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Problems of Everyday Life at the Court of Konstancja Marianna née Potocka Szczukowa (d. 1733), Deputy-Chancellor of Lithuania*

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SUMMARY

The turn of the 17th and 18th centuries was characterized by an increase in women's activity in many areas of public life, but this issue, despite the fact that it is of increasing interest to contemporary researchers, has still not been fully investigated. There is still a lack of studies on the involvement of noblewomen and magnates in managing the family property and their efforts to maintain and multiply it. Among these resourceful and enterprising ladies there is Konstancja Marianna née Potocka Szczukowa (died 1733), the wife of Stanisław Antoni Szczuka (died 1710), the Lithuanian deputy chancellor. Konstancja Marianna was brought up at the court of Maria Kazimiera (died 1716), hence she was in close relations with both the queen and the Sobieski princes. Moreover, she was in close relations with her paternal aunt – three-time widow Anna née Potocka Stanisławska (died after February 1695), the Kiev voivodship, who introduced her to the world of court intrigues. The aforementioned acquaintances gave Szczukowa many significant social contacts, which helped her to conduct extensive public and patronage activities in her adult life. For the purposes of this article, a variety of archival material was analysed: correspondence (mainly economic), court bills, lease agreements, property inventories and supplications, and the information obtained on their basis was used to present the daily duties and activities of the Lithuanian deputy chancelloress related to the administration of the Szczuka property and the maintenance of their court. and showing Konstancja Marianna's relationship with her subjects, in the eyes of whom she was perceived as a just and merciful benefactor.

KEYWORDS: correspondence, noble court, everyday life, economic activity of women, court officials.

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STRESZCZENIE

Problemy codzienności w środowisku dworskim Konstancji Marianny z Potockich Szczukowej (zm. 1733), podkanclerzyny litewskiej

Przełom XVII i XVIII wieku charakteryzował się wzrostem aktywności kobiet w wielu dziedzinach życia publicznego, a zagadnienie to, pomimo że cieszy się coraz większym zainteresowaniem współczesnych badaczy, wciąż nie zostało w pełni opracowane. Nadal brakuje bowiem studiów dotyczących zaangażowania się szlachcianek i magnatek w kierowanie rodzinnym majątkiem i ich zabiegów mających na celu jego utrzymanie i pomnożenie. Do grona owych zaradnych i przedsiębiorczych dam zaliczyć należy Konstancję Mariannę z Potockich Szczukową (zm. 1733), żonę Stanisława Antoniego Szczuki (zm. 1710), podkanclerzego litewskiego. Konstancja Marianna wychowywała się na dworze Marii Kazimiery (zm. 1716), dlatego znajdowała się w bliskich stosunkach zarówno z królową, jak i z królewiczami Sobieskimi. Ponadto pozostawała w ścisłych relacjach z ciotką od strony ojca – trzykrotną wdową Anną z Potockich Stanisławską (zm. po lutym 1695), wojewodziną kijowską, która wprowadziła ją w świat intryg dworskich. Wspomniane znajomości otworzyły Szczukowej wiele znaczących kontaktów towarzyskich, które pomogły jej w dorosłym życiu prowadzić szeroką działalność publiczną i patronacką. Na potrzeby niniejszego artykułu przeanalizowano różnorodny materiał archiwalny: korespondencję (głównie ekonomiczną), rachunki dworskie, umowy arendarne, inwentarze dóbr oraz supliki, a uzyskane na ich podstawie informacje posłużyły do przedstawienia codziennych obowiązków i poczynań podkanclerzyny litewskiej związanych z zawiadywaniem majątkiem Szczuków, utrzymaniem ich dworu oraz ukazania relacji Konstancji Marianny z poddanymi, w których oczach postrzegana była ona jako sprawiedliwa i miłosierna dobrodziejka.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: korespondencja, dwór szlachecki, codzienność, aktywność gospodarcza kobiet, urzędnicy dworscy.

The turn of the 17th and 18th centuries is marked by a particular increase in women's activity in many areas of public life¹. At that period, women, due to a va-

¹ The phenomenon of women's activism in public life is increasingly being addressed in scientific research, which has resulted in an already extensive literature on the subject: T. Kondratiuk, *Mecenat Anny z Sanguszków Radziwiłłowej*, Biała Podlaska 1986; B. Popiołek, *Królowa bez korony. Studium z życia i działalności Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej ok. 1669–1729*, Kraków 1996; eadem, „Forteca w białogłowskich rękach” – kobiety fundatorki i administratorzy zamków i dóbr w czasach saskich, in: *Zamki i przestrzeń społeczna w Europie Środkowej i Wschodniej*, red. M. Antoniewicz, Warszawa 2002, pp. 580–589; eadem, *Radziwiłłówny w czasach saskich*, in: *Radziwiłłowie. Obrazy literackie. Biografie. Świadczenia historyczne*, red. K. Stępnik, Lublin 2003, pp. 347–348; eadem, *Magdalena z Tarłów Lubomirska (zm. 1728), wojewodzina krakowska. Próba biografii*, „Krakowskie Studia Małopolskie” 2013, nr 18, pp. 434–453; eadem, *Między przestrzenią domową a wielką polityką. Aktywność publiczna kobiet w czasach saskich*, in: *Drogi kobiet do polityki (na przestrzeni*

riety of circumstances, could find fulfilment either by the side of a spouse or on their own, being widows or divorcees². Among those resourceful ladies was

XVIII–XXI wieku), red. T. Kulak, M. Dajnowicz, Wrocław 2016, pp. 27–43; B. Popiołek, U. Kicińska, *Panie Zamoyskie: Anna Franciszka z Gnińskich Zamoyska, Teresa z Potockich i Urszula z Kalińskich – okruchy biografii w świetle korespondencji i aktów ostatniej woli*, „Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej” (further: KHKM) R. 65, 2017, nr 1, pp. 19–38; B. Popiołek, *Kobiety świat w czasach Augusta II. Studia nad mentalnością kobiet z kręgów szlacheckich*, wyd. 2 poszerzone, Kraków 2018; *eadem*, *Dobrodziejki i klienci. Specyfika patronatu kobiecego i relacji klientalnych w czasach saskich*, Warszawa 2020; J. Rudnicka, *Maria z Kątskich Potocka jako tłumaczka Moliera*, in: *Między barokiem a oświeceniem. Nowe spojrzenie na czasy saskie*, red. K. Stasiewicz and S. Achremczyk, Olsztyn 1996, pp. 285–296; J. Partyka, *Kobieta oswaja męską przestrzeń. Polska lekarka w osiemnastowiecznym Stambule*, in: *Pisarki polskie epok dawnych*, red. K. Stasiewicz, Olsztyn 1998, pp. 153–162; H. Mierzwiński, *Księżna Anna Paulina z Sapiechów Jabłonowska (1728–1800)*, „Szkie Podlaskie” R. 7, 1999, s. 207–219; *Publiczna przestrzeń kobiet: obrazy dawne i nowe*, red. E. Pakszysz, W. Heller, Poznań 1999; J. Kowalik, *Maria z Kątskich Potocka (ok. 1720–1768): przyczynek do życia kulturalnego w Radzynie w II połowie XVIII wieku*, „Radzyński Rocznik Humanistyczny” 2001, t. 1, pp. 35–46; K. Marszałek-Młyńczyk, *Księżna Anna z Sapiechów Jabłonowska i jej świat*, in: *Księżna Anna z Sapiechów Jabłonowska (1728–1800). W 200. rocznicę zgonu*, red. A. Wołek, Z.J. Wójcik, Siemiatycze 2001, pp. 27–40; K. Kolendo-Korczakowa, *Działalność ekonomiczna Anny z Sanguszków Radziwiłłowej – manufaktury hafciarskie w świetle nowych znalezisk*, in: *Dwory magnackie w XVIII wieku. Rola i znaczenie kulturowe*, red. T. Kostkiewiczowa, A. Roćko, Warszawa 2005, pp. 193–202; J. Sawicka-Jurek, „Pod wdzięcznym onej rozkazem” – o kulturotwórczej roli dworu Aleksandry Ogińskiej w Siedlcach, in: *Dwory magnackie*, pp. 263–273; A. Jakuboszczak, *Sarmacka dama. Barbara Sanguszkowa (1718–1791) i jej salon towarzyski*, Poznań 2008; I. Kulesza-Woronecka, *Aktywność arystokratek w XVIII wieku*, in: *Władza i prestiż. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku*, red. J. Urwanowicz, we współpracy E. Dubas-Urwanowicz i P. Guzowskiego, Białystok 2003, pp. 629–638; J. Skrabski, *Działalność artystyczna Barbary z Duninów Sanguszkowej*, in: *Studia nad sztuką renesansu i baroku*, t. 8, red. J. Lileyko, I. Rolska-Boruch, Lublin 2007, pp. 233–242; A. Słaby, *Rządząca oleszycka. Dwór Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej jako przykład patronatu kobiecego w czasach saskich*, Kraków 2014; M. Butkiewicz, *Barbara z Duninów Sanguszkowa jako mecenas w schyłkowej epoce polskiego baroku*, „Lubelski Rocznik Pedagogiczny” 2015, t. 34, z. 1, pp. 105–122; A. Słaby, *Szlachcianki na politycznej scenie czasów saskich – polityka czy obrona interesów domowych?*, in: *Wnuczki Pandory. Kobieta w społeczeństwie od starożytności do współczesności*, red. A. Głowcka-Peńczyńska, K. Grysińska-Jarmuła, M. Opiola-Cegielka, Bydgoszcz 2016, pp. 71–83; A. Czarniecka, *Królowa wdowa w polityce. Pozycja Marii Kazimierzy po śmierci Jana III (1696–1697)*, in: *Maria Kazimiera Sobieska (1641–1716). W kręgu rodziny, polityki i kultury*, red. A. Kalinowska, P. Tyszka, Warszawa 2017 (Zamek królewski w Warszawie – Muzeum. Studia i materiały, t. 6), pp. 149–166; U. Kicińska, *Political Activity of Widows as an Example of Shaping Cliental Dependencies in the Second Half of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, „Theatrum Historiae” 2019, no. 24, pp. 41–53.

