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HOW MARYWIL CAME TO BE. THE CREATION OF WARSAW'S RESIDENTIAL AND COMMERCIAL COMPLEX IN THE LIGHT OF THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN OTTON FRYDERYK FELKERSAMB AND MARIA KAZIMIERA SOBIESKA FROM 1694*

Introduction

The area of the Marywil complex, once located between today's Józefa Piłsudskiego Square and Moliera Street, Wierzbowa Street, and Senatorska Street, currently houses the monumental edifice of Teatr Wielki and its adjacent parking lot. The history of the complex combining residential and commercial functions has already been thoroughly studied and described in secondary sources; it would seem that there is nothing to add or modify within this area of research¹.

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1 M. Karpowicz, *Sztuka oświeconego sarmatyzmu: antykizacja i klasycyzacja w środowisku warszawskim czasów Jana III*, Warsaw 1970, pp. 163-165; idem, *Sztuka Warszawy drugiej połowy XVII w.*, Warsaw 1975, pp. 45-47; A. Rychłowska-Kozłowska, *Marywil*, Warsaw 1975; W. Fijałkowski, *Szlakiem Jana III Sobieskiego*, Warsaw 1984, pp. 56-61; J. Putkowska, *Architektura Warszawy w XVII wieku*, Warsaw 1991, pp. 94-97; idem, *Warszawskie rezydencje na przedmieściach i pod miastem w XVI-XVIII wieku*, Warsaw 2016, pp. 41-42; M. Omilanowska, *Świątynie handlu. Warszawska architektura komercyjna doby wielkomięskiej*, Warsaw 2004, pp. 56-59; idem, "Wokół Teatru Wielkiego. Od Marywilu do Pasażu Luxenburga", *Almanach Warszawy* 2014, vol. 10, pp. 255-272; T. Bernatowicz, *Plac Teatralny w Warszawie. Przemiany architektury i układu przestrzennego*, in: *Archeologia dawnej Warszawy*, ed. W. Peła, vol. 3, Warsaw 2013, pp. 11-16; A. Świtek, "Marywil - dziękczynne wotum królowej Marysieńki", *Spotkania z Zabytkami* 2013, no. 11-12, pp. 7-13.

An opportunity to see the subject in a new light has emerged thanks to the archival query in the National Historical Archive in Minsk, Belarus² and the Sobieski Archive fonds stored in the facility. It is worth mentioning that until the years 2010–2011, the fonds had been part of the Dukes Radziwiłł Archive in Nieśwież (opis 12 fond 694). The Sobieski Archive contains a collection of documents – until fairly recently assumed to have been lost – which had once been stored by Prince Jakub Ludwik Sobieski (1667–1737) in his residence in Oława. In 1734, when the prince left the Oława Estate, the archive was transferred to the Oława Castle or Brzeg Castle, where it remained until 1741³. When Silesia was taken by King of Prussia Frederick II, the archive was taken to Wrocław, despite the claims lodged by Castellan of Minsk Daniel Wyhowski on behalf of the rightful heirs of the Sobieski-Radziwiłł family, and by Charles Foquet de Belle Isle, the plenipotentiary of the Bouillon family. The archive was stored in Wrocław in the years 1743–1820 and later sent to Berlin. Some of the documents within the archive were transferred to Königsberg (today's Kaliningrad), where six years later Theodor Schimmelau took inventory of the resource and prepared information on the collection⁴. Polish historians, including Edward Raczyński⁵, Antoni Zygmunt Helcel⁶, Ludwik Finkiel⁷, Marian Sokołowski⁸, and Juliusz Starzeński⁹, used the Sobieski Archive to create summary records or take extracts. After World War II, Adam Miłobędzki claimed that the Sobieski Archive had been lost¹⁰. Another historian, Adam Kersten, believed that it had been sent to the archives in Merseburg, East Germany¹¹. The issue of the archive re-emerged in the public debate on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the victory in the Battle of Vienna, in the aftermath the interview given by Konrad Zawadzki to *Polityka* and the letter by Edward Kobzdaj from Wrocław, published in the same magazine¹². The latter informed the readers of *Polityka*

- 2 Since 2000 the Archive has been known under the name: National Agency «National Historical Archive of Belarus in Minsk» (orig. "Государственное Учреждение «Национальный Исторический Архив Беларуси в г. Минске»").
- 3 K. Piwarski, *Królewicz Jakób Sobieski w Oławie*, Kraków 1939, p. 105; W. Roszkowska, *Oława królewiczów Sobieskich*, Wrocław-Warsaw-Kraków 1984, pp. 93, 168; A. Skrzypietz, *Królewscy synowie – Jakub, Aleksander, Konstanty Sobiescy*, Katowice 2011, p. 584.
- 4 K. Piwarski, *Królewicz...*, p. 108; W. Roszkowska, *Oława...*, p. 169.
- 5 *Listy Króla Jana III pisane do królowej Marii Kazimiry w ciągu wyprawy pod Wiedeń w r. 1683*, published by E. Raczyński, Warsaw 1823.
- 6 A.Z. Helcel, *Przedmowa*, in: *O dwukrotnem zamężciu xiężniczki Ludwiki Karoliny Radziwiłłówniej i wynikłych ztąd w Polsce zamieszkach. Przyczynek do dziejów panowania Jana III*, Kraków 1857, p. 4.
- 7 List of miscellaneous documents and letters formerly from the Sobieski Archive and currently kept in Berlin in the Privy State Archives, National Archives in Kraków, Krzeszów Potocki Archive, ref. no. 3360, pp. 5–19.
- 8 M. Sokołowski, "Sprawozdanie z posiedzenia Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności z 29 X 1896", *Sprawozdania Komisji do Badania Historii Sztuki w Polsce PAU*, 1896, ch. 6, p. LIII.
- 9 J. Starzyński, *Wilanów. Dzieje budowy pałacu za Jana III*, Warsaw 1933.
- 10 A. Miłobędzki, *Wstęp*, in: J. Starzyński, *Wilanów. Dzieje budowy pałacu za Jana III*, 2nd ed., Warsaw 1976, pp. 7, 109.
- 11 A. Kersten, *Przedmowa*, in: P. Miller, *Żona dla pretendenta. Rzecz o Marii Klementynie Sobieskiej*, trans. A. Przedpeńska-Trzeciakowska, Warsaw 1968, p. 16, footnote 5.
- 12 R. Jarocki, "Gdzie jest archiwum Sobieskich. Rozmowa z doc. Konradem Zawadzkiem", *Polityka*, 1983, no. 21, p. 14; E. Kobzdaj, "Gdzie jest archiwum Sobieskich?" (Letter to the editor), *Polityka*, 1983, no. 29, p. 9.

that he had seen the inventory of the Sobieski Family Archive (created in the 19th century in Berlin) in Merseburg. In 1998, thanks to the efforts of Wojciech Krieseisen, it was eventually discovered that the collection had been sent from Berlin to Moscow in 1945 and then transferred to Minsk in the 1950s or 1960s¹³.

The Sobieski Archive from Oława encompasses documents from the years [1574] 1617–1757¹⁴. The first thematic fonds consists of case files and private correspondence of the Sobieski family and their affines from the Habsburg, Bourbon, Stuart, Pfalz-Neuburg, Bouillon, and Wittelsbach dynasties, as well as Hessen-Darmstadt, von Salm, von Sulzbach and Leszczyński dukes. Another part of the collection constitutes a unique resource for the study of diplomatic relations between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and great European powers of the time. The third part consists of *miscellanea* in the form of old prints, correspondence with clerks and officials: Filip Dupont, Augustyn Locci, Paweł Gratta, Samuel Proski, Michał Antoni Hacki, and others.

The resource of greatest interest for this paper is the 1694 correspondence between the Governor of Czernihów Province and Alderman of Czorsztyn, Otton Fryderyk Felkersamb (also known under the surnames Felkierzamb, Felkierzan, Felkersam, Felkierzon, Voelkersahm) and Queen Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska, regarding the construction of the Marywil complex and the palace in Marymont¹⁵, as well as the relations between the provincial governor and the head architect, Tylman of Gameren¹⁶. At this point, it is important to emphasise that the present work also uses secondary sources and other

13 W. Kriegseisen, "Źródła do historii Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej w Narodowym Archiwum Historycznym Białorusi w Mińsku", *Kwartalnik Historyczny*, 1998, vol. 105, book 4, pp. 88–110.

14 For a detailed description of the fonds see: A.K. Gołubowicz, "Dokumenty i materiały rodu Radziwiłłów w Narodowym Archiwum Historycznym Białorusi w Mińsku", *Miscellanea Historico-Archivistica*, 1997, vol. 8, pp. 93–97; J. Pietrzak, *Dwa testamenty kobiece z zasobu Narodowego Archiwum Historycznego Białorusi w Mińsku*, in: *Archiwa i ich zasoby. Materiały pomocnicze do źródłoznawstwa*, eds. A. Jakuboszczak, P. Matusik, Poznań 2013, pp. 181–207; M. Nagielski, "Listy Jana Kazimierza Wazy do Jana Sobieskiego z Archiwum Historycznego Państwowego Białorusi z lat 1655–1668", in: *Spółczesność polskie i wojsko. Studia i materiały*, eds. K. Maksymiuk, D. Wereda, A. Zawadzki, Siedlce 2016, pp. 61–70; K. Kossarzecki, P. Gawron, "Materiały do dziejów Jana Sobieskiego i jego żony Marii Kazimiery w Narodowym Archiwum Historycznym Białorusi w Mińsku", *Studia Wilanowskie*, 2016, vol. 23, pp. 105–111.

15 For more about Marymont see: A. Król, "Marymont. Dzieje letniej rezydencji Jana Sobieskiego, Augustów II i III oraz Instytutu Agronomicznego", *Rocznik Warszawski*, 1960, vol. 1, pp. 38–50; S. Mossakowski, *Tylman z Gameren, architekt polskiego baroku*, Wrocław 1973, pp. 212–213; J. Putkowska, *Architektura Warszawy...*, pp. 96–101; idem, *Warszawskie rezydencje...*, pp. 53–54.

16 For a detailed biography of the architect see: T. Makowiecki, *Archiwum planów Tylmana z Gameren, architekta epoki Sobieskiego*, Warsaw 1938; S. Kozakiewicz, "Gamerski Tylman", in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, [hereinafter: PSB] vol. 7/1, Kraków 1948–1958, pp. 261–262; J. Ruszczyćówna, "Zapomniane Sobiesciana warszawskie", *Rocznik Muzeum Narodowego w Warszawie*, 1971, ch. 15, pp. 93–135; S. Mossakowski, *Tylman z Gameren, architekt...*, pp. 15–29; idem, *Tylman z Gameren (1632–1706): twórczość architektoniczna w Polsce*, Warsaw 2012; *Tylman z Gameren – architekt Warszawy. Holender z pochodzenia, Polak z wyboru*, eds. K. Ottenheim, S. Mossakowski, E. Gerritsen, M. Topińska, Warsaw 2003 (collection of essays, catalogue); P. Wątroba, "Architektoniczne archiwum Tylmana z Gameren w zbiorach Gabinetu Rycin Biblioteki Uniwersyteckiej w Warszawie. Rysunki i ich twórca", in: *Kościół Bernardynów na Czerniakowie. Dzieło, artyści i projekty Tylmana z Gameren*, eds. K. Guttmejer, M. Karpowicz, P. Wątroba, Warsaw 2013, pp. 57–72; idem, "Gameren Tylman van", in: *Słownik architektów i budowniczych środowiska warszawskiego XV–XVIII wieku*, eds. P. Migasiewicz, H. Osiecka-Samsonowicz, J. Sito, Warsaw 2016, pp. 158–163.

archival resources forming part of the Sobieski patrimony. The aim of this paper is, first and foremost, to present the relationship between the queen, who was the primary investor in the undertaking, the supervisor of the construction process, who provided her with information on the work of craftsmen, made comments on various solutions adopted in the project, and prepared cost estimates¹⁷ – that is Governor Felkersamb – and the architect who designed the complex¹⁸. Due to the existence of an extensive body of secondary sources on the subject, it is also important to verify, organise and summarise available information on Marywil in the period when it belonged to the Sobieski family. The paper will be concluded with the edition of original letters, which hopefully will serve as a valuable source for further research.

