

THE HISTORY
OF BRANICKI PALACE UNTIL 1809
THE INFLUENCE OF “VERSAILLES OF PODLASIE”
ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF BIAŁYSTOK



Karol Łopatecki
Wojciech Walczak

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Prof. Jerzy Urwanowicz

Volume editors:

Karol Łopatecki & Wojciech Walczak

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Karol Łopatecki & Wojciech Walczak

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Introduction

The state called the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth was formed as a result of a merger of the Kingdom of Poland and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. It took place during the general sejm in Lublin in 1569, ending the period of casual connection between these two states based on a personal union since the Union of Krewa of 1385.¹ Shortly after, on 7th July 1572, the last Jagiellonian king, Zygmunt II August, died. This resulted in a long period of “Great Interregnum” (1572–1576)². The rules of royal elections were then established: the king was to be elected by the Polish and Lithuanian nobility jointly. The principle of *Electio viritim* was applied, meaning that each nobleman was allowed to turn out to support one candidate. A special set of laws (the so-called Henrician Articles) to be confirmed by each newly elected king, was also prepared³. These transformations strengthened the dominant position of the nobility in political life.

Despite the formal equality of the noble state, a small group of the wealthiest ones – the magnate class – was actually getting more and more important⁴. They exploited the rest of nobility for their own political purposes, establishing clientelistic (Patron/Client) relationships with them⁵. Political influences and clan prestige resulted in obtaining senator’s offices, and first of all in perpetual ownership of royal lands called starosties.⁶ The more and more powerful elite

¹ M. Jučas, *Unia polsko-litewska*, transl. by A. Firewicz, Toruń 2004, pp. 81–268.

² E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, *Koronne zjazdy szlacheckie w dwóch pierwszych bezkrólewicach po śmierci Zygmunta Augusta*, Białystok 1998.

³ D. Makiła, *Artykuły henrykowskie (1573–1576). Studium historyczno-prawne*, Warszawa 2012.

⁴ In the extensive literature on the magnate class we can find four outstanding anthologies edited by Ewa Dubas-Urwanowicz and Jerzy Urwanowicz: *Władza i prestiż. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku*, Białystok 2003; *Patron i dwór. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 2006; *Fundator i mecenas. Magnateria Rzeczypospolitej w XVI–XVIII wieku*, Białystok 2011; *Wobec króla i Rzeczypospolitej. Magnateria w XVI–XVIII wieku*, Kraków 2012.

⁵ A. Mączak, *Nierówna przyjaźń. Układy klientalne w perspektywie historycznej*, Wrocław 2003.

⁶ T. Zielińska, *Magnateria polska epoki saskiej: funkcje urzędów i królewskich w procesie przeobrażeń warstwy społecznej*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1977. In the Commonwealth there were borough starosties, associated with exercising executive authority



combined with the weak position of the king and impoverishment of middle nobility (particularly evident from the second half of the 17th c.) led to progressing decentralization of political, economic and cultural life.⁷ While in absolute monarchies the royal court was the centre of public life, in the Commonwealth individual magnates' palaces – serving as the administrative centres of huge magnate estates – played an increasingly important role⁸.

The aim of this book is to show the development of the palace in Białystok: from the first layouts, through its time of glory related to the reign of Jan Klemens Branicki, up to the palace's decline during Izabella Branicka's administration on the basis of life estate right. From the chronological point of view, the work finishes in 1809, when the authorities of the Russian Empire purchased the Białystok estates along with the town and palace from the successors of Jan Klemens Branicki. The authors also want to focus on the impact of the magnate manor on the origin and development of Białystok as an urban centre.

The book is also an attempt to show the impact the existence of the magnate manor had on the nearby Białystok estate. It reveals the process of incorporation and development of a town which benefited from the existence of the nearby manor. Białystok was no exception in this respect; as Józef Maroszek observed, *the capitals of estates which were also residential towns enjoyed a particularly good economic situation*⁹. It is worth emphasizing that 41 settlements in Podlaskie Voivodeship had been granted charters before 1795¹⁰. Only 17 of

within the area and running so-called borough courts and offices. Most starosties were "non-borough" ones and did not give with any rights except the profits from the land. Nominally the rent amounted to 25%, but in practice it was much higher. A. Filipczak-Kocur, *Skarbowość Rzeczypospolitej 1587–1648*, Warszawa 2006.

⁷ Its position was strongest during the Saxon reign (kings August II Mocny and August III Wettin). An interesting view of the decreasing political influences of magnates during the reign of Stanisław August Poniatowski is presented by Dariusz Rolnik: He interprets this phenomenon as a consequence of emancipation of the nobility (in the economic, but mainly ideological, sense) and the awareness of the power of Russia. "Then the king of the Commonwealth proved to be far from striving for absolute power, he often became an ally in the pursuit of the same goal of the Commonwealth regaining its importance in the contemporary world, profitable for all: both the king and the magnates". D. Rolnik, *Kasztelan krakowski Antoni Jabłonowski i inni „możnowładcy”. O roli politycznej magnaterii w czasach panowania Stanisława Augusta*, [in:] *Wobec króla i Rzeczypospolitej*, p. 231.

⁸ See M. Kowalski, *Księstwa Rzeczypospolitej. Państwo magnackie jako region polityczny*, Warszawa 2013.

⁹ J. Maroszek, *Rzemiosło w miastach podlaskich w XVI–XVIII w.*, [in:] *Studia nad produkcją rzemieślniczą w Polsce (XIV–XVIII w.)*, eds M. Kwapien, J. Maroszek, A. Wyrobisz, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1976, pp. 188–189.

¹⁰ S. Alexandrowicz, *Powstanie i rozwój miast województwa podlaskiego (XV – 1 poł. XVII w.)*, "Acta Baltico-Slavica" 1 (1964), pp. 63–130. Cf.: J. Maroszek, *Dzieje województwa*

these towns still exist. Even in the Old Polish period, 6 incorporation attempts failed, and 13 towns collapsed in the 19th century¹¹. Against this background, Białystok of the Branickis, Ciechanowiec of the Ossolińskis, Siemiatycze of the Sapiehas, Sokołów of the Ogińskis, Węgrów of the Krasińskis or Międzyrzec Podlaski of the Czartoryskis were quite successful. But among the above-mentioned towns, Białystok undoubtedly developed most efficiently over the 19th and 20th centuries. This phenomenon dates back to the turn of the 19th century, when the clearly residential town transformed into an administrative centre, first of the Kingdom of Prussia and then of the Russian Empire¹².

