

Architect Bernard, a silver inkwell, and tornesel. Some remarks on the Rzewuski family accounts in the mid-eighteenth century

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In 1969, the renowned art historian Mieczysław Gębarowicz published an excellent study on the Lviv portrait in the modern era.¹ In this monograph, on the margins of the main discussion conducted with profound erudition and backed by a tedious archival query, in one of the numerous footnotes he cited excerpts relating to artists and craftsmen employed in the middle of the eighteenth century by the Rzewuski family. When discussing the portrait of Teodor and Magdalena Żemelko, made in August 1747 in Rozdół, the scholar reached for the archives of the owners of Rozdół and consulted both the palace inventory from 1789 and the earlier accounts of the Rzewuski family, which had been kept continuously since 1747. Having established the attribution of the portrait and ultimately linking it with Szymon Jaremkiewicz, Gębarowicz wrote: “The author of these portraits is not mentioned, but he can be guessed from the preserved ledger – the book of accounts of the Rzewuski family from 1747–1761, which includes various payments made in Lviv, mostly to a number of craftsmen. In addition to ‘Architect Bernard’ – probably Meretyn, and Jan ‘Gertner’ the woodcarver, ‘Painter Jaremkiewicz’ is mentioned several times, who in the years 1752–1760 received various

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1 M. Gębarowicz, *Portret XVI–XVIII wieku we Lwowie*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1969. This monograph was developed on the basis of the collection of paintings assembled at the Lviv portrait exhibition, presented in Lviv in 1965. A catalogue of this exhibition has been published (B.A. Овсийчук, *Львовский портрет XVI–XVIII столетий. Каталог выставки*, Киев 1967). The figure of the outstanding scholar has been recalled in recent years, *inter alia*, in the following publications: M. Matwijów, *Mieczysław Gębarowicz 1893–1984. Uczony i opiekun narodowych dóbr kultury*, Warszawa 2013; idem, *Mieczysław Gębarowicz (1893–1984), ostatni dyrektor lwowskiego Ossolineum*, “Czasopismo Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich”, 1993, No. 2, pp. 9–69; *Z korespondencji profesora Mieczysława Gębarowicza z lat 1970–1984*, with the selection, introduction and notes by E. Różycki, “Czasopismo Zakładu Narodowego im. Ossolińskich”, 2018, No. 29, pp. 129–154; R. Skaliński, *Profesor Mieczysław Gębarowicz – opiekun Ossolineum*, Toruń 2006; J. Kowalczyk, *Mieczysław Gębarowicz jako badacz sztuki rusko-ukraińskiej*, “Biuletyn Historii Sztuki”, 57, 1995, No. 3–4, pp. 221–225; J. Draus, *Uniwersytet Jana Kazimierza we Lwowie 1918–1946. Portret kresowej uczelni*, Kraków 2007, pp. 150, 168, 199, 233–234.

payments for his painting works, old and new, mainly family portraits of the Rzewuski family.”²

Gębarowicz’s valuable findings were later unanimously accepted by researchers dealing with the art of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and the Rzewuski artistic court, however, all these later studies and publications were based only on the source excerpts published by the said scientist, devoid of a broader context, which necessarily led to a certain misinterpretation of his original conclusions and resulted in an avalanche of hypothetical attributions. In subsequent works devoted to the art of Poland’s Eastern Borderlands, reference was made only to source excerpts given by Gębarowicz, whereas the artists that he had mentioned – Meretyn, Gertner and Jaremkiewicz – merely on that basis were directly linked to the construction and furnishings of the Carmelite church and the palace in Rozdół belonging to the Rzewuski family.³

Therefore, it is undoubtedly worth our while to return once again to a source that is so valuable to the research on the art of the Borderlands of the former Commonwealth, namely, the accounts of Michał Józef Rzewuski, Voivode of Podlasie, kept from the 1740s, and stored in the collections of the Central State Archives of Ukraine in Lviv.⁴ These fascinating lists of expenses contain abundant information

2 M. Gębarowicz, *Portret XVI–XVIII wieku*, p. 113. In a footnote, Mieczysław Gębarowicz (ibidem, footnote 32) quoted the fragments of the accounts, relating to payments made to Jaremkiewicz in 1752–1760, as follows: “Regestr ekspensy, którym się rzemieślnikom płaci a die 28 augusti 1747 anno’ [Register of expenses as to which craftsmen have been paid on the day 28 of August year 1747] (ibid., description 2, no. 485); fol. 4v. ‘die 20 augusti [1752]. Z porachowania z Jaremkiewiczem malarzem do dnia dzisiejszego czerw. zł. 12 płaci mu się – efficit 216’ [On the day of August 20. From the settlement with painter Jaremkiewicz until today, 12 red złoty is paid to himself efficit 216]; fol. 5v. ‘die 20 januarii 1756. P. Jaremkiewiczowi za portretów malowanych 14 a 16 płaci się – 224’ [On the day of January 20, 1756, for 14 painted portraits, and 16, payment of 224 złoty is made to Mr Jaremkiewicz]. [...] ‘die 31 januarii. P. Jaremkiewiczowi za obraz S. Trójcy – 18’ [On the day of January 31, to Mr Jaremkiewicz for the painting of Holy Trinity – 18 złoty]. [...] ‘die 23 martii. P. Jaremkiewiczowi malarzowi za portret Pański i Hetmana W.K. płaci się i jest ze wszystkim do dziś uspokojony – 24’ [On the day of March 23, to Mr Jaremkiewicz the painter, for the portrait of Honourable and the Great Hetman of the Crown, it is paid, which satisfies all of his claims – 24 złoty]; fol. 7 ‘Ad diem 4 8-bris 1760. Za wszystkie robote do dnia dzisiejszego P. Jaremkiewicz ze skarbu jest uspokojony i wziął zł – 169,18’ [Regarding day of October 4, 1760. For all the work completed by today, P. Jaremkiewicz claim is fully satisfied, having received from the treasury 169 złoty and 18 groszy]. [...] ‘die 6 8-bris. Temuż płaci się za obraz P. Marszałka Nadwornego – 18’ [On the day of October 6. To same 18 złoty is paid for the painting of Honourable Marshal of the Crown]. The scholar again referred to the aforementioned Rzewuski family accounts a few years later when he published inventories of the palace in Rozdół from 1769 and 1789. This time he referred to a bell founder who processed cannons and mortars stored in Rozdół. See: *Materiały źródłowe do dziejów kultury i sztuki XVI–XVIII w.*, collected and edited by M. Gębarowicz, Wrocław 1973 (= *Źródła do dziejów sztuki polskiej*, 3), p. 298.

3 Current state of research has been summarised in the publication: J.K. Ostrowski, *Kościół p.w. Świętej Trójcy i klasztor OO. Karmelitów Trzewickich w Rozdole*, in: *Materiały do dziejów sztuki sakralnej na ziemiach wschodnich dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (further: MDSS), part 1: *Kościół i klasztor rzymskokatolickie dawnego województwa ruskiego*, vol. 9, idem (ed.), Kraków 2001, p. 152. The bills themselves were deemed to be the list of expenses towards the construction of the church and monastery of the Carmelites in Rozdół (see: *Gertner Jan*, in: ibidem, vol. 23, idem (ed.), Kraków 2015, p. 130; *Meretyn Bernard*, in: ibidem, p. 201; *Jaremkiewicz Szymon*, in: ibidem, p. 152; J. Kowalczyk, *Świątynie późnobarokowe na Kresach: kościoły i klasztory w diecezjach na Rusi Koronnej*, Warszawa 2006, p. 42).

4 Central States Archives in Lviv (further: CPAH-Lw), f. 181, op. 2, spr. 1278 (former catalogue number 485), Księga konnotat co się płaci we Lwowie różnym rzemieślnikom a die 28 Aug[usti] 1747 [Book of notes for payments made to various craftsmen in Lviv on 28 August 1747].

about many artists and craftsmen active in Lviv in the mid-eighteenth century, as well as about the functioning of the court of Michał Józef and Franciszka Rzewuski, making it possible to outline the network of artistic, social and economic contacts maintained by the court of the Podlasie Voivode, and placing them in a broader historical context.

Michał Józef Rzewuski (died 1770)⁵ of the Krzywda coat of arms was the son of the castellan of Podlasie, Adam⁶ and Petronela Zbrożkówna, and the nephew of the Grand Hetman of the Crown and Bełz Voivode, Stanisław Mateusz Rzewuski (1662–1728).⁷ After his father's death in 1717, Michał Józef was under the care of his uncle. It was thanks to the protection and numerous efforts of the ambitious minister to August II that the great military career of the young castellan developed – hetman Stanisław Mateusz Rzewuski appointed him colonel of his Hussar rota. In 1734, the young magnate, who was associated with the Saxon faction, was entrusted with the command of the crown regiment, and with time he obtained further offices. Already in 1729, Michał Józef Rzewuski became the *incisor Regni*, and in 1736 *notarius campestri* for the Polish Crown;⁸ in the autumn of 1752 he was promoted to the office of the Voivode of Podlasie,⁹ and at the end of his life, in 1762, the Voivode of Podolia.¹⁰ Rzewuski's first wife was Urszula Stamirowska, and after her death in 1725, he married the daughter of the Voivode of Smoleńsk, Franciszka née Cetner (1706–1783).¹¹ This marriage had numerous offspring. Michał Józef and Franciszka had four sons: Adam (died 1776), Jan (died 1759), Franciszek (ca. 1730–1800), and Kazimierz (1750–1820), and three daughters: Anna, Petronela and Katarzyna. The Voivode of Podlasie ruled over the following starosties: Sądowa Wisznia, Olchowiec, Czerniejewo, Kamionka Strumiłowa and Żydaczów, and he also owned Chodorów,¹² Brzozdowce¹³ and Michałpol as

On the book's binding, an additional page is glued on, with an annotation: "Tu jest taksa i rachunek z[a]branego korzenia u Anczla korzennika lwowskiego ab Anno 1762" [Here is the tax and the bill for the spices taken from the colonial merchant Anczel of Lviv since the year 1762].