“The place [...] is called Marywil” – Maria Kazimiera Sobieska’s Plans

The origins of Marywil (from Fr. *Marie-Ville*, “Maria’s town”) are connected to a legal case filed by the queen for the purpose of taking ownership of a municipal plot assigned the number 474 in 17th-century real estate registers¹⁹ from the Koniecpolski family, the heirs of her first husband, Governor of

- 17 The “constructors” and their activities are described in: J. Gajewski, “Architekci w służbie i na usługach hetmanowej Elżbiety Sieniawskiej”, in: *Podług nieba i zwyczaju polskiego. Studia z historii architektury, sztuki i kultury ofiarowane Adamowi Miłobędzkiemu*, Warsaw 1988, pp. 378–390; B. Dybaś, “Podróż Tymoteusza Josta: przyczynek do kształcenia budowniczych w wielkich miastach Prus Królewskich na przełomie XVI i XVII w.”, *Acta Universitatis Nicolai Copernici. Nauki Humanistyczno-Społeczne. Zabytkoznawstwo i Konserwatorstwo*, 1994, vol. 25 (280), pp. 111–125; Z. Hornung, *Jan de Witte. Architekt kościoła Dominikanów we Lwowie*, Warsaw 1995; R. Nestorow, “Architekt wojskowy Jacob de Logau na usługach Sieniawskich i Czartoryskich w Brzeżanach w 1 poł. XVIII wieku”, in: *Sztuka Kresów Wschodnich*, vol. 6, eds. A. Betlej, P. Krasny, Kraków 2006; idem, “Jan Kampenhausen. Inżynier na usługach hetmana Adama Mikołaja Sieniawskiego”, in: *Fides. Ars. Scientia. Studia dedykowane pamięci księdza kanonika Augustyna Mednisa*, eds. A. Betlej, J. Skrabski, Tarnów 2008; idem, “Jan Baptysta Dessieur – inżynier, architekt czy plenipotent hetmana Adama Mikołaja Sieniawskiego?”, *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 2009, vol. 71, no. 3, pp. 319–360.
- 18 For discussion of the use of terms and relationship between the “investor,” “constructor,” and “architect” see: Z. Bania, „Kazać porobić byle były jak najmodniejsze”. Relacje między inwestorem a budowniczym w polskiej architekturze nowożytnej”, in: *Studia nad sztuką renesansu i baroku*, vol. 4, *Fundator i dzieło w sztuce nowożytnej*, eds. I. Rolska-Boruch, J. Lilejko, Lublin 2005, pp. 21–28; idem, “Od fundatora do wykonawcy. Twórcy architektury XVII–XVIII w. w Polsce”, in: *Architekt – budowniczy – mistrz murarski. Materiały z sesji naukowej Instytutu Sztuki PAN Warszawa, 24–25 listopada 2004 roku*, eds. H. Faryna-Paszkwicz, M. Omilanowska, J. Sito, Warsaw 2007, pp. 47–55; R.M. Kunkiel, “Zawód architekta w Polsce wieku XVI. Na marginesie przygotowanego „Słownika architektów polskich i w Polsce działających”, in: *ibid.*, pp. 13–25.
- 19 “Rewizja gospód Starej i Nowej Warszawy z 1669 r.,” in: *Źródła do dziejów Warszawy. Rejestry podatkowe i taryfy nieruchomości 1510–1770*, published by A. Berdecka et al, Warsaw 1963, p. 253.

Sandomierskie Province Jan Zamoyski, known as “Sobiepan” (1627–1665)²⁰. In the early 1690s, the queen collected significant funds, earning large sums of money on commercial transactions, including trading in grain²¹. The money she obtained allowed her to purchase the adjacent plots: plot number 475, which had been the property of the Royal Secretary and Płock Canon Filip Lipski, and, in June 1693, plot number 476, previously owned by Governor of Mazowieckie Province Stanisław Warszzycki (1599–1681), and later by his son, Governor of Sandomierskie Province and Alderman of Piotrków Michał Warszzycki (1640 – ca. 1698)²².

As noted by Vitebsk Pantler Kazimierz Sarnecki, who served as the informant of Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł at the royal court, the cornerstone for the construction was laid as early as April 1692 and the foundation works on Marywil were promptly initiated²³. Such a short period between taking ownership of the plot and the beginning of earthwork operations suggests that the queen had long planned to erect a complex which would serve as a new royal residence for hosting official court ceremonies, and, at the same time,

20 It needs to be clarified that Provincial Governor of Sandomierz Jan “Sobiepan” Zamoyski, who passed away in 1665, had no heirs. According to the statute of the Zamoyski Entail, the right to inherit it was limited exclusively to the closest male heir. In view of such state of affairs, the tenancy was claimed by Sobiepan’s sisters, Joanna Koniecpolska and Gryzelda Wiśniowiecka, on behalf of their sons. Claims were also made by the younger and less affluent branch of the Zamoyski dynasty, represented by Castellano of Czernihów Zdzisław Jan Zamoyski (ca. 1591–1670) and his son Marcin (ca. 1637–1689). The conflict lasted from 1665 until 1676 and ended with the victory of Marcin Zamoyski. Another party engaged in the conflict was the widow of Jan Zamoyski, Maria Kazimiera d’Arquien, who, with the support of Jan Sobieski, made an armed attempt to capture Zamość in 1665. It is worth mentioning that in his last will and testament, Jan “Sobiepan” Zamoyski did not leave anything to his wife on the grounds of immodest behaviour. The case of the Zamoyski inheritance was repeatedly discussed during Sejm sessions. In April 1666, Maria Kazimiera was granted – in accordance with Polish law – the amount of 800 thousand Polish zloty in lieu of the legitime (with only 450 thousand actually paid out), as well as estates not forming part of the entail, including villages in Zołoczów Estate, Red Ruthenia, 2/3 of the Jarosław Estate and the Tarnopol Estate. In 1674, Stanisław Koniecpolski (d. 1682) signed an agreement with Maria Kazimiera, confirming her right take the Jarosław region as pledge to be leased out until receiving the outstanding amount. In 1676, during the Coronation Sejm, Jan III confirmed the marital agreement between Maria Kazimiera and Zamoyski, concluded in 1658, thus asserting her right to inherit half of the property he left behind and pertinent life annuities. In 1690, the queen brought proceedings against the Koniecpolski family, represented by Royal *Rotmistrz* Jan Aleksander (d. 1714), to the Crown Tribunal in Lublin, claiming ownership of the Jarosław and Tarnopol estates, as well as other property left behind by Jan Zamoyski (including the Warsaw Estate), which she was eventually granted. For more information on the subject see: *Ratificatio contractus nuptialis Reginae*, National Historical Archive of Belarus in Minsk [hereinafter: NAHB], Radziwiłł Fonds, fond 694, opis 4, no. 576, fol. 7-8; R. Orłowski, “Dzieje dóbr Ordynacji Zamojskiej do końca Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej”, *Annales UMCS*, sectio H, 1968, vol. 2, book 8, pp. 145–170; A. Kersten, “Maria Kazimiera de la Grange d’Arquien zwana Marysieńką”, in: PSB, vol. 19, Wrocław–Warsaw–Kraków 1974, pp. 637–644; R. Szczygieł, “Jan III Sobieski a Zamość”, *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny. Sobótka*, 1980, vol. 35, book 2, pp. 283–290; M. Komaszynski, *Maria Kazimiera d’Arquien Sobieska królowa Polski (1641–1716)*, Kraków 1983, pp. 66–67; M. Ujma, *Latyfundium Jana Sobieskiego 1652–1696*, Opole 2005, pp. 44, 52; T. Szulc, “Status materialny Marii Kazimierzy Sobieskiej po jej koronacji”, *Studia Prawno-Ekonomiczne*, 2014, vol. 91, book 1, pp. 182–190 (valuable references to primary and secondary sources).

21 M. Komaszynski, *Jan III Sobieski a Bałtyki*, Gdańsk 1983, pp. 119–156; T. Szulc, *Status materialny...*, pp. 191–193.

22 A. Rychłowska-Kozłowska, *Marywil...*, pp. 6–10; T. Bernatowicz, *Plac Teatralny...*, pp. 12–15.

23 Kazimierz Sarnecki to Karol Stanisław Radziwiłł, Warsaw, 24 IV 1692, afternoon hora 5, in: *Pamiętniki z czasów Jana Sobieskiego. Relacje 1690–1696* [hereinafter: *Pamiętniki...*, *Relacje*], vol. 2, published by J. Woliński, Wrocław 2004, p. 363.

would become a centre of commerce and services. This assumption finds its confirmation in the fact that at the turn of 1692, Tylman of Gameren created the first sketches for the project, depicting a trapezoid-shaped structure stretching from Senatorska Street to Trębacka Street and divided into a residential section and a garden, with stables located on the corner of Wierzbowa Street and Senatorska Street²⁴. (fig. 1)

Maria Kazimiera – as stated by Jolanta Putkowska – started to pursue her ambitions and fulfil her need for prestige after being the ruler for 18 years. She most probably wished to create a complete royal residential complex, consisting of the Royal Castle, serving as the monarch's official seat, two suburban villas (Villa Regia and Marywil), two out-of-town villas (Wilanów and Marymont), the manor house in Solec and the small animal park in Kępa²⁵. The implementation of the plans to create Marywil was probably hastened after the fire which broke out in Villae Regiae, also known as the Kazimierzowski Palace, in 1690, when:

[...] at three in the evening the half-wooden palace by the Vistula river was set on fire Italian-style [i.e. stealthily]; it was fully consumed by the flames and no one came to the rescue as everyone was standing around with their arms crossed, with even the royal couple themselves looking at the site through the windows of the neighbouring palace. Five cloakroom attendants and their three children were killed in the fire. The Queen's underclothes were lost in the flames and the value of material losses suffered by the King amounts to 200 000 Polish zloty²⁶.

The queen also wished to arrange the newly created space in accordance with Baroque tastes and requirements, standing in harsh opposition to the Mannerist and, by that time, slightly archaic design dominating the Kazimierzowski Palace²⁷. Even the name of the object itself – “Kazimierzowski Pałac” – bore no association to King Jan III or the queen and thus was not apt to best represent the splendour of the Sobieski dynasty.

The queen planned for Marywil to be equipped with separate, comfortable royal apartments, a great hall, a chapel, a garden, and a courtyard which could serve as a venue for court ceremonies. It can be assumed that the monarch intended for the new residence to accelerate the process of adopting French cer-

24 A. Rychłowska-Kozłowska, *Marywil...*, pp. 14–16.

25 J. Putkowska, *Warszawskie rezydencje...*, pp. 39–40.

26 J.Ch. Faggiuoli, „Djariusz podróży do Polski wyjęty z pamiętników J.Ch. Faggiuoli”, published by F. Kluczycki, *Czas. Dodatek Miesięczny*, 1858, vol. 11, book 2, p. 285.

27 For information about Kazimierzowski Palace (*Villa Regia*) see: M. Karpowicz, *Sztuka Warszawy czasów Jana III*, Warsaw 1987, pp. 36–37; S. Mossakowski, “Galeria przy Villa Regia w Warszawie projektu G.B. Gisleniego”, *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 1995, vol. 57, book 1–2, pp. 35–48; J. Putkowska, *Pałac Kazimierzowski*, in: *Ars et educatio. Kultura artystyczna Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego*, ed. J. Miziołek, Warsaw 2003, pp. 205–215; idem, *Warszawskie rezydencje...*, pp. 13–25; J.A. Chrościcki, *Sztuka i polityka. Funkcje propagandowe sztuki w epoce Wazów 1587–1668*, Warsaw 1983, pp. 123–124; idem, “Apartamenty królowej Ludwiki Marii w Pałacu Letnim. Próba rekonstrukcji”, in: *Francusko-polskie relacje artystyczne w epoce nowożytnej*, eds. A. Pieńkos, A. Rosales-Rodriguez, Warsaw 2010, pp. 87–97.

emonial rules by the Polish court²⁸, with such intentions of the queen signalled by the architectural similarities between Marywil and French royal squares, such as Place Royale (currently Place des Vosges) and Place Dauphine, created in the first half of the 17th century. As pointed out by Anna Rychłowska-Kozłowska, the designer of Marywil combined conceptual elements of both these squares, taking into account the founder's royal standing, the commercial and court-related functions of the site, and the trapezoidal form (Place Dauphine)²⁹. It should also be mentioned that Maria Kazimiera had long attempted to introduce the Versailles-style protocol to Poland but she would often meet with strong opposition, with many court members declining to follow the French etiquette or misunderstanding its rules³⁰. We can find a confirmation of such state of affairs in the words of Kazimierz Sarnecki, who wrote, in a slightly cynical tone: "thus tota facies gallica lived in the Polish Paris"³¹. It is therefore necessary to oppose the views of Małgorzata Omilanowska, according to whom Marywil was constructed as a representative royal building on the occasion of the marriage of Prince Jakub with Jadwiga Elżbieta von Pfalz-Neuburg, with the palace planned to be handed over to the newlyweds³². The marriage in question took place in March 1691, long before construction works on Marywil commenced. There is also no evidence supporting such claims in primary sources.