² See: B. Tuchołka-Włodarska, *Uwagi o działalności warsztatów prowadzonych przez wdowy po gdańskich złotnikach i konwisarzach w końcu XVII i XVIII wieku*, „Gdańskie Studia

Konstancja Marianna née Potocka Szczukowa (d. 1733), deputy chancelloress of Lithuania, who until recently has not received much attention from researchers³. On the other hand, her husband Stanisław Antoni (ca. 1654 – 19th May 1710) has been much better, although still insufficiently described in the literature of the subject⁴. This situation arouses a certain amount of consternation, since Kon-

Muzealne” 1985, t. 4, pp. 103–113; Y. Aubry, *Pour une étude du veuvage féminin à l’époque moderne*, “Histoire, Économie et Société” 1989, Vol. 8, No. 2, pp. 223–236; B. Maillard, *Les veuves dans la société rurale au XVIIIe siècle*, “Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l’Ouest” 1999, Vol. 106, No. 1, pp. 211–230; S. Beauvalet-Boutouyrie, *Être veuve sous l’Ancien Régime*, préface de J.-P. Bardet, Paris 2001; I. Kulesza-Woroniecka, *Rozwoły w rodzinach magnackich w Polsce XVI–XVIII wieku*, Poznań–Wrocław 2002; U. Sowina, *Wdowy i sieroty w świetle prawa w miastach Korony w późnym średniowieczu i wczesnej nowożytności*, in: *Od narodzin do wieku dojrzałego. Dzieci i młodzież w Polsce*, cz. 1: *Od średniowiecza do wieku XVIII*, red. M. Dąbrowska, A. Klonder, Warszawa 2002, pp. 15–28; A. Gardyła, *Polskie wdowy. Studium przypadku*, “Państwo i Społeczeństwo” 6, 2006, nr 2, pp. 141–149; I. Pugaciewicz, *Wizerunek dobrej wdowy w opiniach Ojców Kościoła i moralistów w epoce wczesnonowożytnej*, in: *Rodzina i gospodarstwo domowe na ziemiach polskich w XV–XX wieku. Struktury demograficzne, społeczne i gospodarcze*, red. C. Kuklo, Warszawa 2008, pp. 247–260; J. Lanza, *Les veuves dans les corporations parisiennes au XVIIIe siècle*, “Revue d’histoire moderne et contemporaine” 2009, no. 3 (56-3), pp. 92–122; Ch. Dousset, *Familles paysannes et veuvage féminin en Languedoc à la fin du XVIIe siècle*, “Dix-septième siècle” 2010, 4 (n° 249), pp. 583–596; J. Pielas, *Wdowa-matka a kwestie majątkowe w rodzinach szlachty koronnej w XVII wieku*, in: *Społeczeństwo staropolskie*, Seria Nova, t. 3, red. A. Karpiński, Warszawa 2011, pp. 171–193; A. Jakuboszczak, *Panny i wdowy – w poszukiwaniu własnej przestrzeni. Losy osiemnastowiecznych szlachcianek z kręgu rodzin Działyńskich*, in: *Kobieta i mężczyzna, jedna przestrzeń – dwa światy*, red. B. Popiołek, A. Chłosta-Sikorska, M. Gadocha, Kraków 2015, pp. 295–305; U. Kicińska, „W tym osieroconym stanie...” *Pozycja wdowy w społeczeństwie szlacheckim w Rzeczypospolitej (od schyłku XVII wieku do połowy XVIII wieku)*, Kraków 2020.

³ See: B. Popiołek, *Kobieta zaradna. Konstancja Marianna z Potockich Szczukowa, podkanclerzyna litewska*, in: *Słynne kobiety w Rzeczypospolitej XVIII wieku*, red. A. Ročko, M. Górka, Warszawa 2017, pp. 21–40; *eadem*, *Dobrodziejki i klienci*, pp. 294–328; U. Kicińska, *Patronacka aktywność wdowy Konstancji Marianny z Potockich Szczukowej podkanclerzyny litewskiej*, in: *W kręgu patronatu kobiecego w XVII–XVIII wieku*, red. B. Popiołek et al., Kraków 2018, pp. 221–237; I. Grochowska, *Stanisław Antoni Szczuka – jego działalność w ziemi wiskiej 1682–1710*, Warszawa 1989, pp. 29–30.

⁴ See: J. Wiśniewski, *Podkanclerzy Stanisław Antoni Szczuka a geneza, rozrost i rozpad dóbr szlacheckich*, in: *Studia i materiały do dziejów powiatu grajewskiego*, red. M. Gnatowski, H. Majecki, t. 1, Warszawa 1975, pp. 252–270; M. Konopka, *Stanisław Antoni Szczuka – dygnitarz i przyjaciel Jana III*, in: *Studia z dziejów epoki Jana III*, red. K. Matwijowski, Wrocław 1984 („Acta Universitatis Wratislaviensis”, no. 726, Historia, vol. 47), pp. 211–219; I. Grochowska, *Stanisław Antoni Szczuka*; A. Michałowska, *Stanisław Antoni Szczuka – początki kariery patrona*, „Kwartalnik Historyczny” (further: KH) R. 102, 1995, nr 3–4, pp. 62–90; T. Zielińska, *Stanisław Antoni Szczuka jako referendarz koronny w la-*

stancja Marianna, who came from the Calvinist line of the Potocki family and in her youth resided at the court of Maria Kazimiera Sobieska (d. 1716) (where she was raised), was certainly regarded as an unusual character and deserves to be better known. Further, it is worth noting here that her aunt Anna née Potocka Stanisławska, 1v. Kazanowska, 2v. Słuszkowa (d. after February 1695), voivodess of Kiev⁵, who initiated her marriage to Stanisław Antoni Szczuka⁶, also had a significant influence on Konstancja Marianna.

This study aims to present, although only in an outline, the daily duties and activities of the Lithuanian deputy-chancellor, which to a large extent included looking after the family estate. Initially, that was done jointly with her husband, and from 1710 for the next more than twenty years, on her own. It was, therefore, considered important to identify the mechanisms used by Konstancja Marianna to co-manage the estate of the Szczuka family, and to answer the question: were they any different from other approaches used in similar situations at the time? The question of to what extent was the strategy for the functioning of the court created by Stanisław Antoni followed in the future by his widowed wife is also here of great interest. Further, it is vital to trace which branches of the economy (which were the basis of the family wealth) successfully developed in the estate of the Szczuka family and also to analyse cooperation between Konstancja Marianna and the court officials subordinate to her.

tach 1688–1699, „KH” R. 106, 2002, nr 3, pp. 5–22; H. Palkij, *Szczuka Stanisław Antoni*, in: *Polski słownik biograficzny* (further: *PSB*), t. 47/3, Warszawa–Kraków 2011, s. 469–481; H. Widacka, *Antoni Stanisław Szczuka (1654–1710), zaufany sekretarz Jana III Sobieskiego*, https://www.wilanow-palac.pl/antoni_stanislaw_szczuka_zaufany_sekretarz_jana_iii_sobieskiego.html (accessed: 12.07.2022).

⁵ Anna née Potocka Stanisławska – known as the “Kiev witch” was the daughter of Stefan Potocki, voivode of Braclaw, and sister of Stanisław Revera Potocki (d. 1667), Grand Crown Hetman. She influenced Konstancja Marianna née Potocka Szczukowa, to convert from Calvinism to Catholicism. She was married three times. First, in 1640, she married Aleksander Dominik Kazanowski (d. 1648), a Braclaw voivode, with whom she had a daughter, Marianna (d. 1687), the wife of Stanisław Jan Jabłonowski, Grand Crown Hetman. After his death in February 1650, she married Jerzy Bogusław Słuszek (d. 1658), court treasurer of Lithuania. She lived to have four children with him: Józef Bogusław (d. 1701), castellan of Vilnius, Dominik Michał (d. 1713), governor of Połock, and daughters Konstancja (married twice, first to Władysław Denhoff (d. 1683), governor of Pomerania, and later to his relative Ernest Denhoff (d. 1693), governor of Malbork, and Barbara (d. 1655). She got married, for the third time, to Michał Jerzy Stanisławski (d. 1668), castellan of Sącz, later voivode of Kiev; cf. B. Popiółek, *Dobrodziejki i klienci*, p. 295.

