,¹² brother of the famous stuccoer Giovanni Pietro (1648–1714), author of the decoration of the temples and palaces of Vilnius and Antakalnis,¹³ to whom he was to convey Sobieski's assurance about the extension of his engagement in Wilanów. However, the artist had left a little earlier, heading for Prussia, where, according to Żeligowski's account, he planned to work at the court of the elector of Brandenburg-Prussia, Duke Frederick III von Hohenzollern (1657–1713, reigned from 1688), later king of Prussia as Frederick I.¹⁴ It is difficult to say whether this was a trip to Königsberg or Berlin, but members of another influential stuccoer family from the Italian-Swiss border, the Simonettis of Roveredo in the canton of Graubünden (Grisons), were active in both places at the end of the seventeenth century.¹⁵ We can only speculate whether the plan to

12 <https://www.artisticinesieineuropa.ch/ita/artistiII-pel-pezz-ita.html> (accessed 10 March 2021); https://www.wilanow-palac.pl/giovanni_pietro_i_antonio_bracia_perti_w_rzeczy_pospolitej_rodzina_pertich.html (accessed 1 April 2021). The first data on Antonio Perti's employment at Wilanów was presented in 2013 by Piotr Jamski at a seminar on Wilanów sculpture, organised at the Museum of King Jan III's Palace in Wilanów.

13 P. Jamski, M. Heydel, 'Perti Giovanni Pietro', in: *Słownik artystów polskich i obcych w Polsce działających: malarze – rzeźbiarze – graficy*, ed. U. Makowska (Warszawa, 2003), vol. 7, p. 28. On Antonio Perti's further activities for Stanisław Antoni Szczuka in 1706 and after 1707 for Elżbieta Helena Sieniawska née Lubomirska, in Puławy and Łubnice, see Nestorow, *Pro domo et nomine suo*, pp. 97, 98, 137, 407. Perti brought, among others, old wooden moulds for cornices and stuccos from Wilanów to Łubnice.

14 BUW GR, ref. no. 76, fol. 593v.

15 W. van Kempen, 'Der Stuccator und Baumeister Giovanni Simonetti', *Anhaltische Geschichtsblätter*, 1925, no. 1, pp. 77–87; G. Hinterkeuser, *Das Berliner Schloß. Der*

bring Perti to the second capital of the Brandenburg-Prussian state could have been related to Andreas Schlüter the Younger (who had been in Berlin since the spring of 1694) preparing to officially take over as manager of the construction of the elector's new Baroque residence – this did not happen until 2 November 1699.¹⁶ It was then that Giovanni Simonetti (1652–1712) took up the post of chief stuccoer.¹⁷ Regardless of these suppositions, Żeligowski then succeeded in turning Perti's carriage 'back to Wilanów' and persuading Perti to accept Sobieski's proposal. That such an agreement had been in preparation for a long time is evidenced by the fact that the stuccoer had drawn up 'plans' for the continuation of the royal villa's 'factory' much earlier. The circumstances of their creation can be explained by reading the following letter. An important element in the negotiations was the reassurance offered to Perti, who, apparently not feeling adequately qualified to create great architecture, agreed to submit his own 'delineations' to the assessment of professional architects. The Italian also stipulated that he would resign the position if his designs for Wilanów were to be made available and assessed by the Republic of Venice's resident diplomat Girolamo Alberti. The latter had earlier criticised Perti's work and designs for the Church of St Casimir for the Benedictine Nuns of Perpetual Adoration of the Holy Sacrament in Warsaw's New Town Market Square, which had been built with funds donated by the queen in the years 1688–1692, according to plans by Tylman van Gameren, under the supervision of the prefect of the Wilanów 'factory', Augustin Vincent Locci.¹⁸ In a contract concluded before 19 June 1699 for the supervision of the design and construction of the 'factory' of the royal villa, Perti undertook to gather all the necessary materials, including stone (sandstone) in Szydłowiec, where he intended, while the king was still alive, to order blocks from the local stonemason employed according to the contract, for carving cornices, portals and window frames, eaves and statues. The contents of the letter allow us to assume that this may have been, alternatively, about finished architectural elements and sculptural works.¹⁹

Umbau durch Andreas Schlüter (Berlin, 2003), pp. 222–26; most recently S. Hüneke, 'Die Kunst im Zeitalter des Grossen Kurfürsten', in: *Andreas Schlüter und das barocke Berlin*, ed. H.-U. Kessler (Berlin, 2014), pp. 42–43, Fig. III.9.

16 G. Hinterkeuser, 'Andreas Schlüter und das Berliner Schloss. Die Architektur', in: *Andreas Schlüter und das barocke Berlin*, pp. 258–61.

17 Id., 'Andreas Schlüters Skulpturenprogramm für das Berliner Schloss. Zwischen Konzeption und Organisation', in: *ibid.*, p. 299.

18 BUW GR, ref. no. 76, fols 593v–94r. For more on the diplomat, see M. Komarzyński, *Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska królowa Polski 1641–1716* (Kraków, 1983), pp. 106 ff. The history of the construction of this temple is discussed in: I.M. Walicka, *Kościół i klasztor sakramentek w Warszawie. Pomnik zwycięstwa pod Wiedniem* (Warszawa, 1988), esp. pp. 23, 32–49.

19 BUW GR, ref. no. 76, fol. 594r.

In the second part of the letter, Żeligowski reported to the prince about new investments in the manor and the estate: a new mill floating on the Vistula and the completion of a horse-powered malt mill. However, the project initiated by the king to build a windmill on the Vistula escarpment near the village of Wolica failed, as the wood stored for its construction decayed after several years of being stored without proper protection. The letter also included information about the leasing of the extensive Wilanów meadows by the Grand Marshal of the Crown Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski for pastures for the horses of the Saxon guard.²⁰ Żeligowski also mentioned other courtiers, including the former Wilanów starost Zbigniew Włodek, courtier to the queen dowager in 1685–1697, who was meant to receive the outstanding sum of more than six hundred zlotys from the treasury of Prince Aleksander, but who remained unpaid because the money have been previously transferred for the needs of the prince. The author of the letter asked Sobieski to let the starost live in Wilanów in the manor of a certain Mr Lafore (French, *Laforet*, *La Fore*) until the payment was made.²¹ Włodek's salary was most likely to cover the costs of his expedition to Prussia for hunting dogs, from which he returned shortly before 1 March 1699.²²

Żeligowski was also involved in organising lodgings along the route of Prince Aleksander's journey from Oława in Silesia to Lublin, during which the division of property with his brothers took place (on 8 April that year, at which time the ownership of Wilanów was transferred from Jakub to Aleksander and Konstancy).²³ After announcing the departure of the second prince from Silesia by the Great Referendary (secular) of the Crown, Stanisław Antoni Szczuka,²⁴ whom Jakub made responsible for organising the meeting, Żeligowski sent a courtier named Krogulecki, probably the same as Mikołaj, the Pantler of Żydaczów, to Czemierniki to prepare everything for the guest's arrival. Moreover, he ordered draft horses to be brought from Markuszów in order to harness them to the carts waiting in Wilanów.²⁵

20 Ibid., fols 594r–94v.

21 La Fore *vel* Laforet Senior, a Frenchman, was Marie Casimire's butler in 1667. His son is recorded in 1691 and 1707 in Wilanów as, respectively, the royal page and courtier of Prince Aleksander, after K. Kosszarzecki, 'Podziały dóbr Sobieskich w latach 1715–1729', *Studia Wilanowskie*, vol. 15, 2004, pp. 27–67, here: p. 37, fn. 32.

22 BUW GR, ref. no. 76, fols 594v–95r. Regarding Włodek and his further fortunes in Wilanów, see Skrzypietz, 'Wilanowskie "gospodarstwo"', pp. 10, 16–17, fn. 111, 208–210.