Another factor which influenced the decision to build Marywil was the need to boost the municipal economy after it had been ravaged by the Swedish invasions and due to Warsaw's growing importance as the seat of the national authorities, including the Sejm³³. The queen wanted for "Maria's Town" to attract investors, particularly foreign merchants and craftsmen, and to provide them with a convenient space to settle down, open warehouses, workshops, and carry out business activities³⁴. By creating a building combining the function of a royal residence with a commercial space, the Polish monarch wished to be seen as the patron of trade, constituting an important part of the national economy. This signalled the country's willingness to open up to economic exchange and the attempt to centralise the market, which imported goods from both the east and the west of Europe.

28 For information on the connection between the construction of a new royal residence and the adoption of a new ceremonial see: P. Burke, *Fabrykacja Ludwika XIV*, trans. R. Pucek, M. Szczubińska, Warsaw 2011, pp. 93–113; J.-F. Solnon, *La cour de France*, Paris 2014, pp. 361–438; E. Peerson, "Building of Power. Using a New Ceremonial and a New Royal Swedish Palace in the 18th Century", in: *Władza i architektura. Rezydencje monarchów i siedziby władz państwowych w Europie - formy i funkcje (XV-XVIII w.)*, eds. A. Czarniecka, P. Deles, A. Sołtys, Warsaw 2016, pp. 158–169.

29 A. Rychłowska-Kozłowska, *Marywil...*, pp. 38–39.

30 For theories concerning the issue see: J. Pietrzak, "Między ceremoniałem a ludycznością. Codziennosc na dworze Jana III Sobieskiego oczami współczesnych mu pamiętnikarzy i korespondentów", in: *W kręgu rodziny epok dawnych - rytmy życia, rytmy codzienności. Dom - codzienność i święto*, eds. A. Chłosta-Sikorska et al, Warsaw 2017 [in print].

31 K. Sarnecki, *Pamiętniki...*, *Diariusz 1691–1695*, published by J. Woliński, Warsaw 2004, p. 120.

32 M. Omilanowska, *Świątynie handlu...*, p. 56; idem, *Wokół Teatru...*, p. 255.

33 J. Putkowska, "Wpływ funkcji miasta sejmowego i rezydencjonalnego na rozwój przestrzenny zespołu miejskiego Warszawy i okolic w XVII w.", *Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki*, 1975, vol. 20, book 4, pp. 269–287.

34 A. Rychłowska-Kozłowska, *Marywil...*, pp. 10–12; M. Omilanowska, *Świątynie handlu...*, pp. 56–57.

The Architect and the Constructor

The implementation of such a bold and large-scale project was made possible by the involvement of a distinguished architect and a highly disciplined constructor. The former, as mentioned before, was Tylman of Gameren, who worked for a number of magnates, including the Lubomirski, Morsztyn, Zamoyski, Gniński, Krasiński, Branicki, Jabłonowski, Radziwiłł, and Sapieha families³⁵. The Sobieski family also held the Dutchman's knowledge and skills in high esteem. In 1676, during the Coronation Sejm, Jan III presented Tylman with the title of the Knight of the Golden Spur, which was, in some respects, equivalent to gaining the status of nobility³⁶. Tylman worked on several high-profile architectural projects funded by the king and his family, especially Maria Kazimiera Sobieska. One of them was the construction of the King's Chapel in Gdańsk in the years 1678–1681, as well as the remodelling of the Capuchin church in Warsaw in the years 1683–1694, the remodelling of the Kotowski tenement house in Warsaw's Nowe Miasto and its conversion into a Nuns of the Blessed Sacrament church in the years 1688–1692, the construction of the queen's pavilion and a mill in Marymont. He was also employed to design numerous planned investments, including the tombstone of Jan III Sobieski, the king's wooden manor house to be constructed in Pilaszkwice, Wysock or Pomorzany, and the urban development plan for the Wielopole estate, commissioned by Queen Maria's sister, Anna d'Arquien Wielopolska, after 1693³⁷.

The post of the constructor, that is the construction supervisor, was assigned to Otton Fryderyk Felkersamb, who was a nobleman from Livonia. His ancestors had arrived to the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth from Saxony towards the end of the 16th century and became affines with Polish noble dynasties³⁸. Otton first worked as the royal secretary to King Jan Kazimierz³⁹ and then became a distinguished member of the army, serving under the command of Crown Hetman Jerzy Sebastian Lubomirski. For his courage shown during

35 For more in-depth discussion of the issue see: T. Gostyński, "Prace Tylmana z Gameren w zamku w Baranowie", *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 1953, vol. 15, no. 2, pp. 77–81; idem, "Arkadia podwarszawska i zespół parkowy Stanisława Herakliusza Lubomirskiego", *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 1954, vol. 16, no. 1, pp. 165–172; D. Kaczmarzyk, "Tylman z Gameren autorem projektów ołtarzy", *Rocznik Warszawski*, 1962, vol. 3, pp. 46–59; S. Mossakowski, "Mecenat artystyczny Stanisława Herakliusza Lubomirskiego", in: *Orbis Polonus. Studia z historii sztuki XVII-XVIII wieku*, Warsaw 2002, pp. 197–245; idem, *Tylman z Gameren (1632-1706): twórczość architektoniczna w Polsce*, Warsaw 2012; M. Karpowicz, *Książę Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski i artyści*, Warsaw 2012.

36 University of Warsaw Library, ref. no. 252. He was granted Polish naturalisation during the 1685 Sejm.

37 For more on the subject see: S. Mossakowski, *Tylman z Gameren, architekt...*; J. Putkowska, *Architektura Warszawy...*, pp. 28–34.

38 Otto Fryderyk Felkersamb to N.N., n.p., n.d., Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, Warsaw Radziwiłł Archive [hereinafter: AGAD, AR], sec. V, ref. no. 3706, pp. 19–20; K. Niesiecki, *Herbarz polski Kaspra Niesieckiego powiększony dodatkami z późniejszych autorów, rękopisów i dokumentów urzędowych*, published by J.N. Bobrowicz, vol. 4, Lipsk 1839, p. 20; A. Przyboś, "Felkersamb (Felkierzamb, Felkierzan, Felkersam, Felkierzon, Voelkersahm) Otto Fryderyk", in: PSB, vol. 4, Kraków 1948, pp. 412–413.

39 S. Ciara, *Senatorowie i dygnitarze koronni w drugiej połowie XVII wieku*, Wrocław-Warsaw-Kraków 1991, p. 42.

the 1660 Battle of Słobodyszczce, fought against the Cossack troops of Hetman Yuri Khmelnytsky arriving to aid the Muscovite Army, Felkersamb was promoted to the rank of the Alderman of Czorsztyń, Krakowskie Province⁴⁰. During Lubomirski's rebellion he accompanied Grand Marshal of the Crown Jan Sobieski and served as a message-bearer, delivering Sobieski's letters to Maria Kazimiera⁴¹. It is uncertain when exactly the alderman first met Sobieski, but regardless of the details, their relationship was very beneficial to Felkersamb, helping him greatly improve his financial status and rise through the ranks of the army and the government⁴². Thanks to his connections to Sobieski, he became the Governor of Żerań in Warsaw District⁴³. In 1664, he was promoted to colonel in the Royal Army, and in 1677, during the rule of Jan III, he sat in the Senate as the Castellan of Polish Livonia⁴⁴. Later on, in 1685, he was appointed Provincial Governor of Czernihów in exile⁴⁵. It should be emphasised that throughout his life, Felkersamb was fully devoted to the military service and participated in a number of Sobieski's military expeditions. In 1683, he took part in the relief expedition to Vienna (12 September 1683), he fought in the Battle of Párkány (7 and 9 October 1683) and the Battle of Seczany (11 November 1683). Three years later, he set out on an expedition to Moldavia with his own regiment; he returned there once again in 1691. He also served as the monarch's advisor during the Sejms of 1683, 1684, and 1690⁴⁶.

Felkersamb was one of the very few people privy to Sobieski's political plans. Many said that "he soon became a member of the household and a close friend of the king, performing various functions at the royal court"⁴⁷. It is certain that Felkersamb's personality and his apparent loyalty and secrecy

- 40 H.C. Holsten, *Przygody wojenne 1655–1666*, published by T. Wasilewski, Warsaw 1980, pp. 17–18. Felkersamb's nomination to the post of the alderman was contested by the nobility gathered on the Sejm of Rawa Land, held in Bolimów on 22 January 1670. During the session Felkersamb was accused of not being a native Pole, repressing local residents, and unlawfully arresting two noblemen – Szczycki and Piotr Mazurkiewicz; see: J. Bieniarzówna, "Dwa wystąpienia chłopskie w starostwie lanckorońskim w latach 1670 i 1699/1700", *Przegląd Historyczny*, 1953, vol. 44, book 3, pp. 338, 339; S. Ciara, *Senatorowie.....*, p. 62; J. Kaniewski, *Sejmiki koronne wobec problemów wewnętrznych Rzeczypospolitej za panowania Michała Korybuta Wiśniowieckiego (1669–1673)*, Katowice 2014, pp. 706–710.
- 41 Jan Sobieski to Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska, au camp de Rawa, 27 IV [1666], in: *Listy do Marysieńki* [hereinafter: *Listy...*], published by L. Kukulski, Warsaw 1966, p. 127.
- 42 For more on Felkersamb's promotion in the military thanks to Sobieski's support see: M. Nagielski, "Społeczny i narodowy skład gwardii królewskiej za dwóch ostatnich Wazów [1632–1668]", *Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości*, 1988, vol. 30, pp. 61–103; idem, "Gwardia królewska szkołą korpusu oficerskiego autoramentu cudzoziemskiego Rzeczypospolitej za dwóch ostatnich Wazów [1634–1668]", *Przegląd Historyczny*, 1982, vol. 73, book 3–4, pp. 207–226; M. Wagner, *Kadra oficerska armii koronnej w drugiej połowie XVII wieku*, Toruń 1995, pp. 152–162; idem, *Korpus oficerski wojska polskiego w drugiej połowie XVII wieku*, Oświęcim 2015, pp. 316–317, 325, 328, 354.
- 43 For later conflict over Żerań between the Camaldoses monks of Bielany and Felkersamb see: AGAD, *Metrica Regni Poloniae – Libri Inscriptionum* [hereinafter: MK – LI], ref. no. 217, fol. 78r–79r.
- 44 *Urządnicy inflanccy XVI–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, eds. K. Mikulski, A. Rachuba, Kórnik 1994, entry 1232.
- 45 *Urządnicy województwa kijowskiego i czernihowskiego XV–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, eds. E. Janas, W. Kłaczewski, Kórnik 2002, entry 1568.
- 46 J. Krupa, "Rady senatu za Jana III Sobieskiego [1674–1696]", *Studia Historyczne*, 1992, vol. 10, book 2, pp. 307–328; R. Kołodziej, „Ostatni wolności naszej klejnot”. *Sejm Rzeczypospolitej za panowania Jana III Sobieskiego*, Poznań 2014, p. 111.
- 47 A. Przyboś, *Felkersamb...*, p. 412.