⁶ See: T. Zielińska, *Stanisław Antoni Szczuka*, p. 17.

The daily life of the magnates' courts can be analyzed on the basis of various sources, among which are correspondence, lease agreements, descriptions and inventories of individual estates, or preserved, although in fragments, accounts. Correspondence of estate officials is particularly valuable in this type of analysis, since it provided an opportunity to exchange and obtain information, or to express concerns, thanks and confirm the execution of a given order. It indeed gives us an insight into functioning of the court servants at that time. Supplications, which were commonly used at that period, are also an interesting source, which, due to the included requests, allow us to reconstruct and understand the daily life of the lower social strata living on magnate estates⁷.

The fundamental sources for this study were the letters of court officials addressed to Konstancja Marianna née Potocka Szczukowa, which are stored in the Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, in the Potocki Public Archives section and the Potocki of Radzyń Archives, between which the former archives of the Szczuka family were divided, and this legacy (including epistolary) was contributed to the Potocki archives by Stanisław Antoni's granddaughter, Marianna née Kątska (d. 1768), wife of Eustachy Potocki (d. 1768)⁸. This is a significant part

⁷ K. Kossarzecki, *Supliki staropolskie*, in: *Elżbieta Sieniawska. Królowa bez korony*, red. K. Morawski, K. Pyzel, Warszawa 2020, pp. 93–94; U. Kicińska, *Korespondencja jako źródło do badań aktywności gospodarczej kobiet w epoce saskiej*, in: *Kobiece kręgi korespondencyjne w XVII–XIX wieku*, red. B. Popiołek, U. Kicińska, A. Słaby, Warszawa–Bellerive-sur-Allier 2016, pp. 44–56; A. Kucharski, *Informacje i usługi. Jakub Kazimierz Rubinkowski jako korespondent i klient Elżbiety Sieniawskiej oraz Anny Katarzyny Radziwiłłowej*, in: *W kręgu patronatu kobiecego*, pp. 179–192. See: J.A. Gierowski, *Korespondencja urzędników latyfundialnych jako źródło do historii gospodarczej i społecznej*, in: *Kraków – Małopolska w Europie środka. Studia ku czci profesora Jana M. Maleckiego w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin*, red. K. Broński, J. Purchla, J. Szpak, Kraków 1996, pp. 93–98; T. Zielińska, *Oficjalności w dobrach magnackich w XVIII wieku jako urzędnicy ziemscy*, in: *Świat pogranicza*, red. M. Nagielski et al., Warszawa 2003, pp. 267–281; I. Kulesza-Woroniecka, *Pozycja służby w strukturze i organizacji dworu magnackiego w XVIII wieku*, in: *Rodzina i gospodarstwo domowe*, pp. 329–340; U. Kicińska, *Codzienne obowiązki zarządcy majątku na przykładzie korespondencji Piotra Morzyckiego do Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej*, in: *Epistolografia w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, t. 6: *Stulecia XVI–XIX. Nowa perspektywa historyczna i językowa*, red. P. Borek, M. Olma, Kraków 2015, pp. 293–305.

⁸ Marianna née Kątska Potocka – since determining the date and place of her birth is problematic, hence, taking into account the years of her parents' marriage (1719–1727), it can be assumed that she was born at the beginning of this period (around 1722). She was the granddaughter of Stanisław Antoni Szczuka (d. 1710), Lithuanian deputy-chancellor, and the daughter of his only daughter Wiktoria (d. 1735), who married Jan Stanisław (d. 1727), son of Marcin Kątski (d. 1710), General of Crown Artillery. In 1741 Marianna married Eustachy Potocki, General of Grand Duchy of Lithuania Artillery. The couple had six children:

of a sizable collection, but probably not fully complete. As Władysław Semkowicz indicates, it is quite possible that some of the material found its way to the collection of the library of Stanisław Septym Potocki, son of Szczęsny, and from there it was transferred to the collection of the Ossoliński Library in Lwów⁹. Among the examined correspondents of Konstancja Marianna are mainly officials and subjects connected with the administration of the vast estate. The spouses' letters were also analysed, although these, as it is obvious, ceased at the time of Stanisław Antoni's death. On the other hand, lease contracts, descriptions of individual manor buildings, as well as bills issued to subjects acknowledging the work they had performed, became additional material helpful in the exemplification of the economic condition of individual estates of the deputy-chancellorship.

Stanisław and Konstancja married on the 6th of February, 1695, and at that time she was a court lady to Maria Kazimiera. The couple had three sons – August Michał (29th of September, 1697–1702), Marcin Leopold (13th of November, 1698–1728) and Jan Kanty (d. 1724)¹⁰, who died childless at a young age, and two daughters, Wiktoria (23rd of December, 1701–1735)¹¹ and Maria Anna (1703–1705)¹². Wiktoria became the sole heir to the Szczuka family estate, which later passed to her daughter and Stanisław Antoni's granddaughter, the aforementioned Marianna née Kątska Potocka.

Stanisław Antoni, who came from a wealthy Lithuanian family, was undoubtedly the creator of the family power. He was educated in Wilno by the side of

one daughter, Cecilia Ursula (1747–1771), and sons – Kajetan, Ignacy Franciszek, Jerzy Michał, Stanisław Kostka, and Jan Nepomucen. Marianna was regarded as a highly educated person, an excellent expert in theater and a translator of Molière's works. See: J. Rudnicka, *Maria z Kątskich Potocka*, p. 285, U. Kicińska, *Codzienne sprawy w kręgu dworu Marii z Kątskich Potockiej (zm. 1768): zarys problemu na podstawie korespondencji kierowanej do starościny lwowskiej w latach 1765–1766*, "Saeculum Christianum. Pismo Historyczne" 2022, t. 29, nr 2, pp. 162–177.

⁹ See: W. Semkowicz, *Przewodnik po zbiorze rękopisów wilanowskich*, Warszawa 1961, p. 132.

¹⁰ August Michał, the eldest of the sons, died in childhood. Marcin Leopold Stefan (13th of November, 1698–1728), the starost of Wąwolnica, was married to Elżbieta née Potocka, daughter of Aleksander Jan, voivode of Smoleńsk. The youngest, Jan Kanty (1699 or 1700–1724), the starost of Wieksznie, married Salomea Anna née Sapięha, See: H. Palkij, *Szczuka Stanisław Antoni*, p. 478; B. Popiołek, *Kobieta zaradna*, p. 30.

¹¹ Wiktoria née Szczuka Kątska – from 1719 the wife of Jan Stanisław Kątski (d. 1727), General of the Crown Artillery. They had a daughter Marianna, who became the wife of Eustachy Potocki. After his death, she got married once again around 1731 to Jan Cetner (d. 1735), an influential official at the royal court

¹² Anna died in childhood. I. Grochowska suggests that the couple had more children who most likely died prematurely; *eadem*, *Stanisław Antoni Szczuka*, p. 32.

Hieronim Kryspin-Kirsztein (d. after 1676), treasurer of Lithuania¹³. Kazimierz Jan Szczuka (d. 1694), abbot of Paradyż¹⁴, who was also responsible for his upbringing, recommended him to professors at the Kraków Academy: Father Marcin Winkler (d. 1700), professor of pronunciation, and Father Stanisław Bieżanowski (d. 1693), professor of poetics. To complete his education, the young Szczuka spent seventeen months at the Lublin Tribunal, where he studied law that was in force in the Crown of the Kingdom of Poland. In 1675, thanks to the help of his uncle the aforementioned Abbot Szczuka, Stanisław Antoni was given the position of the royal secretary, and in 1684 he became the regent of the Crown Chancellery. Subsequently, he assumed the office of the crown referendary (1688), and in return for his loyalty during the royal election after the death of Jan III Sobieski, he was rewarded by August II with the ministerial office of Lithuanian deputy chancellor on the 1st of August, 1699¹⁵.