23 Kosszarzecki, 'Podziały dóbr Sobieskich 1715–1729', pp. 5–26, here: 7–8.

24 T. Zielińska, 'Stanisław Antoni Szczuka jako referendarz koronny w latach 1688–1699', *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, vol. 111, 2004, no. 3, pp. 19–21; Kosszarzecki, 'Podziały dóbr Sobieskich 1715–1729', p. 8, fn. 7,

25 BUW GR, ref. no. 76, fols 595r–595v. On the results of the meeting of the royals in Lublin, see Aleksandra Skrzypietz, *Królewscy synowie...*, p. 365. Czemierniki and

The last part of the letter was devoted to the personnel policy on the Sobieski estate (today in Ukraine), recommending to Aleksander's memory the person of Chorabiowski, at that time the lessee of a small part of the Złoczów estate, as a candidate for an honest and effective administrator of this estate. The second person recommended was a certain Rudziński from Czemierniki, whom Żeligowski promoted there for the post of property scribe. The courtier supported his recommendation by mentioning the late king's prudent decisions in this matter.²⁶

On 14 April 1699, Żeligowski sent a letter from Lesznowola to Aleksander, who was staying in Lublin, with the latest news on the continuation of the 'factory' at Wilanów. A little earlier, he had signed a contract with Antonio Perti and together they inspected the residence to establish a list of the most necessary renovation works. The most urgent need was to complete the two turrets – belvedere towers, whose roofs had been waiting for nearly three years, since the king's death, to be covered with copper sheeting. However, the covering prepared at that time had been taken from Wilanów by Girolamo Alberti, a certain Bruzer, Dynowicz *vel* Dyniewicz and – according to the account of the courtier of the queen dowager and the younger Sobieski brothers, Burgrave Stanisław Cieszkowski *vel* Czaskowski²⁷ – Prince Jakub Ludwik's people from the Royal Castle in Warsaw, for their own unspecified needs.²⁸ It is known that Dynowicz had once been the manager of the Wilanów estate and, as burgrave, the guardian of the movables and valuables of this residence in 1696; in 1699, he was suspected of financial abuse, but was nevertheless responsible for payments to artists and craftsmen for the 'factory' of the palace and garden, probably acting as its property scribe.²⁹

According to Żeligowski's (and Perti's) report, the condition of the towers was deplorable, and the lack of roofs caused the ceilings and walls below to leak, resulting in damage to the decoration in the study rooms located in the basements of the towers. The roof over the unprotected Banqueting Hall was also leaking, where one of the gutters inside the walls had become clogged or broken, causing the ceiling and walls to

Markuszów, together with Pilaszkowice, formed the core of the Lublin province estate of the Sobieski family. Concerning this part of the family property, see Kossarzecki, 'Podziały dóbr Sobieskich 1715–1729', p. 11, fn. 17.

26 BUW GR, ref. no. 76, fols 595v–96r.

27 After the king's death, it was Cieszkowski who was appointed by the queen dowager to look after the Wilanów movables, which had fallen to the two younger princes and were most probably deposited in the treasury of the Royal Castle. Cieszkowski was also entrusted with its care. See Kwiatkowska, *Inwentarz Generalny*, pp. 29, 31, 33–35, 40, 101, 113, 156; Kossarzecki, 'Nieznany włoskojęzyczny inwentarz', p. 41.

28 BUW GR, ref. no. 76, fols 597r–97v.

29 Skrzypietz, 'Wilanowskie "gospodarstwo"', pp. 1, 6, fn. 31, 79. Cf. Kwiatkowska, *Inwentarz Generalny*, pp. 33, 52.

become damp, the beams of the trusses and ceiling to rot and the stucco to fall off. Żeligowski tried to retrieve the sheet metal from Alberti, but the latter refused to hand it over, citing a negative assessment of Perti's building competence. Thanks to the efficiency of the letter's author, Augustin Vincent Locci and Fr. Carlo Maurizio Vota – a Jesuit, secret diplomatic agent of the imperial court in the Republic of Poland, the king's confessor since 1684, and personal tutor of Aleksander and Konstanty Sobieski – arrived at Wilanów.³⁰ After the inspection, they arranged a builders' *consilium* with Perti.³¹ Another danger was the lack of stability of the balustrade crowning the garden galleries to the east; also, the temporary mountings of the garden statues to the stone plinths with wooden wedges needed quick repairs. One of them, made from 'alabaster' (probably white Carrara marble – *marmo bianco statuario*)³² had been knocked over by the wind and lost an arm, and some of the lead and tin figures were bent, threatening to fall. Perti (via Żeligowski) advocated a more permanent solution, by tightly encasing their bases in plaster.³³

The information cited above shows the dilapidated technical condition of the villa, whose expansion, carried out gradually during the king's lifetime, was probably abandoned shortly after his death without securing either the building itself or the storehouse of construction materials. This does not reflect well on Locci as (at least unofficially) the overseer of the construction site, nor, indeed, on the heirs to the mansion – the queen dowager and the monarch's sons, preoccupied with current grand politics and mutual inheritance claims. As a result of neglect between 1696 and 1698, Aleksander now had to incur considerable financial outlay to restore the fabric of his father's summer residence to its original grandeur. The information about the rather primitive method of levelling the garden sculptures on the plinths also raises doubts about the professionalism of the works carried out in Wilanów between 1677 and 1696. Valuable marble and lead-and-tin statues imported from France, both parts of the Netherlands and Italy were either deformed or seriously damaged only several years after being set up in Wilanów. Before September 1700, Perti had to

30 Komaszyński, *Maria Kazimiera...*, pp. 134ff.; Hanna Widacka, *Karol Maurycy Vota, podwójny agent na dworze Jana III*, https://www.wilanow-palac.pl/karol_maurycy_vota_podwojny_agent_na_dworze_jana_iii.html (accessed 11 March 2021).

31 BUW GR, ref. no. 76, fol. 598r.

32 For more on imported marble, stone and lead-tin sculptures in the Wilanów residence and gardens see M. Wardzyński, 'Holenderskie i niderlandzkie importy rzeźbiarskie dla króla Jana III w Wilanowie (1679–1696). Mechanizmy zamówień – Artyści i dzieła – Wzory', in: *Jan III Sobieski – polski bohater narodowy i zwycięzca spod Wiednia. Historia. Pamięć. Dziedzictwo*, eds B. Dybaś, A. Ziemlewska (in print).

33 BUW, manuscript 76, fols 598r–98v.

renovate further sculptural ornaments in the Sobieski garden, including commissioning goldsmith Marcin Sokołowski of Warsaw to repair the attributes on the lead-and-tin statues of Fortuna and the Gladiators (Borghese Fencers).³⁴

At the same time Żeligowski was concerned about the supply of materials: lime rafted down the Vistula from Krakow and bricks from Warsaw, probably from the Muranów brickyards of Giuseppe Simone Bellotti and the Ceronis,³⁵ and he was also waiting for the final decision of Prince Aleksander on the approval of the cost estimate and the pace of work. Perti planned all the renovation and construction work for three seasons (1699–1701), setting their annual budget according to his own designs, estimate, arranged while King Jan III was still alive, i.e., before 17 June 1696, at 18,000 Polish zlotys, making a total of 54,000 Polish zlotys. Understanding the difficult situation of his employer, the manager of Wilanów’s ‘factory’ wanted above all to pay for materials and craftsmen; he also asked for his own annual salary, set by the king while still alive, to be kept at 2000 Polish zlotys.³⁶ These were therefore very favourable conditions for Prince Aleksander. Żeligowski also reported to Sobieski that King Augustus II the Strong, while visiting Wilanów, inspected Perti’s designs for the ‘factory’ of the palace and garden and spoke highly of it, inquiring about the prince’s decision to continue the work. The only doubt the monarch, himself an amateur architect, had about the design of a new avenue in the garden and the so-called perspective (most probably an avenue of trees towards the east, laid out on the other side of the Wilanów lake), suggesting that the present layout should be retained in view of the fragility of the trees planted years ago. Discussion was also to be held on how to reinforce the damaged dike between the ponds on the lower terrace of the garden with engineering methods. Instead of the brick wall in the middle of its length, which was the solution suggested by the king, Żeligowski had already ordered, according to Perti’s concept, a team of diggers, who were supposed to line the depressions with pilings and build ‘Prussian-style’ half-timbered boxes strengthening the construction.³⁷

34 Skrzypietz, ‘Wilanowskie gospodarstwo’, p. 5, fn. 72.

35 P. Migasiewicz, ‘Bellotti Giuseppe Simone’, in: *Słownik architektów i budowniczych środowiska warszawskiego XV–XVIII wieku*, eds P. Migasiewicz, H. Osiecka-Samsonowicz, J. Sito (Warszawa, 2016), pp. 47, 50, 51; P. Ługowski, ‘Ceroni Carlo’, in: *ibid.*, p. 88; *id.*, ‘Ceroni Francesco Giuseppe’, in: *ibid.*, p. 93.