The Branicki Palace in Białystok is a classic example of palace and garden program against the background of 18th century objects of this kind in the Commonwealth; it is only comparable to the Radziwiłł palace and garden complex in Alba¹³. Ample financial resources, very good taste and artistic knowledge of Jan Klemens Branicki allowed for the creation of one of the most beautiful palaces and garden layouts of the modern era¹⁴. The project by the Grand Hetman of the Crown and his wife Izabela Branicka, née Poniatowska, was greatly rewarded by being referred to as “Versailles of the North” or “Versailles of Poland”. As early as in 1742, Konstancja Czapska, née Gnińska, referred to the Hetman’s residence as *Paris of Podlasie*¹⁵. Information of the Podlasie residence was popularized all over Europe by a German geographer who compared it to Versailles¹⁶. The

podlaskiego do 1795 roku, Białystok 2013, pp. 269–270, where the author also mentions 36 market settlements (some of which were later chartered).

¹¹ J. Maroszek, *Rzemiosło w miastach*, pp. 94–97. The data found there had been verified by 11/11/2014 (http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nadania_praw_miejskich_w_Polsce_po_1900).

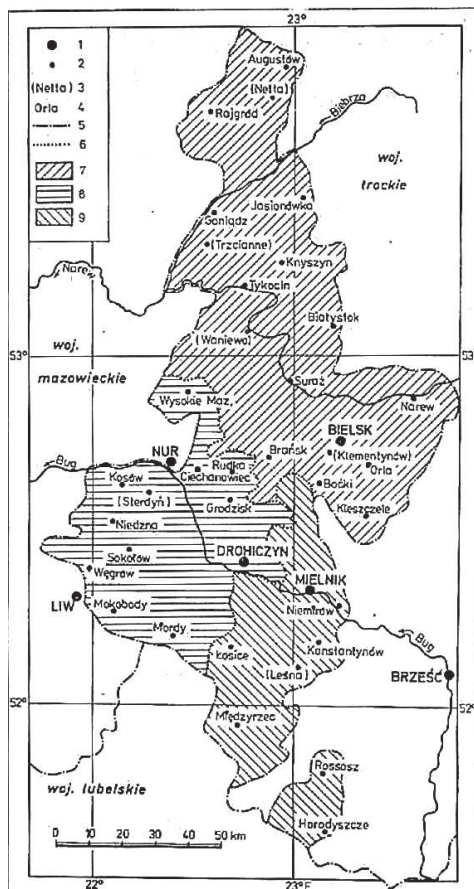
¹² Białystok also took advantage of the Industrial Revolution. The impulse to set up firms, especially textile ones, was the repression of the Kingdom of Poland after the November Uprising (1831). In 1834, a customs frontier was delineated between Poland and Russia (not abolished until 1851). As a result, Białystok became an ideal place to move or establish manufacturing companies, thus evading Russian customs duties. In addition, the Saint Petersburg–Warsaw railway was launched in 1862, which gave another impulse for industrialization. J. Łukasiewicz, *Białystok w XIX wieku*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów miasta Białegostoku*, vol. III, ed. J. Joka, Białystok 1972, pp. 59–118; E. Kozłowska-Świątkowska, J. Maroszek, *Hasbachowie. Z rodzinnego sztabu*, Białystok 2011, pp. 8–13.

¹³ T. Bernatowicz, *Alba. Od renesansowej willi do kompozycji krajobrazowej. Z badań źródłowych nad architekturą ogrodów na Kresach*, Warszawa 2009, p. 7.

¹⁴ A. Oleńska, *Jan Klemens Branicki. Sarmata nowoczesny. Kreowanie wizerunku poprzez sztukę*, Warszawa 2011, pp. 88–153.

¹⁵ J. Nieciecki, *Opowieści o „Polskim Wersalu”*, „Biuletyn Konserwatorski Województwa Białostockiego” 2 (1996), p. 53.

¹⁶ A.F. Büsching, *Geografia Królestwa Polskiego y Wielkiego Xięstwa Litewskiego tudzież innych Prowincyi do nich należących*, Warszawa 1768, pp. 150–151: “There is a beautiful



2. Towns within Podlaskie Voivodeship incorporated before 1795 [Map developed by Waleria Maroszek, drawing by Adam Nowak. J. Maroszek, *Rzemiosło w miastach*, p. 90].

name became popular with foreigners travelling around Poland; it was used e.g. by William Coxe and by Ernst Ahasverus von Lehndorff¹⁷. In Poland, the term "Versailles of Podlasie" used by Karol Wyrwicz became common¹⁸.

castle in the New Town, with an excellent garden layout, belonging to Count Branicki. It can be called Versailles of Poland".

¹⁷ J. Nieciecki, „Polski Wersal” – Białystok Jana Klemensa Branickiego, „Biuletyn Historii Sztuki” 63 (2001), p. 295.

¹⁸ K. Wyrwicz, *Geografia powszechna czasów teraźniejszych*, Warszawa 1770, p. 283. Cf.: T. Święcki, *Opis starożytnej Polski*, vol. I, Warszawa 1816, p. 422: "Białystok, which is at the Lithuanian border, quite beautiful at the time of Cellarius and later embellished with a Palace and a garden by Branicki, Grand Hetman of the Crown and Castellan of Cracow, was called by Wyrwicz the Versailles of Podlasie".