The Szczuka estate included property brought into the marriage primarily by Stanisław Antoni. That was the land he inherited from his parents, namely the Rada estate in the Upicki district. In the 1680s, Szczuka began accumulating property in the Wizna land, where he intended to establish the headquarters of his family, and between 1689 and 1692, in accordance with his will, the town of Szczuczyn was delineated, which at that time was designated as the family seat. There, in 1696, Stanisław Antoni founded a Piarist college¹⁶. At the same time, he also received from king Jan III (on a perpetual lease) the town of Radzyń, located in the Lublin province, and became considerably rich after taking over the inheritance of Adam Kotowski, the pantler of Wyszogród and the superintendent of crown customs, who died in 1693¹⁷. In 1700, Stanisław Antoni acquired for his wife Sidra, which he took over from his heirless uncle Krzysztof Potocki (d. 1683), the starost of Jabłonowo. The royal lands, which gave them wider opportunities

¹³ See: T. Wasilewski, *Kryspin-Kirszensztein Hieronim*, in: *PSB*, t. 15, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1970, pp. 497–498.

¹⁴ See: R. Kawecki, *Szczuka (Szczuka) Kazimierz Jan*, in: *PSB*, t. 47, Warszawa–Kraków 2011, pp. 458–462; P. Nitecki, *Biskupi Kościoła w Polsce. Słownik biograficzny*, Warszawa 1992, p. 199.

¹⁵ A. Michałowska, *Stanisław Antoni Szczuka*, p. 63–64.

¹⁶ See: A. Czapska, *Powstanie, rozwój urbanistyczny i zabytkowa architektura Szczuczyna od końca XVII do połowy XIX w.*, in: *Studia i materiały do dziejów powiatu grajewskiego*, t. 1, Warszawa 1975, pp. 360–383.

¹⁷ See: A. Lutostańska, *Pałac w Radzynie Podlaskim. Etapy kształtowania się rezydencji na tle rozwoju przestrzennego miasta*, "Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki" 1977, t. 22, nr 3, pp. 215–218; S. Jarmuł, *Szkice z dziejów Radzyna Podlaskiego i byłego powiatu radzyńskiego*, Radzyń Podlaski 1995.

to manage hereditary estates, were an important component of the Szczuka fortune. These estates were considerably dispersed, as they could be found on the territory of a more than a dozen provinces. However, the largest concentration of them was in the Mazowsze, Lublin, Podlasie, Troki and Samogitia provinces since both Szczuka's private lands and royal Šiauliai property, which he administered but which officially belonged to Prince Jakub, were located there¹⁸. It needs to be mentioned here that considerable wealth was also brought into this marriage by Konstancja Marianna, whose dowry was worth an estimated 140 thousand zlotys, along with which she also had additional bequests issued by king Jan III and her guardian, the aforementioned Anna née Potocka Stanisławska. In addition, the spouses, as a precautionary measures in case of widowhood, provided each other with an annuity¹⁹.

The couple were a loving and caring one what they often emphasized in their letters, expressing their mutual tenderness. In October 1697, a month after the birth of their first son, Stanisław Antoni not only thanked his wife for the "love" she gave him and which, as he pointed out, "weighs above all temporal goods and happiness" but also asked her to take care of herself and wished her to be "as healthy as possible". It is noteworthy that on such an occasion he emphasized (probably not for the first time) that together, they not only have a son but also administer their estate, which he pointed out with the words: "our love is a true not a fleeting feeling because all we have is ours. Feel free to order what you wish, after all it is our wish, contrary to the indecent modern fashion, that we administer our estate jointly"²⁰.

Stanisław Antoni Szczuka, as has already been pointed out, held important offices in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth at the time, so he naturally sought help in administering the estate, especially during his absence, from his wife and from the officials subordinate to him. Thus, by the outsiders, as Anna

¹⁸ A. Michałowska, *Stanisław Antoni Szczuka*, p. 64.

¹⁹ I. Grochowska, *Stanisław Antoni Szczuka*, pp. 29–31. See: I. Rolska-Boruch, *Siedziby szlacheckie i magnackie na ziemiach zwanych Lubelszczyzną około 1500–1700*, Lublin 1999. Also see: U. Kicińska, *Umowy dożywocia jako forma zabezpieczenia materialnego szlachcianki w dawnej Polsce*, "Krakowskie Studia Małopolskie" 2013, nr 18, pp. 182–200; *eadem*, *Umowa dożywocia jako przykład regulacji majątkowej małżonków w dawnej Polsce*, "Rocznik Lubelskiego Towarzystwa Genealogicznego" 2013(2014), t. 5, pp. 266–283.

²⁰ Stanisław Antoni Szczuka to Konstancja Marianna née Potocai Szczukowa, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (The Central Archives of Historical Records, further: AGAD), Archiwum Publiczne Potockich (Public Archives of Potocki's family further: APP), ref. 163a, vol. 42, Kraków, 9 X 1697, ch. 21–24.

Michałowska remarks, “the Szczuka family was seen as a cohesive family partnership, within which there was a definite hierarchy of importance of its individual members”²¹. Thus, it is fair to conclude that the marriage to Stanisław Antoni helped Konstancja Marianna to develop into an extremely resourceful person. For, as Bożena Popiołek notices:

in almost every letter to his wife, Szczuka lectured her on various solutions to farm problems, dictated how to deal with servants and neighbours, had her participate in tribunal disputes, praised her successes and rebuked excessive concessions to her children. He also always shared news from the royal court or news of current public events with his wife, when she, busy with household duties and bearing more children, remained on the sidelines of court affairs²².

Thus, during her fifteen years of married life, Konstancja Marianna acquired many important skills that came in handy during her widowhood, when she independently dealt with court servants and impoverished nobility, ensuring an appropriate position for both herself and her children. It should be assumed, however, that both during her husband’s lifetime and later, it was up to her to organize court life and the rhythm of the day, which consisted of both hard work and all kinds of family entertainment and celebrations. In addition, Konstancja was in constant contact with the officials and governors of the various estates at her service, as well as other residents of the court, including artists, writers and clergymen, who sought contact with their benefactress²³.

The basic economic and administrative units in the Szczuka estate were the manors, and with the expansion of lands, their number and acreage changed. The area of manor land also underwent modification, which was influenced by the number of peasants able to do serfdom, as well as construction initiatives undertaken in individual estates. Subsequently, a group of people was needed to operate each manor and they created there a specific socio-cultural environment. However, the terminology of the people administering the estates is neither uniform nor unambiguous. The highest in that hierarchy were the general governors and commissioners. In turn, the direct management of manors was carried out by lower officials, namely: administrators, deputy starost, governors and landlords. The first group of officials was recruited from the wealthy nobility, while the second constituted of its poorer representatives. Admission to a given

²¹ A. Michałowska, *Stanisław Antoni Szczuka*, p. 66.

²² B. Popiołek, *Dobrodziejki i klienci*, p. 294.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 423; A. Pośpiech, W. Tygielski, *Společna rola dworu magnackiego XVII i XVIII wieku*, „Przegląd Historyczny” 1978, t. 69, z. 2, p. 229.

office was also determined by appropriate professional training. Initially Antoni Szczuka, and after his death probably his wife, personally decided on the selection of officials. When recruiting for particular positions, the reputation of those hired was taken into account, and recommendations from the clergy and neighbours were used. There was frequent rotation among court officials²⁴.

The analysis of the surviving sources clearly shows that after Szczuka's death, most of his servants came under the administration of Konstancja Marianna, which helped her continue the work started by her husband. However, it is difficult to assign the people mentioned in the documents to specific estates, as they were often given orders to move around, or were sent to various places to take care of matters designated to them by the deputy chancelloress. The number of the aforementioned manorial and farm personnel depended on the size of the estate. During the selection of deputy starosts, those who had wives enjoyed special consideration, as those were usually suited to running a household, where they were responsible for a vegetable garden, the cattle and making dairy products or sewing²⁵.

One of the Szczuka's most trusted subjects, who also served the widowed Konstancja Marianna, was Stanislaw Sobolewski (1680–1772), a cup-bearer of Warszawa, who in 1714 was mentioned in correspondence as the marshal at the Konstancja Szczukowa court. After Stanisław Antoni's death, he tried to help the widowed Konstancja Marianna by securing her estate. Mention should also be made of Daniel Klaudian – an administrator and income official of the Radzyń estate, who was recruited by Stanisław Antoni, and stayed with Konstancja Marianna on duty as late as 1720. Another loyal subject of the Szczuka family was Boguszewski, unknown by first name, who managed Szczuczyn, guarded the Szczuczyn herds, traded cattle, handled paperwork with tenants, looked after field work, collected taxes and supervised wool production. Antoni Byszewski, who served with the Szczuka family since at least 1706, also won the trust of Konstancja Marianna. He looked after the Lublin estate, but after Antoni Szczuka's death was transferred to Radzyń and appointed as the palace's host. Niedźwiecki, another of the loyal to family subjects, was described in correspondence as a income collector, although he was also in charge of bringing various goods to the court of the deputy chancellorship. Those included articles for the table and larder, medicines and light weapons. He made sure that artisans received their due payment. In addition, as with other income collectors, his duties included: collecting revenues

²⁴ I. Grochowska, *Stanisław Antoni Szczuka*, p. 187, pp. 190–192.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 192.