36 Cf. Skrzypietz, ‘Wilanowskie gospodarstwo’, p. 16, fn. 205.

37 BUW GR, ref. no. 76, fols 599r–99v. In the analysis of this part of the account, I relied on a plan of the residence, garden and manor of Wilanów from around 1682 by Adolf Boy. For more about this subject, see: J. Starzyński, *Wilanów. Dzieje budowy pałacu za Jana III* (Warszawa, 1976), pp. 33–36, Fig. 15; W. Fijałkowski, *Królewski Wilanów*

The second part of this letter is devoted to a report on the condition of the stables and the horses bred in Warsaw and Wilanów, which was supervised by an equerry named Ptyzan. The object of Żeligowski's concern was the high cost of fodder and the health of the draught horses and ponies. According to the wishes of the prince, the lease of the Wilanów tavern, which was to yield 2500 Polish zlotys, was handed over to the Italian Collatini; there were also negotiations with the other leaseholder, a Dutchman of unknown name who managed the manor farm and the Dutch cows, who, suffering from colic and fever, pleaded himself unable to pay the 250 Polish zlotys for the lease of the cattle. The courtier therefore asked Aleksander for an urgent and binding decision on these matters, which was to be mediated by Michał Tymiński, Master of the Hunt of Wizna by title, who served as the starost of Lelów.³⁸

In a letter dated 20 April 1699, written from Zawady, there was little news about the palace 'factory'. Żeligowski only mentioned to the prince the work on the damaged fences surrounding the manor – he ordered new logs and split laths (shingle staves) to be prepared, and at the same time reported that similar work had been undertaken in the garden at Mariemont near Warsaw after the Easter holidays. The courtier was mindful of Sobieski's suggestions to save available funds.³⁹ In this context, Żeligowski's attention was drawn to the very high price – as much as 1,100 timpfs – of the carriage ordered in Berlin, which was cited to him by the Italian Francesco Gratta, the royal postmaster in Gdańsk.⁴⁰ This was considerably more than the cost of the order – about 500 Prussian thalers – quoted to the author of the letter by the Brandenburg-Prussian resident Werner. Żeligowski was of the opinion that the vehicle should be brought back to Warsaw via the Berlin route through Poznań, together with a detailed expense report, before the payment was made, so that the cost estimate could be verified. He explained this by urgent 'expenses'

(Warszawa, 1997), pp. 105, 108–109, Fig. 8. The repair of the dike was completed in 1699. See Skrzypietz, 'Wilanowskie gospodarstwo', p. 3, fn. 28.

38 BUW GR, ref. no. 76, fols 600r–600v. For more on the starost, see K. Chłapowski, *Starostowie niegrodowi w Koronie 1565–1795 (Materiały źródłowe)* (Warszawa–Bela l'erve-sur-Allier, 2017), pp. 76–77.

39 BUW GR, ref. no. 76, fol. 604r.

40 K.E. Kandt, 'Sarmatia artistica et Porta Aurea Gedanensis: Notes on the Art Trade and Artistic Patronage Between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Danzig During the Reign of King Jan III Sobieski', in: *Wanderungen. Künstler – Kunstwerk – Motiv – Stifter (Wędrówki. Artysta – Dzieło – Wzorzec – Fundator). Beiträge der 10. Tagung des Arbeitskreises deutscher und polnischer Kunsthistoriker in Warschau, 25–28 September 2003. Materiały X Konferencji Grupy Roboczej Polskich i Niemieckich Historyków Sztuki w Warszawie, 25–28 września 2003 r.*, eds M. Omilanowska, A. Straszewska (Warszawa, 2005), esp. pp. 357–58; M. Salamonik, *In Their Majesties' Service. The Career of Francesco De Gratta (1613–1676) as a Royal Servant and Trader in Gdańsk* (Huddinge, 2017), passim.

to Warsaw merchants and craftsmen engaged in Wilanów, which were to amount to several thousand florins.⁴¹

The remainder of the account is filled with comments on current errands for the Prince (oysters and lances for the knights' tournament planned in Jaworów),⁴² care of the horses (given the lack of professionalism of the head groom Ptyzan, Żeligowski himself took care of their feed and exercise, having previously observed the methods of Saxon grooms),⁴³ the purchase of cloth for the so-called colours (uniforms or formal court costumes) and jugs, used for administering punishments, brought (with the help of Cieszkowski, working for a Jew, the property scribe in this town) from Kałusz near Stanisławów in Podolia (today in Ukraine) for the Wilanów *semyen*, Tatar prisoners of war, who served there as, among others, workforce.⁴⁴

The subject of Żeligowski's concern was also the difficult situation of the Sobieski estates in Royal Prussia, which had recently been damaged by the Saxon army. He reported to the prince on the payment of compensation by the treasury services of Augustus II; he also proposed leasing the manor in Szotlancik, near Stare Szkoty, possibly near Gdańsk, a village belonging to the bishops of Kuyavia), where the poor technical condition of the mill required several thousand florins for urgent repairs. Żeligowski also acted as an intermediary between the Sobieski family and Stanisław Kazimierz Dąbski, Bishop of Kuyavia (1638–1700, bishop from 1691), remembered by his contemporaries first as an ally in the election of the Sobieski family, and later as the man who illegally crowned Augustus II the Strong in 1697. Representing the interests of the bishop, Bartolomeo Sardi, a merchant, Sobieski's agent and Warsaw postmaster,⁴⁵ had earlier sent a receipt to Wilanów for the return of an undetermined sum. This probably concerned sums deposited after the king's death in the care of the bishop in Malbork castle from the income of the Prussian starosties and the Sobieski estates, intended from 1696 for Aleksander and Konstanty.⁴⁶ The courtier settled these funds with a separate slip with a signature; he also asked for Aleksander's permission to use the rest of the money – about 350 Polish zlotys – to buy a weekly portion of oats for the horses. Żeligowski also gave a harsh assessment of the results of Włodek's Prussian expedition to acquire

41 BUW GR, ref. no. 76, fol. 602v.

42 Ibid., fols 601r–01v.

43 Ibid., fols 601v–02r.

44 Ibid., fols 602r–02v. Cf. Skrzypietz, 'Wilanowskie gospodarstwo', p. 9, fn. 98–102.

45 A. Kaźmierczyk, 'Sardi Bartłomiej', in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (hereinafter: PSB), vol. 35/2, 1994, no. 145, pp. 188–89; Salamonik, *In Their Majesties' Service*, pp. 106–07, 207–09, 282.

46 Skrzypietz, *Królewscy synowie*, pp. 261, 263–64; Kossarzecki, 'Nieznany włoskojęzyczny inwentarz', pp. 37, 43, 45.

hunting dogs – after the majority of them had been sent to the kennels in Żółkiew, six were left in Wilanów, all of them very poor in stature and condition. Moreover, their upkeep and the oatmeal sprinkled on their food required two bushels of grain a week, each worth a thaler, and this in the face of widespread food shortage.⁴⁷ The last message concerned a certain Jakub (?) Kochanowicz, most likely a courtier or a business partner of the Sobieski family, who failed to deliver the expected account statements and documents by 20 April 1699.⁴⁸

To conclude this part of the analysis of the newly discovered Wilanów sources, it should be emphasised that three letters from Żeligowski to Prince Aleksander from March and April 1699 contain key information about the ‘factory’ of the suburban villa and the royal garden before 1696 and after 1699. It seems that it was the stuccoer Antonio Perti, who was officially appointed before 14 April 1699 to head the construction, and not, contrary to what was previously assumed, Augustin Vincent Locci or the painter and designer Jerzy Eleuter Szymonowicz-Siemiginowski, the latter of whom shortly before the king’s death took part in drawing up plans for the extension and richer decoration of the villa, as well as the transformation of the layout of the alleys and viewing axes in the garden. The fact that the king chose a stuccoer, who was not a professional architectural designer, for this task is questionable, but the sources suggest the conclusion that this was most probably the case. Hence Perti’s cautious attitude, uncertainty as to his own professional position, and attempts to seek a verification of his own ‘delineations’ and technical solutions by a *consilium* of specialists. His caution is all the more understandable considering that even during the king’s lifetime, or shortly before the spring of 1699, his activities in the Church of the Holy Sacrament in the New Town, which was in the care of the Sobieski family, had been criticised by the Venetian resident Girolamo Alberti, who enjoyed the confidence of the queen dowager and the princes. Equally strange in this whole situation is the passive attitude shown by Locci, who, despite his presence in the capital at that time, remained outside the course of affairs at Wilanów. It is also difficult not to ask the question about the reasons for the Sobieskis’ lack of interest in contacting other important Warsaw architects – Tylman van Gameren, Giuseppe Simone Bellotti, Giuseppe Piola or the Ceronis. Not much is also known about the subsequent fate of other artists and craftsmen employed there before 1696. The only one mentioned was an unknown stonemason from Szydłowiec, who supplied (probably through the architect and stonemason Bellotti) stone and finished architectural elements and figures (?) made according to the ‘models’ of the royal court

47 BUW GR, ref. no. 76, fols 603r–03v. Cf. Skrzypietz, *Królewscy synowie*, p. 373, fn. 242; ead., ‘Wilanowskie gospodarstwo’, pp. 9, 16–17, fn. 111, 209.

