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The history of the castle kitchen in Łańcut¹

The article examines the history and activities of the castle kitchen in Łańcut from the second half of the 17th century until 1944. The results of the research are based on manuscript documents from the AGAD in Warsaw, the Library and Archives of the Łańcut Castle, the collections of the Department of manuscripts of the Vasyl Stefanyk Lviv National Library of Ukraine, and the memoirs of 19th-century travellers. The changes that took place in the process of improving the kitchen workspace and organizing the work of the staff are an important testament to the culture that prevailed in the palaces and large estates of the Polish gentry. Special attention was paid to the portraits of former kitchen employees, the atmosphere around their workplace, and changes in public opinion about the work of a chef. Many research findings are presented for the first time. The results of the study will be useful for historians, anthropologists, and researchers of material culture.

Keywords: cuisine, castle, Łańcut, chef, Franciszek Klarewicz

Introduction

Despite the large number of works dedicated to the history of the Potocki Castle in Łańcut, one of the most magnificent aristocratic residences in Poland, there have never been attempts to address issues related to the palace kitchen and the organization of food provision for the palace residents. This history has long remained in the shadow of other issues deemed more important, hierarchically superior, and cognitively more attractive. This text is the first attempt to examine the organization of work in the castle kitchen and to present the changes that occurred from the second half of the 17th century until 1944. In addition to

¹ The article represents an extensive and scholarly expansion of the text published by the present author in 2022 on the website *Muzeum Jana III Sobieskiego w Warszawie*. See: https://www.wilanow-palac.pl/kuchnia_zamkowa_w_lancucie.html [accessed on 14.03.2024]

technical issues, the article addresses the matter of kitchen staff: head chefs, cooks, kitchen assistants, controllers, as well as suppliers and food producers.

Polish research on kitchens as an important part of residences and organizational units of former manors or palaces has a fairly long history. In 1830, Łukasz Gołębiowski primarily described the layout of kitchen premises in former residences and issues related to kitchen management.² In 1839 Michał Grabowski focused his attention on technological matters.³ Jan Szyttler, the famous head chef mentioned the issues related to the storage and preservation of food⁴. Various pieces of advice on this topic appear in cookbooks and guides from the 19th and early 20th centuries.⁵ The subject was addressed in the works of Elżbieta Kowecka, Leszek Kajzer, Tadeusz Jaroszewski, and outside of Poland, in the texts of Molly Harrison, Ken Albalá, and Philippe Meyzie.⁶ With regard to the latest research, particular attention should be given to the study by Josef Evans.⁷

The oldest information about the kitchen in Łańcut was presented by Stanisław Czerniecki.⁸ The head chef of Prince Aleksander Michał Lubomirski noted that in 1661, during the preparations for the wedding of the daughter of the Great Hetman of the Crown, Jerzy Sebastian Lubomirski, Krystyna, seventy-five cooks were involved in preparing the dishes.⁹

In the 18th century, another owner of the castle, Princess Elżbieta Lubomirska (1736–1816), inherited a vast estate, allowing her to accumulate

² Ł. Gołębiowski, *Domy i dwory*, Warszawa 1830.

³ M. Grabowski, *Najnowsze sposoby stawiania pieców i kuchni odpowiadających swym celom przy jak najoszczędniejszym użyciu opału, oraz środki zapobiegające dymieniu pieców i kominów*, Kraków 1839.

⁴ J. Szyttler, *Spizarnia dostatecznie i przezornie urządzona*, Wilno 1841.

⁵ *Szkola kucharek, czyli łatwy sposób wyuczenia się gotowania różnych potraw mięsnych i postnych. Na wzór dzieła A. Carême kuchmistrza Napoleona ułożył L. Z.*, Kraków 1843, p. 2–5; C. E. Beecher, *The New Housekeeper's Manual*, Nowy Jork 1873; O. Franko, *Persha ukrainska zahalno-praktychna kukhnia*, przedmowa Marianna Dushar, Kharkiv 2019, p. 34–35.

⁶ E. Kowecka, *W salonie i w kuchni. Opowieść o kulturze materialnej pałaców i dworów polskich w XIX wieku*, Poznań 2008, p. 149; L. Kajzer, *Raz jeszcze o siedzibach dworskich w Wojstawicach* „Biuletyn Szadkowski” 2022, vol. 11, p. 33; T. Jaroszewski, *Uwagi o modernizacji kilku siedzib wiejskich w Polsce na przełomie XIX i XX wieku* [in:] *Dwór polski w XIX wieku. Zjawisko historyczne i kulturowe*, ed. J. Baranowski, Pszczyna 1987; P. Meyzie, *Kuchnia w Europie doby nowożytnej. Jeść i pić: XVI–XIX wiek*. Warszawa 2012, p. 58–59.

⁷ J. Evans, *Technologies of eating: The development of eating utensils and cuisine in Western Europe and Americas, 1500–1900*, vol. 47 (3), *Appetite* 2006, p. 388.

⁸ S. Czerniecki *Compendium ferculorum albo zebranie potraw*, ed. J. Dumanowski, M. Spychaj, Warszawa 2009.