Obviously, many scholars have been interested in such a grandiose place; hence, several works of great importance have been written about it. The process of construction of the whole layout was described by Elżbieta Kowecka, whereas the palace and its interiors, by Izabela Szymańska, Aneta Średzińska, Karol Łopatecki and Wojciech Walczak¹⁹. Artistic patronage was discussed by Elżbieta Żyłko in her unpublished doctoral dissertation, and Alina Sztachelska focused on the financial standing of Jan Klemens Branicki²⁰. Anna Oleńska, in turn, highlighted that the works of art ordered by Jan Klemens Branicki had the purpose of creating his image in two contradictory dimensions. The first of them was universalistic, oriented at the elites of the Commonwealth, and it presented Branicki as a modern aristocrat, Francophile and a lover of art. The other one was addressed at the masses of the nobility and created the image of the Hetman as a descendant of Piasts cherishing the immemorial laws and traditions of the Commonwealth, a saviour, or even the Father of the Nation²¹. Apart from these monographs, we can read many significant articles by Jan Nieciecki²². Finally, the origin and development of the town of Białystok were recapitulated in a collective work edited by Adam Dobroński²³. Additionally, the Prussian period (1796–1807) was discussed in detail by Ariusz Małek²⁴.

¹⁹ E. Kowecka, *Dwór „Najrzędniejszego w Polsce magnata”*, Warszawa 1991; I. Szymańska, A. Średzińska, *Pałac Branickich. Historia i wnętrza*, Białystok 2011; *Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku*, vol. I: *Inwentarze z XVII i XVIII stulecia*, parts 1–2, ed. by K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak, Białystok 2012.

²⁰ E. Żyłko, *Mecenat artystyczny hetmana Jana Klemensa Branickiego i Elżbiety z Poniatowskich Branickiej (1709–1809)*, Warszawa 1963; A. Sztachelska-Kokoczka, *Magnackie dobra Jana Klemensa Branickiego*, Białystok 2006.

²¹ A. Oleńska, op. cit., pp. 32–33 (thesis), chap. III („*Magnificentia principis*”. *Fundacje artystyczne jako element reprezentacji i autopropagandy – wzory europejskie*) and IV (*Sarmata idealny. Miłośnik tradycji i wolności. Mąż opatrnościowy Rzeczypospolitej*).

²² For example: *Wystrój snycerski z XVIII w. kościoła pw. Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Marii Panny w Białymstoku*, [in:] *Studia nad sztuką renesansu i baroku*, ed. A. Maśliński, vol. I, Lublin 1989, pp. 55–112; *Opowieści o „Polskim Wersalu”*. O tym, jak król August III na niedźwiedzia polował, „Biuletyn Konserwatorski Województwa Białostockiego” 4 (1998), pp. 29–47; *Białostockie założenie przestrzenne w XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Ogród Branickich w Białymstoku. Badania – Projekty – Realizacja*, Warszawa 1998, pp. 16–22 („*Studia i Materiały. Ośrodek Ochrony Zabytkowego Krajobrazu. Ogrody*” 4/10); *Apoteoza Augusta III w białostockim pałacu Jana Klemensa Branickiego*, „*Roczniki Humanistyczne*” 47 (1999), 4, pp. 213–229; *Dwór Jana Klemensa Branickiego w Białymstoku*, [in:] *Ogród Branickich w Białymstoku*, pp. 50–55; „*Polski Wersal*” – Białystok Jana Klemensa Branickiego, „*Biuletyn Historii Sztuki*” 63 (2001), pp. 295–314.

²³ *Historia Białegostoku*, ed. A. Cz. Dobroński, Białystok 2012. See also: A. Sztachelska-Kokoczka, *Białystok za pałacową bramą*, Białystok 2009.

²⁴ A. Małek, *Kamera Wojny i Domen Departamentu Białostockiego Nowych Prus Wschodnich 1796–1807. Monografia zespołu archiwalnego*, Warszawa 2007.

Despite the availability of many scientific publications, we still know very little about Białystok in the modern period, especially in the about the times before Jan Klemens Branicki. But actually the modern history of Białystok estates is very specific, to a certain extent even unique. On the one hand, they were private lands whose development was inseparably connected with their owners (Bakałarzewicz, Wiesiołowski, Czarniecki and Branicki families); on the other hand, in the years 1646–1661 Białystok was a royal estate administered by Władysław IV Vasa and Jan Kazimierz. Besides, since the origin, Białystok estates changed their state affiliation several times. Before 1569, they had belonged to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania; then, until the 1590s, they were identified with the land of Bielsk located within the Crown, and afterwards, the area became Lithuanian again, becoming the object of disputes between Bielsk and Grodno poviats. This conflict was finally settled in 1646 by a court decree.

The development of Białystok itself and its administrative and legal organisation was not simple either. To begin with, it is worth noting that we still do not have any verified information on the circumstances of transformation of the settlement into a town. The reasons of the rapid development of Białystok between the 1730s and the early 1770s are still obscure. And last but not least, transformations thanks to which a small centre of magnate estate became the capital of a province of the Kingdom of Prussia (New East Prussia) – and then the Białystok District – have not been sufficiently studied yet.

We also give a lot of attention to the activity of Izabela Branicka, née Poniatowska, after the death of Jan Klemens Branicki (1771–1808). Her autonomous administration of the palace (up to 1808) and the town (up to 1803) was of key importance for the issues analysed in the book. We hope the publication will become a significant contribution to the monograph of the sister of the last king of the Commonwealth.

1. Owners of the Białystok estates before 1809

Białystok lies within the Białystok Plateau formed during successive glacial and interglacial periods of the Pleistocene glaciation²⁵. Glacier accumulation landforms such as hills (eskers and kames) were then created, as well as ground and terminal moraines, forming rows of hilly ridges. These landform features are crossed with valleys of the Supraśl and Biała rivers and their numerous tributaries²⁶. Generally, the terrain conditions were favourable for settlement: well-watered areas of the valley bottom zones provided a lot of animal and plant food, and the nearby hills, being the remnants of accumulation of sandy material after the glacier melting, made a good foundation for building settlements. This is confirmed by the 23 archaeological sites within the contemporary Białystok, almost all of which are located in close proximity to the Biała river and its tributaries²⁷.