48 BUW GR, ref. no. 76, fol. 604v.

sculptor Stephan (?) Schwaner. In the light of the record books of the Szydłowiec parish and the sculptural works dating from around 1700 preserved in this town and its surroundings, it can be assumed that the sculptor was most probably an anonymous sculptor with the initials P.K. The wayside statues of the Immaculata and St John the Evangelist (signed with a house mark and these initials, dated 1708)⁴⁹ bear the characteristic traces of the classicising Dutch style of the Schwaner statues in the attic of the royal villa.⁵⁰ In March 1699, this stonemason hoped to be re-engaged at Wilanów, amicably offering a rate of remuneration from three years earlier. Subsequent accounting records show that the transaction was successful.⁵¹ In the following years, the talented woodcarver Parys [Jacques Paris?] also rejoined the group of artists at Wilanów and was entrusted with the task of creating, among others, the ornaments and globes on the helmets of the towers.⁵²

The analysis published by Aleksandra Skrzypietz shows that the efforts and loyal attitude of Jan Kazimierz Żeligowski did not meet with the recognition from Prince Aleksander. In the summer of 1699, the finances of the Wilanów ‘factory’ were entrusted to another trusted courtier of the queen dowager and Aleksander – the Frenchman Jean-Antoine Lamprecht (d. before 18 February 1717),⁵³ and Żeligowski appeared in the estate’s economic records only once more, in 1702, in connection with

49 Among those recorded in the metrical records of the parish in Szydłowiec in the fourth quarter of the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth century, craftsmen practising sculpture were: Stefan Sadowski of Chęciny (noted 1676–1684), Stanisław Jantasz *vel* Jantaszek (1680–1685), Baltazar Barzycki (1681–1694), Andrzej Zawadzki (1683–1687) and the woodcarver Krzysztof Lipczycki (1681–1687), who lived at the local castle. The subcontractor and supplier of material and products made of Szydłowiec sandstone to Wilanów should be sought among the listed stonemasons. Other works by the above-mentioned prominent anonymous sculptor, a follower of Schwaner, include statues of God the Father, the Virgin Mary and the saints from the former church of the Brigid nuns in Warsaw (now in Raszyn) and on the façades of churches in Tarczyn, Łask and Rzecznów near Iłża. For more on this subject, see: M. Wardzyński, ‘O dwóch posągach z warszawskiego kościoła brygidek w Raszynie. W wilanowskim kręgu Stephana Schwanera’, *Siolica*, 2017, no. 9 (2304), pp. 32–35. I leave the discussion of these and other sources concerning the activities of the Szydłowiec quarrying and stonemasonry centre in that period for a separate text.

50 M. Karpowicz, *Sztuka Warszawy czasów Jana III* (Warszawa, 1986), esp. pp. 59–62, Figs 23–25; most recently, M. Wardzyński, ‘Uczeń Polikleta znad Amstel w Wilanowie? O holenderskich korzeniach twórczości rzeźbiarskiej Stephana (?) Schwanera’, in: *Ingenium et labor. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Antoniemu Ziembie z okazji 60. urodzin*, ed. P. Borusowski et al. (Warszawa, 2020), pp. 263–70.

51 Skrzypietz, ‘Wilanowskie gospodarstwo’, p. 3, fn. 28.

52 J. Starzyński, *Wilanów. Dzieje budowy*, pp. 65–66; Skrzypietz, ‘Wilanowskie gospodarstwo’, pp. 5–6, 15, fn. 76, 77, 195.

53 Kossarzecki, ‘Podziały dóbr Sobieskich 1715–1729’, p. 39, fn. 41; id., ‘Nieznany włoskojęzyczny inwentarz’, p. 11, fn. 3.

the construction of a new mill.⁵⁴ It was Lamprecht who came to carry out the most urgent repairs to the villa and garden proposed in April 1699. In this and the following year, the roofs and gutters were repaired (by the boilermaker and locksmith Jan Zeydler and others), the floors and parquets were renovated (by the carpenter Tomasz Przeclawski), the study rooms were painted, the stucco elements were repaired and new ones were made, and the palisades and fences were also replaced and painted. There were also new elements of interior decoration, such as the Chęciny marble doors to the Banqueting Hall bought in 1702 in Szydłowice, probably from the same supplier, and no longer extant.⁵⁵

It is also worth mentioning that both in the discussed fragment of the correspondence and in the accounting and economic records from 1699 to 1704 as compiled by Skrzypietz there is no information about the existence of the foundations or the walls of the side wings of the residence, which required securing. It can be cautiously assumed that the opening of the excavations for them and the masonry work took place at the earliest in the summer of 1700 – this is evidenced by the first major purchases of lime and 10,000 bricks – made by Perti and financed by Lamprecht.⁵⁶ The beginning of the construction of the wings should therefore, following Juliusz Starzyński, be linked to Aleksander's reign in Wilanów.⁵⁷ In this context, the question must be asked about the architectural programme of the villa as contained in the design drawings co-drawn (?) by Perti before 1696 and executed from late spring 1699 to 1704. They seem to be echoed by the so-called Saxon Wilanów projects from before 1710, which are linked to the engineer and military architect Johann Christoph von Naumann (1664–1742, in the service of Augustus II from 1704 as *Cammer-Dessineur/Hofarchitekt*, 1710–1715 designer of the Bauamt in Warsaw).⁵⁸ New light is shed on the circumstances of their creation by the fact that they depict white-marble statues, including the enthroned *Roma Triumphans* in the central window of the Banqueting Hall, which were taken to St Petersburg by the army of Tsar Peter I in August 1707 (Fig. 2).⁵⁹ Could Naumann's

54 Skrzypietz, 'Wilanowskie gospodarstwo', p. 10, fn. 120.

55 Ibid., pp. 3–4, 14, fn. 179, 180. Contains a detailed list of sources, paid artisans and salaries.

56 Skrzypietz, 'Wilanowskie gospodarstwo', p. 4, fn. 30–31.

57 Starzyński, *Wilanów. Dzieje budowy...*, p. 45, note *.

58 W. Hentschel, *Die sächsische Baukunst des 18. Jahrhunderts in Polen* (Berlin, 1967), vol. 1, pp. 221–22, vol. 2, Figs 265, 266; Starzyński, *Wilanów. Dzieje budowy*, pp. 47, 49–50, Fig. 26; most recently J. Sito, 'Naumann Johann Christoph von', in: *Słownik architektów i budowniczych*, pp. 330–31.

59 AGAD, AWR, Section X, Sobieski Papers, uncollated document, *Connotacya statui marmuru kararskiego y innych rzeczy w Willanowie pobranych d. 17 Augusti 1707*, fols 1r–1v. Cf. W. Fijałkowski, 'Nowe spojrzenia na sprawę wystroju artystycznego elewacji pałacowych w Wilanowie w XVII stuleciu', *Studia Wilanowskie*, vol. 18, 2011, pp. 17–18, Fig. 1.

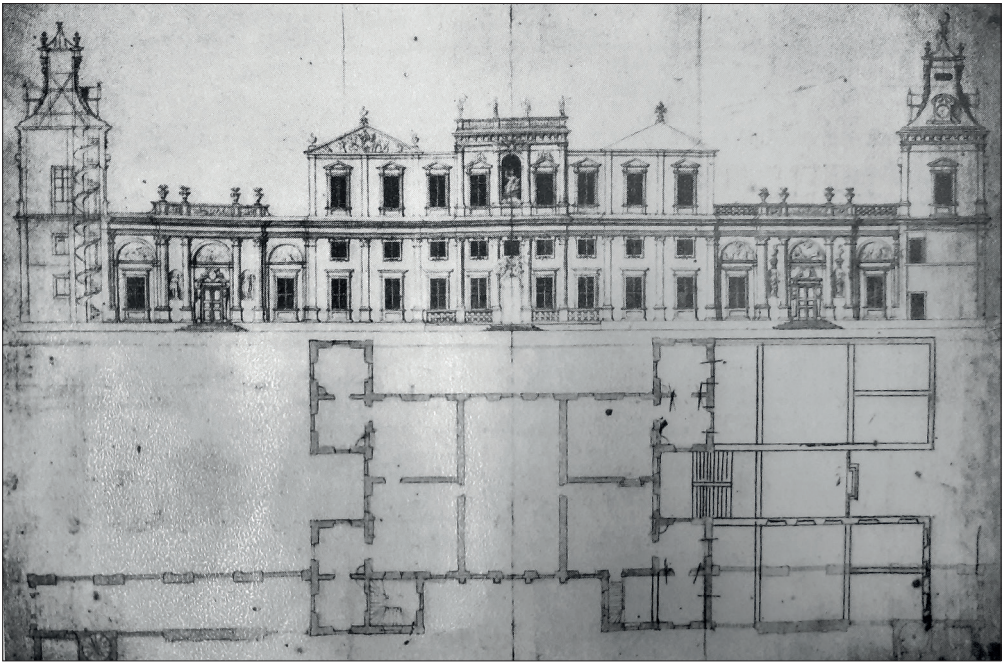


Fig. 2

plans – not counting later modifications made according to the wishes of Augustus II – in fact have been drafts of earlier designs, which illustrated the assumptions of the planned but unrealised extension of the *corps de logis* of the summer villa with a full second storey and both wings (originally narrower, single-aisle, with galleries on the garden side), thanks to which it would acquire the form of a three-winged palace?