⁹ Z. Kossakowska-Szanajca, B. Majewska-Maszkowska, *Zamek w Łańcutcie*, Warszawa 1964, p. 87.

valuable works of art in the castle.¹⁰ From this period, there are the first mentions indicating the location of the kitchen on the ground floor of the palace.¹¹ The preserved inventories mention butler's pantries containing kitchen equipment as well as the equipment of the confectionery, the pâté shop, and the pantry.¹² The inventory from 1862, compiled by Aleksander Twardowski Rau and based on earlier information from the inventory of 1806, shows the changes that occurred during these over fifty years. He noted, among other things, the absence of "an iron rod for four spits for turning roast meat" and the installation of several English kitchens in the premises in 1862.¹³

During the time of the fee tail estate owner, Count Alfred II Potocki (1817–1889), on the ground floor in the eastern part of the castle, there were "rooms for a café, two kitchens, a bakery, warehouses, pantries, a pâté shop, a butler's pantry, a utility room, and a four-window dining room for the servants, later divided into two parts of the second and third tables placed under the palace theatre. Each part was filled with various tables, cupboards, and chests of drawers."¹⁴

The preserved documents from 1854 contain a detailed list of kitchen equipment as well as a general description of the room. "All vaulted, the floor laid with bricks and stones. Both kitchens painted, and the rest whitewashed. English kitchens built with iron countertops and a copper tank with a brass tube – 2, brick stoves with grates and tin caps – 2, stoves for roasting – 2, baking ovens – 2, a kettle built into the structure near the dishwashing kitchen – 1, a stone niche with a groove and a brass tap for draining water."¹⁵

At that time, the kitchen was also equipped with utensils from the well-known company *Franz Löblich und Sohn*, which supplied its products, among others, to the imperial court in Vienna. Over time, they were supplemented with sets from *the W.A.S. Benson's Patent* company from London,¹⁶ as well as Viennese manufacturers such as Józef Weibl¹⁷ and Ludwig Pramer. Efforts were also made to improve the logistics of the premises. Three new rooms

¹⁰ B. Majewska-Maszkowska, *Mecenat artystyczny Izabelli z Czartoryskich Lubomirskiej 1736–1816*, Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich 1976.

¹¹ Z. Kossakowska-Szanajca, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

¹² J. Piotrowski, *Zamek w Łańcutcie, Związły opis dziejów i zbiorów (107 ilustracji)*, Lwów 1933, p. 27.

¹³ Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie (AGAD), Archiwum Potockich Łańcut (APŁ), sygn. 784-1, Inwentarze zamku Łańcuckiego (1801–1944), p. 44; G. Chajko, *Palac arcybiskupów lwowskich obrzdku łacińskiego w Obroszynie koło Lwowa w latach 1885–1923. Edycja źródłowa inwentarzy*, „Folia Historica Cracoviensia” 2017, no 2, p. 85.

¹⁴ AGAD, APŁ, sygn. 784/3, castle inventory, p. 30–31; I. Lylo *Kuchnia zamkowa w Łańcutcie* https://www.wilanow-palac.pl/kuchnia_zamkowa_w_lancucie.html [dostęp 14.03.2024].

¹⁵ APŁ, sygn. 785, castle inventory, p. 77.

¹⁶ Biblioteka Muzeum-zamek w Łańcutcie (hereinafter: MZŁ), *Księga inwentarzowa SI-V*.

¹⁷ *Practische Landwirth*, Wien 1866, p. 148.

were arranged behind the ground-floor apartments in the eastern and southern wings. The first served for baking cakes, the second for preparing dishes with vegetables and meats, and the third was intended for preparing meals for the servants.¹⁸ A slightly different organization of meals can be observed in urban palaces. There were usually two tables: one for the masters and one for the servants, while a third was designated for officials.¹⁹ Residents inhabiting the outbuildings and adjacent tenements mostly operated their own kitchens.²⁰

In Łańcut at the end of the 19th century, every day, six adults and two children sat at the first table to eat; between twelve to sixteen servants dined at the second table.²¹ Occasionally, the number of people at the first table would increase to twelve to seventeen. Such a significant number of servants, residents, and guests required constant improvement of the staff's working conditions. Inside the castle courtyard, "a wing with dining rooms for people and rooms was built, and along the wall, there was a porch, which was covered for passage from the kitchen to the new construction."²²

In 1885, the new lady of the house, Countess Elżbieta Potocka, wife of Roman, the fee tail estate owner (1851–1915), during her first visit to the castle mentioned that "the pantry and kitchen were then located in the tower, where there is now an electric refrigeration room."²³ The adjacent room to the café, which served as the pantry, was used to store valuable tableware and silverware. Unfortunately, due to the castle's poor overall condition at the time of her visit, where there was no sewage system or running water supply, the kitchen served an additional function, "where water was heated when needed for washing."²⁴ Water was brought to the castle in barrels from the local brewery because it had good quality.²⁵ It was drawn from a well which was made of alder logs, to which

¹⁸ A. Cholewianka-Kruszyńska, *Łańcut. Dzieje rezydencji Potockich*, Olszanica 2009, p. 85.

¹⁹ Centralne Państwowe Historyczne Archiwum Ukrainy we Lwowie (CPAHUL), set of files 835, op. 1, sygn. 1397, p. 13–15; K. Karolczak, *Lwowski pałac Dzieduszyckich w drugiej połowie XIX wieku* [in:] *Lwów. Miasto, społeczeństwo, kultura*, vol. I, ed. H. W. Żaliński and K. Karolczak, Kraków 1995, p. 70; *Idem*, *Ziemianin w mieście. Lwowskie siedziby arystokracji Galicyjskiej*, „Annales Academiae Pedagogicae Cracoviensis” 2004, Folia 21, Studia Historica III, p. 402.