- 5 H. Palkij, *Rzewuski Michał Józef*, in: *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* (further: PSB), vol. 34, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1992, pp. 134–136; W. Bondyra, *Reprezentacja sejmowa Rusi Czerwonej w czasach saskich*, Lublin 2005, pp. 185–186.
- 6 M. Nagielski, *Rzewuski Adam*, in: PSB, vol. 34, pp. 93–94.
- 7 A. Link-Lenczowski, *Rzewuski Stanisław Mateusz*, in: PSB, vol. 34, pp. 152–159; A.L. Sowa, *Świat ministrów Augusta II: wartości i poglądy funkcjonujące w kręgu ministrów Rzeczypospolitej w latach 1702–1728*, Kraków 1995.
- 8 *Urzędnicy centralni i nadworni Polski XIV–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, Kórnik 1992 (= *Urzędnicy dawnej Rzeczypospolitej XII–XVIII wieku*, A. Gąsiorowski [ed.], 10), no. 316, 547, pp. 66, 97.
- 9 *Urzędnicy podlascy XIV–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, E. Dubas-Urwanowicz et al. (eds.), Kórnik 1994 (= *Urzędnicy dawnej Rzeczypospolitej XII–XVIII wieku*, A. Gąsiorowski [ed.], 8), no. 1408, p. 156.
- 10 *Urzędnicy podolscy XIV–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, E. Janas et al. (eds.), Kórnik 1998 (= *Urzędnicy dawnej Rzeczypospolitej XII–XVIII wieku*, A. Gąsiorowski [ed.], 3, z. 3), no. 663, p. 149.
- 11 CPAH-Lw, f. 181, op. 2, spr. 2982, fol. 1–5v, Rejestr wyprawy Franciszki z Cetnerów Rzewuskiej spisany 27 kwietnia 1725 r.
- 12 R. Aftanazy, *Dzieje rezydencji na dawnych kresach Rzeczypospolitej*, vol. 7: *Województwo ruskie: Ziemia Halicka i Lwowska*, Wrocław 1995, pp. 67–78; A. Betlej, *Kościół parafialny p.w. Wszystkich Świętych w Chodorowie*, in: MDSS, part 1, vol. 11, J.K. Ostrowski (ed.), Kraków 2003, pp. 67–78; J.K. Ostrowski, *Kaplica publiczna w Ottyniowicach*, in: ibidem, pp. 183–184.
- 13 In Brzozdowce, Franciszka Rzewuska née Cetner funded a brick church in 1769. See: T. Mańkowski, *Lwowskie kościoły barokowe*, Lwów 1932, p. 92; P. Krasny, M. Wójcik, *Kościół parafialny p.w. Podwyższenia Krzyża Świętego w Brzozdowcach*, in: MDSS, part 1, vol. 11, pp. 45–62; P. Krasny, *O problemach atrybucji architektury nowożytnej. Kościoły w Kołomyi, Busku, Brzozdowcach i Łopatynie a twórczość Bernarda Meretyna*, "Folia Historiae Artium", 30, 1994, pp. 119–129.

well as estates in Lviv. From his father, Michał Józef Rzewuski inherited the property of Rozdół in the Żydaczów district of the Ruthenian province, and Rozdół, located on the edge of the Dniester valley, became the main residence of the magnate,¹⁴ who built a magnificent palace there in 1740, named Frankopol after his wife.

The Rzewuski family book of accounts from 1747–1777 provides interesting information about a number of Lviv-based artists, craftsmen, and merchants who operated within the Rzewuski family circle around the middle of the eighteenth century, making it possible to outline the everyday life of the Podlasie Voivode's court, as well as his contacts with the Lviv artistic milieu. With 28 written pages, with traces of intensive use and with numerous deletions, the book contains annotations about everyday expenses, settlements with Lviv merchants, and receipts issued during these transactions. The notes of the expense are divided into two parts – the first includes chronologically structured annotations on various expenses related to the functioning of the court of Michał Józef Rzewuski, whereas the second includes only bills of purchases made from a Lviv colonial merchant. On the pages of the book, one can distinguish the handwriting in several different hands, but some of the bills were recorded personally by the Podlasie Voivode himself, in his writing.¹⁵ The first page features the title: “Regestr ekspensy, którym się rzemieś[li]nikom płaci a die 28 Augusti 1747 A[nn]o” [Registry of expense to pay the tradesmen since the day of 28 Augusti A[nn]o 1747]. On this date, the accounts of the first expenses of the Podlasie Voivode are presented, including the payment of 144 złoty to the carpenter Wacław, as well as the amounts transferred transeferred “Łapciowi za pasyjkę” [to Łapcio for a Passion], “za portatel ks. arcybiskupowi” [for the portatel to Father Archbishop], and the settlement of the charges to the furrier Wołkowicz of Lviv.¹⁶

On subsequent pages of the book, information about the expenses of the Podlasie Voivode was carefully noted. The architect Bernard also appears among the recipients of remuneration, and it is worth looking closely at the entire source note that concerns him. On July 17, 1749, there is an extremely intriguing note: “Reszta Bernard architekt[t] od reparacyi kominów w kamienicy odebrał 200 [zł]” [The rest, Bernard architect received 200 złoty from the reparation of chimneys in the tenement house].¹⁷ In all likelihood, the aforementioned architect, Bernard, is Bernard Meretyn,¹⁸ and this means that he undertook work on one of the Rzewuski tenement houses in Lviv at the end of the 1740s, which allows for the verification of the hypotheses previously functioning in the scientific circuit. The archival excerpt quoted by Gębarowicz became the basis for information on artistic foundations

14 R. Aftanazy, *Dzieje rezydencji na dawnych kresach Rzeczypospolitej*, pp. 529–550; P. Krasny, *Pałac w Rozdole. Rezydencja “niezwykłego wielkiego Pana”*, “Folia Historiae Artium. Seria Nowa”, 4, 1998, pp. 15–33. Inventory records of the palace in Rozdół of the second half of the eighteenth century were published by Mieczysław Gębarowicz (*Materiały źródłowe*, pp. 235–299).

15 For example, the entry of 7 August 1756, when the Voivode of Podlasie recorded in his accounts the purchases made “dla Jm ks. Adama syna mego” [to the benefit of Rev. Adam, my son] (CPAH-Lw, f. 181, op. 2, spr. 1278, fol. 6).

16 Ibidem, fol. 1.

17 Ibidem, fol. 2.

18 Z. Hornung, *Meretyn Bernard*, in: *PSB*, vol. 20, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1975, pp. 442–444; A. Betlej, *Meretyn Bernard*, in: *Allgemeines Künstlerlexikon. Die Bildenden Künstler aller Zeiten und Völker*, vol. 89, Berlin–Boston 2015, pp. 141–142; P. Krasny, *Bernard Meretyn a problem rokoka w Polsce*, Kraków 1994, ms of a doctoral thesis at the Institute of Art History, Jagiellonian University.

given in the biography of Michał Józef Rzewuski, included in the Polish Biographical Dictionary¹⁹ as well as numerous hypothetical attributions, including the linking of Bernard Meretyn with the construction of the Rzewuski Palace in Rozdół, and the construction workshop of the Carmelite temple there,²⁰ which in turn served as one of the arguments in favour of the accuracy of the thesis on the architect's participation in the preparation of the design for the church in Brzozdowce.²¹ In the light of the entries in Michał Józef Rzewuski's book of accounts, a more extensive cooperation between Meretyn and the Rzewuski family cannot be ruled out, however, its documentation would require further research and new source discoveries. Undoubtedly, in-depth source-based research is also necessary to reconstruct the history of the Rzewuski family estates in Lviv in the eighteenth century. They were the family that owned the magnificent Royal Tenement House,²² that is, the former Renaissance tenement house located at number 6, once belonging to the ennobled merchant Konstanty Korniański, and since 1640 in the hands of the Sobieski family. In 1678, at the initiative of King Jan III Sobieski, it was rebuilt into a representative royal seat with an arcaded courtyard, and at the beginning of the eighteenth century it was transferred to the Rzewuski family, only to become a magnificent residence of the Grand Hetman of the Crown, Stanisław Mateusz Rzewuski (1662–1728).²³ In the 1720s, the Rzewuski family bought the houses adjacent to Kamienica Królewska – both the one at number 8, and the tenement house on Blacharska Street called Krzywe Koło, which was located next to the Church of Corpus Christi, and by doing so they combined their Lviv properties into one larger estate. Moreover, the family owned a *jurydyka* (i.e. a privately owned tract of land) in the suburbs of Lviv.²⁴ The Wilczkowska Tenement House belonging to the Rzewuski family, located at number 3 at Lviv's Market Square, was rebuilt in the early 1770s by the architect and woodcarver Piotr Polejowski,²⁵ who also ran the construction workshop of the Franciszka née Cetner Rzewuska's manor in

19 H. Palkij, *Rzewuski Michał Józef*, p. 135.

20 J.K. Ostrowski, *Kościół p.w. Świętej Trójcy i klasztor OO. Karmelitów Trzewickich w Rozdole*, p. 152; *Meretyn Bernard*, in: MDSS, part 1, vol. 23, idem (ed.), Kraków 2015, p. 201; J. Kowalczyk, *Świątynie późnobarokowe na Kresach*, p. 42; P. Krasny, *Bernard Meretyn a problem rokoka*, pp. 6, 171, 244.

21 P. Krasny, M. Wójcik, *Kościół parafialny p.w. Podwyższenia Krzyża Świętego w Brzozdowcach*, p. 57.

22 For more information on the history of the Royal Tenement House, see: T. Mańkowski, *Dawny Lwów: jego sztuka i kultura artystyczna*, Londyn 1974, pp. 43–44, 90, 111, 199, 298, 345, 353, 393; idem, *Budownictwo Jana III we Lwowie*, "Ziemia Czerwieńska", 2, 1936, No. 2, pp. 28–29; J. Piotrowski, *Budowa krużganków w Kamienicy Królewskiej we Lwowie*, "Ochrona Zabytków Sztuki", 1930–1931, No. 1–4, part 1, pp. 115–128; W. Łoziński, *Sztuka lwowska w XVI i XVII wieku: architektura i rzeźba*, Lwów 1898, pp. 48–49; Ł. Charewiczowa, *Czarna kamienica i jej mieszkańcy*, Lwów 1935, pp. 19–20, 25; A. Czołowski, *Jan III i miasto Lwów*, Lwów 1929, pp. 13, 30, 32; F. Jaworski, *O szarym Lwowie*, Lwów 1917, pp. 74–75; idem, *Królowie polscy we Lwowie*, Lwów 1912, pp. 60–61.