The area of the Branicki Palace was a particularly attractive place to establish new settlements, which is confirmed by the discovery of a small human settlement of the 3rd–4th c. CE on the entrance courtyard, belonging to the stroke-ornamented ware culture. It is the oldest known settlement in the history of Białystok, made up of houses and farm buildings, equipped with fireplaces and storage hollows. Its inhabitants cultivated crops and bred animals, but they also engaged in fishery, hunting and gathering²⁸.

²⁵ Cf. L. Lindner, A. Bogutsky, P. Gozhik et al., *Correlation of main climatic glacial-interglacial and loess-palaeosol cycles in the Pleistocene of Poland and Ukraine*, „Acta Geologica Polonica” 52 (2002), 4, pp. 459–469.

²⁶ A. Krzymkowiak-Kostrowiecka, *Środowisko geograficzne Białegostoku i okolicy oraz jego przemiany*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów miasta Białegostoku*, vol. I, eds J. Antoniewicz, J. Joka, Białystok 1968, pp. 7–15.

²⁷ L. Pawlata, *Problematyka i stan badań archeologicznych na obszarze miasta Białystok*, „Podlaskie Zeszyty Archeologiczne” 3 (2007), pp. 220–271; I. Kryński, U. Stankiewicz, *Początki osadnictwa*, [in:] *Historia Białegostoku*, pp. 13–22.

²⁸ I. Kryński, *Sprawozdanie z badań wykopaliskowych na dziedzińcu wstępnym pałacu Branickich w Białymstoku*, „Podlaskie Zeszyty Archeologiczne” 1 (2005), pp. 22–35; idem, *Osada ludności kultury ceramiki kreskowanej w Białymstoku*, „Biuletyn Konserwatorski Województwa Podlaskiego” 12 (2006), pp. 186–195; idem, *Obiekty osadnicze kultury ceramiki kreskowanej z dziedzińca wstępnego pałacu Branickich w Białymstoku*, „Biuletyn Konserwa-

Obviously there was no settlement continuity between the above-mentioned settlement and the later village of Białystok. The beginnings of penetration of this area date back to the 1st half of the 15th century; the settlers came from the poviats of Nowogród near Łomża²⁹. We do not know exactly when the Białystok estate was established, but probably the person endowed with the estate located upon the Białystok river was Jakub Raczką Tabutowicz, who received it between 1433 and 1440 from Zygmunt Kiejstutowicz or his son Michał Bolesław Zygmuntowicz³⁰. In the 1440s, after the death of Jakub Raczek, his wife had a legal dispute with Andrzej Dowohnowicz, the starost of Grodno, which she finally won. Raczką's sons – Jundziłł, Michno, Waclaw and Jan – were his successors. When the property was divided, Michno received the part of the estate with the manor in Białystok, whereas Jundziłł got the manor in Dojlidy with the surrounding land. Michno had two sons: Mikołaj and Stanisław. The first of them studied at the Cracovian Academy, where he obtained the degree of bachelor of liberal arts. Therefore, he was nicknamed Bakałarz, and hence the surname of his successors was Bakałarzewicz. Then, at least from 1499, Mikołaj was engaged at the court of the Grand Duke. Eight years later he held the office of Secretary and Manager of the Latin chancellery, and before 1514, also the office of Marshal to the Duke³¹.

The earliest source data directly referring to the Białystok estate come from the document issued on 29/02/1514, concerning a litigation between the owner of the estate located upon the Białystok river, Mikołaj Michnowicz Raczkowicz, and the patron of the Supraśl monastery, Aleksander Chodkiewicz. Its copy was placed in the Supraśl archives, and the original was kept in *a red box with*

torski Województwa Podlaskiego" 11 (2006), pp. 207–213; I. Kryński, U. Stankiewicz, op. cit., pp. 20–21.

²⁹ Z. Romaniuk, *Kilka uwag o początkach osady i miasta Białystok*, [in:] *Szkice do dziejów Białegostoku*, eds M. Kietliński, W. Śleszyński, Białystok 2003, pp. 9–10. More about the colonization campaign: J. Wiśniewski, *Początki Białegostoku i okolicznego osadnictwa*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów miasta Białegostoku*, ed. H. Majecki, vol. IV, Białystok 1985, pp. 10–14.

³⁰ Supposedly in 1426, Vytautas (Witold) granted the village Bielszczany Stok to the starost of Tykocin. There are some doubts, yet, whether this settlement was located in the place of contemporary Białystok. H. Muszyńska-Hoffmannowa, *W Wersalu Podlaskim*, Olsztyn 1978, p. 13; M. Kondratiuk, *Nazwy miejscowe południowo-wschodniej Białostocczyzny*, Wrocław 1974, p. 26.

³¹ J. Tęgowski, W. Wróbel, *Dzieje Białegostoku w okresie średniowiecza i wczesnej nowożytności*, [in:] *Historia Białegostoku*, pp. 43–44, 48–49. More in: J. Glinka, *Ród Klasucia w wiekach XIII–XVI. Ze studiów nad kształtowaniem się i różnicowaniem społecznym bojarstwa litewskiego*, cz. 1, „Studia Źródłoznawcze” 4 (1959), pp. 85–107, and J. Glinka, *Ród Klausucia w wiekach XIII–XVI. Ze studiów nad kształtowaniem się i różnicowaniem społecznym bojarstwa litewskiego*, part 2, „Studia Źródłoznawcze” 5 (1960), pp. 35–55.

ferrules in Chodkiewicz family archives³². The register of the box contents included item no. 50: *A parchment letter with two seals, settling a dispute between Mikołaj Michnowicz Raczkowicz and Aleksander Chodkiewicz concerning a piece of land in Białystok area, signed on 29th February 1514 in Vilnius, ref. no. 2*³³.