Finally, there is the question of Locci's authorship of the plans for the extension of the royal villa, since the discussed letters from 1699–1704 do not indicate his further involvement in Wilanów. Moreover, it is not possible at this stage of research to link it with the pre-June 1696 plans proposed in March 1699 by Antonio Perti. Who, then, was the author of these 'delineations' and what function – apart from advisory and administrative – could Locci have actually served in Wilanów in the last years of Jan III's life, after he had submitted the complete set of 'factory' books in May 1683 and had finished supervising the decoration of the interiors and façades?⁶⁰

* * *

The circumstances of Sobieski's donation of a large number of movables from the Wilanów residence to the capital's Capuchin convent, attributed to the queen dowager, were explained in 2012 by Krzysztof

Wilanów, view of the front elevation of the royal villa according to the reconstruction project carried out in 1699–1704 under the direction of Antonio Perti (?), redraw (?) by Johann Christoph von Naumann, before 1707, after: W. Hentschel, *Die sächsische Bauwesen des 18. Jahrhunderts in Polen*, vol. 2, Berlin 1967, Fig. 256

⁶⁰ H. Osiecka-Samsonowicz, 'Locci Augustyn Wincenty', in: *Słownik architektów i budowniczych*, pp. 287–88, 292.

Kossarzecki.⁶¹ In 1696, after the first division of possessions, Marie Casimire decided to secure her own share in the monastery founded by the king, where there was a small suite used by Sobieski as a dwelling during his retreats, and where the coffin containing the body of Jan III was then deposited on 23 December 1697, creating a temporary mausoleum for the deceased in the upper oratory. The Capuchins also received an urn containing the king's heart, kept in the archives of the monastery.⁶² In 1700, Jakub Ludwik brought the remains of his second son, also named John (i.e. Jan, 1699–1700),⁶³ and in February 1717, courtiers Franciszek Wierusz Kowalski and Filip Dupont (Philippe de Masson) left there, in secret, the coffin of the queen, who had died on 30 January 1716, brought from Blois.⁶⁴ Until the official state burial of the royal couple in 1733 at Cracow cathedral, all three coffins were kept in a solemnly decorated oratory and before their transport, Jakub Ludwik took care to organise a magnificent service in the monastery church.⁶⁵

Kossarzecki's Italian-language inventory of Marie Casimire's movable property (actually a copy of it for monks from Italy), revealed in 2012, listed a total of 87 objects, divided into three main types according to provenance. In addition to the 59 works of art, furniture and sumptuous objects of everyday use from Wilanów belonging to the queen, which were placed in the 'royal rooms' and the upper oratory with an adjoining room, 24 paintings and furniture previously belonging to those rooms and only four which the Capuchins lent for their decoration were included in the list.⁶⁶ These records allow us to identify these 'royal rooms', also called 'Royal Cells', not with the interiors of the Wilanów villa,⁶⁷ but with parts of the abovementioned royal suite, situated on the ground floor of the eastern wing of the monastery, on the side of Miodowa Street. It

61 Kossarzecki, 'Nieznany włoskojęzyczny inwentarz', pp. 40–42.

62 BUW GR, ref. no. 35, *Annales Provinciae Polonae Ordinis Nostrum Fratrum Minorum S. p. Francisci Capucinatorum... ab Anno... 1681...*, seventeenth century, fols 52r, 114r–114v.

63 This matter was handled on behalf of the prince by Stefan Wyhowski, Treasurer of Owruć. See BUW GR, ref. no. 30, Correspondence and records of the Capuchin religious congregation in Poland from 1677 to 1808, fol. 15r. Cf. A. Skrzypietz, 'Narodziny i śmierć dzieci w rodzinie Sobieskich', in: *Między barokiem a oświeceniem. Radości i troski dnia codziennego*, ed. S. Achremczyk (Olsztyn, 2006), pp. 288–89.

64 BUW GR, ref. no. 35, fols 73r–73v; Komaszyński, *Maria Kazimiera*, pp. 276–78.

65 'Honoratianum' Spirituality Centre, Archive of the Warsaw Province of the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin, Zakroczym (hereinafter: 'Honoratianum'), ref. no. AKW 2-VI-3, *Varia klasztoru Warszawskiego*, pp. 1–14; no ref. no., *Opis Historyczny Kościoła i Klasztoru OO. Kapucynów w Warszawie*, nineteenth century, p. 3; BUW GR, ref. no. 35, fols. 113v–14r; A. Bartczakowa, *Kościół kapucynów* (Warszawa, 1982), pp. 33–34.

66 Kossarzecki, 'Nieznany włoskojęzyczny inwentarz', pp. 47–51, appendix.

67 Keeping this suite in good condition was a concern for the monks and Prince Jakub Ludwik as late as 1732 and 1735. See BUW GR, ref. no. 35, pp. 54–70.

consisted of three square rooms arranged in an enfilade, flanked in the south by the spacious royal kitchen located in the corner of the building, and in the north by the library, next to the wicket and the entrance chapel of the convent (above which was the upper oratory mentioned above). The windows of the rooms opened onto a small French garden with elegant parterres of flowers intended for the sacristy and for the decoration of the church; the apartment also had a separate *locum secretum* (*luogo segreto* in Italian). In the *Connotacya Rzeczy różnych ruchomych* inventory of about 1717, the walls of the rooms were upholstered with lightweight woollen cloth (Polish: *rasa*), grey in colour, curtains were hung over each of the five doors, and one room had a sumptuous bed, albeit without a canopy.⁶⁸ The precise location of these rooms within the former convent building is made possible by a photocopy, preserved in the Archive of the Warsaw Province of the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin in Zakroczym, of an Italian plan of the entire complex from May 1707, drawn up by Friar Bernardo da Subiaco (Fig. 3).⁶⁹ The layout of such an official royal apartment refers, on a modest scale, to analogous monarchical foundations in the country – the Royal Rooms pavilion erected in 1641–1644 at the Pauline Monastery on Jasna Góra⁷⁰ – and in the countries of the Habsburg Monarchy and the German Reich. There, at the monastic and canonical abbeys founded by the rulers (German: *Stift*) and bishop's residences, abbey wings were built from the 1660s onwards with extensive parade and residential suites for emperors and prince-electors travelling the country with an extended entourage (German: *Kaiserappartement*, *Kaiserwohnung*, *Kaisersaal*).⁷¹ A similar, more modestly furnished suite was planned for Marie Casimire in the Cloistered Monastery of the Holy Sacrament, founded by her in the capital.⁷²

This fundamentally changes the interpretation of the contents of the inventory and the subsequent fate of the objects it contains. The Italian-language inventory published by Kossarzewski must therefore have been created after the ceremonial transfer of the king's body from the Royal Castle (which took place after the failure of the military operation in Gdańsk in

68 AGAD, AWR, uncollated document, *Connotacya Rzeczy roznych ruchomych*, n.p.

69 'Honoratianum', ref. no. APW 3-VI-9, Old Archives, 1707, photocopy.

70 M. Wardzyński, *Rzeźba nowożytna w kręgu Jasnej Góry i polskiej prowincji zakonu paulinów*, part 1: *Ośrodek rzeźbiarski w Częstochówce pod Jasną Górą 1620–1705* (Warszawa, 2009), vol. 1, pp. 36, 336–37; Z. Rozanow, E. Smulikowska, *Zabytki sztuki Jasnej Góry: architektura, rzeźba, malarstwo* (Katowice, 2009), pp. 162–63, Fig. 15.

71 F.B. Polleroß, 'Die österreichischen Stifte und ihre Bauherren im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert', in: *Seitenstetten. Kunst und Mönchtum an der Wiege Österreichs*, ed. K. Brunner (Wien, 1988), pp. 259–66; most recently J. Erichsen, 'Die Kaiserwohnung der Bamberger Residenz – Zweckbestimmung und Bildprogramm', in: *Kaiserräume – Kaiserträume. Forschen und Restaurieren in der Bamberger Residenz*, eds J. Erichsen, K. Heinemann, K. Janis (Munich, 2007), pp. 34–53.

72 I.M. Walicka, *Kościół i klasztor sakramentek*, p. 14, fn. 24, 25.



Fig. 3

Zakroczym, 'Honoratianum' Spirituality Centre, Archive of the Warsaw Province of the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin, survey drawing of the Capuchin monastery in Warsaw, drawing by Friar Bernardo da Subiaco OFM Cap.