23 A. Markiewicz, *Miednica auszpurska i stroje operacyjne. Inwentarz lwowskiej kamienicy Stanisława Mateusza Rzewuskiego z 1728 r.* [submitted for publication].

24 They also owned tenement houses at numbers 3, 5, and 7, which they have purchased from the burghers. See: T. Zielińska, *Szlacheccy właściciele nieruchomości w miastach XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1987, pp. 96, 117; F. Jaworski, *O szarym Lwowie*, pp. 72, 74–75; T. Mańkowski, *Dawny Lwów*, p. 353.

25 Z. Hornung, *Polejowski Piotr*, in: PSB, vol. 27, pp. 291–292; A. Betlej, *Polejowski Piotr*, in: *Słownik artystów polskich i obcych w Polsce działających: malarze, rzeźbiarze, graficy* (further: SAP), vol. 7, Warszawa 2003, pp. 376–380.

Przedmieście Halickie.²⁶ The Rzewuski family tenement houses in Lviv were located opposite the Dominican temple, so when in 1739 the anniversary of the priestly ordination of the Archbishop of the Lviv Armenian Rite, Jan Tobiasz Augustynowicz (1664–1751) was celebrated in the city, “the cost of the treatment was borne by Honourable Michał Rzewuski, the *notarius campestris* of the Crown, in his tenement opposite Dominican Fathers, having organized a banquet. Himself in two rooms, assisting.”²⁷ These buildings in their entirety undoubtedly deserve a meticulous monograph, a thorough critical work, also in terms of art, and the activity of the Lviv architect Bernard Meretyn is also part of their history.

Apart from the above-mentioned architect Bernard, the Lviv woodcarver Jan Gertner also appears in the payroll of the Podlasie Voivode²⁸ – on June 2, 1756, the Rzewuski family ledger noted: “Janowi Getnerowi snycerzowi za trzy lustra zapłaciło się według kontraktu 90 [zł]” [Jan Getner, a woodcarver, for three mirrors, 90 złoty was paid according to the contract].²⁹ To date, based on the Gębarowicz’s work, Gertner was associated with the artistic outfit of the temple in Rozdół. On the basis of an enigmatic source excerpt, it had been alleged that he made some of the figures decorating the altars and the pulpit in the local Carmelite church, and even stone vases crowning the convent’s buildings.³⁰ Meanwhile, the analysis of the bills themselves puts the woodcarver’s dealings with the Podlasie Voivode in a completely different light. The information contained in the source only confirms the artist’s cooperation with the Rzewuski family and the fact that he completed a small order, probably for an elaborate frame for decorative mirrors. The mirrors mentioned in the note may also be associated with the Rzewuski estates in Lviv and the decoration of one of the tenement houses belonging to the Voivode of Podlasie. The premise for such a conclusion may be the method of recording these particular invoices – the ledger usually clearly distinguished payments related to other properties of the Rzewuski family, for instance in the case of a small amount paid in June 1756 to an unknown brass maker for “gałek 2 do drzwi do Rozdołu” [the 2 door knobs for Rozdół].³¹

The aforementioned record of expenses also mentions a number of payments made to the painter Szymon Jaremkiewicz.³² The first of those was recorded on

26 A. Dworzak, *Lwowskie środowisko artystyczne w XVIII wieku w świetle ksiąg metrykalnych i sądowych*, Kraków 2018, pp. 115, 118, 147. Recently the author prepared an extensive artistic monograph of the Polejowski family, in which she also discussed works done at the commission of Michał Józef Rzewuski and Franciszka Rzewuska née Cetner (see: eadem, *Polejowscy. Karta z dziejów lwowskiego środowiska artystycznego w drugiej połowie XVIII wieku*, Kraków 2020, pp. 138–140, 290–292, 359–365, 399, 408–409, 415, 419, 469).

27 S. Barącz, *Pamiętnik dziejów polskich z aktów urzędowych lwowskich i rękopismów*, Lwów 1855, p. 198.

28 Gertner Jan, in: *SAP*, vol. 2, Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1975, p. 317; T. Mańkowski, *Lwowska rzeźba rokokowa*, Lwów 1937, pp. 14, 16, 30, 56, 158; J.K. Ostrowski, *Kościół p.w. Świętej Trójcy i klasztor OO. Karmelitów Trzewickowych w Rozdole*, p. 152.

29 CPAH-Lw, f. 181, op. 2, spr. 1278, fol. 6.

30 J.K. Ostrowski, *Kościół p.w. Świętej Trójcy i klasztor OO. Karmelitów Trzewickowych w Rozdole*, p. 152; J. Kowalczyk, *Świątynie późnobarokowe na Kresach*, p. 42.

31 CPAH-Lw, f. 181, op. 2, spr. 1278, fol. 6.

32 Gębarowicz’s entry became the basis for the painter’s bio (see: *Jaremkiewicz Szymon*, in: *SAP*, vol. 3, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1979, pp. 234–235). See also J.K. Ostrowski, *Kościół p.w. Świętej Trójcy i klasztor OO. Karmelitów Trzewickowych w Rozdole*, pp. 149, 153; J.K. Ostrowski, J.T. Petrus, *Podhorce. Dzieje wnętrz pałacowych i galerii obrazów*, Kraków 2001, pp. 36, 87–88; О. Лильо, *Львівське середовище малярів 30–50-х років XVIII ст.*, “Національний науково-дослідний реставраційний центр України. Львівський філіал”, 8: *Мистецтво і дослідження*, 2006, p. 35.

August 22, 1753, when “z porachowania z Jaremkiewiczem malarzem do dnia dzisiejszego czerw[onych] zł[otych] 12 płaci mu się – efficit 216” [from the settlement with Jaremkiewicz the painter, until today, the payment is made to him of 12 red złoty – efficit 216].³³ Subsequent mentions testify to the artist’s activity at the court of Michał Józef Rzewuski until October 1760, and the fact that he completed numerous portraits and a religious canvas depicting the Holy Trinity.³⁴

In the context of these commissions, we should add that shortly before accepting the orders at the Rzewuski court, Szymon Jaremkiewicz painted a series of royal portraits for the Lviv Municipality.³⁵ His principal and patron at that time was Karol Garani, an influential city councillor and patron of Lviv artists.³⁶ Karol Bartłomiej Garani (Carlo Bartolomeo Garani, died 1749),³⁷ a medical doctor from Bologna was the son of Józef de Garani, who boasted the same profession and title, and Maria Victoria de Montefani-Caprara.³⁸ After arriving in Lviv, he married Agnieszka (died 1754), the daughter of the Lviv councillor Jan Mekoni and Zofia née Kozłowska.³⁹ For many years he sat in the city authorities as an alderman (1730–1731), and then a town councillor (1731–1747).⁴⁰ Karol Garani was an important figure in the artistic

33 CPAH-Lw, f. 181, op. 2, spr. 1278, fol. 4v. Mieczysław Gębarowicz (*Portret XVI–XVIII wieku we Lwowie*, p. 113) dated the beginning of their collaboration to August 1752.

34 CPAH-Lw, f. 181, op. 2, spr. 1278, fol. 5v: “Die 20 Januarii 1756. P. Jaremkiewiczowi za portretów malowanych 14, a 16 płaci się – 224 [zł]” [On the day of January 20, 1756, for 14 painted portraits, and 16, payment of 224 złoty is made to Mr Jaremkiewicz], “Die 31 Januarii. P. Jaremkiewiczowi za obraz S. Trójcy – 18 [zł]” [On the day of January 31, to Mr Jaremkiewicz for the painting of Holy Trinity – 18 złoty], “Die 23 Martii. P. Jaremkiewiczowi malarzowi za portret Pański i Hetmana W[ielkiego] K[oronnego] płaci się i jest ze wszystkim do dziś uspokojony – 24 [zł]” [On the day of March 23, to Mr Jaremkiewicz the painter, for the portrait of Honourable and the Great Hetman of the Crown, it is paid, which satisfies all of his claims – 24 złoty]; ibidem, fol. 7: “Ad diem 4 [Octo]bris 1760. Za wszystkie robote do dnia dzisiejszego P. Jaremkiewicz ze skarbu jest uspokojony i wziął zł[otych] – 169 [zł] 18 [gr]” [Regarding day of October 4, 1760. For all the work completed by today, Mr Jaremkiewicz claim is fully satisfied, having received from the treasury 169 złoty and 18 groszy], “Die 6 [Octo]bris. Temuż płaci się za obraz P. Marszałka Nadwornego – 18 [zł]” [On the day of October 6. To same 18 złoty is paid for the painting of Honourable Marshal of the Crown].

35 *Katalog Muzeum im. Lubomirskich*, Lwów 1877, items 159–161, 164, 167, 170, 171, 178, 179; M. Gębarowicz, *Portret XVI–XVIII wieku*, p. 113.

36 On the reverse of the portrait of August II, there is a surviving inscription certifying the commission of the likeness by Karol Garani; its copied contents, included in the catalogue, read as follows: “Augusti II. Polonorum Regis etc. corectiori penello delineatam effigiem, Carolus Gasani, natione Italus, patriae Bononiensis, Medicinae Doctor, consul primoq. Leopoliensis, praesidens pingere curavit, donavitq. A.D. 1752. Opus Simonis Jaremkiewicz” (ibidem, item 178, p. 178).

37 *Memorie storiche sopra l’Università e l’Istituto delle scienze di Bologna e sopra gli stabilimenti e i corpi scientifici alla medesima addetti compilate da Serafino Mazzetti*, Bologna 1840, p. 403; *Repertorio di tutti i professori antichi, e moderni, della famosa università, e del celebre Istituto delle scienze di Bologna compilato da Serafino Mazzetti Bolognese archivista arcivescovile*, Bologna 1847, p. 140, no. 1371.

38 Lwowska Naukowa Biblioteka im. W. Stefanyka Akademii Nauk Ukrainy we Lwowie (further: BNAN-Lw), f. 45, Archiwum Dzieduszyckich, Rękopisy Biblioteki Poturzyckiej Dzieduszyckich (The Dzieduszycki Family Archive, Manuscripts of the Dzieduszycki Family Library in Poturzyca, further: AD, RBPd), MS 129, Wypisy z ksiąg lwowskich dotyczące spraw majątkowych Karola Garani i jego żony Agnieszki z Mekonich, 1729–1746, fol. 14v–18.