(provents), controlling expenditures (expenses), overseeing the condition of farm buildings and the family seat located in a particular area. Farm facilities such as mills, sluices, windmills, bridges, ponds and wells were also under his care and he was responsible for their technical condition of the buildings. Niedźwiecki also purchased for Konstancja Marianna goods from Wrocław, Lublin and Zamość. Next person worth mentioning is Jakub Białożor, who began his service with the Szczuka family on July 1, 1703, and was in the service of Konstancja Marianna during her widowhood. He stayed both in Radzyń and Wieksznie²⁶.

The title of the so-called old servant, who was responsible for the behavior of servants, the safety of household members, the organization of court ceremonies and comfort of guests arriving at the court, was held at the Szczuka court by Jan Małujewicz, who enlisted in the service of Stanisław Antoni in 1705 and from the beginning was one of the better paid servants (along with Boczkowski, Bogusze-wski, Świdorski). It is possible that he was originally responsible for supplying the court kitchen. In 1707, he was referred to as the pantler of Owruć. He served for Konstancja Marianna with his wife, who supplied her court mainly with jams, cured meats, dairy products, and every year, at the end of summer, sent dried fruits and other food preserves to her benefactress. Małujewicz temporarily took over the Wieksznia farm from the aforementioned Jakub Białożor in 1717²⁷.

Having worked at the Szczuka court since at least 1701 and initially fulfilling Stanisław Antoni's orders, Kazimierz Młocki was exceptionally close with the family. In 1712 he began a journey abroad with the sons of deputy chancellorship, but a year later, due to the plague prevailing then in Europe, they were forced to return to the country. They first stayed in Kraków, where they undertook studies at the Academy there, and in August 1714 went to Częstochowa. In 1716 they were able to travel abroad once again. The journey lasted three years. They visited then: Germany, Holland, England, Brussels, Flanders, France and Italy. It is worth noting that entrusting Młocki with such a responsible task as the education and upbringing of the sons of the deputy chancellorship showed the great trust he received from them. It seems that Kazimierz Młocki remained in service at the

²⁶ See: B. Popiołek, *Dobrodziejki i klienci*, pp. 305–314.

²⁷ See: *ibidem*, p. 314–315. On the meaning and functions of the so-called old servant see: U. Augustyniak, *Dwór i klientela Krzysztofa Radziwiłła (1585–1640). Mechanizmy patronatu*, Warszawa 2001, p. 144–146; *eadem*: *Stary sługa jako przedmiot badań nad klientelizmem magnackim na Litwie w XVII wieku*, "KHKM" R. 58, 2010, nr 1, pp. 71–85; B. Popiołek, *Rytuały codzienności*, pp. 223–225.

Konstancja Marianna court until at least 1720, as he had returned with her sons from a grand tour a year earlier²⁸.

Among the subjects employed at the Szczuka court, in addition to officials holding higher positions, there were people assigned to tending the manors, or to perform construction and repair work, in return for which they received small payment or the so-called “ordinaria”, which was an equivalent of payment in natural goods²⁹. Those were subjects hired on a permanent basis, who for their services received from a few to a dozen zlotys, as well as specialists probably hired temporarily to perform specific work. A register of payments made to craftsmen from 1699 notes that one of deputy chancellorship’s employee at the time was Wojciech Skalski, a carpenter, who accepted a surprisingly low sum of 10 zlotys for making the “three pairs of doors” to the Radzyń palace and for improving the roof. On the other hand, he was paid slightly more for building a sheepfold in Białka, as he received 35 zlotys for that service. At the same time, two other carpenters – Wojciech and Jan Wyzga – worked for the Szczuka family. The former was paid 400 zlotys for building a new inn in Branica, while the latter received 280 zlotys for erecting an inn in Gradowiec “according to the contract”. Little was also paid for blacksmithing services, as Wojciech, a blacksmith employed by the family, received only one zloty for a hinge (“with hooks and barbs”) made for the manor cellar. Marcin a bricklayer, on the other hand, who was responsible for “building a chimney on the Utrask manor and knocking out the door in the Lord’s room” and “building chimneys in the Radzyń town hall”, received a total of 110 zlotys in payment. In turn, minor services performed by potters, glassblowers and tanners were paid an average of 5 zlotys each. Only a cooper who repaired “cabbage and beer” barrels received 18 zlp³⁰. Drawn up two years later, a similar

²⁸ B. Popiołek, *Dobrodziejki i klienci*, p. 304–305; Kazimierz Młocki most certainly lived until 1744. I. Grochowska makes a reference to one of his letters in her studies, see: *eadem*, *Stanisław Antoni Szczuka*, p. 167; U. Kicińska, *Listy Kazimierza Młockiego, preceptora młodych Szczuków, jako przykład źródła do badań nad staropolskimi podróżami edukacyjnymi*, in: *Źródła do dziejów staropolskich podróży edukacyjnych*, red. D. Żołędź-Strzelczyk, M.E. Kowalczyk, Wrocław 2017, pp. 327–344.

²⁹ Z. Janeczek, *Korespondencja Marianny z Kątskich Potockiej z komendantem twierdz ukraińskich generałem Joachimem Potockim, z lat 1756–1769*, in: *Ród Potockich w odmgęce historii (XVII–XX w.)*, wyd. 2 poprawione i uzupełnione, red. Z. Janeczek, Katowice 2010, p. 427. See: R. Poniak, *Służba domowa w miastach na ziemiach polskich od połowy XVIII do końca XIX wieku*, Warszawa 2014.

³⁰ Financial register: payments for the Radzyń estate 1699–1701. Expenses for craftsmen 1699, AGAD, Archiwum Potockich z Radzynia (Archives of Potocki from Radzyń, further: APR), sygn. 248, k. 7–15.

document lists at the services of the Szczuka family shepherds “for cattle and pigs” and farm labourers, who received an average of 12 to 15 zlotys in payment, slightly more was earned at the time by a forester, as he received 40 zlotys in compensation³¹.

The aforementioned court officials and employees, depending on the importance of the tasks entrusted to them, gave oral or written reports to the owners. Initially, control over the state of finances, insight into the registers and reports, supervision of the functioning of the estates and all economic or artistic undertakings, which were an inseparable part of the court management, was carried out by Stanisław Antoni. Over time, gradually, and after his death permanently, Konstancja Marianna took those duties over.

The Szczuka family administered majority of their fortune but they also leased part of their estates. Leasing individual estates brought them many benefits, but on the other hand it was associated with the danger of overexploitation of the land. First the relevant agreements were concluded by Stanisław Antoni, later this practice was also taken over by Konstancja Marianna. The leasing system they ran fulfilled two main functions – it satisfied the current financial needs of the court and helped to win the gratitude of tenants, who were usually recruited from the wealthy and influential local nobility or from people who were associated with their court. It also constituted a kind of compensation for faithful service. Contracts were usually concluded for a period of two–four years, proper relations between a tenant and the Szczuka family as owners were a prerequisite for such an agreement³². In 1721 Konstancja Marianna concluded a lease contract with Władysław and Katarzyna née Pokras Czepielski. The contract involved their taking over under lease the village of Chorchówka, located in the Kraków province for a period of three years (until St. John’s Day 1724), together with the manors, buildings, land, fields, forests, pastures, as well as a brewery and an inn, for a total amount of 3 thousand zlotys, which the lessees undertook to repay in installments³³. In addition, the contract required them to take care of the manor buildings, the serfs who lived there, and the local forests so that they were not over-exploited. That contract was renewed regularly every three years. The next consecutive contract written on the matter, in August 1727, did

³¹ Financial register: payments for the Radzyń estate 1699–1701. Payment for 1701, AGAD, APR, ref. 248, k. 6.

³² See: I. Grochowska, *Stanisław Antoni Szczuka*, p. 193.

³³ Lease contract for three years for Chorchówka village for Czepielski couple [...], written in Radzyń 28 II 1721, AGAD, APR, ref. 180, ch. 1–2.

not change its previous terms, but stated that the rent due then increased to 3600 zlotys³⁴.

The core of the Szczuka family income came from agricultural and livestock production, which guaranteed the self-sufficiency of the estates, and profits drawn from the sale of any surpluses were used for necessary investments. Food processing also played an important role – especially the production of alcohol (vodka and beer), beekeeping and forestry (wood, tar, potash), as well as fishing, for which manor ponds were established. On the other hand, less analysed sources provide information on industry in the estates of the deputy chancellorship and refer more extensively to trade and importing goods mainly from Wrocław, Lublin, Zamość, Gdańsk, or Królewiec³⁵.

Staple grains, such as oats, wheat, rye, which were needed not only for the daily functioning of the manor kitchens, but also for the breeding of animals, including mainly poultry (chickens, ducks and geese) were cultivated on the estates of the Szczuka family. The tillage system popular at the time, the fallow three-field system was used. One field was left fallow, while the remaining fields were sown with winter and spring crops. It is worth noting that the massive cultivation of ear cereals destroyed the structure of the soil, to which insufficient fertilization contributed. The decline in harvest was also influenced by the wars that took place at the turn of the 17th and 18th centuries and the natural disasters that troubled the territory of the Commonwealth. Fallow land was usually used for grazing cattle and sheep. Gardens or vegetable gardens were established near the manor houses, where the following crops were grown: beets, onions, cabbage, turnips, lettuce, cauliflowers, artichokes and radishes³⁶.