made him one of the top-ranking collaborators of the king⁴⁸. He enjoyed great trust of the monarch, which was evidenced by the fact that in the spring of 1683 he was entrusted with heading a diplomatic mission to the court of the Holy Roman Empire during the negotiations of a military alliance. Later, in 1690, the monarch sent him out as an envoy to the Królewiec court, making him responsible for concluding the Treaty of Wehlau and Bromberg with new Elector Frederick III⁴⁹. Nonetheless, Felkersamb's service at the court was not limited to strictly political missions. The few available sources present him as a close friend involved in the private matters of the Sobieski family. He was most likely appointed tutor to Prince Jakub Sobieski in the 1680s, becoming responsible for educating him on engineering and military art⁵⁰. It can therefore be seen that the provincial governor displayed high level of competence and was therefore an appropriate appointee to the post of the constructor of Marywil⁵¹. During the expedition to Vienna, Felkersamb was responsible for taking care of the prince, with whom he "spent time in private quarters"⁵², educating him on military art. The Livonian castellan also served as an emissary for the king and the prince, delivering their letters to Maria Kazimiera⁵³. Felkersamb himself declared his loyalty and submission to the will of the Sobieski family, stating: "I give my thanks to my Lady and Benefactress for keeping her humble, unworthy servant in her protection and supporting me and giving me the opportunity of promotion at the court of His Royal Highness by extending her *pietas* influence"⁵⁴. This indicates that the queen treated Felkersamb as her protégé and put in a good word for him with the king, in this case specifically to guarantee his promotion to the post of the provincial governor of Malbork, vacated after the death of Ernest Denhoff in 1693⁵⁵. It should also be mentioned that in the later years, Felkersamb sup-

48 This is reflected in the fact that he was referred to as a "member of the household", which meant a person (client) with close ties to his patrons affairs. For more information on the subject see: A. Mączak, *Klientela. Nieformalne systemy władzy w Polsce i w Europie XVI-XVIII w.*, Warsaw 2000; U. Augustyniak, *Dwór i klientela Krzysztofa II Radziwiłła (1585-1640)*, Warsaw 2001; M. Ujma, "Między Janem III a jego potomkami. Klienci rodziny Sobieskich", in: *Patron i dwór. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI-XVIII wieku*, eds. E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, J. Urwanowicz, Białystok 2006, pp. 133-146; W. Tygielski, *Ludzie, listy, władza. Patronat Jana Zamojskiego w świetle korespondencji*, Warsaw 2007; B. Popiołek, "Najniższy podnózek, służa i więzień pański – klientalne listy proszalne czasów saskich", *Krakowskie Studia Małopolskie*, 2011, vol. 16, no. 16, pp. 151-166.

49 A. Kamieński, *Polska a Brandenburgia-Prusy w drugiej połowie XVII wieku*, Poznań 2002, pp. 292, 367.

50 H. Barycz, *Rzecz o studiach w Krakowie dwóch generacji Sobieskich*, Kraków 1984, p. 156; A. Skrzypietz, *Królewscy synowie...*, p. 61; idem, *Jakub Sobieski*, Poznań 2015, p. 117.

51 For information on the knowledge of military engineering and its application in architectural projects see: B. Dybaś, "Inżynier czy architekt? Uwagi o inżynierach wojskowych w XVII-wiecznej Rzeczypospolitej", *Barok. Historia – Literatura – Sztuka*, 2001, vol. 8/1 (15), pp. 137-152.

52 Jan III Sobieski to Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska, a Stetelsdorf, in the castle of the old Graf Ardek, quarter of a mile from the Tulno bridge, 4 IX [1683], in: *Listy...*, Warsaw 1966, pp. 509, 513.

53 Jan III Sobieski to M.K. d'Arquien Sobieska, in Lubowla, 14 XII [1683], *ibid.*, pp. 597-598.

54 O.F. Felkersamb to M.K. d'Arquien Sobieska, n.p., n.d., NAHB, Sobieski of Oława Archive [hereinafter: ASO], fond 695, opis 1, no. 225, fol. 1r. Felkersamb was appointed Provincial Governor of Livonia as late as 1696, replacing Jan Andrzej Plater, deceased in February of the same year, see: *Urzednicy inflancyy...*, entry 1826.

55 Jerzy Koziński to K.S. Radziwiłł, Warsaw, 30 IV 1694, AGAD, AR, sec. V, ref. no. 7626, p. 36. The king granted the post to Władysław Łoś in 1694.

ported Prince Jakub as a candidate to the Polish throne and sought to protect Jan III's patrimony from being stolen⁵⁶.

The queen personally visited the construction site and oversaw the works in the years 1692–1693, as evidenced by numerous mentions in Sarnecki's writings. The informer of the Radziwiłł family emphasised that the queen would usually set out to Marywil from Wilanów accompanied by her daughter, Teresa Kunegunda, the daughter-in-law of Jadwiga Elżbieta, King Jan III, or his sister Katarzyna Radziwiłł née Sobieski⁵⁷. The frequent excursions undoubtedly consumed most of the queen's attention, making her neglect other plans, including political ambitions⁵⁸. This is most likely why Maria Kazimiera eventually appointed a constructor to oversee the construction works.

By that point Felkersamb had been acknowledged as a loyal collaborator of the Sobieskis and a skilled supervisor of construction works. Ca. 1680 he oversaw reconstruction works on the Czorsztyn Fortress after its destruction in Aleksander Kostka-Napierski's peasant rebellion of 1651⁵⁹. In 1693, he took part in the initiative to build a Trinitarian church and monastery in Warsaw's district of Solec⁶⁰. The history of the construction process is also connected with an unconfirmed story according to which Queen Maria Kazimiera was to suggest Felkersamb to buy the wooden manor house owned by Provincial Governor of Ruthenia, Marek Matczyński, for the amount of 10,000 Polish zloty, and erect a church on the acquired plot⁶¹. It is certain, however, that ca. 1693 Felkersamb built a wooden chapel on the site and handed it over to the friars from the St. Cross Chapel, located on the outskirts of Warsaw⁶².

The Construction Process

By mid-1693 the entire corpus of Marywil had been constructed, along with the stables and a geometric garden. Kazimierz Sarnecki emphasises that

56 O.F. Felkersamb to Jakub Ludwik Sobieski, Warsaw, 19 III 1698, AGAD, AR, sec. V, ref. no. 3706, pp. 11–14.

57 K. Sarnecki, *Pamiętniki..., Diariusz...*, vol. 1, pp. 35, 43, 50, 65, 66.

58 M. Komaszyński, *Maria Kazimiera...*, pp. 131–175; A. Skrzypietz, „Regentka” Polski – fakty i mity w biografii Marii Kazimiery,” in: *Kobieta i władza w czasach dawnych*, eds. B. Czwojdrak, A.A. Kluczek, Katowice 2015, pp. 380–393.

59 P. Kocańda, *Badania archeologiczno-architektoniczne zamków Czorsztyn, Dunajec i zamku Pieniny*, Rzeszów 2012, pp. 66, 92.

60 This was connected to Felkersamb's conversion from Lutheranism to Catholicism and his previous foundations of churches in Livonia, see: AGAD, MK – LI, ref. no. 215, fol. 648r–649r.; A. Przyboś, *Felkersamb...*, p. 413.

61 J. Bartoszewicz, *Kościół warszawskie rzymsko-katolickie: opisane pod względem historycznym przez Juljana Bartoszewicza: wizerunki kościołów i cenniejsze w nich nagrobki rytował na drzewie Michał Starkman*, Warsaw 1855, pp. 285–287.

62 M. Kwiatkowski, *Niechaj twych ulic wiatr mnie owionie... Architektura warszawskich dzielnic*, Warsaw 1973, p. 86. For more information on the Trinitarian order and the foundation of their monasteries see: K. Szajnocha, „Trynitarze”, in: *Szkice historyczne*, vol. 2, Warsaw 1876, pp. 124–139; M. Wagner, „Fundacje magnackie na rzecz uwolnienia jeńców wojennych w końcu XVII wieku”, in: *Fundator i mecenas. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku*, eds. E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, J. Urwanowicz, Białystok 2011, pp. 383–397.

“[most probably Maria Kazimiera herself] encourages all craftsmen to finish the construction works as soon as possible by frequently visiting the site”⁶³. With time, the project started to suffer due to significant material shortages and lax discipline on the site. In 1694 Felkersamb bemoaned the fact that “the work is starting on lime, bricks, wood, iron, steel, carpentry, and other crafts necessary for the project and yet I have not more than 24 *mille flor-enorum* at my disposal”⁶⁴. As he mentioned later on, it was due exclusively to his own thriftiness that he was able to negotiate a lower price for lime and bricks, which made it possible to allocate more money for the remuneration for carpenters, steel fixers, and other craftsmen⁶⁵. Lime was to be sent down the river from Kraków but – to Felkersamb’s anguish – the transport was running late⁶⁶. The marble for the floors and the roof tiles from Gdańsk also did not arrive on time⁶⁷. The constructor asked the queen to import glass and window frames from Grodno, which were transported through inland waterways by local Jews. In another letter to Maria Kazimiera, Felkersamb pointed out the insufficient number of delivered door and window fittings and complained about the negligence of locksmiths, stating that “shops, cellars, hallways and tenement houses all need different types of fittings [...] but it seems to me that the local locksmiths are indolent when they need to produce various locks. Something needs to be done as now some doors open to the right and others to the left”⁶⁸. Felkersamb asked the queen to send more locksmiths since he wished for the work to be completed professionally and swiftly, by St. Michael’s Day (29 September) at the latest. There were various instances of works being postponed. The process of erecting scaffolding, for instance, was hampered by bad quality of air in Warsaw; Felkersamb eventually decided to resume works after Easter⁶⁹. (fig. 2)

Many of the difficulties experienced during the construction process were caused by financial limitations and Felkersamb’s dealings with royal officials, primarily with those most trusted by the queen – treasurer Jan Hiż⁷⁰ and military agent and engineer Filip Dupont⁷¹. The provincial governor would often write about the queen’s servants in harsh tone when they had

63 K. Sarnecki, *Pamiętniki..., Diariusz...,* vol. 1, pp. 58–59.

64 O. Felkersamb to M.K. d’Arquien Sobieska, Warsaw, 28 IV 1694, NAHB, ASO, fond 695, opis 1, no. 255, fol. 8r.

65 *Ibid.*, fol. 8v.

66 *Ibid.*

67 O. Felkersamb to M.K. d’Arquien Sobieska, n.p., n.d., NAHB, ASO, fond 695, opis 1, no. 255, fol. 12r.

68 *Ibid.*, fol. 11v.

69 O. Felkersamb to M.K. d’Arquien Sobieska, n.p., n.d., NAHB, ASO, fond 695, opis 1, no. 255, fol. 2v.

70 For more about the Hiż (Hyż) family see: I. Kraszewski, “Les mariages entre la noblesse polonaise et française au XVIII^e siècle”, in: *Noblesse française et noblesse polonaise: Mémoire, identité, culture XVI^e-XX^e siècles*, par J. Dumanowski, M. Figeac, Maison des Sciences de l’Homme d’Aquitaine 2006, pp. 252–253.

71 For more information on the figure and service of Filip Dupont, see: K. Piwarski, „Dupont Filip,” in: PSB, vol. IV, Kraków 1949, pp. 6–7; M. Komarzyński, *Filip Dupont – dworzanin idealny*, in: *Studia z dziejów epoki Jana III*, ed. K. Matwijowski, Wrocław 1984, pp. 197–205; Wstęp, in: *Pamiętniki historyi życia i czynów Jana III Sobieskiego*, published by D. Milewski, Warsaw 2011, pp. 9–16.

failed to provide insurance for the construction or create revenue accounts which would allow him to better manage the finances of the project⁷². In view of such state of affairs, Felkersamb and a man called Bruger, whose identity is yet to be discovered, created expenditure accounts for the works carried out at both royal residences – Marywil and Marymont – and at the Nuns of the Blessed Sacrament church⁷³. The provincial governor of Czernihów expressed his relief as follows:

I will confess to Your Royal Highness that I expected much bigger cost and expenditure, and, God willing, I will soon have more time to list all costs one by one, both of each separate material and of hiring individual craftsmen⁷⁴.

Felkersamb's meticulousness led him to give the queen detailed information on the cost of lime, wood, bricks, locksmithing and carpentry works, and erecting a tenement house:

[...] one will not cost more than eleven thousand Polish zloty but such information needs to be kept private as others would be scandalised and believe that the construction costs them mighty amounts of money; among these people are those who understand that the undertaking costs a million, while others suspect that we may have spent more than six hundred thousand⁷⁵.