39 Ibidem, fol. 37; ibidem, f. 52, op. 1, spr. 449, Testament Agnieszki z Mekonich Garaniowej.

40 M. Kaprał, *Urzędnicy miasta Lwowa w XIII–XVIII wieku*, Toruń 2008, p. 235, no. 172–177; *Akta grodzkie i ziemskie z czasów Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej z archiwum tak zwanego bernardyńskiego we Lwowie w skutek fundacyi śp. Alexandra hr. Stadnickiego. Wydane staraniem Galicyjskiego Sejmu Krajowego*, vol. 23: *Lauda sejmikowe wiszeńskie, lwowskie, przemyskie i sanockie 1731–1772*, A. Prochaska (ed.), Lwów 1928, pp. 106, 301.

community of Lviv in the middle of the eighteenth century. He is known primarily as a powerful protector and defender of Bernard Meretyn during his Lviv trial,⁴¹ afterwards remaining in close rapport with the architect's family. Garani also maintained contacts with other artists who were active in that period in Lviv and its vicinity – it is worth mentioning, for instance, his acquaintance with the architect Francesco Capponi, who worked for Jan Kajetan Jabłonowski on the reconstruction of the Bernardine church in Fraga.⁴² The well-known councillor was also a patron of the Lviv carpenters' guild on behalf of the city.⁴³ Familiar with both Meretyn and Jaremkiewicz, the influential royal secretary and the famous Lviv physician Karol Garani provided services at the courts of many aristocratic families who settled in Lviv and in other places of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth,⁴⁴ and the associated interactions often turned into less ephemeral social relations, for example, such as those that brought him in contact with the Jabłonowski family.⁴⁵ It is in this context that it is worth mentioning the presence of the Garanis at the court of the Rzewuski family. According to the entries in the book of records, on June 4, 1751, the Rzewuskis paid 72 złoty "P. Garaney za medykamenta brane" [to Mrs Garani for medications taken].⁴⁶ This particular entry must refer to a wife of Lviv councillor Agnieszka Honorata Garani, née Mekoni, who, after her husband's death,⁴⁷ successfully ran "interes apteczny" [a pharmacy business]⁴⁸ in Lviv, and these were not her only contacts with the court of Michał Józef Rzewuski, as the record shows.⁴⁹

41 Z. Hornung, *Meretyn Bernard*, pp. 442–443.

42 A. Betlej, *Uwagi na temat twórczości Francesca Capponiego*, in: *Sztuka kresów wschodnich*, vol. 3, J.K. Ostrowski (ed.), Kraków 1998, p. 195; idem, *Sibi, Deo, Posteritati. Jabłonowscy a sztuka w XVIII wieku*, Kraków 2010, pp. 43, 47, 74, 147, 224.

43 CPAH-Lw, f. 52, op. 2, spr. 1036, Księga rachunkowa cechu stolarskiego we Lwowie, 1721–1744, pp. 57, 60, 63, 66, 70, 72. For more information about the guild's ledger, see the remarks by Orest Lylo (*Цехова книга львівських столярів 1721–1745 рр. як джерело до історії скульптурного середовища міста*, "Наукові зошити історичного факультету Львівського національного університету ім. І. Франка. Збірник наукових праць", 4, 2001, pp. 83–90).

44 Karol Garani maintained contact with, among others, the Radziwiłł family (Central Archives of Historical Records [Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych, further: AGAD], Radziwiłł Family Archives [Archiwum Radziwiłłów, further: AR], MS 3991, correspondence from the years 1740–1744), with Jan Klemens Branicki (ibidem, Collection of Anna Ksawerowa Branicka née Potocka, MS 862–863, 1748), with Andrzej Stanisław Załuski (National Library, MS 3220 III, 1734, fol. 10–11; MS 3222 III, fol. 155–156; MS 3224 III, fol. 59–60, 61–62; MS 3226 III, 1748, fol. 51–52; MS 3227 III, fol. 14–15), and with Józef Mniszech (AGAD, Aleksander Czołowski Collection, MS 341).

45 A. Markiewicz, "W galanteryjach, zegarach, w obrazach, portretach". *Testament wojewodziny ruskiej Joanny Jabłonowskiej z 1744 r.*, in: *Sztuka Kresów Wschodnich*, vol. 7, A. Betlej, A. Markiewicz (eds.), Kraków 2012, pp. 34, 46, 49.

46 CPAH-Lw, f. 181, op. 2, spr. 1278, fol. 3.

47 Karol Garani died in November 1749 (see: *Memorie storiche sopra l'Università e l'Istituto delle scienze di Bologna*, p. 403) and was buried in the church of the Order of Friars Minor Capuchin in Lviv (see: CPAH-Lw, f. 52, op. 1, spr. 449, fol. 6v, 10v; BNAN-Lw, f. 45, AD, RBPB, MS 129; fol. 299).

48 CPAH-Lw, f. 52, op. 1, spr. 449, fol. 11v.

49 On 23 October 1750 in Lviv, Agnieszka Garani née Mekoni, listed the amounts she owed to her sister Rozalia Szwarc, also mentioned the objects transferred to the *notarius campestris* of the Crown, Michał Józef Rzewuski: "Oprócz zaś tej sumy zostają jeszcze winną zwyż wspomnianej Jej Mci Pani Szwarcowej za czapraki i kulbakę i koncerze przedane JW Jmci Panu pisarzowi koronnemu za czerwonych złotych sto trzecią część tych pieniędzy czerwonych złotych trzydzieści i trzy i złotych sześć co czyni złotych polskich sześćset dico f. 600" [In addition to that sum, I owe to aforementioned Honourable Mrs Szwarc for the shabrack and the saddle and the sword, sold

The aforementioned note is certainly an interesting contribution to the reconstruction of the multi-layered network of contacts that formed around the Rzewuski family court in Lviv due to various kinds of dependencies.

The meticulous, chronological enumeration provides information on a throng of Lviv artists and craftsmen who undertook commissions for the Rzewuski family in the mid-eighteenth century. The payment that was made at the end of August 1747, received by an unidentified carpenter Waclaw, has already been mentioned. This name appears in the list of accounts of the Podlasie Voivode several times, once again on January 22, 1748.⁵⁰ These records bring to light information both about undefined works and about the details of some of the commissions. This is the case with a box ordered in May 1748⁵¹ or the whole set of various utensils, including a table for a clavichord or “blejtram do portretu Radziwiłła” [a stretcher for a portrait of Radziwiłł].⁵² Incidentally, it is worth adding that the mention of the clavichord is not the only contribution to the research on musical culture present within the discussed ledger of expenses, as in May 1748 fees for “surmy i flety” [zurnas and flutes] were recorded therein.⁵³ The absence of any additional data does not allow for a certain identification of the carpenter Waclaw, who worked regularly for the Rzewuski family; it can only be presumed that the person mentioned many times in the source is Waclaw Tomaier,⁵⁴ who was active in Lviv in the 1740s and served as an elder in the carpenters’ guild; also known for his work for Lviv Dominican monastery of Corpus Christi.⁵⁵ Another craftsman mentioned in Michał Józef Rzewuski’s account ledger is an otherwise unknown carpenter, Johann Reycherbart, who on August 19, 1753 received 276 złoty from the Voivode of Podlasie for two tables and one “stool for hiding papers”.⁵⁶

In the register of expenses, the names of numerous Lviv goldsmiths were regularly recorded, whose products from 1747 found their way to the residence of Michał Józef Rzewuski, both in his native Rozdół and in Lviv, as well as to numerous churches supported by the magnate with his foundations. At the beginning of May 1748, the Lviv goldsmith, Jan Filipowicz,⁵⁷ received the payment

to Honourable *notarius campestris* of the Crown for a hundred red złoty, the third part of this sum, thirty and three red złoty and six złoty which makes six hundred Polish złoty] (CPAH-Lw, f. 52, op. 1, spr. 449, fol. 1).

50 Ibidem, f. 181, op. 2, spr. 1278, fol. 1.

51 Ibidem, fol. 1v.

52 Ibidem.

53 Ibidem.

54 Ibidem, f. 52, op. 2, spr. 1036, Księga rachunkowa cechu stolarskiego we Lwowie, 1721–1744, pp. 59, 70, 73; *Album civium Leopoliensium. Rejestry przyjęć do prawa miejskiego we Lwowie 1588–1783*, vol. 1, A. Janeczek (ed.), Poznań–Warszawa 2005, no. 4904; A. Markiewicz, *Wokół kontraktów artystycznych dominikanów lwowskich w epoce nowożytnej (xvii–xviii w.)*, “Modus. Prace z Historii Sztuki”, 14, 2014, pp. 158, 162–164; A. Dworzak, *Lwowskie środowisko artystyczne*, p. 454.

55 M. Biernat, M. Kurzej, J.K. Ostrowski, *Kościół p.w. Bożego Ciała i klasztor OO. Dominikanów*, in: MDSS, part 1, vol. 20: *Kościół i klasztory Lwowa z okresu przedrozbiorowego* (2), J.K. Ostrowski (ed.), Kraków 2012, pp. 171–283.

56 CPAH-Lw, f. 181, op. 2, spr. 1278, fol. 4v: “Die 19 Augusti [1753] Johanowi Reycherbartowi stolarzowi za dwa stoliki i jeden stołeczek do schowania papierów – 276 [zł]” [On August 19, 1753, to the carpenter, Johann Reycherbart, for two tables and one stool for hiding papers – 276 złoty].

57 J. Samek, *Polskie złotnictwo*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź 1988, p. 173; L. Lepczy, *Przemysł złotniczy w Polsce*, Kraków 1933, p. 235, item 65; idem, *Cech złotniczy w Krakowie, jego organizacja i dzieje*, part 1, Kraków 1898, p. 124; idem, *Cech złotniczy w Krakowie*, “Rocznik Krakowski”, 1, 1898, p. 258; A. Dworzak, *Lwowskie środowisko artystyczne*, p. 239.

for a pax,⁵⁸ and a few months later, in the context of settling the payment for the execution of this commission, he was mentioned again, this time together with another Lviv goldsmith, Andrzej Sokołowski⁵⁹ – on September 5, 1748, 54 złoty were paid “Sokołowskiemu wraz z Filipowiczem od pacyfikalu” [to Sokołowski together with Filipowicz from the pax].⁶⁰ Another interesting mention is made on the date of September 6, 1748, according to the wording of which “Mr Sympol the goldsmith” received a considerable sum of 252 złoty for making buttons, probably gold or gold-plated.⁶¹ The phonetic, fanciful spelling of the name does not pose any difficulties when trying to identify this Lviv craftsman: the goldsmith mentioned in the ledger of the accounts is certainly Fryderyk (Friedrich) Saintpaul (Seintpol).⁶² This Lviv goldsmith was active in the 1740s and 1750s, and in 1756 he was still active outside the guild. To date, he had not been known to researchers of the historical Lviv’s artistic panorama; in this context, the first mention of specific products by Saintpaul – expensive accessories complementing the ceremonial attire of the magnate, delivered to the court of Michał Józef Rzewuski – seems even more valuable.