November of that year by the French candidate and official winner of the election, Prince François Louis de Bourbon-Conti, and in connection with the preparations of the main royal residence for the new monarch, Augustus II the Strong) to the monastery, i.e., in the last days of December 1697 at the earliest. Attached to the inventory description of many objects are location notes: ‘Nella 2da Camera di S.M.’, ‘Nella 3tia Camera’, ‘Nella Spetieria’ (the pantry) and ‘Nel luogo Segreto’ or, more generally, ‘Nelle Stanze di S.M.’ or ‘Nelle Camere di S.M.’ actually refer to the individual rooms of the suite. We may therefore assume that the queen dowager planned to make the Capuchin monastery, after the forced abandonment of Wilanów and the Royal Castle, one of her headquarters in the capital (next to the Marieville and Mariemont residences), from where she could continue her political activities and await the ceremonial burial of her husband at the Cracow cathedral. The choice of the Capuchin monastery was obvious – the convent was a private foundation of Jan III and was the most suitable place to house the body of the ruler until the completion of the Church of St Casimir for the Benedictine Nuns of Perpetual Adoration of the Holy Sacrament in the New Town, which was designed as the future mausoleum of the Sobieski family in the capital city. Numerous paintings, furniture and other luxurious movables were to provide the suite with a suitable artistic setting.

The second inventory of the Sobieski family’s possessions deposited with the Warsaw Capuchins, discovered by Jarosław Zawadzki and Anna Kwiatkowska, is even more extensive as it contains no less than 178 objects of unspecified provenance, which were all of them kept in the royal rooms at the time. This inventory therefore did not include elements of the setting of the oratory and the catafalque of both the elder John Sobieski and the younger John Sobieski. The dating of the document is made possible by the identification of the persons who participated in its drawing up: the representative of Konstanty Władysław, who was outside the capital at the time, was Piotr Franciszek Alojzy Łoski of the Brodzic coat of arms (c. 1661–1728), Standard-Bearer of Warsaw. Łoski held this office from 1709 to 1717.⁷³ The roles of the queen’s and Jakub Ludwik’s commissioners were played by Marie Casimire’s long-time confidants: Franciszek Wierusz Kowalski (d. 1747), a Knight of Malta, and the Frenchman Filip Dupont (Philippe de Masson) (c. 1650 – after 1726), an artilleryman and court diplomat. In the light of Kossarzecki’s research, it can be assumed that this inventory was drawn up during the two courtiers’ time in Warsaw in the second half of 1715. They were sent here by the queen from Blois via Rome and Oława in connection with the seizure and transport of valuables left behind by Aleksander Benedykt, who died in Rome, for both brothers and the Electress Theresa

73 J. Gierowski, ‘Łoski Piotr Franciszek Alojzy h. Brodzic’, in: PSB, vol. 18, 1973, pp. 424–25.

Kunegunda, as well as negotiations with Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł, Grand Chancellor of Lithuania, for the Sobieski family's outstanding sums owed by Augustus II the Strong.⁷⁴

This interpretation of the two inventories discussed above is confirmed by a reading of the inventory of 1 March 1720 presented in this text (Fig. 4), in which of 87 (178) objects only 35 remained, and it was only their division between the princes Jakub Ludwik and Konstanty Władysław that ended the Warsaw phase of the fate of the monuments listed there.

It can therefore be assumed that the set of the queen's Wilanów possessions, objects belonging to the decoration of the 'royal rooms' in the Capuchin monastery, and works of religious art lent by the monks themselves were gradually dispersed in at least three phases. Some of her own objects were first collected by Marie Casimire when on 2 October 1698 she left the Commonwealth to attend the Jubilee Year celebrations in Rome. Of these, a selection may have gone with her to France and, after her death in Blois, became part of the hereditary estate, subsequently bequeathed in 1717 to her sons Jakub Ludwik and Konstanty Władysław.⁷⁵ The inventory from the second half of 1715 was probably used to divide Marie Casimire's property among her surviving children. Due to the large number of items and the complex layout of the contents, it requires a separate discussion. The last one, dated 1 March 1720, was probably one of the last stages of the property arrangements between the last two surviving brothers, and the items inventoried at the monastery at that time probably went to the family's main residence in Żółkiew. This was due to the sale of the last Sobieski residences in Warsaw, Wilanów and Mariemont, respectively to Elżbieta Sieniawska and King Augustus II the Strong.

The contents of the 1720 inventory also brings important information about the *Sobieszciana* donated by the royal family to monks with whom they had been on friendly terms. Apart from liturgical furnishings: silverware and vestments, the pious offerings made during the lifetime of the monastery's founder included, among others, the magnificent 'Italian mosaic painting' in the *scagliola* technique, depicting the Annunciation, formerly exhibited in the reredos of one of the side altars, then in the cell of the monastery's guardian, and after being seriously damaged in a fire during the Warsaw Uprising and a not very successful conservation, it was placed in the chapel of St Cajetan (Fig. 5).⁷⁶ From Marie Casimire's collection of the Wilanów estate comes a large, magnificent ivory crucifix,

Fig. 4

Warsaw, University of Warsaw Library, Manuscript Department, Italian-language act of division of the Sobieski family's property in the capital's Capuchin monastery into parts for Princes Jakub Ludwik and Konstanty Władysław Sobieski, 1 March 1720

74 K. Kossarzecki, 'Franciszek Wierusz Kowalski i jego listy z okresu porządkowania spraw królowej Marii Kazimieri po jej śmierci w Blois w 1716 r.', in: id., *Źródła do dziejów Sobieskich*, pp. 143–144.

75 Komarzyński, *Maria Kazimiera*, p. 276.

76 'Honoratianum', no ref. no., *Opis Historyczny Kościoła i Klasztoru OO. Kapucynów w Warszawie*, p. 1; Bartczakowa, *Kościół kapucynów*, pp. 87, 112, Fig. 12.

Regist. reru' Serenissimae Principis Poloniae, quae Capuinae
S. Capuinae Varsaviensibus quatuor Magistris, G. V.
Vexillifer Varsaviensis et Comitis Serenissimi Senioris
facta divisionem in duas sortes, et elegantissimas
Venator Vischi servato usu' divisionis respicitur, videtur
epidemiis per Magistru' Vexilliferu' factu' circa arbitrium
anar' ad recognitionem harum reru' Varsaviae. G. b. Mart. W. lra.

Divisio quo ad ima' manu'.

Listas Magnas quatuor in quib' medio continetur imagines
Parvum Mundi, s. Europae. Pars deest. ex parte autem
libra. sexdecim alia, listula, quo ad imagines in arte, se et
harum desunt octo.

Vas Chinnica arte elaboratu' una cu' cooperulo rotundum.
Cordiculo alter testus de quo rogant PP. Capuni, permixtus
est eis pro Corporalibus.

Detuim ligneam Chinnicam.

Imagines duae, representantes fronsa tertio butelia, cu' vino
Effigies duae, una representans personam altera sacerdotem
Sedile unum testum et sella altera de holoserico

Hoc totum accipit Serenissimus Princeps Constantinus

Divisio quo ad 20am manu'

Suffitus quatuor rotundi aequaliter putrefacti

Imago una magna in qua Susanna balneans, altera in qua
quing' sensus, tertia in qua pueri duo, et quarta in qua
cani dat ad bibendum.

Item Imago unig' ulnae in qua Meniales sepulturam agunt.

Item Imago Senis Personae, item aviculae pendentis, item sim
fructibus. Item Effigies Hopernicij in arbore edivisa

Item Canis in tapete senex putrefactus

Item Naser in quo pectenarius e' depictum

Item Aviculae mactatae.

Item par de Gabletis contractis et sine pedibus

Item mensula parva nigre linita

Item Arcula parva sine clavicula equè nigra

Sella antiqua holoserico obducta

Item sellula parva testea

Konstanty Frasz Elakronoski Ct. W. S. W. lra.

Szymon Olszynski Ct. N. Comi.

Fr. Bonaventura

Capuina





Fig. 5

Warsaw, the Capuchin church, composition of the Annunciation, *scagliola*, second half of the seventeenth century (?), Italy

All three portraits were restored in the summer of 2020 in the Warsaw studios of the restorers Anna Bogusz-Gazda and Grażyna Macander-Majkowska

77 This crucifix – not mentioned in the *General Inventory* – was placed in the oratory of the royal suite at the Capuchin monastery, under the canopy over Jan III's coffin. See Kosszarzecki, 'Nieznany włoskojęzyczny inwentarz', pp. 50–54.

78 Bartczakowa, *Kościół kapucynów*, p. 88. Cf. 'Honoratianum', no ref. no., M. Rogowska, *Konserwacja i restauracja barokowej rzeźby Chrystusa Ukrzyżowanego z kości słoniowej ze zbiorów Muzeum Warszawskiej Prowincji Zakonu Braci Mniejszych Kapucynów w Zakroczyeniu*, vols 1–2 (Warszawa, 2008).