²⁰ K. Karolczak, *Ziemianin*, p. 402.

²¹ AGAD, APL, sygn. 822 (1861–1863) *Książki expensy kuchennej*, p. 27.

²² Z. Kossakowska-Szanajca, p. 124; I. Lylo, *Kuchnia zamkowa...*; In the Potocki Palace in Lviv, the kitchen was placed on the second floor in 1925, which was associated with an attempt to avoid odors. [in:] *Inwentarz kuchni we Lwowie z 1925 r.* Typescript in the collection of Castle Museum Library in Łańcut, R. 59, p. 1; T. Jaroszewski, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

²³ Library MZŁ, [E. Potocka nee Radziwiłł], *Łańcut – wspomnienia od roku 1885 do roku 1915 przez Elżbietę z Radziwiłłów Romanową Potocką opisany*, typescript, AII-2/41, p. 3.

²⁴ *Ibidem*.

²⁵ *150 lat browaru w Łańcucie*, Łańcut 1984, p. 11.

wooden pipes carried water from springs. The water was then lifted by means of cranes and used for beer production.

Such a state of affairs no longer suited the new owners. Being greatly impressed by their visit to Keszthely Castle in Hungary, the fee tail estate owner and his wife undertook a thorough reconstruction of their residence.²⁶ Modern technical solutions were introduced, making Łańcut the best-equipped residence in Polish lands in terms of technology.

In 1892, the installation of sewage began, with work supervised by architect Fritz Sobotka. Bathing systems from the English company *J. T. Gramlick* were installed on the upper floors. Its Vienna branch also laid ceramic tiles, installed fixtures in kitchen and café premises under the supervision of a specialist named Parmenter. As Countess Elżbieta Potocka recalled, “English reliability ensured that water of excellent quality from sources in the distant village of Handzlówka, 11 km away, flowed to the castle.”²⁷ With the help of elevators from the Vienna-based company *Anton Freissler*, dishes were transported from the kitchen to the first floor and then distributed by footmen.²⁸

To avoid kitchen odours and the risk of fire, in the second half of the 19th century, kitchens were often located in separate buildings in castles, palaces, and manor houses.²⁹ However, the kitchen in Łańcut remained in its original location.

The work on the kitchen and pantry was finally completed in 1903.³⁰ The silverware, porcelain, and glassware were carefully and skilfully distributed in the pantry. Electricity was installed in the glass cabinets, allowing them to be illuminated. As part of the reconstruction, additional kitchen utensils were also provided.

In 1929, the kitchen premises in the castle still included bakeries, a small kitchen, a large kitchen, a separate vegetable storage, and a pantry.³¹ In 1933, the pantry contained “a rich collection of old Viennese, Saxon, French, Italian, and Polish porcelain, as well as artistic sets of newer German, English, and French

²⁶ Z. Kossakowska-Szanajca, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

²⁷ Library MZŁ, [E. Potocka nee Radziwiłł], p. 3.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, *Wywiad przeprowadzony*, p. 2.

²⁹ The kitchen in the nearby palace of the Lubomirski family in Przeworsk, near Łańcut, operated in a similar way. After cooking, the food was transferred to the sideboard located next to the dining room and kept at the appropriate temperature until serving. See: I. Lylo, M. Dushar, *Shliakhetna kukhnia Halychyny*, Lviv 2023, p. 321; P. Nowakowski, *Architektura i ergonomia kuchni domowych na tle ewolucji zwyczajów kulinarnych*, Wrocław 2015, p. 118.

³⁰ A. Cholewianka-Kruszyńska, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

³¹ In the large kitchen, there were 3 tables, 2 small tables, shelves, a metal spoon rack, a small table, a small table, 2 padded stools, a wall clock, lamps, candle holders on the table, and 6 breadboards, 2 rolling pins, a meat block, dishes, and small appliances. See: *Spis inwentarzowy ruchomości zamku Łańcuckiego 4 Lipca 1929 r.* RZŁ, sygn. 24/1, p. 13–14.

porcelain. There was a large service of Korets porcelain from Volhynia for several dozen people, decorated with a moss ornament.”³² An impressive collection of oriental dishes was also stored here, including a set of porcelain reportedly given to King Jan III Sobieski by the Emperor of China.³³ Attention was also paid to securing the equipment of the kitchen in the nearby hunting lodge in Julin, where the Potocki family spent their time during the summer holidays.³⁴

I. Organization of the kitchen and staff work

Due to the need to maintain the appropriate temperature and ensure cleanliness, the castle kitchen worked almost around the clock. The quality of the supplied food products was separately monitored and taken care of. In the palace in Przyczyna, control over suppliers from the estate of the key, delivering game by shooters and gardeners, was supervised by the chief steward.³⁵ It can be assumed that food supplies were organized in a similar way in Łańcut.