Among the goldsmiths listed in the ledger, a large group is made up of Lviv’s Jews who practiced this craft at the turn of the 1740s and 1750s.⁶³ At the Rzewuski’s court, they undertook numerous commissions for the production and repair of various valuables. And so, in August 1753, Lewko Motylowicz⁶⁴ received remuneration for reworking cruets,⁶⁵ and in the following year, referred to just by his first name Lewko, he was given the payment for an inkwell and a sand pot.⁶⁶ A number of payments refer to the amounts made to Łapcio, who in the spring of 1748 made a candlestick and a silver spoon for the Podlasie Voivode,⁶⁷ and on July 17, 1749, he received 72 złoty for repairing silverware.⁶⁸ The same craftsman also made a Damascene

58 CPAH-Lw, f. 181, op. 2, spr. 1278, fol. 1v: “Die 9 Maii [1748] Reszty P. Filipowiczowi od zrobienia pacyfikaliku” [On the day of May 9, 1748, the remaining sum to P. Filipowicz for crafting a pax].

59 A. Dworzak, *Lwowskie środowisko artystyczne*, p. 403.

60 CPAH-Lw, f. 181, op. 2, spr. 1278, fol. 1v.

61 Ibidem: “Die 6 Septembris [1748]. P. Sympolowi złotnikowi reszty od roboty guzików – 252 [zł]” [On the day of September 6, 1748, to Mr Sympol the goldsmith remaining sum for making buttons – 252 złoty].

62 T. Mańkowski, *Lwowskie kościoły*, pp. 158–159; A. Dworzak, *Lwowskie środowisko artystyczne*, pp. 77, 281, 399–400.

63 For more information on Jewish goldsmiths active in Lviv and the Ruthenian Voivodeship in that period, see: F. Bostel, *O Żydach złotnikach XVIII w.*, in: *Sprawozdania Komisji do Badania Historii Sztuki*, vol. 5, 1896, pp. LXXVII–LXXVIII; W. Łoziński, *Złotnictwo lwowskie*, Lwów 1912, pp. 18–19, 42–43, 46, 50–52, 61; M. Keryk, *Pozycja społeczna artystów żydowskich w województwie ruskim w XVIII w.*, in: *Różni razem. Młodzi polscy naukowcy o Żydach*, J. Żyndul (ed.), Warszawa 2008, pp. 25–35; more broadly, see also: M. Horn, *Żydowskie bractwa rzemieślnicze na ziemiach polskich, litewskich, białoruskich i ukraińskich w latach 1613–1850*, Warszawa 1998.

64 Perhaps this is the same person as Lviv-based goldsmith Lewek, who collaborated in 1760s with the Nikorowicz trade concern in Lviv. See: BNAN-Lw, f. 45, AD, RBPd, MS 125, Rachunki i zapiski kupieckie domu handlowego Nikorowiczów we Lwowie, 1753–1773, fol. 21v; T. Mańkowski, *Sztuka islamu w Polsce w XVII i XVIII wieku*, Kraków 1935, p. 89.

65 CPAH-Lw, f. 181, op. 2, spr. 1278, fol. 4v.

66 Ibidem, fol. 5.

67 Ibidem, fol. 1v.

68 Ibidem, k. 2. On a side note, when speaking of silver tableware of the Rzewuski family, we should mention that before 1769 a set of such silverware was produced in Lviv for Michał Józef and Franciszka, its description found in the Rozdół inventory of ca. 1769: “Serwis nowy, sporządzony

cover for the sabre of Michał Józef Rzewuski,⁶⁹ metal shackles for squires⁷⁰ and belts for the broadsword.⁷¹ The profile of the aforementioned orders is matched by subsequent commissions for goldsmith products of a military nature, numerous documented in the ledger of expenses. The intricately decorated militaria were intended to emphasize the splendour of the court and the exceptional status of the magnate, and at the same time the analysis of the mentions of these objects may be informative for researchers studying the course of Rzewuski's military career. Manes, a goldsmith from Lviv, is mentioned several times in the book of accounts, and he can be identified with a high degree of probability as Manes Nusymowicz (Nuchymowicz),⁷² a craftsman active in Lviv in the 1750s and 1760s. The book of accounts noted that on February 20, 1753, he received from Rzewuski 256 złotych and 22 groszy for the votive offering he had just made,⁷³ in January 1754 he altered a silver inkwell for the Voivode,⁷⁴ and at the beginning of February of the same year he received a payment of 126 złotych for rubies. The remaining commissions carried out by Manes are of a highly homogeneous nature, involving only military artefacts. In August 1753, he made a belt for the court's squire and other unspecified trinkets,⁷⁵ on January 28, 1754, he was given a substantial payment of 432 złotych for a Damascene broadsword,⁷⁶ and in March of that same year he completed a number of works for his patron, which included punching gold-plated ebony hilt,⁷⁷ crafting

we Lwowie, No 4to. Serwis, czyli kosz srebrny w kwadrat, u którego spód gładki, wierzch w kratkę robiony, z uchami dwoma. Na ten serwis na środek wazka, solniczek, we środku wyzłacanych, z przegródkami, do każdej łyżeczka, od końca pozłacana. Karafinka na musztardę, wyzłacana, na której kwiatek srebrny. W tej karafince łyżeczka pozłacana. Karafinka na cukier, z wierzchem podziurawionym. Karafinek szklanych dwie, z spodami i wierzchami wyzłacanymi, ze środka z korkami do zatykania, u których korków blaszki na wierzchu pozłacane, z bukiecikami” [New set, made in Lviv, No 4to. The set, i.e. a square silver basket with a smooth bottom, a chequered top, with two handles. Within this set, there is a vase in the middle, a salt shaker, gilded inside, with compartments, with one spoon for each, gold-plated from the end. A mustard carafe, gilded, with a silver flower on it. A gold-plated teaspoon in this carafe. Sugar carafe with holes on the top. Two glass carafes, with gilded bottoms and tops, with stoppers inside, those stoppers with gilded plates on top, decorated with flower posies] (*Materiały źródłowe*, p. 237).

69 CPAH-Lw, f. 181, op. 2, spr. 1278, fol. 2.

70 Ibidem, fol. 2v.

71 Ibidem.

72 Z. Pazdro, *Organizacja i praktyka żydowskich sądów podwojewódzińskich w okresie 1740–1772 r. Na podstawie lwowskich materiałów archiwalnych*, Lwów 1903, pp. 66, 121, 150, 234–235.

73 CPAH-Lw, f. 181, op. 2, spr. 1278, fol. 4. The craftsman crafted another votive offering for Rzewuski in March 1756. See: ibidem, fol. 5v.

74 Ibidem, fol. 4v.

75 Ibidem.

76 Ibidem. The goldsmith Manes undertook similar work more than once, which became a source of conflicts with the Lviv guild of sword-bearers, and when in 1765 he executed “robotę demeszkową szabel do konsztu złotnickiego (według punktu i konstytucyi cechy swej) nie należącą i owszem temu konsztowi przeciwną” [the work of Damascene sabres, contrary to the goldsmithing craft (according to the point and constitution), which did not belong and was contrary to this constitution] (quoted in: Z. Pazdro, *Organizacja i praktyka*, p. 235); he was sued by a representative of the sword-makers guild and the case was referred to the vicepalatine court in Lviv. See: ibidem, pp. 234–235.

77 In this context one might note the *karabela* sabre with gold-studded ebony hilt described in the inventory of the Rozdół palace ca. 1769: “Karabela szczerozłota, blachmalem czarnym nabijana. Głownia perska, demeszkowa, złotem nabijana. Rękojeść hebanowa, złotem nabijana, z różyczkami sześcią, blaszka naokoło rękojeści. Krzyż, brajcarów 2, skuwka z jednej strony fercychowana, z drugiej gładkim blachmalem nabijana” [Gold karabela sabre, studded with black sheet metal. Persian blade,

a pure gold chain, and silver, gold-plated handles for the pouch.⁷⁸ In 1755 and 1756, the aforementioned goldsmith from Lviv completed further commission from Michał Rzewuski, this time for broadswords and cutlass chains.⁷⁹

The analysed accounts are also a valuable contribution to the history of the eighteenth-century tent-making and the collection of oriental artistic crafts belonging to the Rzewuski family. Under the date of September 6, 1748, an interesting mention was made, relating to the payment of 382 złoty and 23 groszy by the Podlasie Voivode, who recorded this expense as “Łapciowi złotnikowi resztę od roboty gałek do namiotu i wyzłocenia onych” [For Łapcio the goldsmith the rest from the work of the tent knobs and gilding them].⁸⁰ In the light of this note, it is worth recalling the information confirmed so far about the set of oriental tents owned in the eighteenth century by representatives of the Rzewuski family. These elaborate, opulent objects, which emphasized the splendour of the house, also had a utilitarian function: oriental tents were used during travels, on hunting trips, in military campaigns, or journeys to join successive parliaments, assemblies, and reunions of the nobility. Magnates received tents as gifts, and won them as war trophies, but most often they ordered products based on eastern ornaments from local craftsmen, mainly tent makers operating in Brody and in Lviv. Just a few years after paying the dues to the goldsmith Łapcio, on May 8, 1754, Michał Józef Rzewuski’s cousin, field hetman of the Crown, Wacław Rzewuski (1706–1779),⁸¹ concluded a contract in the family-owned Podhorce with a tent maker, a Jew of Brody, Herszko Kofmanowicz, for the construction of two green tents, verdigris musulbas, clearly emphasizing, however, that he should model them on the “shed” – i.e. the tent – belonging to the Podlasie Voivode.⁸² In the spring of 1754, Wacław Rzewuski already had a dozen or so tents,⁸³ and these objects were moved between Podhorce – which belonged to the Hetman, and Rozdół – which was the seat of his cousin, Michał Józef Rzewuski.⁸⁴ The gilded knobs mentioned

Damascene, gold-studded. Ebony hilt, gold-studded, with six roses, a plate around the hilt. One cross, 2 pins, repoused ferrule on one side, studded with smooth metal sheet] (*Materiały źródłowe*, p. 243).