The excerpt clearly shows how great of a responsibility was assigned to the constructor. Felkersamb closely controlled the finances in order to avoid any accusations of embezzlement and not give the court's opponents a chance to suspect him of mismanagement of funds⁷⁶. The provincial governor had great knowledge of the inner workings of the state and protected not only his own reputation, but also the reputation of the queen as a benefactress. Felkersamb, therefore, had to make numerous sacrifices to successfully conclude the construction works. Given the prestigious nature of the project, it is no wonder that he was fully devoted to his task. At the same time, he most probably felt dissatisfied with the lack of acknowledgement of his achievements and the tumultuous relations with the queen's official, which, combined with the growing frustration experienced during the construction works, drove him to appeal for appropriate remuneration:

72 O.F. Felkersamb to M.K. d'Arquien Sobieska, Warsaw, 24 III 1694, NAHB, ASO, fond 695, opis 1, no. 225, fol. 3v.-4r.

73 Ibid, fol. 5v.

74 O.F. Felkersamb to M.K. d'Arquien Sobieska, n.p., n.d., NAHB, ASO, fond 695, opis 1, no. 225, fol. 10v.

75 Ibid.

76 There existed accounting books with detailed indication of expenses incurred in the construction of Marywil, Marymont, and the Nuns of the Blessed Sacrament church but they have not been preserved until present day. They are only mentioned in summary records, see: Summariusz generalny wszelkich Papierów przewiezionych z Warszawy do Oławy spisany 25 Marty 1722, AGAD, Aleksander Czołowski Collection, ref. no. 391, p. 10.

I will gladly [...] leave it all to the mercy and will of Your Royal Highness and My Most Gracious Benefactress to freely administer this sum *in vim gratitudine*, at the same time humbly supplicating for it to be granted to me due to the loyalty and numerous services which I have performed for Your Royal Highnesses [...] and to support me with your mercy and charity however My Gracious Lords see fit⁷⁷.

It can be seen that Felkersamb presented himself as a humble servant asking his patron to show him mercy, at the same time emphasising his own merits and declaring his unwavering loyalty.

Apart from controlling financial accounts and assessing the cost of the construction works at the Marywil complex, Felkersamb made his own proposals concerning architectural solutions or conveniences. He advised the queen that the complex should have more than one ceremonial entrance. The one originally planned was located near the main entrance gate; it would distinctly stand out due to its placement on the central axis of the two-storey pediment, with a monumental gate made of bossages, a great *porte-fenêtre* window, and a tympanum depicting the Sobieski coat of arms, Janina⁷⁸. He argued that it was important to erect an equally impressive entrance to the coach house and the stables in order to retain the architectural integrity of the complex⁷⁹. He also paid great attention to the placement of tenement houses:

[...] the tenement house with two rooms and chambers currently under construction should be strengthened with wood or, in order to keep it safe from fire, the courtyard should be bricked up in the middle, so that it becomes more convenient for merchants, who would then be more willing to lease the tenements to keep their stables and coach houses inside⁸⁰.

The provincial governor suggested that it was necessary to equip the buildings with fire protection, which not only serves as an evidence of the rising popularity of employing fire protection regulations in the Polish territories⁸¹, but also shows that Felkersamb based his proposals on the knowledge he had gained as a military engineer and on his experience in restoring fortresses. He demonstrated similar practical thinking when he proposed to create communication routes within the tenement and erect separate coach houses, which would make for a convenient solution for suppliers, mer-

77 O.F. Felkersamb to M.K. d'Arquien Sobieska, Warsaw, 24 III 1694, NAHB, ASO, fond 695, opis 1, no. 225, fol. 4r.-4v.

78 A. Rychłowska-Kozłowska, *Marywil...*, p. 23.

79 O. F. Felkersamb to M.K. d'Arquien Sobieska, Warsaw, 24 III 1694, NAHB, ASO, fond 695, opis 1, no. 225, fol. 5r.

80 *Ibid.*

81 For more information on the subject, see: J. Maroszek, "Pożary w miastach podlaskich do końca XVIII wieku", in: *Ars historiae – historia artis. Prace ofiarowane Profesorowi Andrzejowi Wyrabiszowi*, eds. E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, J. Maroszek, Białystok 2012, pp. 196–201.

chants, and potential buyers. He shared his plan with Tylman of Gameren, who “had different ideas as to where to best place the ditches so that it would be possible to erect another building by the tenement houses”⁸².

It was planned for the complex to be composed of 28 tenement houses. Each would have a designated business space, encompassing two rooms facing the street and one facing the courtyard, with an opening for the counter in one of the windows and a separate entrance in the arcade. Another entrance would lead through the hallway and up the stairs to the residential quarters on the first floor, consisting in a big two-window room facing the courtyard and two smaller rooms facing the street. Each unit was equipped with a cellar which merchants could use as a storage. A big, seven-room apartment was created in the northeastern and northwestern corner of the complex, where it was necessary to merge rooms due to the obtuse form of the building⁸³.

Felkersamb’s priority, besides concluding the works on the tenement complex, was erecting – in accordance with the wishes of the royal couple – a votive chapel dedicated to Our Lady of Victory in commemoration of the Battle of Vienna. The construction of the church was a fulfilment of the vow made by the monarch after the discovery of the holy image of Madonna of Loreto. The king vowed that, in the event of victory, he would build a chapel and place the painting inside⁸⁴. The building, serving both as a temple and a monument, was meant to be an apotheosis of the monarch and a way to immortalise the fame of the Sobieski family. Maria Kazimiera planned to erect the temple before the 1695 Sejm (held from 12 January to 24 March) but Felkersamb claimed it to be impossible due to lack of payments from economists and the queen’s treasurer⁸⁵. The king’s wife undoubtedly wished for the majestic, dignified building to be admired by the nobles arriving to Warsaw from all around the Commonwealth⁸⁶. The opponents of the court aimed to undermine the intended message of the construction, accusing the queen of plotting to take full power over the country, supporting the political agendas of France and Turkey, taking away

82 O. F. Felkersamb to M. K. d’Arquien Sobieska, Warsaw, 28 IV 1694, NAHB, ASO, fond 695, opis 1, no. 225, fol. 8v.

83 A. Rychłowska-Kozłowska, *Marywil...*, p. 23; M. Omilanowska, *Świątynie handlu...*, pp. 56–57; idem, *Wokół Teatru...*, p. 257.

84 For more information on the discovery of the painting, its interpretation, and the cult of Madonna of Loreto in the Sobieski family, see: J. Pietrzak, “Kult loretański w kręgu rodziny Sobieskich – między religijnością a propagandą”, *Studia Wilanowskie*, vol. XXI, 2014, pp. 103–115.

85 O.F. Felkersamb to M.K. d’Arquien Sobieska, Warsaw, 28 IV 1694, NAHB, ASO, fond 695, opis 1, no. 225, fol. 7v.–8r.

86 The queen’s initiative was also emphasised in the inscription by Grand Marshal of the Crown Stanisław Herakliusz Lubomirski, engraved on a silver tray containing relics, used as the cornerstone of the new temple. The inscription read: “Maria Kazimiera, Queen of Poland, in order to grant help sent from the Heavens by the Merciful Mother to the Christian folk and to give His Grace and her husband glory with a most steady edifice, laid the first stone containing the holy image of Mother Mary.” The cornerstone was to be laid on the anniversary of the victory in the Battle of Vienna (12 September 1695), although it had initially been assumed that the ceremony would be held on 15 August, that is on the feast day of the Assumption of Mary and the queen’s name day; see: Jadwiga Rafałowiczówna to Henryk Denhoff, from Jazdów, 10 IX 1695, AGAD, Potocki Public Archive, ref. no. 167, fol. 58r.; Library of the Polish Academy of Arts and Sciences–Polish Academy of Sciences in Kraków, ref. no. 1077, fol. 24r.–25r.; A. Świtek, *Marywil – dziękczynne...*, pp. 7–9.

liberties from the nobility, and attempting to introduce authoritarian rule⁸⁷. The queen and regalists were given support by the author of the document “Rozmowa wielkosobotnia 2 Aprilis 1695 jednego ziemianina z panem Tylmanem między Ujazdowem a Czerniakowem” [A conversation of Mr Tylman with a landowner held between Ujazdów and Czerniaków on Holy Saturday, 2 April 1695], in which he defended the court’s decisions and the queen’s honour. At the same time, however, it can hardly be seen as coincidental, especially seeing that Tylman was involved in the creation of the text and that it was issued in the period of the construction of the temple in Marywil⁸⁸.

The plans to erect the chapel were, to a large extent, thwarted by numerous changes introduced by Tylman of Gameren. According to the first design, which was eventually discarded, the temple was to be located in the central part of the complex, with arcades connecting it to the rest of the buildings. The chapel was to be built on a Greek-cross plan and be crowned with a dome placed on a big drum. Four altars facing the main nave, each equipped with a matroneum, were to be built between the arms of the cross plan⁸⁹. According to Stanisław Mossakowski, these plans probably turned out to be too ambitious and time-consuming in view of the imminent death of the king. The queen most probably asked for the scale of the project to be reduced. As a result, the next design consisted in a domed, square-shaped church, with adjacent chapels and sacristy with matronea on the transverse axis. The design was completed by Tylman on 29 July 1695⁹⁰. (fig. 3)

Preparations for the construction of the chapel most probably started before the Easter of 1694, together with cleaning up the sand and unused building materials from Marywil’s courtyard⁹¹. Soon afterwards Felkersamb reported the arrival of roof tiles for the roof of the two-storey skyway connecting the church’s matronea with the royal apartments and thus providing a convenient communication route within the complex⁹². Later on, he also confirmed that he had ordered marble necessary to pave the church floor⁹³. It can

87 Some indications of this can be found in a document by an anonymous writer from the close circle of the Sapieha family, entitled “The Altar at the Interrupted Sejm”, consisting in the comparison of Maria Kazimiera’s rule to erecting a fictional altar with the help of the supporters of the court. A similar critical text, called “Templum pacis”, was written in the interregnum period following Jan III’s death to discredit the pro-French faction. Anna Rychłowska-Kozłowska indicates that when evoking the symbolic image of a temple as the hotbed of machinations, the author referred to the real-life shape and interiors of the Marywil church. For in-depth discussion of the preserved copies, content and meaning of the documents, see: A. Rychłowska-Kozłowska, *Marywil...*, p. 40; A. Czarniecka, *Nikt nie słucha mnie za życia... Jan III Sobieski w walce z opozycyjną propagandą (1684–1696)*, Warsaw 2009, pp. 361–363; idem, „Odkryta maskara”. Maria Kazimiera d’Arquien w pismach politycznych końca XVII wieku, *Przegląd Zachodniopomorski*, 2012, vol. 27 (56), book 2, pp. 27–39.

88 A. Czarniecka, *Nikt nie słucha...*, pp. 364–365.

89 S. Mossakowski, *Tylman z Gameren, architekt...*, pp. 221–222.

90 *Ibid.*, pp. 231–236; Giovanni Battista Romanini to Carlo Barberini, Vienna, 5 V 1696, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Fondo Barberini Latini 6571, fol. 238r.

91 O.F. Felkersamb to M.K. d’Arquien Sobieska, n.p., n.d., NAHB, ASO, fond 695, opis 1, no. 255, fol. 2v.

92 O.F. Felkersamb to M.K. d’Arquien Sobieska, Warsaw, 28 IV 1694, NAHB, ASO, fond 695, opis 1, no. 255, fol. 8v.

93 O.F. Felkersamb to M.K. d’Arquien Sobieska, n.p., n.d., NAHB, ASO, fond 695, opis 1, no. 255, fol. 12r.

therefore be concluded that the provincial governor was responsible for the logistics of the project, but the actual construction works did not begin until much later. The unveiling of the final outcome of the process – with construction works concluded as late as 1707 – was not witnessed by Jan III or his wife, who had left Poland in 1698, nor by Tylman of Gameren or even Felkersamb.