Over the centuries, the castle hosted many prominent figures. Some of them left brief mentions of details about the organization of the kitchen. Architect Teofil Baumann noted in 1819 that “only to prepare meals for the owners, guests, and servants, a well-fed ox was processed daily.”³⁶ In 1877, another visitor, Antoni Bauman, mentioned the name of the then head chef, Mr. Kurowski. He noted that the cook stuttered and was the subject of jokes by the palace owners.³⁷

³² J. Pietrowski, p. 61; I. Lylo, *Kuchnia zamkowa...*

³³ B. Majewska-Maszkowska, *op. cit.*, p. 274–275; B. Łakomska, *Miłośnicy “chińskości” w dawnej Polsce. Od siedemnastego wieku do początków dziewiętnastego wieku*, „Artystyczny Orient. Seria Pracowni Sztuki Orientu Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika i Polskiego Stowarzyszenia Sztuki Orientu” 2008, vol. 7, p. 82–85.

³⁴ In 1925, the inventory of equipment in the Potocki Palace kitchen in Lviv, located on the second floor, included: 3 carpets in the palace rooms, 18 various carpets, 2 plush cherry and blue runners, 4 coconut matting rugs, 3 blue wall covers, 8 yellow wall covers, 8 straw cushions, 1 hayrack, 4 kitchen tables, 6 small tables, 4 kneeling benches, 1 wooden towel rack, 5 old chairs, 1 oilcloth sofa, 1 oilcloth armchair, 2 packs of glass for lamps, 2 packs of iron and bell components, 2 chests of drawers, 1 coffee grinder, 2 washbasins, 1 etagere, 4 picture frames, 1 folding screen, 1 oil lamp, 6 watering cans, 3 cupboards, 1 marble bust, 1 stool, 2 metal beds, 6 terracotta vases, 1 meat block, 1 room cooler, 1 black wardrobe, 1 black trunk with small items, 3 black curtain rods, 3 curtain rods with fabric, 1 black small trunk, 2 pink flower curtains, 4 small flower curtains, 4 rose curtains, 2 fruit-patterned curtains, 4 grape-patterned curtains, 2 blue curtains, and 8 red curtains, along with 3 curtain trunks. [in:] *Zespół archiwaliów...* Library MZŁ, R. 59, p. 2–3.

³⁵ J. Kruczek, *Ceremoniał przyjmowania gości na zamku pszczyńskim (XVIII–XX w.)*, „Materiały Muzeum Wnętrz Zabytkowych w Pszczynie” 1987, vol. IV, p. 107.

³⁶ Ł. Chrobak, *Lubomirscy i Baumanowie na kartach wspomnień Teofila i Antoniego Baumanów w latach 1801–1872*, „Przeworskie Studia Regionalne” 2021, vol. 4, p. 123–154.

³⁷ Biblioteka MZŁ, Bauman Antoni, *Wspomnienia z lat 1877–1896*, R. 1, p. 13.

Antoni Baumann also noted the habit of some kitchen workers to feed their own families and steal food from the palace kitchen. The efforts to combat this practice never yielded the expected results. Even the introduction of the position of “kitchen guard” did not deter theft. One day, the guard himself was caught red-handed when “he was carrying cooked capons out of the palace kitchen in baskets.”³⁸ Kitchen staff stole food even in the presence of the castle administration. Antoni Baumann recorded that “one of the cooks carried a large fish home under his coat, with its tail sticking out from under the coat. The chief steward of the court, Tadeusz Witkowski, knocked on the window and told him to either wear a longer coat or choose a shorter fish for the future.”³⁹

The life of the kitchen staff was entirely subordinate to their employers. Depending on the season and the travels of the household, the head chef, along with other staff members, had to follow them wherever they went. During these times, necessary utensils and furniture were extensively transported from one estate to another.⁴⁰ Based on inventories from the family palace in Lviv and the residence in Antoniny in Podolia, we can track the seasonal movement of some of these items along with the kitchen personnel.⁴¹ Various efforts were made to ensure the comfort of the servants. In 1871, the bedroom of Alfred II Potocki’s chef in Lviv was described. It was mentioned that the room contained “a bed with a mattress, a nightstand, a small table, two chairs, three-drawer chests, and a bronze basin.”⁴² Similar living conditions for a chef named Radecki are recorded in the 1877 palace inventory.⁴³ Sometimes, chefs shared a room with the palace butler.⁴⁴ The living conditions of the head chef were limited depending on whether they served in an urban palace or an estate. However, exceptions occurred even in cities with limited space. The close neighbour of the Potockis in Łańcut, Prince Andrzej Lubomirski, did not hesitate to take rooms from the Ossoliński Foundation to accommodate the chef and his family comfortably.⁴⁵

In other places, skilled professionals like chefs were often treated quite well. The chefs of Count Andrzej Potocki from Krzeszowice near Kraków were entitled to official housing. Among the benefits provided to Stanisław Burczyk,

³⁸ *Ibidem*, Baumann Teofil, architekt. *Pamiętnik z lat 1794–1878*, R. 101, p. 14.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 14; I. Lylo, *Kuchnia zamkowa...*

⁴⁰ Oddział Rękopisów Biblioteki UAN im. Wasyla Stefanyka we Lwowie (hereinafter: ORBUAN), set of files 84, sygn. 23, p. 12; I. Lylo, *Kuchnia zamkowa...*

⁴¹ Library MZŁ, *Księga inwentarzowa*, R. 59.

⁴² ORBUAN, set of files 84, sygn. 23, p. 17.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 11.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 11.