78 CPAH-Lw, f. 181, op. 2, spr. 1278, fol. 5.

79 Ibidem, fol. 5v–6.

80 Ibidem, fol. 1v.

81 Z. Zielińska, *Rzewuski Wacław*, in: PSB, vol. 34, pp. 169–180.

82 The contract states that “pomieniony Herszko Namiotnik podeymuie się robić kap dwie z płotami z swego płutna y musulbasu dobrego tym abrysem iak u szopy przysłany od IW. IPana Woiewody Podlaskiego. Robota zaś ma być regularna y gruntowna, zieloność w farbowaniu kap y płotow powinna być bez żadney odmiany gryszpanowa, nie bledsza iak widział na pomienionych namiotach” [the aforementioned Herszko, the Tent Maker, undertakes to make two covers from his cloth and good musulbas, according to the pattern of the shed sent from His Honourable Voivode of Podlasie. The work should be regular and thorough, the greenness in the colouring of the cover should be verdigris without any varieties of shade, and not paler, exactly as seen in the aforementioned tents] (quoted in: T. Mańkowski, *Sztuka islamu*, pp. 102–103).

83 The oriental tents of the Rzewuski family from the Lanckoroński Palace in Rozdół are currently kept in the collection of the Wawel Royal Castle, one of them donated in 1994 by Karolina Lanckorońska. See: M. Piwocka, *Namiot z kolekcji Lanckorońskich na Zamku Królewskim na Wawelu*, “*Studia Waweliana*”, 5, 1996, pp. 59–71; eadem, *Wawelska kolekcja namiotów*, in: *Namiot turecki w zbiorach wawelskich: wystawa czerwiec – wrzesień 2013*, J. T. Petrus, K. Malcharek (eds.), Kraków 2013, pp. 1, 13, 15. See also: J. Nowak, *Fragment płotu namiotu Stanisława Mateusza Rzewuskiego ze zbiorów zamku w Podhorcach*, “*Kronika Zamkowa*”, 1–2, 55–56, 2008, pp. 49–64; T. Mańkowski, *Polskie tkaniny i hafty XVI–XVIII wieku*, Wrocław 1954, pp. 127–129.

84 Magdalena Piwocka (*Namiot z kolekcji Lanckorońskich*, p. 63) mentions the “Regestr namiotów nowo sporządzonych od J.W. Im Pana Wdy Podlaskiego nabytych i do Podhorcez sprowadzonych

in the ledgers can certainly be associated with the *sejwan*, a type of tent with a front opening. As Magdalena Piwocka established, in June 1754 Wacław Rzewuski, while preparing to go to the Warsaw Sejm gathering, also took “sejwan od Imci Pana wojewody podlaskiego ze wszystkim” [the sejwan from the Honourable Voivode of Podlasie along with everything].⁸⁵ It is not known whether it was the same tent that was being crafted in September 1748, but in this context, the quoted mention from Michał Józef Rzewuski’s accounts about the amount given to the Lviv goldsmith Łapcio should undoubtedly be considered an interesting annotation to the history of the Rzewuski’s oriental collection, and thus the culture and art of Lviv.

Yet another category of expenses recorded in the book of accounts involves the amounts spent on the purchase of textiles. Among the acquisitions of this type mentioned in the source here discussed, it is certainly worth noting the entry from the spring of 1748, referring to the payment of 45 złoty for a few cubits of taffeta purchased from Nikorowicz.⁸⁶ The aforementioned Lviv merchant is undoubtedly Grzegorz Nikorowicz (1713–1789),⁸⁷ a royal secretary from 1752, who travelled to Persia in 1746 as commissioned by King Augustus III, in order to buy various goods for the royal court. The main purpose of his stay in Esfahan was to purchase highly valued Persian fabrics. Coming from a well-known Armenian family, Nikorowicz was in charge of an extremely branched and efficient enterprise specializing in large-scale trade in products of oriental origin. The Nikorowicz textile store in Lviv,

die 3 mai R.P. 1754” [Register of newly made tents, acquired from Honorable Voivode of Podlasie and brought to Podhorce, 3 May AD 1754] recorded in the commissions’ book of Podhorce dating to 1754 (National Archives in Kraków, APodh. II, MS 230 II, p. 112). Jan Ostrowski and Jerzy Petrus (*Podhorce. Dzieje wnętrz pałacowych i galerii obrazów*, p. 14, fig. 15) mention Rzewuski’s tents kept in the interiors of the palace in Podhorce.

- 85 M. Piwocka, *Namiot z kolekcji Lanckorońskich*, p. 63 The author provides a detailed archival description of the tent associated with the Podlasie Voivode and the *notarius campestris* of the Crown, Michał Józef Rzewuski. This description also mentions the gilded knobs of the aforementioned object: “Sejwan o drągach czterech wskroś w środku szpiolami atłasowemi wyszywany. Z wierzchu płótno zielone, tylny płot odpinany na knyblkach, z przodu firanka z płótna zielona. Do tego sejwana gałek miedzianych połączonych cztery, ten jest ze wszystkimi potrzebami jako to sznurkami, knyblkami i kołkami. Tłumoków na niego skórzanych dwa. We środku sejwana herb Pański wyszywany atłasem i sznurkowany srebrnym sznurkiem. Przy tym herbie Pióro, Buzdygan wyszywane srebrem. Kotara o trzech drągach, z dwoma gabinetami na musułbasie czerwonym, atłasami różnemi szpikle wyszywane i słupy, na słupach cyfry Pańskie, z płotami takimież, okien ze sznura jedwabnego cztery, do gabinetów dwie, kapa z dwoma przysiąkami na płótnie zielonym, musułbasem czerwone floresy wyszywane” [*Sejwan* tent, with four poles inside, embroidered with satin spines. Green canvas on top, rear screen detachable on grips, green canvas curtain in front. For this *sejwan*, a set of four gold-plated copper knobs, this one comes with all the necessities, such as strings, grips, and pins. There are two leather bundles upon it. In the middle of the *sejwan*, the Lord’s coat of arms, embroidered with satin and tied with a silver cord. With this coat of arms, a plume, and a mace, embroidered with silver cord. A curtain with three poles, with two cabinets in red musulbas, various satin spines and pillars embroidered, numerals of the Lord on the poles, and screens the same, four silk cord windows, two for the cabinets, a cape with two stitches on green linen, musulbas embroidered with red arabesques] (quoted in: *ibidem*, p. 64, footnote 17).

- 86 CPAH-Lw, f. 181, op. 2, spr. 1278, fol. 1v.

- 87 M. Kapral, *Urzędnicy miasta Lwowa*, p. 262; S. Barącz, *Żywoty sławnych Ormian w Polce*, Lwów 1856, pp. 246–249; *idem*, *Rys dziejów ormiańskich*, Tarnopol 1869, pp. 70, 71, 139, 146; Ł. Charewiczowa, *Czarna kamienica*, p. 123; T. Mańkowski, *Sztuka islamu*, pp. 30–31, 60–74, 78, 82, 88–92, 93, 99, 100; *idem*, *Orient w polskiej kulturze artystycznej*, Wrocław 1959 (= *Studia z Historii Sztuki*, 8), pp. 110–111; J. Reychman, *Życie polskie w Stambule w XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1959, pp. 79, 178–179; *idem*, *Orient w kulturze polskiego oświecenia*, Wrocław 1964, pp. 60–61.

which was actually more like a department store, enjoyed a well-deserved reputation, importing to the Polish Commonwealth numerous sophisticated products, mostly sashes and weapons, from Istanbul workshops.⁸⁸ Nikorowicz himself was also active in public service as an elder of Armenian law, and from 1760 the director of the Armenian court. He owned the Bernatowicz tenement house on the eastern frontage of the Lviv market square. The fabrics offered by this merchant were impressive with their quality, and dazzling with the multitude of patterns and colours, which is perfectly illustrated by the list of oriental and Lviv goods that Nikorowicz sent to Warsaw in the spring of 1764. Among the fabrics mentioned in this list, there are several types of satin – white, porcelain, shimmering, sapphire-lilac, green-white with golden flowers, pale-rose-and-green or, finally, parrot-coloured with the addition of white. Furthermore, the list includes numerous coupons of oriental *giermesut* (patterned Turkish fabric), between other white with golden flowers with green leaves or *feuille-mort* (russet) with silver stripes.⁸⁹ The Rzewuski, who bought textile from Nikorowicz, could certainly also choose the best quality taffeta. The register of expenses also mentions the purchase of 50 cubits of green *kitajka* (thin Chinese silk) from the Armenian Augustynowicz from Lviv.⁹⁰

The accounts of the Podlasie Voivode also bring interesting information about the liturgical vessels funded by Michał Józef Rzewuski. On the date of September 5, 1748, the list includes information about the stole, and hoods, which were made by an embroiderer from Lviv, Białostecki.⁹¹ Another note from August 7, 1756, in which the Voivode of Podlasie himself wrote down the amount given to Lonszan for textiles, haberdashery, and finally, for tailoring a surplice “for Rev. Adam, my son” and acknowledged the purchase of a bowl with a jug.⁹² Adam, the son of Michał

88 BNAN-Lw, f. 45, AD, RBPd, MS 125; materials pertaining to Grzegorz Nikorowicz also found in: ibidem, f. 141, Collection of Aleksander Czołowski, op. 2, spr. 503, Papiery rodzinno-majątkowe Grzegorza Nikorowicza, 1781–1844; ibidem, f. 141, op. 3, spr. 369, Materiały rodzinno-majątkowe Nikorowiczów; T. Mańkowski, *Sztuka islamu*, pp. 62–67.