³⁴ Lease contract for three years for Chorchówka village for Czepielski couple [...] written in Radzyń 28 VIII 1727, AGAD, APR, ref. 180, ch. 104–107.

³⁵ See: W. Szczygielski, *Z dziejów gospodarki rybnej w Polsce w XVI–XVIII wieku*, „Studia z Dziejów Gospodarstwa Wiejskiego” 1967, t. 9, z. 2, Warszawa 1967, pp.??; A. Klonder, *Napoje fermentacyjne w Prusach Królewskich w XVI–XVII wieku. Produkcja – eksport – konsumpcja*, Wrocław 1989; J. Pielas, *Las jako dziedzictwo szlacheckie od XVI do połowy XIX wieku*, in: *V Ogólnopolska Konferencja pt. “Las w kulturze polskiej”. Materiały z konferencji Cisna, 19–21 maja 2006*, red. W. Łysiak, Poznań 2007, pp. 71–81; B. Manyś, *Przyczynek do badań nad rolą i funkcją lasów w XVIII-wiecznych dobrach radziwiłłowskich w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim*, „Studia i Materiały Ośrodka Kultury Leśnej” R. 15, 2016, pp. 159–177.

³⁶ Cf. I. Grochowska, *Stanisław Antoni Szczuka*, p. 196. Zob. też A. Sztachelska-Kokoczką, *Magnackie dobra Jana Klemensa Branickiego*, Białystok 2006, p. 85; M. Kamler, *Ogrody warzywne średniej szlachty w Wielkopolsce w końcu XVI i w pierwszej połowie XVII w.*, “KHKM” R. 21, 1973, nr 3, pp. 499–505.

Oxen were the main pulling power in agriculture at the time. In addition, they were considered as consumer goods and a sought-after trade commodity. These animals were mainly imported to the Szczuka estates from Lithuania, due to their lower price. The Szczuka estates also had cows, which were given to the manor housekeepers in a form of a so-called pact. That was a form of milk lease by the mentioned manor housekeeper, where the fee depended on the number of leased cows. The due fee was paid in a certain amount of milk, or milk products or money. The income from the pacts belonged to Konstancja Marianna even during Stanisław Antoni lifetime and she administered them³⁷.

Horses were also brought to the farms owned by the Szczuka family. Their purchase for deputy chancelloress was primarily handled by A. Kozłowski, who in March 1721 informed her that “wanting to fulfill the order [...] of the Benefactor to buy buckskin horses” he travelled to Gołdap, where, as he stated, “there were many horses from Samogitia, but such as were needed I did not get and returned with nothing”. The subordinate made a remark that he had an opportunity to buy “a pair of horses at one nobleman’s estate well resembling a buckskin”, but as he stressed, they are still young and “not ready for work”, as they are only three and four years old. In turn, their price is 200 tynfs a piece³⁸.

The planned profits were not always gained, which was determined, as already mentioned, by various factors – marching armies, crop failures, droughts, floods, cattle disease, and various negligence committed by subjects³⁹. The uncertain weather was a primary threat to agriculture as it greatly affected the timing and quality of harvested crops. That was because in that period the Szczuka manors were, quite often, haunted by prolonged downpours and violent floods. At the

³⁷ Cf. I. Grochowska, *Stanisław Antoni Szczuka*, p. 202. See: A. Kowalska-Lewicka, *Tradycyjne serowarstwo w Polsce*, in: *Pożywienie w dawnej Polsce*, red. J. Leskiewiczowa, M. Dembińska, Warszawa 1967, pp. 151–193.

³⁸ A. Kozłowski to Konstancja Marianna née Potocka Szczukowa, AGAD, APP, ref. 163a, vol. 50, b.m., 16 III 1721, ch. 1017.

³⁹ B. Popiołek, *Dwór Jadwigi z Jabłonowskich Woroniczowej, kasztelanowej kijowskiej, jako przykład organizacji szlacheckiego dworu kobiecego XVIII w.*, in: *Dwór kobiecy w Rzeczypospolitej XVII i XVIII wieku*, red. B. Popiołek, A. Penkała-Jastrzębska, K. Pyzel, Kraków 2021, p. 127; U. Kicińska, *Zjawiska pogodowe w korespondencji doby staropolskiej*, in: *Staropolski ogląd świata. Sarmacki sensualizm*, red. F. Wolański, Toruń 2017, pp. 87–99; A. Karpiński, *W walce z niewidzialnym wrogiem. Epidemie chorób zakaźnych w Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku i ich następstwa demograficzne, społeczno-ekonomiczne i polityczne*, Warszawa 2000; J. Krupa, *Poczucie zagrożenia w życiu codziennym w czasach Augusta II w świetle przekazów źródłowych z początku XVIII wieku*, in: *Między barokiem a oświeceniem. Radości i troski dnia codziennego*, red. S. Achremczyk, Olsztyn 2006, pp. 258–266.

end of September 1714 Jan Małujewicz, writing from Sidra, complained to his benefactress about the great crop failure, because of which “many peasants have no bread, and not only it is difficult to collect what they owe but it is necessary to sow for them so they can make a living”. The problem was that the rye that they had managed to collect from the fields was “impure”, because it was mixed “half with corncockle”. Hence, the contractors, who had been lending them grain for bread for a year, refused to accept it and demanded money. In addition, due to “violent and daily rainstorms”, the vegetable rotted in the field, and “the tartary buckwheat has grown over the fields”. In Wólka, meanwhile, as Małujewicz further reported, “the rye crop was so bad that it is necessary to take the grain to sow from another manor”. The governor also mentioned that at the same time a violent flood passed through Sidra, which he administered and swept away neighbouring mills. Małujewicz managed to save his own mill, but only because he was on site at his manor at that time and reacted early enough⁴⁰. It seems that the harsh weather conditions did not subside for the following years as well, because in 1717 Piotr Jan Stypiński, writing to Konstancja Marianna, notified her that on his farm he only managed to gather the hay from the fields at the end of July, while the grain harvest he predicted would be so meager that he would have to spend about a hundred zlotys to buy a new one for sowing⁴¹.

Konstancja Marianna's duties related to the daily functioning of the court also included issuing orders for the purchase and sale of various goods. It seems that she was already responsible for that when she had her husband by her side, and later when she was widowed. It was Niedźwiecki, who was assigned with the task of bringing goods to the Szczuka court. Travelling to local markets and held from time to time (e.g., in Lublin) fairs, he obtained for his benefactors, among other things, shoes, belts, gown hooks, buttons (e.g., “ordinary oblong buttons with two loops”), and kir – sometimes in a particular colour, e.g., purple or crimson, of which, for example, in 1705 he purchased as many as twelve cubits. In addition, Niedźwiecki was then obliged to purchase sugar, oil, almonds and lemons, which were later sent to his benefactors in Radzyń⁴². Orders for the purchase of goods were also issued to Niedźwiecki by Konstancja Marianna, for whom he obtained,

⁴⁰ Jan Małujewicz to Konstancja Marianna née Potocka Szczukowa, AGAD, APP, ref. 163a, vol. 47, Sidra, 27 IX 1714, ch. 33–34.

⁴¹ Piotr Jan Stypiński to Konstancja Marianna née Potocka Szczukowa, AGAD, APP, ref. 163a, vol. 50, b.m., 1 VIII 1717, ch. 72.

⁴² Stanisław Antoni Szczuka to Niedźwiecki, AGAD, APP, ref. 163a, vol. 35, Radzyń, 3 IV 1705, ch. 199–200.

among other things – oil, honey, wine vinegar and Zamość soap in stone⁴³. Róża Ogińska⁴⁴ was another person, who supplied for Konstancja Szczuka various good. Those were often exclusive products bought in Gdańsk. In 1697, during the annual Dominican fair held there, she wrote that although that year's fair was "very bad, that had never been so bad, but the fabrics are beautiful". Hence she mentioned that she could purchase for her benefactress ornate belts (made, as she pointed out, "according to the new fashion"), two skirts – one pink, the other light blue "richly embroidered" – and some silk⁴⁵.

The Szczuka court larder was regularly supplied by S.G. Boguszewski, who brought for them not only alcohol, but also honey, fish (including mainly herring and sturgeon), coffee, wax, black fruit juice, and mushrooms⁴⁶. The aforementioned Jan Małujewicz also did not forget his benefactress and in 1714 sent her various fruits and food preserves including – cherries and rose fried in sugar, dry cherries and pears, and pears marinated in honey⁴⁷. Most likely, he did that regularly, because three years later he wrote once again to Konstancja Marianna informing her that his wife was sending her fried fruits "that is, gooseberries, raspberries, strawberries, currants and not a complete jar of rose petals jam, as rose petals were difficult to get this year. If we get cherries, we will not fail to fry them together with the juice. And on each jar is described what was fried and how much sugar was used"⁴⁸.