The heir of Mikołaj Michnowicz Raczkowicz's property was his only son, Mikołaj, who the dominion over the Białystok estate after the death of his mother, Hanna Świrski, about 1534. In 1543 he pledged the Białystok estate with the owner of Niewodnica, Mikołaj Korycki, district judge of Bielsk, for 100 *kopas* (stacks) of Lithuanian groszy, which was registered in the town of Brańsk on 15th August³⁴. He spent this amount on the repayment of financial liabilities towards his sister, Anna Gąsowska, which we know from a document of 11/02/1544, in which Jan Gąsowski and his son Stanisław confirmed the reception of the money. The other sister, Zofia Kuncewiczowa, and her husband Maciej Jakubowicz Kuncewicz, received 200 *kopas* of Lithuanian groszy, on 08/08/1547³⁵.

Between 1543 and 1547, two vital events took place. First, Mikołaj Bakałarzewicz married Katarzyna Wołłowiczówna, and soon afterwards he died without a male successor. Another event important for the history of Białystok estate was the remarriage of its owner, Katarzyna. In 1547 she married Piotr Wiesiołowski, a Crown Quartermaster, and relinquished the Białystok property to him. From then on, Białystok belonged to the Wiesiołowski family, Ogończyk coat of arms, from Łęczyca voivodeship³⁶.

The second husband of Katarzyna Wołłowicz, Piotr Wiesiołowski (the elder), was a starost of Mścibów and Meteł as well as a courtier of Zygmunt Stary and later Zygmunt August; it was thanks to the kindness of that last Jagiellonian king that he joined the magnate class in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. After the wedding, he settled in Białystok for good and had two sons with Katarzyna: Piotr (the younger) and Jan. After his death in 1556, Katarzyna's brother Ostafi Wołłowicz became the guardian of the widow and her minor children. As a supporter of the Reformation and a well-known Calvinistic activist, he educated Jan and Piotr in the spirit of that religion.

³² J. Maroszek, *Rewelacyjne odkrycie nieznanych najstarszych dokumentów dla Białegostoku*, „Białostoczczyzna” 14 (1999), 1, p. 19.

³³ *Prawa i przywileje miasta i dóbr ziemskich Zabłudów XV–XVIII w.*, ed. J. Maroszek, Białystok 1994, no. 14, register 51, p. 90.

³⁴ Нацыянальны гістарычны архіў Беларусі, 1708, op. 1, no. 204, file cards 82v–83; cf. J. Tęgowski, W. Wróbel, op. cit., pp. 48–49.

³⁵ J. Maroszek, *Dzieje Białegostoku w latach 1547–1692*, [in:] *Historia Białegostoku*, pp. 53–54.

³⁶ W. Semkowicz, *Wywody szlachectwa w Polsce w XIV–XVII w.*, „Rocznik Towarzystwa Heraldycznego” 3 (1913), p. 15.

In 1560, he sent Wiesiołowski's sons to study in Germany³⁷. During the boys' stay in Tübingen, their mother died, having made a will stating that the Białystok estate should be divided between her sons, Piotr and Jan, and Katarzyna's daughter from her first marriage, Elżbieta Bakalarzewiczówna. The guardians of the children would be Ostafi Wołowicz and Grand Treasurer of Lithuania, Mikołaj Naruszewicz. Learning of the death of his mother, the younger of the brothers, Jan, discontinued his study abroad. He returned to the homeland, and as a courtier of Zygmunt August he often stayed at the royal residence in Knyszyn. He died in Tykocin around 1570, leaving his brother Piotr as the only owner of the Białystok estate³⁸. He was also by the king's side in his final months and was present at his death, *at which I was looking with sadness, being his servant and brought up by him*³⁹.

Piotr Wiesiołowski the younger – probably responsible for the construction of a brick church and manor discussed in greater detail further in the text – had two sons, Krzysztof and Mikołaj, and after his death in 1621 they took over their father's estate. However, the inheritance settlements were not legally confirmed until 28/01/1630, when Białystok was granted to the first of them⁴⁰. Krzysztof Wiesiołowski died on 19/04/1637 as the last in the clan (his adopted daughter Gryzelda Sapieżyna had died four years before, and his brother, three years before⁴¹). In accordance with his will, Białystok was to be given to the military hospital established in Tykocin as a source of benefits, and it should be incorporated in the Tykocin starosty⁴², yet this provision turned out to be difficult to implement because of relatives who had the right to take the estate into ownership. Apart from Krzysztof and Mikołaj, Piotr Wiesiołowski

³⁷ Piotr Wiesiołowski left a handwritten note: "1560. This year I came to Tübingen to study ... I lived usq ad festum S. Nicolai Anno 1563". At that time, he was a zealous Evangelical; at the beginning of his study he went to Wittenberg for religious reasons. He regarded the death of Philipp Melanchthon as the most significant event of the year, and three years later he wrote: "in June I visited Calvin in Geneva". Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, ms. 1793, pp. 301, 385.

³⁸ T. Wasilewski, *Białystok w XVI–XVII wieku*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów miasta Białegostoku*, vol. I, pp. 117–119.

³⁹ Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, ms. 1793, p. 639.

⁴⁰ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa (Warszawa), Teki Glinki, 62, file cards 4.

⁴¹ W. Jarmolik, *Gryzelda Wodyńska – przybrana córka Wiesiołowskich*, „Białostoczczyzna” 7 (1992), 4, pp. 44–45; J. Maroszek, *Dzieje Białegostoku*, pp. 61–64.

⁴² *Inwentarz majątności Białegostoku z należącymi folwarkami. Słów kilka o dworze i folwarkach białostockich w 1645 roku*, ed. by M. Sokół, „Biuletyn Konserwatorski Województwa Podlaskiego” 15–16 (2012), pp. 84–85. More about the military hospital system: K. Łopatecki, *Specyfika fundacji szpitali wojskowych w Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej na tle europejskim*, [in:] *Fundator i mecenas*, pp. 361–382.

the younger also had three daughters: the eldest, Anna, married Jan Józefowicz Chalecki; the middle one, Halszka, was a wife of Woyna, and later prince Jerzy Kroszyński; and the youngest one, Katarzyna, married Dymitr Karp. After the death of Aleksandra Wiesiołowska, Białystok should have been bequeathed to Hieronim Kazimierz and Władysław Jerzy Chalecki. The case was to be settled by a sejm court, which assigned the estate to the Tykocin starost on a perpetual basis⁴³. The Chaleckis did not give up and persuaded the nobility from the land of Bielsk to support the claims of Hieronim Kazimierz Chalecki at the 1655 sejm, but due to the military actions in progress, the *petita* was not considered⁴⁴ and the Białystok estate remained under the rule of the starost.