89 BNAN-Lw, f. 45, AD, RBPd, MS 125, fol. 15v–16.

90 CPAH-Lw, f. 181, op. 2, spr. 1278, fol. 6.

91 Ibidem, fol. 1v: “Białosteckiemu haftarzowi reszty od kapturów i stuły – 36 [zł]” [To embroiderer Białostecki the remaining sum for the hoods and the stole – 36 złoty]. In the context of Michał Józef Rzewuski’s orders from the Lviv embroiderers, it is worth mentioning the banner he founded in 1737 for the Armenian Benedictine Sisters: “Dnia 5 września, we czwartek odprawiła się solenna processya z obrazem cudownym, wyjętym z ołtarza ś. Grzegorza tudzież i z relikwiami ś. tegoż. Zaczyn konkurs ludzi liczny assystował, tak z duchownych Prałatów, zakonów, jako też i świeckich Państwa znajdujących się we Lwowie na ten czas. Przy niesieniu chorągwi nowo sporządzonej od Panien zakonnych Ormiańskich, kosztem Pana Michała Rzewuskiego, Pisarza W. koronnego, a to z tej racji, że mortalitas nie tylko we Lwowie lecz prawie po całym Królestwie panowała” [On September 5, on Thursday, a solemn procession took place with a miraculous painting taken from the altar of Saint Gregory and the relics of the same Saint. At the beginning a numerous crowd of people assisted, with the clergy, prelates, religious orders, and also lay people of the State who were in Lviv at that time. When carrying the newly drawn banner from the Armenian nuns, at the expense of Mister Michał Rzewuski, *notarius magnus* of the Crown, and this is for the reason that *mortalitas* reigned not only in Lviv but almost everywhere throughout the Kingdom] (S. Barącz, *Pamiętnik dziejów polskich*, p. 196). It has been established that in the 1740s, Michał Józef and Franciszka Rzewuski founded liturgical vestments for the Carmelite church in Rozdół. See: J.K. Ostrowski, *Kościół p.w. Świętej Trójcy i klasztor OO. Karmelitów Trzewickowych w Rozdole*, p. 143.

92 CPAH-Lw, f. 181, op. 2, spr. 1278, fol. 6: “Die 7 Augusti [1756] P. Lonszanowi za sporządzenie komży dla Jm ks. Adama syna mego. Za koronki szerokie i węższe, za kitajkę karmazynową, za rąbek, za nici na robotę tejże komży, uczyni wszystkiego – 392 [zł], 21 [gr]. Temuż, dla tegoż

Józef Rzewuski and Franciszka née Cetner, chose priestly career, and then took up further benefices and offices – in 1753 he became a canon and chancellor of the Lviv cathedral chapter, and on July 29, 1757 a canon of Kraków.⁹³ We can only assume that the expenses registered in the ledger were related to Michał Józef Rzewuski's foundations for the Lviv chapter or the planned installation of his son in the Krakow chapter. The Lonszan mentioned in the text is Francois Longchamps de Brier (1710–1784),⁹⁴ a merchant and a banker who settled in Lviv in the mid-1740s. The name of this juror and the mayor of Lviv is also associated with the name Lonszanówka, which was used to describe his family estate located within the city limits.

We have already mentioned the figure of Karol Garani and the medical services provided by him; the account ledger also includes additional mentions of the pharmacists from Lviv, whose services were used by the Rzewuski family. In the years 1748–1758, purchases made in the pharmacy of Jan and Franciszek Ksawery Solski,⁹⁵ where the Lviv-based Rzewuski court purchased not only medicines, but also candles, biscuits, and *larendogra*, i.e. Hungarian water, were noted several times in the records.⁹⁶ In the spring of 1756, a considerable amount of 310 złotych and 20 groszy paid for drugs intended for the Podlasie Voivode's wife, Franciszka Rzewuska, was noted on the pages of the book of accounts – clearly, at that time, she must have suffered from more serious ailments.⁹⁷ The Rzewuski couple also used the pharmacy services of the Lviv councilor Tomasz Ziętkiewicz,⁹⁸ and they purchased candles and medicines from him,⁹⁹ while the court servants were treated

ks. kanclerza za miednicę z naliwką – 396 [zł]” [On the day of August 7, 1756, to Mr Lonszan for making a surplice for Rev. Adam, my son. For wide and narrower lace, for crimson Chinese cotton, for the hem, for threads for the work on this surplice, the total is 392 złotych and 21 groszy. To the same Mr Lonszan, for the same Rev. chancellor, for a bowl with a jug – 396 złotych].

93 L. Łętowski, *Katalog biskupów, prałatów i kanoników krakowskich. Prałaci i kanonicy krakowscy*, vol. 4, Kraków 1853, p. 24; J. Szczepaniak, *Spis prałatów i kanoników kapituły katedralnej oraz kapituł kolegiackich diecezji krakowskiej (XVIII w.)*, Kraków 2008, p. 18. Adam Rzewuski also became a commendatory abbot of Wągrowiec. See: M. Kadziszewska, *Pieczęć Adama Rzewuskiego, kanclerza lwowskiego i opata wągrowieckiego*, in: *Studia i materiały do dziejów Pałuk. Terra Palucensis et Monasterium in Lokna*, vol. 6, A.M. Wyrwa (ed.), Warszawa 2006, pp. 257–260; eadem, *Jeszcze o pieczęciach opata wągrowieckiego Adama Rzewuskiego z XVIII wieku*, “Cistercium Mater Nostra. Tradycja – Kultura – Historia”, 6, 2012–2013, pp. 227–235; P. Pokora, *Nieznana pieczęć opata wągrowieckiego Adama Rzewuskiego*, “Archiwista Polski”, 17, 2012, No. 1, pp. 19–24.

94 M. Kapral, *Urzędnicy miasta Lwowa*, pp. 187, 188, 239; A. Redzik, *Longchamps de Brier – zarys dziejów rodu*, in: *Lwów miasto – społeczeństwo – kultura*, vol. 5: *Ludzie Lwowa. Studia z dziejów Lwowa*, K. Karolczak (ed.), Kraków 2005, pp. 247–252; S. Uruski, *Rodzina. Herbarz szlachty polskiej*, vol. 9, Warszawa 1912, p. 142; Ł. Charewiczowa, *Czarna kamienica*, pp. 29, 30, 113.

95 CPAH-Lw, f. 181, op. 2, spr. 1278, fol. 5v, 6v–7; F. Jaworski, *O szarym Lwowie*, pp. 81, 94, 95; M. Kapral, *Urzędnicy miasta Lwowa*, pp. 175–187; idem, *Економічні привілеї міста Львова XV–XVIII ст.: привілеї та статуту ремісничих цехів і купецьких корпорацій (Oeconomica privilegia civitatis Leopoliensis XV–XVIII saec.: privilegia et statuta contuberniorum et gildiarum)*, Львів 2007, pp. 149, 153, 239, 245.

96 CPAH-Lw, f. 181, op. 2, spr. 1278, fol. 2v. Later purchases were also recorded (see: ibidem, fol. 3v–4v).

97 Ibidem, fol. 5v.

98 Tomasz's wife, Katarzyna Ziętkiewiczowa, was a sister of Agnieszka Garani. See: CPAH-Lw, f. 52, op. 1, spr. 449, fol. 6v, 7v; BNAN-Lw, f. 45, AD, RBPd, MS 129, fol. 37. See also: M. Kapral, *Urzędnicy miasta Lwowa*, pp. 181–183; W. Szumowski, *Galicja pod względem medycznym za Jędrzeja Krupińskiego pierwszego protomedyka 1772–1783*, Lwów 1907, pp. 60–61, 102, 169; Ł. Charewiczowa, *Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Lwowa. Przewodnik po zbiorach*, Lwów 1936, p. 51.

99 CPAH-Lw, f. 181, op. 2, spr. 1278, fol. 7v.

by the barber Stanisław.¹⁰⁰ In addition, the costs of postal services such as sending correspondence were scrupulously recorded;¹⁰¹ the pages of the ledger mention the Lviv postmaster and royal secretary, Antoni Dejmo.¹⁰² It is also worth noting the presence of numerous names and surnames of other Lviv craftsmen in the Rzewuski accounts. Of these, the furrier Wołkowicz received payments on several occasions,¹⁰³ and among those mentioned were the tailor Jan,¹⁰⁴ locksmiths Pieniążek¹⁰⁵ and Waclaw,¹⁰⁶ the saddler Ignacy,¹⁰⁷ and the sword-maker Michał,¹⁰⁸ as well as anonymous German watchmaker¹⁰⁹ and a bell founder, also not specified by name.¹¹⁰

Finally, the enigmatic entries referring very generally to the works carried out on the Rzewuski estates in the mid-eighteenth century should also be mentioned. This category includes a note from 1748 certifying the work in progress in the unfortunately unspecified “upper rooms”, for which the mason Herburt charged a fee,¹¹¹ or a note from May 1768 about expenses for an unidentified construction workshop.¹¹² The records of the ledger also mention the Rzewuski mansion in Lviv¹¹³ and the tenement house in Krzywe Koło.¹¹⁴

Finally, it is worth outlining one more fascinating aspect of the source here presented. The accounts of the Podlasie Voivode contain detailed lists of beverages and food purchased from Lviv merchants, thus contributing to research on luxury consumption and table culture at magnate courts in the mid-eighteenth century.¹¹⁵ As early as August 30, 1747, the list included sums spent with the wealthy Lviv merchant and councillor Hilary Signio,¹¹⁶ who delivered lemons and oranges¹¹⁷

100 Ibidem, fol. 2v.

101 Ibidem, fol. 1.

102 Ibidem, fol. 5.

103 Ibidem, fol. 1–1v, 3, 4–4v.

104 Ibidem, fol. 1v.

105 Ibidem, fol. 1–1v.

106 Ibidem, fol. 2v.

107 Ibidem, fol. 2.

108 Ibidem, fol. 2v.

109 Ibidem, fol. 4v. Perhaps the clockmaker mentioned in the list of expenses is Jan Roxer. See: Ł. Charewiczowa, *Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Lwowa*, p. 52; A. Dworzak, *Lwowskie środowisko artystyczne*, pp. 391–392.

110 CPAH-Lw, f. 181, op. 2, spr. 1278, fol. 4, 6.

111 Ibidem, fol. 1v: “Herburt mularz bierze za przesypywanie posadzki, robienia odźwierzków i wyprowadzenia kominów w górnych pokojach” [The mason Herburt receives for pouring the floor, making door frames and putting out chimneys in the upper rooms].

112 At that time, the ledger recorded the amount of 500 złoty “JP. Michowicza na odebrane od Anszła na ekspensę fabryki” [Mr Michowicz received from Anszel for the expansion of the construction workshop] (ibidem, fol. 19).