⁴⁵ M. Matwijów, *Blaski i cienie kuratorii literackiej Lubomirskich w Zakładzie Narodowym im. Ossolińskich w latach 1827–1944*, „Galicja. Studia i materiały” 2017, vol. 3, p. 23.

the Lviv chef, with regard to his garment, there is mention of additional clothing granted to him when he was called up for military service in 1898.⁴⁶ In palaces and manors, the value of a good professional in this position was recognized. Even in times of financial difficulty, the head chef was often one of the last individuals to have their employment terminated.⁴⁷

To learn more about the professional lives and living conditions of chefs in Łańcut, we can refer to the information about Franciszek Klarewicz, the head chef of Count Roman Potocki. He was born in 1859 into the family of Adam and Katarzyna Klarewicz, who were townspeople of Łańcut. Besides Franciszek, the family had another son, Stanisław, who lived in Kraków.⁴⁸ Franciszek was married to Maria Sitarska (1869–1945). Her parents, Michał Sitarski and his wife Julianna Florkówna, operated a mill in Łańcut leased from the treasury of Count Alfred Potocki.⁴⁹ The Klarewicz family lived next to the castle at 5 Jagiellońska Street.⁵⁰ The tenement building, owned by the Potocki family, was constructed in 1896 by the renowned local architect Stanisław Cetnarski.⁵¹

The first mention of Franciszek Klarewicz's work dates back to 1883 when, at the age of 24, he was already working as the head chef, as evidenced by Klarewicz's own notes.⁵² However, it is likely that his apprenticeship and work in the castle kitchen began at a much younger age. He likely followed a fairly typical career path for young men in the gastronomic industry of Galicia during this historical period. The prevailing societal opinion at the time suggested that dedicating a child to the culinary arts, "to pots and pans", was not necessarily a source of pride for parents. Due to the lack of specialized culinary schools, aspiring chefs had to undergo training and apprenticeships under renowned masters before achieving the required level of expertise.⁵³

Franciszek Klarewicz's duties included supervising kitchen staff and accompanying the count on his travels, as evidenced by his handwritten notes

⁴⁶ Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie (dalej: ANK), Archiwum Potockich z Krzeszowice (hereinafter: APK) set of files 29/635, sygn. 2918, „Spis służby J.M. Hr. Potockich wynagrodzenie i podział liberii”, p. 68.

⁴⁷ S. Borowiak, *Dzień rozpoczynano od kawy ze śmietanką. O kulturze stołu w ziemiańskich dworach i palacach. Katalog wystawy*, Dobrzyca 2022, p. 13.

⁴⁸ ANK, set of files 328, „Akta stanu cywilnego Parafii Rzymskokatolickiej Najświętszej Marii Panny w Krakowie”, no 2, sygn. 188, p. 474.

⁴⁹ Z. Trzeźniowski, *Rodzina Sitarskich w Łańcucie*, „Łańcucki biuletyn miejski” 2008, Grudzień nr 38/2008, p. 22–23.

⁵⁰ *Księga zgonów*, p. 164.

⁵¹ Z. Trzeźniowski, *op. cit.*, p. 22/23.

⁵² The photo and personal notebook of F. Klarewicz come from the collection of the current owner of the house, Bogumiła Kuźniar. The publication of the portrait is with the consent of the owner (I. L.).

⁵³ *Przegląd Kucharski*, „Nasza Sztuka” 1898, no 2, p. 2.

from Vienna and Lviv.⁵⁴ Procuring supplies for the kitchen and organizing work routines posed significant challenges. The head chef would prepare menus at the chamberlain's request, after consulting with the count and countess. Separate menus were devised for important guests, as seen in Klarewicz's notes from September 1888 when hosting the heir to the throne, Archduke Rudolf.⁵⁵ Similarly, in 1912, a menu was recorded for a dinner held in the White Hall for Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife.⁵⁶ Detailed records of menus, ingredients, and expenses were meticulously maintained in kitchen expense books, providing itemized calculations for both "the master's table" and "the staff's table". The number of guests, the selection of dishes and beverages were all recorded daily. Additionally, monthly expenses for wine and spirits from the castle cellar were documented.⁵⁷

F. Klarewicz typically oversaw three or four cooks and a confectioner.⁵⁸ The most frequently mentioned individuals in the documents are Adam Kucharski, Józef Stefański, Zygmunt Budziński, and Władysław Dobrzański (who also held the position of castle dispenser for several years).⁵⁹

The late 19th and early 20th centuries marked a period of progressive changes in the professional environment of chefs.⁶⁰ On the one hand, head chefs were relatively well-paid and appreciated. On the other hand, many of them exhibited poor work discipline, tendencies toward alcoholism, negligence, and theft. Professional chef associations established in Lviv and Kraków aimed at raising the prestige and qualifications of their members.⁶¹ They issued letters of recommendation, assisting those seeking skilled and trustworthy specialists. In bourgeois kitchens, women were increasingly employed as head chefs.⁶² However, palaces and wealthy noble estates remained the domain of male

⁵⁴ *Rękopis spisu menu*, p. 45. A copy of the document has been added to the collection of Library MZŁ. The original is the property of Bogumiła Kuźniar (I.L.).

⁵⁵ *Rękopis spisu menu*, p. 47.

⁵⁶ Library MZŁ, [E. Potocka nee Radziwiłł], p. 7.

⁵⁷ AGAD, APŁ, sygn. 787, inventories 1869 /akta luźne/ p. 612; *Ibidem*, sygn. 809, Wykazy miesięcznych rozchodów win i wódek z piwnicy zamkowej (1801–1944).