Over the 16 years of Tykocin starosts' rule in Białystok (1645–1661), the rule was executed by as many as six people. The first of them was Crown Deputy Cupbearer Mikołaj Ostroróg. He took possession of the starosty on 25/10/1645, yet six years later he died. Until the “Swedish Deluge”, the dominion was held by Wojciech Wessel; although he did not die until 26/08/1656 in Gdańsk, as early as in 1655 Tykocin and the Białystok estate were taken over by Janusz Radziwiłł, who introduced the companies of Bogusław Radziwiłł to Białystok in the autumn of 1655⁴⁵. When on 26/01/1657 Tykocin was conquered by the king's loyal troops, the dominion over the starosty and Białystok itself was assumed by the Grand Hetman of Lithuania Paweł Sapieha – the conqueror. In 1658, the wife of the late Wessel, Marianna, née Potocka, complained to the sejm court against the Hetman about the infringement of her life estate right, and on 10/11/1659 Jan Kazimierz granted the Tykocin starosty to Stefan Czarniecki and his wife Zofia, who only took the received property in practical terms on 04/04/1660⁴⁶.

Another change of the legal situation occurred on 13/06/1661, when the king granted the ownership of Tykocin starosty including Białystok estate to Stefan Czarniecki⁴⁷. That same year, Czarniecki's property was also divided

⁴³ A. S. Radziwiłł, *Pamiętnik*, vol. II: 1637–1646, transl. and ed. by A. Przyboś, R. Żelewski, Warszawa 1980, p. 519; J. Maroszek, *Dzieje Białegostoku*, pp. 73–79.

⁴⁴ Нацыянальны гістарычны архіў Беларусі, Ф. 1708, оп. 1, нр 39, file card 186v.

⁴⁵ Bogusław Radziwiłł must have claimed to have the right to Białystok, as in 1662 his servant Stanisław Świnarski sent him “a copy of privilege concerning the Białystok farm”, which was held by a certain Mr Błoński. Letter from St. Świnarski to B. Radziwiłł, Białystok 1 X 1662, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (further: AGAD), Archiwum Radziwiłłów, V, 15506, p. 10.

⁴⁶ Lietuvos mokslų akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka, f. 9, no. 1984; J. Maroszek, *Dzieje Białegostoku*, pp. 78–80; *Urządnicy centralni i nadworni Polski XIV–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, ed. by K. Chłapowski, S. Ciera, Ł. Kądziera, T. Nowakowski, E. Opaliński, G. Rutkowska, T. Zielińska, Kórnik 1992, pp. 65, 103.

⁴⁷ *Nadanie Białegostoku Stefanowi Czarnieckiemu, 13 VI 1661*, AGAD, Zbiór dokumentów pergaminowych, 7155. The content of this document was written on the base of Stefan Czarniecki's statue funded in Tykocin by Jan Klemens Branicki in the years 1761–1762.

between his two daughters – Katarzyna Aleksandra Branicka and Konstancja Leszczyńska – the first of whom received the Białystok estate⁴⁸. At the time, the Czarniecki clan was third in Podlasie regarding the value of property owned, after the Opalińskis and Ossolińskis⁴⁹. After the death of the Field Hetman, the estate was inherited by his daughter, Katarzyna Aleksandra, who in 1654 married Jan Klemens Branicki (who died on 9/02/1673 holding the office of Court Marshal of the Crown)⁵⁰. Although the estate became hereditary, Branicki did not treat it as particularly important. We only know of his one stay at the manor: in the winter of 1669; no other information about his activities concerning Wiesiołowski's "tenement house" can be found in the available sources⁵¹.

The Białystok and Tykocin estates received much more attention from the next successor – Stefan Mikołaj, the only son of Katarzyna Aleksandra, who granted him the exclusive possession of the property four years after she paid off her sister's children: Stefan, Kazimierz, Magdala, and their father Wacław Leszczyński⁵². Of course, in accordance with the inheritance law, the new owner of the estate had to pay off his sister Konstancja Tekla, who married Jan Henryk Bokum (von Alten Bockum), the Lithuanian Cupbearer. In 1686, a premarital agreement was concluded between Stefan Mikołaj Branicki and Katarzyna Sapieżanka, daughter of Kazimierz Jan Sapieha. The wedding took place the following year. The couple had four daughters and one son, born on 21/09/1689 – Jan Kazimierz (his middle name was changed to Klemens), who inherited the town of Białystok. Although the boy was acknowledged by August II as an adult in 1703, formally he only took over the estate in 1720 (11 years after the death of Stefan Mikołaj Branicki, at the death of Katarzyna

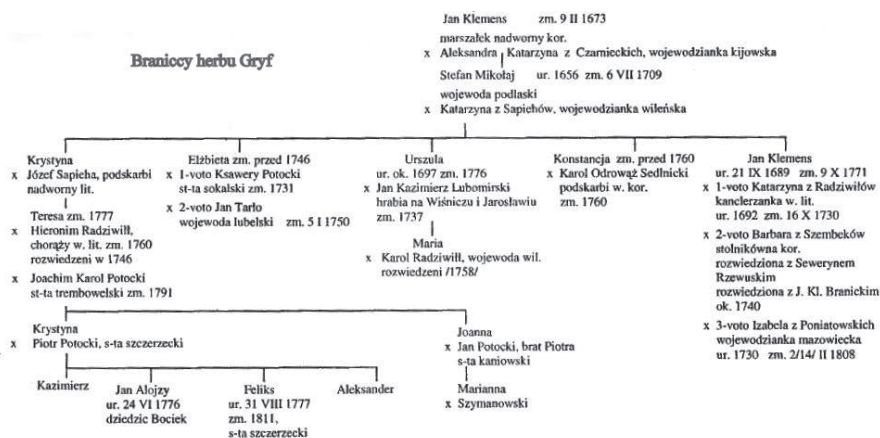
⁴⁸ AGAD, Archiwum Branickich z Białegostoku, 97, p. 1.