Konstancja Szczukowa's daily duties also included overseeing repair and renovation work in the manors belonging to the deputy chancellorship, the progress of which was reported to the benefactress by individual governors. In August 1711 Boguszewski informed her that, in compliance with her orders, he had the study room made for her in the palace in Szczuczyn Walls were plastered, stove was put up and the windows were enlarged. During those works, the drying and whitewashing of the walls also began. The renovation progressed smoothly, how-

⁴³ Konstancja Marianna née Potocka Szczukowa to Niedźwiecki, AGAD, APP, ref. 163a, t. 35, b.m. b.d., ch. 202; this one to this one, AGAD, APP, ref.163 a, vol. 35, Radzyń, 17 IV 1705, ch. 203.

⁴⁴ Róża Ogińska, later Stanisławowa Krasińska, the wife of castellan of Płock.

⁴⁵ Róża Ogińska to Konstancja Marianna née Potocka Szczukowa, AGAD, APP, ref. 163a, vol. 47, Gdańsk, 8 VIII 1697, ch. 101–105.

⁴⁶ S.G. Boguszewto Konstancja Marianna née Potocka Szczukowa, AGAD, APP, ref. 163a, t. 48, b.m., 16 IV 1716, ch. 17; ref. 163a, t. 48, b.m., 29 I 1721, ch. 84.

⁴⁷ Jan Małujewicz to Konstancja Marianna née Potocka Szczukowa, AGAD, APP, ref. 163a, vol. 47, Sidra, 27 IX 1714, k. 39.

⁴⁸ Jan Małujewicz to Konstancja Marianna née Potocka Szczukowa, AGAD, APP, ref. 163a, vol. 50, Sidra, 22 VII 1717, ch. 232.

ever, Boguszewski complained of excessive costs, for which “money is scarce”⁴⁹. A few months later (at the end of November) Gabriel Szpilowski [?] reported to Konstancja Marianna that, expecting her visit to the palace in Radzyń, he ordered “stoves to be repaired early, patched and prepared, so that there would be no unpleasant smell in the study”⁵⁰. At the beginning of August 1717 Piotr Jan Stypiński informed his benefactress that in one of her manors he was finishing the construction of a hospital, where “roof already needs to be constructed, it requires decision if shingles or sheaves should be used to cover, also with regard to stoves, if green or white should be put in”, he expects her to respond in this matter, so “in time before winter he could finish” that work⁵¹.

Szczukowa was also often informed of accidents or other misfortunes, as a result of which, urgent repairs or maintenance of buildings had to be carried out. This is how Stanisław Sobolewski, a governor of Wizna land, acted reporting to the deputy chancellor that on March 10, 1721, a fire broke out in a Warsaw apartment that he occupied and so “severely damaged” it that “to someone else’s place [he – UK] had to move”. The fire consumed a large part of the building and, above all, damaged the roof structure, so that the distressed subject, “protecting the vaults from falling, turning all [his – UK] strength and endeavour to support the walls”. He asked Konstancja Marianna to send four dry rafters, because, as he explained, at that early spring time he could not get them anywhere⁵².

Konstancja Szczukowa was also interested in the technical condition of the residential and farm buildings on her estate. To this end, specially appointed officials drew up inventories and descriptions of individual estates for her, meticulously noting almost every detail. That helped her to get an idea of whether they were being properly taken care of by individual administrators and tenants. The accounts given in those documents were so detailed that it was easy, even without personal inspection, to visualize the plan and layout of individual residential buildings, and to learn about the types of outbuildings, namely: animal shelters (stables, barns, hen houses), cellar and vegetable room, kitchen, bakery, dairy

⁴⁹ S.G. Boguszewski to Konstancja Marianna née Potocka Szczukowa, AGAD, APP, ref. 163a, vol. 48, Sidra, 10 VIII 1711, ch. 14.

⁵⁰ Gabriel Szpilowski [?] to Konstancja Marianna née Potocka Szczukowa, AGAD, APP, ref. 163a, vol. 35, Zamek [Radzyń], 29 XI 1711, ch. 21–22.

⁵¹ Piotr Jan Stypiński to Konstancja Marianna née Potocka Szczukowa, AGAD, APP, ref. 163a, vol. 50, b.m., 1 VIII 1717, ch. 71.

⁵² Stanisław Sobolewski to Konstancja Marianna née Potocka Szczukowa, AGAD, APP, ref. 163a, vol. 50, Warsz[wa], 11 III 1721, ch. 918.

buildings, brewery, malt house, distillery and bathhouse⁵³. These inventories, however, were supplemented by registers of movables, in which items were listed with similar meticulousness (usually arranged in the right order, depending on their value), i.e., such as: jewellery, furniture, clothing, weapons, objects of daily use, kitchen utensils, or household⁵⁴. Another inventory, prepared for the deputy chancelloress dates back to 1731 and it is the inventory of the Chorchovka estate, which a few years earlier Szczukowa, as already mentioned, had leased to the Czepielski couple. From the document we learn of manor house being erected there by the said lessee, which was built on the site of an earlier one, belonging at that time to Mr. Dobraczynski and which since then burnt down. In addition, Czepielski renovated the stable there, which he was forced to do because of its disastrous state of repair. Another part of the inventory concerned the residential buildings, there attention was drawn to the already worn-out staircase, a chamber without a stove, and “empty bad windows with wooden shutters”. In the middle of this building, however, there were two alcoves, where the ceiling was still in good condition, and the doors hung on iron hinges and were also locked with iron bolts. In the lower part of the described building, on the other hand, the larder was located, which was also closed with a solid door. On the other side of the aforementioned buildings was a granary with five storage spaces made of plank. To the right of the granary, next to the residential mansion stood the (al-

⁵³ See: A. Penkała-Jastrzębska, U. Kicińska, *Sources for Research into the Living Standards of the Aristocracy and Nobility in the 17th and 18th Centuries in Foreign Archives – Research Perspectives*, in: *The World of Things. Considerations on the Standard of Living and the Meaning of Movable Property in Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth*, eds. B. Popiołek, A. Penkała-Jastrzębska, U. Kicińska, Cracow 2022, pp. 161–178; J. Pielas, *Wyposażenie i wystrój wnętrz siedzib szlachty sandomierskiej w XVII wieku i pierwszej połowie XVIII wieku*, “KHKM” R. 67, 2019, nr 1, pp. 55–72; U. Augustyniak, *Drewniane dwory Radziwiłłów birżańskich w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku – rezydencje czy siedziby?*, in: *Rezydencje w średniowieczu i czasach nowożytnych*, red. Opaliński E., Wiślicz T., Warszawa 2001, pp. 102–124; U. Augustyniak, *Inwentarze mienia radziwiłłowskiego z XVI–XVII wieku jako źródło do historii mentalności i życia codziennego – możliwości badań*, “KHKM” R. 51, 2003, nr. 2, pp. 231–247.

⁵⁴ See: A. Wyczański, *Szlacheckie inwentarze pośmiertne z XVI w. jako źródło do dziejów kultury materialnej w Polsce*, “KHKM” R. 2, 1954, nr 4, pp. 691–699; J. Szyposz, *Odzież szlachty w świetle inwentarzy ruchomości zawartych w aktach grodzkich i ziemskich województwa krakowskiego z lat 1645–1670*, “KHKM” R. 29, 1981, nr 3, pp. 349–363; A. Pośpiech, *“Pułapka oczywistości”. Pośmiertne spisy ruchomości szlachty wielkopolskiej z XVII*, Warszawa 1992; *idem*, *Srebrna tyżka – probierz szlacheckiej zamożności*, in: *Nędza i dostatek na ziemiach polskich od średniowiecza po wiek XX*, red. J. Szetyło, Warszawa 1992, pp. 151–162; U. Kicińska, *Splendory domowe w staropolskich inwentarzach ruchomości*, “KHKM” R. 65, 2017, nr 4, pp. 461–470.

ready mentioned) stable renovated by Czepielski. On either side of it were located two smaller stables. Next to them, there was a dairy building and bakery, and in the centre of it stood a “simple, stone and brick” cob oven. A cowshed and a stable for oxen where also located on the premises⁵⁵.

An important part of Szczukowa’s duties was also to watch over the honesty of the servants, as that often left a great deal to be desired. That was because not every serf showed loyalty to his benefactors. At the time when the Szczuka estates were still being administered jointly, Stanisław Antoni complained about a certain Lipinski, who spent the money he received from him on follies – buying pots, bowls and harrows, while he was supposed to pay a certain craftsman. Meanwhile, the register with expenses prepared by him had so many errors and inaccuracies that the deputy chancellor called it a total mess⁵⁶.