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, sygn. 810, Miesięczne listy służby zamkowej (1801–1944), p. 375.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 361.

⁶⁰ *Przegląd Kucharski: organ Związku Kuchmistrzów: czasopismo poświęcone sprawom Towarzystwa i sztuce kulinarno-gastronomicznej*, Lwów 1898–1901.

⁶¹ CPAHUL, set of files 146, op. 58, sygn. 351, Statut Stowarzyszenia Zawodowych Kato-lickich Kucharzy, p. 4.

⁶² T. Czekański, *Dziewiętnastowieczni mistrzowie sztuki kulinarnej – ewolucja zawodu i czynniki prestiżu. Materiały z międzynarodowej konferencji naukowej zorganizowanej przez Muzeum Historyczne Miasta Gdańska i Uniwersytet Gdański dla upamiętnienia 100-lecia otwarcia muzeum wewnątrz mieszczańskich w Domu Uphagena w dniach 3–4 listopada 2011 roku*, ed. B. Możejko, co-ed. E. Barylewska-Szymańska, Gdańsk 2013, p. 366.

chefs.⁶³ These changes did not affect the castle kitchen in Łańcut. Women were employed there in lower positions and worked as kitchen assistants, servants, maids, or specialized coffee makers.

Payroll records of the castle staff from the time of Roman Potocki include the names of other hired chefs for various periods, mostly without their first names: Sowa, Kotowicz, Tytkowski, Szuper, Lubicki, Michał Janicki, and Józef Radon.⁶⁴ It seems that the number of employees was determined on an ongoing basis depending on planned events or other circumstances.

The wages of the head chef and his subordinates can be considered quite decent. The salary of the head chef usually ranked second or third on the payroll list of the estate.⁶⁵ For comparison, in 1899, the monthly salary of the chamberlain, Marian Eminowicz, was 60 Austrian florins, while Klarewicz earned 50 florins. Chefs Adam Kucharski earned 41 florins and 66 kreuzers, Józef Radoń 38, and Władysław Dobrzański 40.⁶⁶ At the same time, Antoni Teslar, a well-known chef of the governor Andrzej Potocki from Krzeszowice, received 50 florins per month starting from January 1895.⁶⁷

Franciszek Klarewicz's work was adequately rewarded by his employer. After retiring, he lived in Łańcut until 1945 and was buried in the local cemetery with his wife after their deaths.⁶⁸ One of his closest assistants, the chef Adam Kucharski, also remained connected to Łańcut until the end.⁶⁹ They were the last masters of *haute cuisine* in the castle before the end of the Second World War.

II. From the kitchen to the dining room

Since the late 19th century, technological progress has had a significant impact on culinary culture. Menus began to feature increasingly rare ingredients

⁶³ The feminization of kitchens in large noble estates progressed from the beginning of the 20th century. A female cook was no longer seen solely as evidence of the family's financial troubles. Changes occurred due to the organization of various cooking courses emerging in major cities or around palaces. See: K. Nakwaska, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

⁶⁴ AGAD, APL, sygn. 810, Miesięczne listy płacy służby zamkowej (1801–1944), p. 361–362.

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 362.

⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 617.

⁶⁷ The head chef was provided with additional benefits for clothing, meals at the marshal's table, milk, and 150 crowns annually for fuel. His retirement package and savings allowed A. Teslar to purchase a magnificent tenement house at 7 Zwierzyniecka Street in Kraków. See: APK, sygn. 2918, p. 67; M. Majer, *Antoni Teslar – kuchmistrz znany i nieznan*, „Rocznik Biblioteki Narodowej PAU i PAN w Krakowie” 2021, R. LXVI, p. 127.

⁶⁸ The municipal cemetery in Łańcut, Sector B2, Row 25, Grave Number 8. <https://lan-cut36.artlookgallery.com/grobonet/start.php?id=detale&idg=10915> [accessed on 14.03.2024].

⁶⁹ *Księga zgonów*, p. 167.

that were previously uncommon. People started to eat better and live longer. However, the world of cuisine and flavors remained somewhat ritualistic, reflecting people's attitudes towards life and their way of perceiving the surrounding reality. We have limited sources shedding light on the daily organization of meals in the castle until the beginning of World War II. While we have some knowledge of what was served on the table, the organization of the meal process itself remains less documented. Nevertheless, we know that the daily diet of the Potocki family in Łańcut was subject to certain rules until the beginning of the Second World War.⁷⁰

In the Łańcut residence, meals were served both for the family and for the castle staff. The first breakfast had no fixed time and was served in bed. The second breakfast, served at 1:00 PM in "the Gate Dining Room", had its menu predetermined. The dining room was used for hosting important guests, and considerable attention was paid to the proper seating arrangement of the diners at the table.⁷¹ In the large dining room, a special cardboard template, preserved in the castle's collections, was used to arrange guests and family members around the table.

From 1922 to 1927, the dinner began with an aperitif, and the menu consisted of "various egg dishes, cooked meat, usually poultry, accompanied by red wine. Finally, desserts, fruits, white wine, and water were served."⁷² At six o'clock in the evening, the day continued with tea or coffee drinking and pleasant conversation. In the summer, drinks were served in the palace halls, while in winter, they were served in the estate owner's office. If there were no guests, everyone gathered in the countess's salon, where drinks and fruits were served.