⁴⁹ A. Laszuk, *Duża i średnia własność ziemska na Podlasiu w II poł. XVII w.*, „Zeszyt Naukowy Muzeum Wojska” 9 (1995), p. 42.

⁵⁰ Stefan Czarniecki divided the property, transferring the estates to his daughters, on 23/07/1661. AGAD, Archiwum Branickich z Białegostoku, 97, p. 1; A. Sztachelska-Kokoczka, *Białystok*, p. 11.

⁵¹ Letter from J. K. Branicki to B. Radziwiłł, Białystok 6 I 1669, AGAD, Archiwum Radziwiłłów, V, 1328, file cards 8–9; the same, Białystok 21 I 1669, Archiwum Radziwiłłów, V, 1328, file card 10.

⁵² J. Urwanowicz, *Stefan Mikołaj Branicki – szkic do portretu (z kłopotami z urzędem wojewody podlaskiego w tle)*, [in:] *O prawie i jego dziejach księgi dwie. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Adamowi Lityńskiemu w czterdziestopięciolecie pracy naukowej i siedemdziesięciolecie urodzin*, vol. I, eds M. Mikołajczyk, J. Ciągwa, P. Fiedorczyk, A. Stawarska-Rippel, T. Adamczyk, A. Drogoń, W. Organiściak, K. Kuźmich, Białystok–Katowice 2010, pp. 413–418; K. Piwarski, *Stefan Mikołaj Branicki*, [in:] *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. II, Warszawa–Kraków–Łódź–Poznań–Wilno–Zakopane 1937, p. 411; A. Sztachelska-Kokoczka, *Stefan Mikołaj Branicki*, [in:] *Słownik biograficzny białostocko-łomżyńsko-suwalski*, z. 3, Białystok 2005, pp. 25–27; J. Maroszek, *Dzieje Białegostoku*, pp. 80–83.



3. Genealogy tree of the Branickis, Gryf coat of arms – the last private owners of Białystok
[Based on: A. Sztachelska-Kokoczek, *Magnackie dobra*, p. 27, table 1].

Scholastyka)⁵³. In spite of marrying three times (with Katarzyna Barbara Radziwiłłówna, Barbara Szembek and – in 1748 – Izabela), the later Grand Hetman of the Crown died childless on 9th October 1771.

The situation of legal successors of Jan Klemens Branicki was extremely complicated. Since he had no descendants, his four sisters – Krystyna, Elżbieta, Urszula and Konstancja – had the right to the inheritance. At the moment of death of the Castellan of Cracow, Elżbieta and Konstancja had died heirless, and thus were not considered for the division of the property. Only Krystyna Sapieha, née Branicka (ob. 1761) and Urszula Lubomirska, née Branicka (ob. 1776) had daughters: Teresa (1715–1777) and Marianna (1730–1795), respectively. The latter married Karol Radziwiłł, but in 1758 she divorced him. As for Teresa, after the annulment of her marriage with Hieronim Radziwiłł, in 1746 she married Joachim Karol Potocki, with whom she had daughters: Krystyna (ob. 1789) and Joanna. Consequently, the children of Krystyna and Piotr Franciszek Potocki – Kazimierz (1773–1797), Jan Alojzy (1776–1854), Feliks (1777–1811) and Aleksander (1777–1777) – had the right to the property. Joanna Potocka married Jan Potocki and had a daughter Marianna Franciszka Tekla (1^o v. Szymanowska, 2^o v. Mostowska)⁵⁴.

⁵³ W. Konopczyński, *Jan Klemens Branicki*, [in:] *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. II, Warszawa–Kraków–Łódź–Poznań–Wilno–Zakopane 1937, p. 404; J. Maroszek, *Dzieje województwa podlaskiego*, p. 175; A. Sztachelska-Kokoczek, *Jan Klemens Branicki (1689–1771)*, „Białostocczyzna” 4 (1989), pp. 1–6; eadem, *Magnackie dobra*, pp. 16–22, 33 ff.

⁵⁴ The genealogy was presented in detail during lawsuits: Lwowska Naukowa Biblioteka im. W. Stefanyka, Oddział rękopisów, f. 141, op. 2, no. 77, file cards 14–16, 27v–28.

The land property law did not provide for transferring land in a testament. The security measure for the surviving spouse was the institution of life estate, giving the right to own the estate of the deceased husband or wife until the end of one's life. This is what Jan Klemens Branicki did for his wife Izabella. The successors had to express patience, because at Branicki's death the widow was only 41⁵⁵. It is worth mentioning that when at the end of 1797 the Hetmaness *before Christmas began to spit blood and was very weak, so that the domestics despaired for her life, the successors already sent a plenipotentiary to collect the Galicia estate, who arrived in Tarnów*⁵⁶. Contrary to the Potockis' hope, Izabella lived for another 11 years. Her chronic and advanced health problems became evident in 1805, and then Izabela made a will⁵⁷. She died on 14th February 1808.⁵⁸

After the collapse of the Commonwealth in 1795, Białystok was within the Prussian partition, where the province of New East Prussia was created. Making Białystok the capital of the province, the Prussian authorities were interested in buying out the town. As a result, on 01/03/1802 Izabela Branicka leased Białystok out to Kamera Białostocka, with effective date 01/06/1803, whereas the palace was to be handed over to the Prussian king after her death⁵⁹. The sale was negotiated with the heirs of the estate, the Potockis, and on 22/09/1802 the estate was sold for 218,000 talars (1,307,820 złotych)⁶⁰. The transaction was to be completed one year after the death of Izabela Branicka, when it would be possible to verify the actual income and condition of the Białystok estate⁶¹.

After signing the Treaties of Tilsit between Russia, Prussia and France in 1807, the Białystok department was incorporated in the Russian Empire but was granted considerable autonomy, visible in a separate administrative organization of the Białystok District. Izabela saw these territorial changes, as she died in February 1808. After her death, on 04/03/1809, the palace was purchased by

⁵⁵ Izabella Branicka was born on 1st July 1730 in Wołczyn. A. Cz. Dobroński, A. Lechowski, *Izabela Branicka w 200-lecie śmierci*, Białystok 2008, p. 5.