79 AGAD, AWR, uncollated document, *Connotacya Rzeczy roznych ruchomych*, n.p.

80 Bartczakowa, *Kościół kapucynów...*, pp. 29, 112, Fig. on p. 7, Fig. 50.

mentioned in the Italian-language inventory of the end of 1696,⁷⁷ which until 1944 adorned the side altar of the Holy Cross, and after being severely damaged in the same fire was transferred as a destroyed object to the Museum of the Warsaw Province of the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin at the 'Honoratianum' Spirituality Centre in Zakroczym, founded in 1993. It underwent expert conservation and partial reconstruction in 2008 by Magdalena Rogowska, under the direction of Prof. Maria Lubryczyńska from the Faculty of Conservation and Restoration of Works of Art of the Academy of Fine Arts in Warsaw (Fig. 6)⁷⁸ and is one of the most outstanding works of European Baroque cabinet sculpture in the former Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania. The monastery's collection also contains three royal portraits: of the king and of the queen, oil on canvas in oval Baroque frames, and a pastel portrait of Jan III, the latter regarded in 1714 by Prince Jakub as the most faithful likeness of his father and intended at the time to be copied. The author of the drawing was said to have been an unknown monk, and in 1715, it was kept with other movables in the royal rooms;⁷⁹ after 1720, it was placed in a prominent place in the refectory.⁸⁰

(Fig. 7).⁸¹ In the 1720 inventory, the Capuchins themselves asked Prince Konstanty to give to the monastery the Chinese ‘second woven basket’ belonging to it; the monks kept the corporal cloths in the basket. It was most likely identical to the basket recorded in the *General Inventory* in the Queen’s Antechamber under number 187.⁸²

By virtue of an agreement concluded on 1 March 1720 in Warsaw by the princes Jakub Ludwik and Konstanty Władysław,⁸³ then absent and represented by plenipotentiaries: Szymon Olszyński, the Master of the Hunt of Wizna representing Jakub and Konstanty Franciszek Mokronowski, the Standard-Bearer of Warsaw on the part of Konstanty,⁸⁴ assisted by the monks and the monastery’s guardian Father Bonawentura, the following division of the estate was made on that day. Previously, the Capuchins had taken possession of the objects belonging to them, listed in a separate part of the inventory of 1696.

The king’s eldest son received 13 objects, including valuable paintings: three allegorical compositions by the Antwerp artists Jan I (1626–1679) and Ferdinand (1648–1696) van Kessel dating from 1664–1666, from the series *Four Continents (Africa, America and Asia, with eight scenes missing from their borders)*⁸⁵ noted in the *General Inventory* on pp. 77–



Fig. 6

Warsaw, the Capuchin monastery (currently Zakroczym, ‘Honoratianum’ Spirituality Centre, Museum of the Warsaw Province of the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin), crucifix from the royal villa in Wilanów, ivory, second half of the seventeenth century, Spanish Netherlands or Italy (?)

81 <https://kapucyni.warszawa.pl/konserwacja-portretow-krolewskich/>; <https://kapucyni.warszawa.pl/odbior-prac-konserwatorskich/> (accessed 20 March 2021).

82 BUW GR, ref. no. 33-e, pp. 39, 41. Cf. Kwiatkowska, *Inwentarz Generalny*, p. 87; AGAD, AWR, uncollated document, *Connotacya Rzeczy roznych ruchomych*, n.p.

83 Skrzypiet, *Królewscy synowie*, pp. 548, 550, 553.

84 BUW GR, ref. no. 33-e, pp. 39, 40, 43. Szymon Olszyński of the Pniejnia coat of arms was successively the Master of the Hunt of Wizna, the Cup-Bearer of Belz and the Chamberlain of Wizna. Konstanty Franciszek Mokronowski was the father of the famous military man, General Andrzej Mokronowski, a dignitary in the period of the Saxon dynasty and King Stanislaus, and the king’s brother-in-law. For more on both, see K. Niesiecki, *Herbarz polski*, ed. J.N. Bobrowicz (Leipzig, 1841), vol. 7, p. 99; ‘Mokronowski Andrzej’, in: PSB, vol. 21, 1976, p. 585.

85 T. Mańkowski, ‘Malarstwo na dworze Jana III’, *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, vol. 12, 1950, no. 1, p. 261. The complicated circumstances of the purchase of this series for Wilanów through the king’s diplomatic and artistic agent in the Hague, Antoine Moreau (d. 1703), were discussed by Anna Markiewicz: ead., ‘“Le peintre de Breda”’. Przyczynek do prac Ferdinanda van Kessela dla Jana III’, *Studia Wilanowskie*, vol. 27, 2020, pp. 13–33, Figs 1–3. For more on the paintings in this series see K. Ertz, Ch. Nitze-Ertz, *Jan van Kessel der Ältere 1626–1679, Jan van Kessel der Jüngere*



Fig. 7

Warsaw, the Capuchin monastery, refectory, portrait of Jan III Sobieski, pastel, 1680s, author: an anonymous monk – a Capuchin (?)

78 under item 148 (originally hung in the Library) and the Capuchin inventory of 1698 on p. 49 and 53, without number, and in 1715.⁸⁶ In addition, three still lifes: two ‘paintings with fructus’ and one with a ‘wine bottle’, which can be identified with the paintings from those inventories described in general terms (respectively, items in the *General Inventory*: p. 65, items 25/20, 28/20, p. 66, item 38/50, p. 88, items 237/4, 238/4, p. 90, item 257/10, p. 91, item 267/10, item 271/6, and p. 63, item 3/100; and Capuchin inventory: from 1698, p. 48/52 and 49/53 without number, and from 1715, without number),⁸⁷ finally two portraits: of a Polish nobleman (from Marieville) and a priest (a Bernardine/Capuchin monk or canon?) which can be linked to the images in the *General Inventory* catalogued respectively on pages 84 and 92 under numbers 201/13 and 286/20, and on p. 67 under number 46/15 or on p. 84 under number 201/13, and in the Capuchin inventory from 1698 – only the first one, whereas in the one from 1715 – again both, but without numbers.⁸⁸ It is noteworthy that Jakub Ludwik’s portion contains only a few pieces of furniture and luxurious objects of everyday use, re-separated from the sets – a single chair upholstered in velvet, a stool with a woven seat (the first one is described in 1696 as item 419/2, the second one is missing, in 1698 and 1715, the Capuchin inventories list as many as five walnut stools, woven ‘in the Dutch

1654–1708; Jan van Kessel der ‘Andere’ ca. 1620 – ca. 1661: *kritische Kataloge der Gemälde* (Lingen, 2012), pp. 40–45, 153–91, cat. no. 1–132; N. Groeneveld-Baadj, *Jan van Kessel I (1626–1679): Crafting a Natural History of Art in Early Modern Antwerp* (London, 2016), pp. 119–56.

- 86 Kwiatkowska, *Inwentarz Generalny*, pp. 48–49, 52, Fig. 13; Kossarzecki, ‘Nieznany włoskojęzyczny inwentarz’, pp. 49, 53; most recently Markiewicz, ‘Le peintre de Breda’, pp. 21–22, fn. 24, 25. In 1715 inventory entitled *Connotacya Rzeczy roznych ruchomych*, the paintings were still in the set, but removed from the frames of the bordure scene. These 58 scenes (out of 64 in their original state, 16 in the bordure of each scene) were deposited in the ‘Chinese Chest’, sealed in the autumn of 1715 by a certain Jan Hische. This chest also contained 36 books from the Wilanów library. See AGAD, AWR, uncollated document, *Connotacya Rzeczy roznych ruchomych*, n.p.
- 87 Kwiatkowska, *Inwentarz Generalny*, pp. 121, 122, 144, 146, 147, AGAD, AWR, uncollated document, *Connotacya Rzeczy roznych ruchomych*, n.p.
- 88 *Ibid.*, pp. 39, 140, 148. Cf. Kossarzecki, ‘Nieznany włoskojęzyczny inwentarz’, p. 48/52; AGAD, AWR, uncollated document, *Connotacya Rzeczy roznych ruchomych*, n.p.

manner’)⁸⁹ and three objects from a Chinese set which originally decorated the Queen’s Antecabinet in Wilanów (respectively – in 1696 on p. 31, 38, 39, 58 under items 187, 261, 471, in 1698 – on p. 48/52, and in 1715 – without number).⁹⁰

The younger brother, Konstanty Władysław Sobieski received a total of 22 works of art and craft, 16 of which were paintings. He received, among other things, four circular plafonds on mythological themes (the Triumphs of the goddesses of antiquity, including Venus and Diana, in the processions of the Cupids), from the study rooms (?) of the villa in Wilanów, decorated with paintings only on the initiative of Prince Aleksander after 1699 (recorded in the *Connotacya* in 1715, already rotten five years later because of an earlier leak in the roof of the upstairs rooms of the Capuchin monastery),⁹¹ paintings: *Susanna and the Elders*, an allegorical scene *The Five Senses*⁹² and genre representations: *Two Boys with Oysters*, *A Cossack/Kalmuk Giving Water to a Dog*, *Nuns Celebrating a Monastic Funeral*, and *A Comb Case* (on a board). Only the fourth was in the *General Inventory*,⁹³ while the last three were in both earlier Capuchin inventories.⁹⁴ Out of the remaining works, two portraits stand out: of an old man and of Nicolaus Copernicus (on wood, in a poor condition in 1720, with split boards – both recorded earlier in 1698 and 1715),⁹⁵ and an animalistic portrait – of a dog lying on a rug, with a monkey,⁹⁶ listed only by Łoski, Wierusz Kowalski and Dupont. The same is true of a group of Dutch-type still lifes depicting a dead bird hanging on a hook or a composition with fruit – all listed as late as 1715,

89 Kwiatkowska, *Inwentarz Generalny*, pp. 87, 94, 95, 114; Kossarzecki, ‘Nieznany włoskojęzyczny inwentarz’, p. 48/52; AGAD, AWR, uncollated document, *Connotacya Rzeczy roznych ruchomych*, n.p.