Conclusions

The construction works carried out in the years 1692–1696 resulted in the creation of a complex on a symmetrical pentagonal plan, with an inner courtyard serving as a backdrop for royal ceremonies and a southern garden stretching wide towards Trębacka Street. The main edifice had a three-storey front wing covered with a gable roof and was slightly angled in the area of the entrance gate. Similar three-storey buildings served as the side wings and housed the royal apartments. The courtyard was closed off by the ground-floor gallery, which at the same time opened the building up to the garden. The chapel was situated in the middle of the gallery. The entire courtyard was surrounded by a row of arcades with shops located inside them and the residential part of the complex situated on the upper floor. The arrangement of buildings gave the visitors of the complex the impression of being in a small town. Some would even speak of an illusion created by the trapezoidal floor plan of the complex, its side wings stretching from the front wing at an obtuse angle, and the arcades. The sight of a visitor standing in the front gate would first be drawn along the arcades to the chapel, which was the dominant element of the architectural arrangement, and then farther to the garden, visible from the entrance thanks to the grilles placed in the arcades⁹⁴. The size of the entire complex was truly impressive; even in the 18th century it was still seen as a remarkable example of compact design and compared to other urban settlements⁹⁵. These characteristic features of Marywil, that is its spacial arrangement and size, made it a model for architectural projects carried out in the later years⁹⁶.

94 A. Rychłowska-Kozłowska, *Marywil...*, pp. 33–34; M. Omilanowska, *Świątynie handu...*, pp. 57–58.

95 "Rewizja i pomiarzenie na prety ulic warszawskich do brukowania", in: *Źródła do dziejów...*, pp. 265–267; Z. Bieniecki, "Obraz Warszawy z 1701 roku w rysunkach Jana Jerzego Fejge", *Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*, 1977, vol. 39, no. 3, pp. 258–277; *Varsaviana w zbiorach drezdeńskich. Katalog planów i widoków Warszawy oraz rysunków architektonicznych budowli warszawskich okresu saskiego*, ed. M. Kretschmerowa et al, Warsaw 1965, pp. 105–107. In his account of his journey to the 1750 General Chapter in Rome, Reformed Franciscan monk Remigiusz Zawadzki from Warsaw mentioned visiting the Jesuit College in Olomouc, whose courtyard: "is four or five times larger than that of Marywil in Warsaw and occupies a part of the Old Town and the New Town". It can therefore be seen that the Marywil complex, while smaller in size than the Jesuit university, was an important point of reference when describing dimensions of architectural objects in the Old Polish period until the spread of the metric system, see: R. Zawadzki, *Diarium itineris Remigii Zawadzki Romam pro capitulo generalis peregrinantis (1750). Dziariusz podróży Remigiusza Zawadzkiego pielgrzymującego do Rzymu na kapitułę generalną (1750)*, published by M. Chachaj, Kraków–Wrocław 2014, p. 84.

96 One of the examples is the complex of brick market stalls from Zelwa, former Stonimski District (today's Belarus), built ca. 1723, see: M. Kałamajska-Saeed, *Perły z Atlantydy – relacja inwentaryzatorska z Białorusi*, in: *Stan badań nad wielokulturowym dziedzictwem dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, vol. 1, eds. W. Walczak, K. Łopatecki, Białystok 2010, pp. 52–53.

Marywil was a multi-functional complex, serving primarily as a commercial, representative, and spiritual centre, as well as a pilgrimage destination. Stanisław Mossakowski described it as follows:

In Warsaw, the Polish royal couple, referring to foreign inspirations and native traditions, created this unique combination of an elegant, urban commercial centre, a square perfect for hosting courtly ceremonies and open-air festivities, a rural residence, and a monumental religious foundation⁹⁷.

The importance of these words finds its reflection in various events taking place in the complex since 1695, that is since the royal couple moved into the Marywil apartments, at that time still unfinished⁹⁸. The person responsible for furnishing the residential quarters of the king and his wife was a Venetian resident in Poland, Girolamo Alberti. The diplomat ordered sculptures, wall hangings, carpets, and tapestry for three rooms occupied by the king and two by the queen; he also oversaw workers performing finishing works on the roof, gardeners, and bricklayers working at the chapel⁹⁹. His correspondence also shows that he made numerous visits to Marymont, where he commissioned finishing works, and to the Nuns of the Blessed Sacrament church¹⁰⁰. It is difficult to unequivocally decide whether Alberti replaced Felkersamb as the main constructor of Marywil. Secondary sources do not mention any conflict between the provincial governor and the royal couple, neither is there any hint of it in the correspondence analysed in this paper. It is highly probable that Alberti, being an envoy from Venice, had much wider access to luxury items than Governor Felkersamb thanks to his extensive commercial links to Italy. He may have also been more attuned to the aesthetic taste of his employers. If we follow such line of reasoning, we may reach the conclusion that Felkersamb was hired as an administrative supervisor of some of the conceptual works and other activities connected with erecting particular buildings within the approved budget. The remaining works, including furnishing and decorating the interiors of the complex, were entrusted to Alberti, as the royal couple trusted his artistic taste and ability to import all necessary items. (fig. 4)

In October 1695, the king granted Alberti a public audience in Marywil¹⁰¹, but the first ceremony to be held in the complex was the appointment to cardinal of Henryk de la Grange d'Arquien, the queen's father, in January 1696.

97 S. Mossakowski, *Tyłman z Gameren, architekt...*, p. 32.

98 K. Sarnecki to K.S. Radziwiłł, Warsaw, 1 XI 1695, in: *Pamiętniki..., Relacje*, vol. 2, p. 482.

99 Girolamo Alberti to M.K. d'Arquien Sobieska, Marieville, 19 X 1695, NAHB, ASO, fond 695, opis 1, no. 241, fol. 1r.-3v.; idem to eadem, Marieville, 19 XI [1695] au matin, ibid, fol. 13r.-13v.; idem to eadem, Marieville, 20 X 1695, ibid, fol. 14r.-15r. Remaining materials were provided by the queen, see: de Vitter to M.K. d'Arquien Sobieska, Paris, [??] X 1695, NAHB, ASO, fond 695, opis 1, no. 16, fol. 24r.-24v.

100 G. Alberti to M.K. d'Arquien Sobieska, Marieville, 18 XI 1695, NAHB, ASO, fond 695, opis 1, no. 241, fol. 8r.-8v.

101 G. Alberti to M.K. d'Arquien Sobieska, Marieville, 19 X 1695, NAHB, ASO, fond 695, opis 1, no. 241, fol. 1r.

The event was complemented by an official banquet held in March of the same year, after the marquess was officially presented with his zucchetto: “upon entering the site, the guests were surrounded by the sounds of the guards playing tarabans, shamws, trumpets, timpani, and drums. Bright candles were lit in all of the windows on both floors; there were about two hundred fifty of them, not counting regular lamps”¹⁰². In February 1696, a mask ball and a feast were organised in Marywil, “not only for the residents of Marywil but for all nobles, senators, officials visiting or living in Warsaw”¹⁰³. The same month, the king received two guests in Marywil: first Nuncio Gianantonio Davia, and later Muscovite envoy Kuzma Nikitich Efimov¹⁰⁴. The king’s last visit to Marywil took place in March 1696, with the infirm monarch eating dinner in the complex on his way to Wilanów¹⁰⁵.

After the king’s death, Marywil became the residence of the queen, who moved her extensive book collection to one of its apartments¹⁰⁶. She was staying in Marywil when she was following the sessions of the Convocation Sejm, attempting to influence political developments in the country. This was why the participants of the Sejm and some supporters of Prince Jakub Ludwik Sobieski decided that her presence may prove to be more harmful than beneficial. The queen, insulted by their stance, left for Gdańsk in 1697. A year later she moved to Warsaw’s Bielany district, where, towards the end of June 1698, she was informed of the double election of Saxon Elector Frederick Augustus I and François Louis de Bourbon-Conti¹⁰⁷. Maria Kazimiera returned to Marywil in early 1698, after the battles between the supporters of both candidates had died out. The newly elected king, who took on the name of August II, went to Marywil after arriving to Warsaw to pay a visit to the widowed queen:

He came to the gate, where he was welcomed by the princes of Her Royal Highness [the sons of Jan III Sobieski] with forty candles and lamps and led by them to the quarters of the Queen. [...] Her Royal Highness awaited the King in a room on the first floor and welcomed him in French. He then briefly responded, took Her Royal Highness by the hand and led her to another room, but due to great uproar he then receded with the Queen and the princes to the study¹⁰⁸.

102 K. Sarnecki to K.S. Radziwiłł, Warsaw, 8 I 1696, in: *Pamiętniki..., Relacje*, vol. 2, p. 484; idem to idem, Warsaw, 1 III 1696, in: idem, p. 515. Cf. “Relatione della Ceremonia fattta alla Regia Corte di Polonia per presentare la Beretta Cardinalizia all’Eminetissimo Signor Cardinal d’Arquyan Padre della Regina. Varsavia li 26 febbraio 1696”, in: *Lettere alla Corte di Roma del Cardinale Enrico de la Grange d’Arquien suocero di Giovanni Sobieski*, a cura di G. Platania, Udine 1998, pp. 49–51.

103 K. Sarnecki to K.S. Radziwiłł, Warsaw, 9 II 1696, in: *Pamiętniki..., Relacje*, vol. 2, p. 498.

104 K. Sarnecki to K.S. Radziwiłł, Warsaw, 16 II 1695, in: idem, p. 500–501.

105 K. Sarnecki to K.S. Radziwiłł, Warsaw, 7 III 1695, in: idem, p. 524.

106 A. Rychłowska-Kozłowska, *Marywil...*, p. 36.

107 For more on the subject see: M. Komarzyński, *Księcia Contiego niefortunna wyprawa po koronę Sobieskiego*, Warsaw 1971; A. Skrzypietz, *Francuskie zabiegi o koronę polską po śmierci Jana III Sobieskiego*, Katowice 2009.

108 “Diariusz wjazdu JMci króla Augusta do Warszawy”, in: *Zbiór pamiętników do dziejów polskich*, vol. 3, published by W.S. Plater, Warsaw 1858, p. 214.

After the disappointing outcome of the royal election and loss of support among leading magnates, the queen was granted permission to leave the Commonwealth in April 1698¹⁰⁹. She travelled from Jaworów to Rome, where she was to take part in the celebrations of the Jubilee of the year 1700. She stayed in the Eternal City until 1714. She then left for Blois, France, where she lived for two years, until her death. Throughout her journeys, the queen was accompanied by the image of Madonna of Loreto, the symbol of her husband's victory over the Turks. Maria Kazimiera owned the suburban residence of Marywil until her very death. In her last will and testament, she bequeathed the property to Prince Jakub Ludwik Sobieski¹¹⁰, except for the chapel and the garden, the ownership of which she had ceded to St. John the Baptist Parish Church in 1708¹¹¹.

The entire complex needed thorough restoration, and the prince, burdened with significant debt and involved in numerous political conflicts, only managed to carry out a part of the necessary works, entrusting them to Nicolas Francose in 1721¹¹². Financial difficulties probably forced the prince to lease the complex out to August II, who converted the former royal residence and commercial centre into barracks for grand musketeers¹¹³. The barracks operated in the years 1729–1733. The king's death and Prince Jakub's retreat from public life prompted the latter to sell Marywil¹¹⁴. It was purchased by the provincial governor of Ruthenia and the queen's niece, Joanna Jabłonowska nee de Béthune. Three years later, Marywil was bought by Bishop of Płock and Grand Chancellor of the Crown Andrzej Stanisław Załuski, who ceded the ownership of the estate to Entailer Antonina Zamoyska in 1741. She used the complex as the seat of a secular women's congregation for poor noble women who, thanks to Zamoyska, could learn good manners, devote themselves to

109 For more on the subject see: E. Jastrzębska, "Maria Kazimiera Sobieska wobec kandydatury syna Jakuba podczas bezkrólewia w świetle depešz ambasadora Polignaca (1696–1697)", *Śląski Kwartalnik Historyczny. Sobótka*, 1980, vol. 35, book 2, pp. 351–354; A. Skrzypietz, "Maria Kazimiera wobec elekcji po zgonie Jana III", in: *Z dziejów XVII i XVIII wieku. Księga jubileuszowa ofiarowana Profesorowi Michałowi Komarzyńskiemu*, ed. J. Kwak, Katowice 1997, pp. 106–116; eadem, *Królewscy synowie...*, pp. 249–343.

110 Między Najjaśniejszymi Królewicami Ichmściami Jakubem Ludwikiem a Constantinem post dołenda fata Najjaśniejszej Mariety Casimirey etc. dział, National Library in Warsaw, ref. no. 5521/IV, p. 9; "Rzymskie testamenty królowej Marii Kazimierzy spisane w 1713 i 1714 roku", in: *Źródła do dziejów Sobieskich w Archiwum w Mińsku i zbiorów francuskich*, published by K. Kossarzecki, „ad Villam Novam”, 2012, vol. 7, pp. 101–102; K. Kossarzecki, "Podziały dóbr Sobieskich w latach 1719–1725", *Studia Wilanowskie*, 2004, vol. 15, pp. 29–65.