The last meal took place at 9:00 PM "according to the French tradition", depending on the presence of guests. Meals were served by "six footmen, who had several uniforms of different colours, which changed during the day".⁷³ In case of a significant influx of guests, additional staff were hired.

III. Cookbooks in the castle library

The changes occurring in culinary culture at the end of the 19th century resulted in the emergence of high-quality restaurants, breakfast rooms, and cafes in large cities. In Lviv, in 1885, the opening of the thirteenth confectionery was

⁷⁰ Library MZŁ, *Wywiad...*

⁷¹ J. Paprocka-Gajek, *Platery warszawskie w latach 1822–1914*, Muzeum Pałacu Króla Jana III w Wilanowie 2015, p. 30.

⁷² Library MZŁ, *Wywiad...*

⁷³ *Ibidem*.

noted.⁷⁴ Their offerings were increasingly affordable for the growing urban middle class. Also, housewives, eager to satisfy the tastes of their loved ones and guests, increasingly turned to printed cookbooks. At the beginning of the 20th century, there was an increasing number of such publications, reflecting the growing demand in the market for such literature.⁷⁵ Analysing the presence of such publications in private libraries can help us understand to what extent the owners were familiar with the new trends in gastronomic fashion.

The collection of books currently housed in the library of Łańcut Castle does not necessarily indicate a great interest of the Potocki family in culinary topics. Out of the twelve preserved titles, only eight are presumed to have a direct connection to the owners of the palace. Chronologically, they span from the first half of the 19th century to 1915. It is assumed that some of them might have been added to the library only in the early 20th century, perhaps as an inheritance from Mikołaj Potocki from Paris. They include works by French culinary masters such as Marie-Antoin Carême, Alexandre Dumas, and Paul Benjamin.⁷⁶ One notable addition to the library's acquisitions is the first edition of the extensive work on French cuisine by the renowned naturalist Armand Havet and his partner M. Lancin.⁷⁷

⁷⁴ *Ilustracja Polska* Kraków-Lwów, r.II, nr. 28, 11 Lipca 1902, p. 21–22.

⁷⁵ J. Kalkowski: *Wstęp* [in:] Lucyna Ćwierczakiewiczowa: *365 obiadów* [według wydania XXIII], Kraków, 1985, p. 6–7.

⁷⁶ Marie Antonin Carême, *Le Conservateur: 1. Le livre de tous les ménages / par Appert. 5e édition, revue par MM. Prieur-Appert et Gannal 2. Anciens procédés de conservation des fruits, des légumes et des viandes, confitures, fruits à l'eau de vie, liqueurs, ratafias, sirops, parfums / par F***, ancien secrétaire de Carême. Conservation des viandes par le procédé dû à M. Gannal 3. Monographie des vins / par MM. Joubert, Bouchard et Louis Leclerc.* Paris 1842; Dumas Alexandre, *Grand dictionnaire de cuisine Alphonse Lemerre*, Paris 1873; Ben, Paul [Paul Benjamin Chareau] & Desrez, A. [Auguste Desrez] 1860 *Science du Bien Vivre, ou Monographie de la cuisine envisagée sous son aspect physique, intellectuel et moral, Guide de la Maîtresse de Maison; suivie de Mille Nouvelles Recettes par ordre régulier, du Service de la Table; D'une liste des provisions que l'on doit faire dans un ménage? D'une nomenclature des vins de choix? De la préparation et de l'arrangement du dessert; D'une nomenclature de tous les ustensiles nécessaires? D'un vocabulaire? Des travaux de l'office; De la description des menus pour 3, 5, 7 et jusqu'à 20 convives; De la composition des menus de dîners maigres; Des moyens de bien faire le café?... Nouvelle édition, revue avec soin et augmentée de l'art d'utiliser les restes.*

⁷⁷ Havet Armand-Ernest: *Dictionnaire des menages, recueil de recettes et d'instructions pour l'économie domestique ; Savoir : moyens de conserver les fruits, les légumes, les grains et autres provisions alimentaires; De faire les confitures, les marmelades, les sirops, les liqueurs, les ratafias, les fruits secs et à l'eau de vie; De préparer le café, le chocolat, le thé, le punch, le limonade, et autres liqueurs d'agrément; L'art de faire le pain, le vin, le cidre et les boissons économiques ; Les vinaigres naturels et aromatisés, les eaux odoriférantes; Soins à donner à la cave, à la basse cour, aux oiseaux de volière et aux animaux domestiques; Destruction des insectes nuisibles, conservation du linge, des étoffes, et d'autres d'effets*