90 Kwiatkowska, *Inwentarz Generalny*, pp. 87, 94, 95, 114; Kossarzecki, ‘Nieznany włoskojęzyczny inwentarz’, p. 48/52; AGAD, AWR, uncollated document, *Connotacya Rzeczy roznych ruchomych*, n.p.

91 These plafonds were not recorded in the two earlier inventories. They probably found their way here during the renovation works in Wilanów in 1699–1704. In the absence of the stated subject matter of the scenes, it is not possible to identify their original purpose.

92 Both of these paintings are missing from the Wilanów *General Inventory* and from the Capuchin inventories of 1698 and 1715. At this stage of research, it is difficult to say where they might have come from.

93 Kwiatkowska, *Inwentarz Generalny*, p. 144 (*Grzebieniarz* – item 235/10 on p. 88 of the inventory as a painting from the Lower Gallery or Library, in the upper vault of the villa).

94 Kossarzecki, ‘Nieznany włoskojęzyczny inwentarz’, p. 49/53, 50/54; AGAD, AWR, uncollated document, *Connotacya Rzeczy roznych ruchomych*, n.p.

95 Kwiatkowska, *Inwentarz Generalny*, p. 145 (under no. 255/6 on p. 89 of the document – portrait of an old man); Kossarzecki, ‘Nieznany włoskojęzyczny inwentarz’, pp. 48/52, 49/53; AGAD, AWR, uncollated document, *Connotacya Rzeczy roznych ruchomych*, n.p.

96 AGAD, AWR, uncollated document, *Connotacya Rzeczy roznych ruchomych*, n.p.

so they may have belonged to Aleksander.⁹⁷ The furniture given to Konstanty also included a second analogous armchair upholstered in velvet, which formed a pair with the previously mentioned woven stool, as well as four other pieces of an old Chinese set in black lacquer technique, from the King's Chinese Cabinet or the King's Wardrobe in Wilanów – a pair of showcases (with broken legs), a table and a small chest (without a key). They can be compared with objects described in a very similar way in the *General Inventory* on p. 37, items 253, 254, p. 38, item 267, and among the items donated by Stanisław Cieszkowski on p. 59, items 476–478, in the Capuchin inventory of 1698, under no. 14 among the items belonging to the 'royal rooms' in the cloister (a chest), and in the one of 1715 – without numbers.⁹⁸

In conclusion, it can be assumed that the 1720 negotiations – despite the unequal representation in both parts of the paintings which, from the point of view of the art historian, were the most valuable – were concluded fairly for both brothers. The main criterion for the evaluation and distribution of the royal keepsakes was financial, as the Sobieski family invariably needed cash.

The comparison of three inventories – the *General Inventory* from Wilanów from the end of 1696 and the 'Capuchin Inventory' from 1698 and autumn 1715 – with the one from 1 March 1720 leads to some important findings. Despite the vague way in which some of the paintings, furniture and wares are described, making it difficult to identify them correctly, the presence of some of them in all four inventories can be confirmed. A reading of the 1720 inventory is striking chiefly due to the absence of any precious objects, silverware or luxurious craft objects – only 24 paintings remained with the Capuchins (some of them, probably due to inadequate storage, were in poor condition after 22 years) and a small group of furniture and small appliances of Chinese and Dutch type, some of which were also damaged or incomplete.

All the above observations reveal a sad picture of the end of the great reign of Jan III and the crisis of the whole family soon after his death. The unsatisfied ambitions of Marie Casimire and the princes brought them constant financial problems which forced them to gradually sell off the family property, except for the main landed estate in Żółkiew, in the Crown Ruthenia. Despite the political and diplomatic efforts of

97 Kwiatkowska, *Inwentarz Generalny*, p. 119 (item 1/20 from the Grand Vestibule of the Wilanów Villa on p. 63 of the inventory), 120 (item 11/12 on p. 64, from the Queen's Antechamber), 129 (item 101/60 on p. 73, from the Dutch Cabinet), 144 (items 237/4 and 238/4 on p. 88, from the Lower Gallery or Library, stored in the upper vault); Kossarzecki, 'Nieznany włoskojęzyczny inwentarz', p. 49/53; AGAD, AWR, uncollated document, *Connotacya Rzeczy roznych ruchomych*, n.p.

98 Kossarzecki, 'Nieznany włoskojęzyczny inwentarz', p. 50/55. Cf. Kwiatkowska, *Inwentarz Generalny*, p. 93; AGAD, AWR, uncollated document, *Connotacya Rzeczy roznych ruchomych*, n.p.

Jakub Ludwik and Konstanty Władysław in France, Rome, Munich and the Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania, in 1720 even this smallest of the capital's collections of *Sobieszciana* were dispersed and their residences sold. From then on, the mortal remains of the king and queen and Jakub's son Jan lay in solitude until 1733, when they were exhumed and given a well-deserved ceremonial procession and official burial at Wawel Hill. The filial concern of the royal couple's last living heir to give these events an appropriate artistic setting was perhaps the final chord in the foundation activities of the children of Jan III and Marie Casimire.

Nearly 40 years old, the rotten textile apparatus of the oratory and royal rooms were given to the Capuchins by Jakub Ludwik in a letter dated 2 June 1733 from Żółkiew.⁹⁹ However, he kept the new ones for himself, funded that year in connection with the Convocation Sejm and the exequies of his parents in the church (together with Augustus II) before their official burial in Krakow. A courtier of the Prince, Kajetan Minaszewicz, or his brother, was supposed to be responsible for their transfer from Warsaw to Żółkiew after 17 August 1734.¹⁰⁰ Before May 1732, Jakub rented the 'royal rooms', emptied of all equipment, as a 'residence' to the suffragan bishop of Płock, Ludwik Bartłomiej Załuski, which proved very troublesome for the whole convent because of the enclosure.¹⁰¹ In June of the same year, the monks reported to the prince on the urgent need to repair the roof over the upper oratory, which had been flooded by rain and was decaying, as well as the upholstery, the catafalque and the canopy over the coffins of his parents and son. Before 8 July, the guardian, Father Franciszek, brought in an unidentified 'conscientious architect', who for 300 Polish zlotys, giving up his own salary, offered to replace the damaged roof and rafter framing and to make safe the damp walls of the building.¹⁰² Jakub Ludwik offered the necessary funds (200 Polish zlotys for three years) to the monks only with his letter of 12 August 1735, reserving the decision on any future renting of these rooms.¹⁰³

99 BUW GR, ref. no. 35-b, fol. 53r.

100 Ibid., ref. no. 35-a, fol. 116r.

101 Ibid., fols 57r–57v.

102 Ibid., fol. 60r.

103 Ibid.

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MICHAŁ WARDZYŃSKI

Ph.D. (habil.), an assistant professor at the Department of Early Art and Culture of the Institute of Art History at the University of Warsaw, expert on sculpture, small architecture and artistic culture of the seventeenth and eighteenth century in the former Commonwealth of Poland and Lithuania. He specialises in the artistic geography of Central and Eastern Europe, and the reception of sculpture and small architecture from both parts of the historical Netherlands in the Baltic region and the states of the Habsburg monarchy. He is also interested in the role in the creative process and the semantic significance of material, especially decorative rocks, as well as stone-quarrying and sculpture centres in the Crown of Poland and abroad. Since 2017, he has been the scientific coordinator of the Mazovian Heritage Academy programme at the Mazovian Institute of Culture in Warsaw, where he prepares publications, conferences and workshops on the artistic culture of the region. He is the author of three books and nearly a hundred articles and scientific papers.

Contact: m.wardzynski@uw.edu.pl

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