111 A. Rychłowska-Kozłowska, *Marywil...*, p. 42.

112 Source documents mention a merchant from Warsaw called Jean Baptiste Francose, whose debenture was cancelled by Prince Jakub in 1693. After the death of Maria Kazimiera in 1716, he pursued his financial claims against the royal family (Archives nationales site des Paris, E1983, pp. 695–696). Nicolas was most probably the merchant's son. He was often referred to as the servant of the prince and the heir to Jean Baptiste, see: AGAD, Zb. Czoł., ref. no. 393, p. 3; Commissary of Prince Sobieski to Jakub Zygmunt Rybiński, n.p., [??:] 1719, in: *Teki Gabryela Junoszy Podaskiego Arcybiskupa Gnieźnieńskiego*, vol. 1, published by K. Jarochowski, Poznań 1854, pp. 327–328.

113 A. Rychłowska-Kozłowska, *Marywil...*, pp. 44–56.

114 The process of settling the accounts connected to the sale of Marywil between August II and Prince Jakubem was long and not marred with conflicts, see: Gazeta pisana [Andrzeja Cichockiego], z Warszawy d. 21 Mai 1733, in: *Od Augusta Mocnego do Augusta III. Doniesienia z Warszawy Andrzeja Cichockiego z lat 1732–1734*, published by J. Dygdała, Warsaw 2016, p. 269.

contemplation and prayer without joining a convent, or find an appropriate spouse¹¹⁵.

The ownership of Marywil, as evidenced above, changed quite frequently. The only element which maintained a sense of continuity to the complex was the memory of its creators – Queen Maria Kazimiera and her husband, who were commemorated during special services and prayers said in the chapel. The pages of design sketches and architectural projects of several Warsaw's palaces and churches preserved the memory of Tylman of Gameren. Otton Felkersamb, a loyal servant of the Sobieski family who greatly contributed to erecting Marywil, meanwhile, would be long forgotten if not for his correspondence with the queen, discovered in archival sources which are yet to be thoroughly studied.

Source edition

The edition encompasses four letters written by Provincial Governor of Czernihów Otton Fryderyk Felkersamb to Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska in 1694. The original copies of the correspondence are kept in the National Historical Archive of Belarus in Minsk, in the Sobieski of Oława Archive fonds (fond 695, opis 1, no. 225). The edition was prepared on the basis of *Instrukcja wydawnicza dla źródeł historycznych od XVI do połowy XIX wieku* (Wrocław 1953) by Kazimierz Lepszy and the guidelines of the authors whose works were published in the book *Teoria i praktyka edycji nowożytnych źródeł w Polsce (XVI–XVIII w.)* (Kraków 2012), edited by Adam Perłakowski. The punctuation and lexical composition of the letters has been modernised. Foreign phrases, terms and names of people mentioned in the text have been explained in footnotes.

Nr 1

Otton Fryderyk Felkersamb do Marii Kazimiery d'Arquien Sobieskiej, brak miejsca i daty

[k. 1] Najjaśniejsza Królowo Miłościwa Pani i Dobrodziejko,

Za następującym szczęśliwie Pana i Zbawiciela Naszego wesołego Zmartwychwstania czasem, z najniższym respektem upadam do nóg Najjaśniejszych Majestatów Mnie Miłościwych Państwa i Dobrodziejstwa, wesołego winszuję Alleluja i teraz Bóg zastępów, aby Majestatom tym, w niezamierzonych wieki dać zdrowie, **[k. 1v.]** jako najlepszego, szczęśliwego panowania i powszechnego nieprzyjaciela niezbieżone triumfy. Z tym także okazji pokornie Waszej Królewskiej Mości Pani i Dobrodziejce Mnie Miłościwej dziękuję, że niegodnego sługę i poddanego swego w pańską swą pamięci protekcji mając mnie, pod terazniejszy czas wakansów poważny swoją pie-

115 J. Bartoszewicz, "Kościół św. Andrzeja i Kanoniczki w Warszawie", *Biblioteka Warszawska*, 1850, vol. 3 (39), 1850, pp. 1–40, 229–252; A. Rychłowska-Kozłowska, *Marywil...*, pp. 46–69.

tas¹¹⁶, influencją i promocją do Króla Jego Mości Pana i Dobrodzieja Mego Miłościwego, trzymać i wspierać raczysz i jeżeli kiedy wysokie urzędy Pani Miłościwa niezliczonym ludziom i samym nawet nieprzyjaciołom i niewdzięcznikom wyświadczone dobrodziejstwa u świata tego **[k. 2]** ze swej skuteczności należytą mieli, a co więcej tym bardziej teraz każdy wierny potwierdzać musi, że Wasza Królewska Mość Pani i Dobrodziejka Mnie Miłościwa z macierzyńską swą dobroćliwością i najmilszego sługę swego w niepamięć nie puszczasz i o każdej fortunie i zasługi jego choćby ten nie był tak wysokiej estymacji godnej rekompensuje myślą raczył, że tak wtedy Wasza Królewska Mość łaski i dobroczynności nie daje mi słowa, ani tak wiele mam uniżoności, abym mógł Waszej Królewskiej Mości Pani i Dobrodziejce Mnie Miłościwej godnie podziękować. Sam Bóg Najwyższy niech Waszej Królewskiej **[k. 2v.]** Mości wszelkich nagrodzić pomyślności pociechami raczy, niech daje nieprzebrane łaski swe święte, aby wspólnie z Najjaśniejszym Monarchą, Panem i Dobrodziejem Mym Miłościwym, w dobrym i nienaruszonym zdrowiu i szczęściu pozostała, a Najjaśniejszych potomkach, wnukach, prawnukach i praprawnukach swoich bez żadnej zatrzymania i bez przestanku, a ukontentowaniu i radością serc Waszych Pańskich zachował. Co się tyczy fabryki Waszej Królewskiej Mości, wspomniałem i doniosłem, że wszystko u mnie, tak w podwórzu, jako też i z placem przed bramą jest wywiezione. Około, bez rusztowania, murów zaczęto było już od dnia dzisiejszego robić, ale że to pomieszane powietrze nie dało mularzom na rusztowania dostać się, musieli po świętach swoje robić, gdzie natenczas wszystko aplikować się będzie, aby się woli i rozkazaniu Waszej Królewskiej Mości Pani i Dobrodziejki mogło przysposobić, jest też już nieco materii.

Nr 2

Otton Fryderyk Felkersamb do Marii Kazimiery d'Arquien Sobieskiej, Warszawa, 24 III 1694

[k. 3] Najjaśniejsza Królowo Miłościwa Pani i Dobrodziejko,

Delikatnego sumienia refleksja, a nie żadna niepewność Waszej Królewskiej Mości Mnie Miłościwej Pani i Dobrodziejki sprawuje to, że od Waszej Królewskiej Mości na swoją funkcję, któreżem na rozkazanie **[k. 3v.]** Waszej Królewskiej Mości Pani i Dobrodziejki Mnie Miłościwej do rąk pana Duponta oddać, doszła asekuracja, jak i bilet. Jako wtedy w każdej okazji i każdą sprawą z niedościgną pamięcią i wysokim sobie rozkazem Waszej Królewskiej Mości Pani i Dobrodziejki Mnie Miłościwej traktować zwykła, tak i w tej mierze (lubo tego wcale nie potrzeba było, gdy nie na szczególnym pańskim słowie, które nad wszystkie zapisuje asekuracje, ważniejsze jest do się, by było postąpić raczył), kiedy mi Wasza Królewska Mość Pani i Dobrodziejka Mnie Miłościwa w liście swym kartę białą z podpisem ręki i pieczęcią swą pańską raczyła dać, **[k. 4]** na której z drugiej strony zaraz przy tym, jaką p.

116 Latin: with benignity, with kindness.

Dupont¹¹⁷ te trzy tysiące czerwonych złotych odliczył i odebrał on, że sam p. Hiż¹¹⁸ podpisali się, przyznając, że takową sumę ode mnie odebrali i ubywa także tego, że dał lepszy bilet Waszej Królewskiej Mości przez ręce p. Hiża, a którego Wasza Królewska Mość zobaczyć raczyła, że tak jako wypytuje się, a nie inaczej jest, będzie inne wyznaczając w nim do oddawania pewnego czasu, jako to na św. Trójcy [niedziela po Zesłaniu Ducha Świętego, Pięćdziesiątnica]¹¹⁹ gdy od tego czasu albo zaraz przy tym od św. Jana [24 czerwca] kontrakty zostają i bym tę funkcję **[k. 4v.]** (jeżeliby mnie lepsza fortuna z łaski i dobroczynności Waszej Królewskiej Mości Pani i Dobrodziejki Mej Miłościwej tymczasem nie spotkała), na jaką wioskę ratując, będę się aplikować chciał przysłać wszystko, to na łaskę i wolę Waszej Królewskiej Mości Pani i Dobrodziejki Mej Miłościwej zostawuję, wszakem i bez tego tę sumę *in vim gratitudinis*¹²⁰ do dyspozycji Waszej Królewskiej Mości Pani i Dobrodziejki Mnie Miłościwej oddałem i konsekrowałem pokornie suplikując, to i teraz uniżonym respektem ponawiam, aby to małe honorarium, przy jakich człowiek wierny i ciężkich jednak zasługach swoich przed obliczem Obojga Majestatów Waszych Mości Królewskich Mnie Miłościwych Państwa miejsca miała i Wasze Królewskie Mości Państwo Mnie Miłościwi najlichszego służył swego, którego choć wiele czasu i jako się samemu Państwu Memu Miłościwemu oddać i przypodobać się będzie łaską i dobroczynnością swoją pańską podeprzeć, bym raczył, **[k. 5]** zaś liczę tej figury, którą Wasze Królewskie Mości przed bramę wmurować nakazała to, by mi się zdało być, a którego już w piątek piasek jest wywieziony w pole i po ulicach [rozrzucony] i do tego budynek do dwóch izb i komnat murują. Piwnice kazać albo z drzewa poprawić albo też dla bezpieczeństwa od ognia dookoła tego placu, aby w środku podwórze dało zmurować albo najbardziej dlatego, aby ci kupcy, gdzie w kamienicach mieszkający swoje stajnie i wozownie mieli i daleko prędzej się do tych kamienic wzajem trafili, gdy także wygodnie będą mieli. Taką wtedy Waszej Królewskiej Mości Pani i Dobrodziejce Mej Miłościwej **[k. 5v.]** daję relację o marywilskiej fabryce, śmiem o wiadomości upraszać Waszą Królewską Mość względem kościoła panien zakonnych Najświętszego Sakramentu, gdy i ten by potrzebował dokończenia. O fabryce zaś na Marymoncie nic nie piszą, albowiem o dokończeniu tego tam pałacu nie wiem i kiedy p. Dupont odjechał, nie wiem komu było zlecić, w swej niebytności mając, lecz że to wszystko na wolę i rozkazanie Waszej Królewskiej Mości jest jako z tymi fabrykami, dalej postąpić i komu to zlecić, raczyli pańskiego w tej sprawie czekania Waszej Królewskiej Mości ordynansu. Azali też Bóg da, że się nam wiernym sługom Waszej Królewskiej Mości Pani i Dobrodziejki Mnie Miłościwej prędko zdarzy, tu w Warszawie za nogi obłąpić, a to i o dobre zdrowie Obojga Majestatów Waszych Królewskich Mości Mnie Miłościwych **[k. 6]** Pana Boga błagam i to, by się temu wszystkiemu inny *in publicis*¹²¹ trudnościom najlepiej

117 Filip Dupont (c. 1650 – after 1725), real name Philippe la Masson, artillery man, diplomat at the court of Jan III Sobieski, diarist. In the years 1694–1717 in the service of Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska as her business intermediary and contact at the French royal court.