As the years passed, all problems related to the dishonest behaviour of serfs, or other residents of the manors, began to be reported to Konstancja Marianna. Thus, in one of his letters, S.G. Boguszewski reported to his benefactress about the problem with the Szczuczyn coachmen, who abused alcohol, after which they became aggressive. One night, having got drunk, they severely beat a butler, for which, according to the governor, they should receive appropriate punishment. However, as he stressed – “I do not dare [...] yet to flog them, unless I have the power from Your Ladyship”⁵⁷. In the middle of March 1717 Jan Małujewicz reported to Szczukowa that in Sidra, the priest of the local parish, a certain Pieńczykowski, having drunk too much booze with people who had come from Lithuania and whom he had named as his relatives, bestially and to the point of unconsciousness, beat up a Jew named Bienia, her ladyship tenant. They beat him up with sticks and poured water over him. According to the governor, the victim did not survive this assault, and during the incident, he reported, some of the attackers watched as the man was beaten, however none of them stopped the torturers, despite the fact that one of the Jews (an eyewitness to the incident), asked for mercy for the victim. In the whole situation, the most appalling behaviour, seems to be that of the clergyman, who drunkenly ran among the hooligans, inciting them to a fight. Małujewicz further mentioned that the townspeople and

⁵⁵ Inwentarz Dóbr Chorchówkę w województwie krakowskim a w powiecie bieckim leżących, spisany [...] in anno 1731 die 12 augusta, AGAD, APR, ref. 180, ch. 224–232.

⁵⁶ Stanisław Antoni Szczuka to Konstancja Marianna née Potocka Szczukowa, AGAD, APP, ref. 163a, t. 42, b.m., 1 IX 1704 in the morning, ch. 1251–1253.

⁵⁷ S.G. Boguszewski to Konstancja Marianna née Potocka Szczukowa, AGAD, APP, ref. 163a, vol. 38, b.m., ch. 238–239.

Jews of Sidra had long been anxious to go to their benefactress to complain about the local priest, but he had personally held them back. Now, on the other hand, he believed that this parson “is a strange man, most disagreeing with people, and when he drinks he becomes mad and would have been slaughtered long ago if he had not [been – UK] a priest”⁵⁸.

It is worth noting that Szczukowa, having been a widow for more than twenty years, was sensitive to the needs of those in this state. Hence, on more than one occasion, being recognized as a noble and merciful benefactress, she was approached with requests for help, which were expressed verbally or in writing in the form of supplications. In August 1717, Anna Rydzewska Wojska of Wizna wrote to Konstancja Marianna that she was “an orphaned widow without a husband”, and sought financial assistance since “having children in need of education”, she had nowhere from where to get adequate funds for it⁵⁹.

Konstancja Marianna was not indifferent to the requests of widowers. In May 1723, she received news that the wife of Józef Pakoszewski, one of her Oleszyce subjects had died, and that he had no funds to pay for her funeral. In his supplication, which was filled with grief, the Pakoszewski described in detail the moment when his wife’s health declined, which eventually led to her death what came as a great surprise to him. The unexpected illness consumed her for ten days, after which, as the widower noted: “with every sacrament due from the Holy Church, she died and subjected me to misery”. For the burial of his wife Pakoszewski borrowed money from the priest of Oleszyce – Krzysztof Zielonka and the amount was 5 hundred zlotys⁶⁰. A month later, the incident was also confirmed by the aforementioned clergyman, who writing to his benefactress at that time asked her to agree that the annual payment made on St. John’s could be postponed, or that it would be reduced by the amount in question, since (as he confirmed) he had given it to his parishioner. As indicated by subsequent letters sent to Konstancja Marianna by the clergyman, the matter dragged on until November of that year, when on St. Martin’s Day the parish priest of Oleszyce once again pleaded the benefactress to reduce the due payment⁶¹.

⁵⁸ Jan Małujewicz Konstancja Marianna nêe Potocka Szczukowa, AGAD APP, ref. 163a, t. 50, Sidra, 14 III 1717, ch. 38–46.

⁵⁹ Anna Rydzewska to Konstancja Marianna nêe Potocka Szczukowa, AGAD, APP, ref. 163a, t. 50, b.m., 19 VIII 1717, ch. 192–193.

⁶⁰ Józef Pakoszewski to Konstancja Marianna nêe Potocka Szczukowa, AGAD, APR, ref. 180, b.m., 6 V 1723, ch. 37–40.

⁶¹ Rev. Krzysztof Zielonka to Konstancja Marianna nêe Potocka Szczukowa, AGAD, APR, ref. 180, Oleszyce, 17 VI 1723, ch. 45–47; ref. 180, Oleszyce, 7 VII 1723, ch. 56–57; ref. 180,

The deputy chancelloress was also informed by her subject Zieleński about the misfortune associated with the loss of his wife. Writing to her in November 1727, Zieleński lamented that, while on business in Kamieniec, he received news of his wife's "weak health", and as a result, disregarding the circumstances, he "hurried" to her. However, as he reported to the deputy chancellor, after "a four-day malaise he found [his wife with – UK] confused senses and such a fever that it could no longer be relieved and barely allowed to come to a brief [...] reflection of perfect confession before death". Zieleńska died on October 28 of the same year ("on the day of [...] saints Simon and Jude"), leaving not only her husband in a "gravely orphaned state and in tears", but also their son. Writing to Konstancja Marianna, Zieleński "humbly [to her – UK] made supplication" to take his son under care and protection⁶².

Szczukowa also received requests for care and financial support from orphans and the elderly. It happened that one of Konstancja Marianna's subjects, Antoni Kryński, wrote her a message in which he mentioned the loss of his mother. Embittered, he reported to her at the time that, "the terrible Stepmother is supposed [...] [for him – UK] to be [now – UK] a protector", hence he asked the deputy chancelloress for patronage, so that "as a Lady supporting the poor, she would also [...] [him – UK] the humble remember"⁶³. In July 1717, the deputy chancelloress received a letter from Zofia Śsiedzka, in which the latter asked Konstancja Marianna to help her pay off a certain sum to Mr. Suchodolski, judge of Łuck, or to cancel the debt, so that with this help "in her old age and weakness [...] [she – UK] could have rest"⁶⁴.

In conclusion, it should be said that Konstancja Marianna, née Potocka Szczukowa, was an extremely enterprising and resourceful person, as evidenced by her daily duties of looking after the family estate. While performing them, her attention was mainly focused on: controlling the servants, issuing orders and receiving reports on tasks performed, administering the family estates, coordinating trade and importing needed goods to the estates, concluding lease contracts, checking the technical condition of buildings in individual manors and supervising repairs taking place there, or receiving reports on the needs of her subjects. It should be

Oleszyce, 9 XI 1723, ch. 49–50.

⁶² Zieleński to Konstancja Marianna née Potocka Szczukowa, AGAD, APP, ref. 163a, vol. 38, Lublin, 14 XI 1727, ch. 422.

⁶³ Antoni Kryński to Konstancja Marianna née Potocka Szczukowa, AGAD, APP, ref. 163 a, vol. 50, Warszawa, 21 X 1721, ch. 1006.

⁶⁴ Zofia Śsiedzka to Konstancja Marianna née Potocka Szczukowa, AGAD, APP, ref. 163 a, vol. 47, Kock, 15 VII 1717, ch. 426.

clearly noted, however, that the examples cited above from the life of Konstancja Marianna, give us insight into only a small part of the daily affairs at the Szczuka court. Nevertheless, they are, sufficient for us to conclude that the servants, who were associated with her over time, initially officially belonged to Stanisław Antoni, and that the deputy chancelloress took over direct management of the court and the family estate only after her husband's death and successfully managed it for more than twenty years. The Szczuka court did not differ in its structure from other court circles functioning at the time created by, among others, Elżbieta n^{ée} Lubomirska (d. 1729) and Adam (d. 1726) Sieniawski; Anna Katarzyna n^{ée} Sanguszko (d. 1746) and Karol Stanisław (d. 1719) Radziwiłł, or the Szczuka descendants, namely Marianna n^{ée} Kątska (d. 1768) and Eustachy (d. 1768) Potocki. As among the aforementioned couples, also with the Szczuka family, it was an arrangement based on partnership, mutual cooperation and support. Szczuka was regarded as a good administrator, and it was actually he, who initiated his wife into many affairs and showed her how to manage the family estate. The sub-chancellor's resourcefulness resulted in the fact that, at the time of his death, Konstancja Marianna "possessed considerable knowledge and mediating abilities, which allowed her not only to retain her husband's estate without major obstacles, but also to accept a significant portion of her husband's servants"⁶⁵.

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⁶⁵ B. Popiołek, *Dobrodziejki i klienci*, p. 298.

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Zainteresowania naukowe: historia nowożytna Polski, historia mentalności, historia rodziny i pozycja kobiet w społeczeństwie szlacheckim Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów, tanatologia, parenetyka oraz funkcjonowanie i organizacja kobiecych dworów szlacheckich.