113 Ibidem, fol. 5: “Die 14 Mar[tii] [1754]. Z porachowania należy arendarzowi dworku lwowskiego za owies wzięty na obrok – 313 [zł] 10 [gr]” [On the day of March 14, 1754. From the accounts, the tenant of the Lviv manor for the oats for horse meal – 313 złoty 10 groszy].

114 Ibidem, fol. 6: “Die 25 Mar[tii] [1756] P. Piotrowi Augustynowiczowi płaci się od górnych izb w kamienicy na Krzywym Kole – 180 [zł]” [On the day of March 25, 1756, to Mr Piotr Augustynowicz, payment is made for the upper rooms in the tenement house at Krzywe Koło – 180 złoty].

115 Ibidem, fol. 9v–28.

116 Ibidem, fol. 2v; A. Czołowski, *Pogląd na organizację i działalność dawnych władz miasta Lwowa do 1848 r.*, Lwów 1896, p. 60; M. Капрал, *Економічні привілеї міста Львова*, pp. 149, 153; idem, *Urzednicy miasta Lwowa*, pp. 180–181. Józef Białynia-Chołodecki mentions the Signio family (*Cmentarz stryjski we Lwowie*, Lwów 1913, pp. 45–46).

117 CPAH-Lw, f. 181, op. 2, spr. 1278, fol. 1, 2.

and a number of other food products to the court of the Podlasie Voivode.¹¹⁸ One example of exquisite magnate purchases is the shopping list from February 1752, when Michał Józef Rzewuski paid several hundred złoty for oysters, oranges, chestnuts, and Rhine wine provided by Hilary.¹¹⁹

An extremely substantial part of the entire book consists of carefully kept settlements and receipts of amounts collected by Anszel,¹²⁰ a Jewish colonial merchant well-known in Lviv, first mentioned in the ledger on February 21, 1751.¹²¹ From 1758,¹²² the pages of the book were filled with notes about regular deliveries from this merchant to the court of the Podlasie Voivode, who, for example, in May 1763 spent an exorbitant amount of 1690 złoty on purchases from this merchant of colonial goods.¹²³ As it is evident from the systematically kept records, until 1762 the merchant Anszel was active in Lviv, and in 1763 his location was recorded as Rozdół, which also belonged to Rzewuski.¹²⁴ Lists of similar purchases continue to be found in the ledgers until 1777.¹²⁵ In the 1760s, the reliable colonial merchant supplied the court of Michał Józef and Franciszka Rzewuski with a number of products, among which numerous luxurious victuals draw attention – such as threescores of lemons, oranges, sugar-coated citron, almonds, dates, figs, and pistachios. His shop stocked coffee and tea, and many spices in bulk, such as pepper, ginger, cardamom, cloves, cinnamon, saffron and “wanille do lodów” [vanilla for ice cream].¹²⁶ The Rzewuski family received: bergamot and cedar oil, candied sugar (*kandyzbrot*), Spanish olive oil, and also olives, capers, anchovies and “parmazyn”.¹²⁷ The list also includes local delicacies, such as various preserves – sugar plums, fried currants or roses, cherry juice, and whole boxes of preserves. The Lviv spice merchant also supplied the cooks of the Rzewuski family with *tarnosolis* (tornesel), i.e. linen flakes dyed in various colours, used in old Polish cuisine to dye desserts, especially exquisite sugars, which were

118 Ibidem, fol. 1, 5.

119 Ibidem, fol. 3.

120 Z. Pazdro, *Organizacja i praktyka*, pp. 57, 82, 206–207.

121 CPAH-Lw, f. 181, op. 2, spr. 1278, fol. 3v.

122 Ibidem, fol. 6v–7v.

123 Ibidem, fol. 8.

124 Ibidem.

125 Ibidem, fol. 22–23, 28.

126 Ibidem, fol. 11.

127 For information about old Polish culinary tastes and fashions, see: *Księga szafarska dworu Jana III Sobieskiego 1695–1696*, J. Dumanowski, M. Próba, Ł. Truściński (eds.), Warszawa 2013; S. Czerniecki, *Compendium ferculorum albo zebranie potraw*, J. Dumanowski i M. Spychaj (eds.), Warszawa 2009; *Staropolskie przepisy kulinarne: receptury rozproszone z XVI–XVIII w. Źródła drukowane*, J. Dumanowski, D. Dias-Lewandowska, M. Sikorska (eds.), Warszawa 2016 (= Monumenta Poloniae Culinaria, 6); *Staropolskie przepisy kulinarne: receptury rozproszone z XVI–XVIII w. Źródła rękopiśmienne*, wyd. i oprac. J. Dumanowski, D. Dias-Lewandowska, M. Sikorska, Warszawa 2017 (= Monumenta Poloniae Culinaria, 7); J. Dumanowski, A. Pawlas, J. Poznański, *Sekrety kuchmistrzowskie Stanisława Czernieckiego: przepisy z najstarszej polskiej książki kucharskiej z 1682 roku*, Warszawa 2010; J. Dumanowski, R. Jankowski, “Moda bardzo dobra smażenia różnych konfektów...”: nowe źródło do dziejów kuchni staropolskiej, “Przegląd Historyczny”, 102, 2011, No. 4, pp. 675–696; J. Dumanowski, *Tatarskie ziele w cukrze, czyli staropolskie słodczyce*, Warszawa 2011; idem, *Orientalne i zachodnie wzory konsumpcji szlachty wielkopolskiej w XVI–XVIII wieku*, in: *Między Zachodem a Wschodem: studia z dziejów Rzeczypospolitej w epoce nowożytnej*, J. Staszewski, K. Mikulski, J. Dumanowski (eds.), Toruń 2002, pp. 153–159; idem, *Drozdy, pawie i szczupaki. Sieniawscy od kuchni*, in: *Działalność Elżbiety Sieniawskiej. Polityka – gospodarka – kultura*, B. Popiołek (ed.), Warszawa 2020, pp. 235–256.

the temptations of magnate feasts.¹²⁸ The merchant Anszel also supplied the family of the Podlasie Voivode with essentials in everyday life, such as black wax, wrapping paper, postal paper and Gdańsk paper, and ink. Moreover, numerous purchases of paints and pigments made by the magnate are noteworthy – on the Voivode's shopping lists, orpiment or *feingult* (feingold) are mentioned,¹²⁹ which can probably be associated with various works carried out in the 1760s in the residences of Michał Józef Rzewuski.

The presented accounts are undoubtedly a fascinating source for studies and an insight into the everyday life of the court of Michał Józef and Franciszka née Cetner Rzewuski in the mid-eighteenth century. Meticulous, detailed notes containing a number of names and surnames of Lviv artists, craftsmen, and merchants open the way for many new findings, and a critical analysis of the source material also allows for the correction of numerous previously assumed hypothetical attributions. Thanks to the direct reference to the book of accounts, it is possible to verify common beliefs about the works carried out by Bernard Meretyn, Jan Gertner and Szymon Jaremkiewicz for the Carmelite temple and the Rzewuski Palace in Rozdół, and to specify the nature of the contracts that the aforementioned artists concluded with the Podlasie Voivode. Undoubtedly, the details of numerous other orders by Michał Józef Rzewuski, which reveal a group of Lviv carpenters and goldsmiths who often undertook regular commissions for their patron, are also highly valuable. Reading the entries also facilitates drawing a picture of a group of Lviv merchants who supplied the magnate's court with – often very expensive – fabrics available in eighteenth-century Lviv, and identifies Sympol, the creator of sophisticated accessories decorating representative magnate robes. The mentions of the portraits, votive offerings, and liturgical vessels contracted by Rzewuski constitute a valuable contribution towards the foundation activities and artistic initiatives of the magnate, already known previously not only as the founder of the Carmelite temple in Rozdół or the parish church in Brzozdowce, but also the benefactor of the Lviv Bernardines,¹³⁰ yet still remaining in the shadow of his great-uncle Wacław Rzewuski, inhabiting the magnificent residence at Podhorce. Another interesting point of reference for research on the elite status of the Rzewuski court springs from the mentions of running the family's kitchen, which shed light on the culinary fashions and trends that were followed in noble courts, and document the concurrence between the use of expressive, oriental or colonial spices and the requirements of new, luxurious and cosmopolitan French cuisine within this particular sphere of Central European culinary traditions. An indubitable advantage of the source is also the possibility of pencilling, on its basis, the network of contacts operating around the Lviv court of the Podlasie Voivode, comprising not only of "architect Bernard", woodcarver Jan Gertner, or painter Szymon Jaremkiewicz, but also

128 CPAH-Lw, f. 181, op. 2, spr. 1278, fol. 11v, 18v.

129 Ibidem, fol. 16–16v, 19, 26v.

130 In 1736, M.J. Rzewuski founded the column of Sant John of Dukla in front of the Lviv church of St. Andrew and the Bernardine monastery. See: A. Betlej, *Kościół p.w. św. Andrzeja Apostoła i klasztor OO. Bernardynów*, in: MDSS, part 1, vol. 20, p. 20. See also: J. Ostrowski, *Kościół i klasztor Karmelitów w Rozdole*, "Folia Historiae Artium. Seria Nowa", 4, 1998, pp. 35–48; idem, *Kościół p.w. Świętej Trójcy i klasztor OO. Karmelitów Trzewickowych w Rozdole*, in: MDSS, vol. 20, pp. 142–143; P. Krasny, M. Wójcik, *Kościół parafialny p.w. Podwyższenia Krzyża Świętego w Brzozdowcach*, in: ibidem, pp. 49–50.

of goldsmith Fryderyk Saintpaul, carpenter Wacław, colonial merchant Anszel and other artists, craftsmen and merchants of Lviv in the middle of the eighteenth century. The ledger of expenses of Michał Józef Rzewuski, the Voivode of Podlasie, kept since 1747, is a valuable source; in its pages, notes related to the mundane requirements of everyday life are intertwined with annotations that concern issues dictated by representational concerns and document the splendour of the magnate caste, ostentation, and lavishness of the life of the elites in the Polish Commonwealth of old. *Księga konnotat co się płaci we Lwowie różnym rzemieś[li]nikom* [The book of notes for payments made to various craftsmen in Lviv] undoubtedly constitutes a valuable contribution to research on everyday life, material culture and art of the eighteenth-century Lviv. ●