118 Jan Hiż (Hich), treasurer of Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska until 1716.

119 In 1694, Pentecost fell on 27 May; see: B. Włodarski, *Chronologia polska*, Warsaw 2007, ill. 18, p. 382.

120 Latin: through [whole] life with grace.

121 Latin: public.

wygodziło. A za tym z najmilszym respektem, wspólnie z chorą małżonką¹²² moją awizowaną sługą Waszej Królewskiej Mości, za nóżki pańskie Waszej Królewskiej Mości obłapiamy się pokornie, skromnie do samych stópek skłoniwszy się i samych siebie łasce i protekcji pańskiej się oddajemy, dozgonnie wdzięczni będąc

[k. 6v.] – karta niezapisana

Nr 3

Otton Fryderyk Felkersamb do Marii Kazimiery d'Arquien Sobieskiej, Warszawa, 28 IV 1694

[k. 7] Najjaśniejsza Królowo Miłościwa Pani i Dobrodziejko,

Gdy Waszą Królewską Mość Panią i Dobrodziejkę Moją Miłościwą poważniejszej pod teraz bytności pana posła księcia elektora bawarskiego¹²³ sprawy [k. 7v] różnie dysturbuję, nie godzien się z relacją o progresie fabryki Waszej Królewskiej Mości Pani i Dobrodziejki Mnie Miłościwej, to jednak tylko na czym same rzeczy krótko namieniam, aby pan ekonom i skarbowi Waszej Królewskiej Mości pilnie należyte pieniądze oddawali, bo gdyby się dalej tak ociągali, nie ręczę, aby ta fabryka według woli i rozkazania Waszej Królewskiej Mości Pani i Dobrodziejki Mnie Miłościwej [k. 8] weselnie przed sejmem stanąć mogła, albowiem wszystkie materie, które do tego dzieła są potrzebne, teraz dopiero, jak o to wapno, cegły, drzewo, żelazo, ślusarstwo i stolarnie i inne rzemiosła, przystępują się do robót, a na to wszystko dotąd nie więcej nad dwadzieścia tysięcy złotych [polskich], do rąk mych oddano. Stargowałem też tu sto i kilkanaście łasztów¹²⁴ po osiemdziesiąt złotych przypada, ale na zapłacenie owego pieniądza nie stanie [k. 8v.] i z odmierzeniem tego wapna powolnie postępuję. Kazałem, aby tymczasem pieniądze nadane mogły na cegły iść. Także po cegielniach zatargować kazałem i na nie kilka tysięcy na zadatek wikt na ślusarzy, stolarzy i innych rzemieślników, tak tym postąpić się musiało. O staranie jeszcze do tego kontraktu zawierać nie mogłem, póki od Waszej Królewskiej Mości nie będę miał relacji. Teraz stanie sklepienie i dachówki przybite zostaną pod kościołem i gotowy dach będzie. Prawda, że jeszcze pan Tylman różnie konceptuje, z jaką najlepszą fosą, aby przecież przy kamienicach gospodarskich budynek mógł być. Wapna, widzę z listu, nie zaraz spodziewać się z Krakowa albo też wcale nic z tego robić. Taką wtedy natenczas krótką relację Waszej Królewskiej Mości oddaję,

122 In all likelihood this pertains to the second wife of the Tchernichov Voivode, Caroline Elisabeth Countess Windisch-Graetz, daughter of Bogumił and Maria nee Oettinger, wed in 1680. She passed away in 1699 or 1700, since Felkersamb later married her younger sister, Mary Catherine.

123 123 Christoph baron Mayr was a representative of the Elector of Bavaria Maximilian Emanuel Wittelsbach who arrived in Warsaw on 19/20 April 1694, in connection with the marital negotiations of Teresa Kunegunda; see: K. Sarnecki, *Pamiętniki...*, *Diariusz...*, vol. 1, pp. 172-175; M. Komarzyński, *Teresa Kunegunda Sobieska*, Warsaw 1982, pp. 26-32.

124 Łaszt – formerly a unit of volume of loose goods, equivalent to 3000-3840 litres.

o robocie informuję z najmilszym ukontentowaniem. Kłaniam się do stóp Waszej Królewskiej Mości Pani i Dobrodziejki Mnie Miłościwej.

Nr 4

Otton Fryderyk Felkersamb do Marii Kazimiery d'Arquien Sobieskiej, brak miejsca, brak daty

[k. 9] Najjaśniejsza Królowo Miłościwa Pani i Dobrodziejko,

Pokornie do nóg Majestatu Waszej Królewskiej Mości Pani i Dobrodziejki Mnie Miłościwej upadłszy, uniżenie dziękuję tak za wszystkie łaski, które przez ten cały czas niegodnych **[k. 9v.]** usług swych z dobroczynności Waszej Królewskiej Mości Pani i Dobrodziejki Mnie Miłościwej uznawać, jako i te, których Wasza Królewska Mość Pani i Dobrodziejka Mnie Miłościwa z nieprzebraną dobrocią swą jeszcze wyświadczasz, w swojej pańskiej masz woli i pamięci. Dosyć mam na tym, kiedy wiem i asekurowany jestem, a przez protekcję pańską Waszej Królewskiej Mości Pani i Dobrodziejki Mnie Miłościwej za tym Bóg Najwyższy do serca Obojga Majestatów Waszych Królewskich Państwa Mego Miłościwego, jako wiernego poddanego i życzliwego sługę swego akomodować i w potrzebach jego pańską i szcudrobliwą swoją podać rękę raczysz. **[k. 10]** Jeszcze przez p. Hiża nie przyszło Waszej Królewskiej Mości Pani i Dobrodziejki Meji Miłościwej dostateczna relacja o perceptach rocznych tam na różne fabryki Waszej Królewskiej Mości Pani i Dobrodziejki Mnie Miłościwej wystawiane. Przyczyną były dosyć obszerne, we czterech sztukach podane przez p. Brugera¹²⁵, rejestry, z których przecie *per compendium*¹²⁶, ile na prędko się mogło uczyniliśmy, a sobą dla informacji Waszej Królewskiej Mości Pani i Dobrodziejki Mnie Miłościwej, na co się te sumy rozesyły. Prawda, że generalnymi terminami pewny ekstrakt, z którego Wasza Królewska Mość Pani i Dobrodziejka Mnie Miłościwa obaczyła różnych, jako wiele każda fabryka kosztuje. **[k. 10v.]** Przyznam się Waszej Królewskiej Mości Pani i Dobrodziejce Mnie Miłościwej, że się daleko większego kosztu i ekspens spodziewałem i da Bóg wkrótce trochę więcej czasu na to wzięwszy, wypiszę każdą rzecz z osobna, jako która kosztuje, to jest tak materię, jako też każdego z osobna rzemieślnika. Nic nie wątpię, że i samej Waszej Królewskiej Mości Pani i Dobrodziejce Mnie Miłościwej dziwno będzie, że dwadzieścia i pięć kamienic, na których dokończenie, gdy już wszystkie w murach stanęły, z pięćdziesiąt i kilka tysięcy złotych, a to już i bramę rachując, wejdzie. Co gdy to wszystko będzie komputowało, nie kładę, że mało co albo nad jedenaście tysięcy złotych kamienica jedna nie będzie kosztowała, trzeba to jednak tylko mieć dla swojej wiadomości, bo by się inni skandalizowali, że ich masz bardzo siła kosztują, lubo i tu ludzie są, co jedni rozumieją, że ta fabryka milion, drudzy przypuszczają sześć kroć tysięcy kładą, że już kosztuje. Co się **[k. 11]** ostatka zaś po świętach przysposobiło, nie omieszkać względem słusarstwa

125 Unidentified person.

126 Latin: in short.

wypisałem zdanie moje p. Kroguleckiemu¹²⁷, do którego także desygnowałem przez p. Chwałkowskiego¹²⁸, rezydenta księcia Jego Mości kurlandzkiego¹²⁹, jeden oków do jednych drzwi i do jednego okna i takich okowów potrzeba do każdej kamienicy do dwunastu drzwi i osobno do dwunastu okien. Każdy oków od jednych drzwi trzeba złotych dwadzieścia i tylko od każdego okna z osobna. Są inne okowy od sklepów, piwnic, sieni i kamienic, których modele już posłałem, bo muszą do każdych drzwi być robione, ale wielkie mi się zda, że tutejsi ślusarze nie potrafią [robić], gdy zamki nie jedne mają być, albowiem jedne drzwi w prawo, drugie w lewo muszą się otwierać. Do tego żaden tutejszy ślusarz widząc robotę nie będzie przybijał i zaraz stamtąd, **[k. 11v.]** choćby się tam takie okowy zrobili mieć, jakoby ze trzech ślusarzy raczysz mnie przysłać, którzy by do nas przybijali, o cenie jakom się z tutejszymi poniekąd już umówił ślusarzami. Którzy ślusarze do jednej kamienicy sześćset złotych, a robotą szybką do kamienic dwudziestu zgodzili robić. Jeden obiecuje najdłużej na święto św. Michała [29 września], że wszystko gotowe wystawi, i pojechał do czterech albo pięciu kamienic mieć robotę kilkaset złotych, aby wtedy więcej fachowej roboty mu daremnie, jeżeli mu tameczni ślusarze dostawać będą mogli. Potrzeba, by mieć prędkie rezolucje i jako koniecznie gotowym być, żeby się na ślusarskiej robocie nie zaniechało. Szkła także do okien **[k. 12]** trzeba, by jako najprędzej stamtąd wyprawić, gdy ramy są gotowe i Żydów z Grodna, co znowu mają robotę, zaciągnęłoby się. Dachówki w Gdańsku są gotowe i jeszcze tak kazałem na marmurową posadzkę i na czterdzieści tysięcy dachówek półtrzech tysięcy tyńfów¹³⁰, teraz będą, aby spłynęły bez tak wielkiego kosztu. Dobrze by było, aby nazad dachówki z marmurową podsadzką do kościoła zabrali. Raczej być powinno około tysiąca dachówek po złotych dziesięć dobrą monetą frachtu płacić, co by niezmiernie dobrego było, gdy każdy tysiąc dachówek kosztowałoby więcej tu na miejscu niż siedemdziesiąt sześć tyńfów. Taką wtedy **[k. 12v.]** Waszej Królewskiej Mości Pani i Dobrodziejki Mnie Miłościwej donoszę o fabryce informację, najniższą czolobitnością mając wspólnie z małżonką moją, najmilszą sługą Waszej Królewskiej Mości. Pod nogi Majestatu Waszej Królewskiej Mości Pani i Dobrodziejki Mnie Miłościwej pokornie upadam i daleką łaską, a z protekcją proszę z unізonością zalecam się.

127 Mikołaj Krogulecki (d. 1697), equerry of Queen Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska, governor of Olecko and Kałusz, administrator of Tarnopol, in 1688 podstoli of Mielno, next Żydaczów stolnik.

128 It most likely refers to the court counsel and minister of the King of Prussia Frederic I Hohenzollern – Samuel (d. 1705) or Mikołaj Chwałkowski (d. after 1712), plenipotentiary of the Kurland princes: Jakub and Fryderyk Kazimierz Kettler by the Polish King in Warsaw.

129 Fryderyk Kazimierz Kettler (1650–1698), Prince of Kurland and Semigalia in the years 1682–1698, son of Jakub Kettler and Ludwika Maria Hohenzollern.

130 Tyńf (or tymf) – name of the silver coin incused by Andrzej Tymf in the years 1663–1667, of the value of 1 zloty and 30 groshes and the real value 12–18 groshes.

How Marywil Came to Be. The Creation of Warsaw's Residential and Commercial Complex in the Light of the Correspondence between Otton Fryderyk Felkersamb and Maria Kazimiera Sobieska from 1694 - summary

The article presents the issue of establishing the Marywil residential-commercial complex, initiated by Queen Maria Kazimiera d'Arquien Sobieska in 1692. It aims at pointing to the process of setting up a foundation based on the correspondence between the Queen and the Livonian Voivod Otto Frederick Felkersamb from 1694. The article discusses the motifs behind the wife of Jan II Sobieski's plans to build the complex, and subsequently the activity and competences of Otto Felkersamb as the builder of Marywil. Ultimately, it refers to the mutual relations between the above-mentioned two and Tylman van Gameren, the architect. Furthermore, the article presents stages of the complex's construction, with particular attention paid to the role of and difficulties encountered by Otto Felkersamb. In its conclusion, the article sketches out the subsequent history of the Marywil complex while it remained in the hands of the Sobieskis. The work is complemented by an edition of Felkersamb's letters to Maria Kazimiera, deposited at the National Historic Archive of Belarus in Minsk.

Key words: Marywil, the Sobieskis, Otto Felkersamb, Tylman von Gameren, residence