Among the Polish books, particular value lies in the original edition of *Spizarnia dostateczna* [Sufficient pantry] by the famous chef Jan Szyttler, even though the Potocki family were not subscribers to it.⁷⁸ The books by Józef Mączyński and Maria Maciszewska refer to the French gastronomic tradition. Maciszewska's book dedicated to Easter baking is the only item that sparked the interest of Elżbieta Potocka, as evidenced by her handwritten autograph on its cover.⁷⁹ Also the library shelves also store popular works by Karol Godzień and Karolina Nakwaska from that era.⁸⁰ German-language gastronomic publications form a very small group in the collection.⁸¹ This modest collection does not indicate the extent to which the castle owners utilized this literature. Part of the castle library's collections were dispersed after 1945, as indicated by the existing online copy of Wincenty Zawadzka's book with the castle library's *ex libris*.⁸² It is presumed that the head chef of the castle likely had his own library. The preserved notebook of F. Klarewicz indicates that despite a somewhat superficial knowledge of the French language, he followed culinary trends and endeavoured to enhance his qualifications.⁸³

et meubles; Enfin, quantité de procédés pour tirer meilleur parti de sa fortune et rendre sa vie plus agréable. Ouvrage utile aux pères et mères de famille, et à tout Chef de maison. par M. HAV., Médecin et Botaniste, auteur du Moniteur Médical, et M. Lancin, propriétaire-cultivateur. à Paris, chez Pierre Blanchard, 1820; Charles Bechet, Le gastronome français ou l'art du bien-vivre, par les anciens auteurs du journal Les Gourmands, Paris, 1828; Foelcker-sahmb-Kroppen de Les archives de la Gastronomie français par. Paris 1883, G. Charpentier, éditeur.

⁷⁸ J. Szyttler, *Spizarnia dostatecznie i przezornie urządzona*, Wilno 1841.

⁷⁹ M. Maciszewska, *Przepisy ciast wielkanocnych to jest bab różnego rodzaju, placków, mazurków oraz różnych innych ciast drożdżowych i nie drożdżowych a także legumin, lodów. Smażenie konfitur. Robienie wędliny i wiele innych sekret (w, pewnych i doświadczonych. Przez Litwinę, zamieszkałą w Ukrainie, Kijów 1854.*

⁸⁰ J. Mączyński, *Szkola kucharek, czyli łatwy sposób wyuczenia się gotowania różnych potraw mięsnych i postnych. Na wzór dzieła P. Carêma kuchmistrza Napoleona ułożył*, Kraków 1843; K. Godzień, *Gospodarstwo w chacie wiejskiej*, Rzeszów 1886.

⁸¹ Beyse J., *Handbuch der gesammten Land – und Hauswirtschaft: nach d. neuesten Fortschritten, Erfahrungen u. Verbesserungen*, band 2 1863; M. Augstin, *Die Weidewirtschaft Handbuch für den praktischen Landwirt*, Verlag: Berlin Paul Parey 1915.

⁸² W. Zawadzka, *Kucharka litewska. Zawierająca: przepisy gruntowne i jasne, własnym doświadczeniem sprawdzone, sporządzania smacznych, wykwintnych, tanich i prostych rozmaitych rodzajów potraw tak mięsnych jako i postnych, oraz ciast, legumin, lodów, kremów, galaret, konfitur i innych deszerowych przysmaków, tudzież rozlicznych aptecznych zapraw, konserw i rzadszych specjalów. Z przydaniem na początku książki: dokładnej dyspozycyi stołu przez W. A. L. Z., Wilno 1874.*

⁸³ In 1910, Antoni Teslar published the book "Polish-French Cuisine." Although it did not achieve wide popularity, it was well-known within professional circles. Interestingly, this particular edition is not available in the Potocki Library in Łańcut. Antoni Teslar, *Kuchnia Polsko-Francuska*, Kraków 1910.

Conclusion

The history of the castle kitchen in Łańcut combines several unique features. Despite technological changes influenced by culinary trends and the desires of the owners, the kitchen retained its original location in the same part of the building for almost two hundred and fifty years. The museum possesses a unique collection of authentic utensils from the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries, a significant number of items from the pantry, and rich documentary sources covering almost the entire period of the kitchen's operation. Discoveries in recent years show that there is still a chance to rediscover and bring back to the castle some of the items lost after the Second World War. Finding and analysing the personal records of head chef Franciszek Klarewicz leads us to fruitful discussions about the tastes of the palace kitchen.

All of this has facilitated the initial development of information regarding the profiles of individuals associated with kitchen work, showcasing the atmosphere prevailing not only as a unit ensuring the life functions of the owners and staff but also at the level of human emotions and social culture within and around the castle during different historical periods. The research results significantly expand our knowledge of the gastronomic culture of the region from the 18th to the mid-20th century. Combined with extensive source material on kitchen expenses and documents held in Ukrainian archives, this opens up an additional basis for the historical reconstruction of the castle kitchen space. The castle's very good geographical location, its material resources, and scientific potential could make it an important research centre for the study of culinary culture in Poland and neighbouring countries.

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Historia kuchni zamkowej w Łańcucie

Streszczenie

Artykuł przedstawia historię kuchni na zamku w Łańcucie od drugiej połowy XVII w. do 1944 r. Wyniki badań są oparte na źródłach z Archiwum Głównego Akt Dawnych w Warszawie, Biblioteki i Archiwum Zamku w Łańcucie, zbiorów Oddziału Rękopisów Biblioteki Narodowej imienia Wasyla Stefanyka we Lwowie, wykorzystano także wspomnienia podróżników z XIX wieku. Przemiany przestrzeni kuchennej i organizacji pracy personelu są ważnym elementem kultury gastronomicznej arystokratycznych pałaców i ziemiańskich dworów. W artykule przedstawiono też sylwetki pracowników pałacowej kuchni oraz starano się scharakteryzować panującą w tym miejscu atmosferę i opinie na temat pracy szefa kuchni.

Słowa kluczowe: kuchnia, zamek, Łańcut, kuchmistrz, Franciszek Klarewicz