⁵⁶ H. Kownacki, [*Pamiętniki*], Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 419, p. 25:

⁵⁷ Biblioteka Jagiellońska, ms. 6754, vol. III, pp. 17–18.

⁵⁸ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 176, p. 13; A. Potocka, *Pamiętniki*, vol. I, Warszawa 1898, pp. 148–149.

⁵⁹ Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, ref. no. 2318, file cards 271–282; *Pruskie opisy miast polskich z końca XVIII wieku. Departament białostocki*, ed. by J. Wąsicki, Poznań 1964, pp. 26 ff.

⁶⁰ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 178, pp. 3, 8, 14; Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, 2494, file cards 1–14; J. Łukasiewicz, op. cit., p. 62.

⁶¹ *Pruskie opisy miast polskich*, p. 41. Of course the thesis that "Branicka finally consented to the sale of the town and the residence to the Prussian king" is erroneous. The will of Jan Klemens Branicki's successors sufficed to do so. I. Szymańska, A. Średzińska, op. cit., p. 46.

Alexander I of Russia. The price, after the deduction of liabilities encumbering the Białystok estate, amounted to nearly 97.5 thousand roubles⁶². The sellers were: Jan Alojzy Potocki and Marianna born Potocka 1^o v. Szymanowska, 2^o v. Mostowska⁶³. For a year, these two persons were the last private owners of Białystok, but in accordance with the sale contract of 1802, they could no longer dispose of it. All the administrative decisions would be made by the future owner.

To sum up, 1809 ended the period when Białystok was administered by private owners and over a hundred years' rule of Russians began.

⁶² I. Szymańska, A. Średzińska, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

⁶³ The younger brother, Felix, on 24/10/1801 in Warsaw assigned all his inheritance rights to his one year older brother, Jan Alojzy. Joanna Potocka, née Potocka, made the same legal act in favour of her daughter Marianna on 04/05/1796 in Warsaw. *Lwowska Naukowa Biblioteka im. W. Stefanyka, Oddział rękopisów*, f. 141, op. 2, no. 77, file cards 13v–14, 19v.

2. Białystok as a borderland area

Since the Union of Horodło, the area of Podlasie had administratively belonged to the Trakai voivodeship, being part of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. This changed in 29/08/1513, when Podlaskie voivodeship was created, including the lands of Drahichyn, Mielnik and Bielsk, Kamieniec, Brest and Kobryn. As part of administrative reforms of the years 1565–1566, the Brest, Kamieniec and Kobryn areas were combined with the Turaŭ-Pinsk principality and thus the Brest-Litovsk Voivodeship was established⁶⁴. What is important, the separation of this voivodeship involved the application of Polish law to the settlers from the Crown and Masovian principalities⁶⁵.

Following the administrative transformations in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the Białystok estate was included in the land of Bielsk, which is proved by the judgement of the borough court in Brańsk of 1568, referring to those lands⁶⁶. Later, as a result of the Union of Lublin (1569), the areas upon the Białystok river became the Polish-Lithuanian borderland. During the session of the sejm of Lublin on 5th March 1569, Zygmunt II August incorporated the Podlaskie Voivodeship into the Crown⁶⁷. In order for the territorial transformations to be completed, the nobility inhabiting those lands had to swear an oath to the ruler as the king of the Kingdom of Poland on 27th March. Besides, on 14th May, the nobility in Drahichyn, Mielnik and Brańsk swore an

⁶⁴ D. Michaluk, *Granice województwa podlaskiego i postrzeganie obszaru Podlasia w latach 1513–2013*, [in:] *Podlasie nadbużańskie. 500-lecie województwa podlaskiego*, ed. O. Łatyszonek, Ciechanowiec 2013, pp. 172–177; *Urzędnicy podlascy XIV–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, ed. by E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, W. Jarmolik, M. Kulecki, J. Urwanowicz, Kórnik 1994, pp. 7–15.

⁶⁵ The Drahichyn land (and the Mielnik one, not yet determined at the time) received the privilege of application of Polish land law approximately in 1444, the Bielsk land in 1501, and 46 years later all the discrepancies regarding the Drahichyn land were confirmed and done away with. J. Maroszek, *Prawo polskie na Podlasiu do 1569 roku*, [in:] *O prawie i jego dziejach księgi dwie. Studia ofiarowane Profesorowi Adamowi Lityńskiemu w czterdziestopięciolecie pracy naukowej i siedemdziesięciolecie urodzin*, vol. I, eds M. Mikołajczyk, J. Ciągwa, P. Fiedorczyk, A. Stawarska-Rippel, T. Adamczyk, A. Drogoń, W. Organiściak, K. Kuźmich, Białystok–Katowice 2010, pp. 329–330.

⁶⁶ Нацыянальны гістарычны архіў Беларусі, Ф. 1708, оп. 1, нр 6, file cards 550–550v.

⁶⁷ *Akta unii Polski z Litwą 1385–1791*, ed. by S. Kutrzeba, W. Semkowicz, Kraków 1932, pp. 197–207.

oath of allegiance⁶⁸. The others took the oath a bit later. We know from Piotr Wiesiołowski the elder's own notes that he did it on 25th May 1569 along with the Brańsk starost Jan Dulski, Court Treasurer Stanisław Włosek and one of the Kiszkas (perhaps it was Jan Kiszka – the lord of Sokołów and Węgrów, or Mikołaj – the starost of Drahichyn)⁶⁹. As a result, the western part – with Białystok, Starosielce, Bojary and Wysoki Stok – was included in the Bielsk land in the Crown, and the eastern part – with the farm in Dojlidy and the villages of Pieczurki, Skorupy, Bacieczki and Fasty – remained within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The division also overlapped with the borderline between the estates of Wiesiołowski and Chodkiewicz families, resulting from the fact that Grzegorz Chodkiewicz refused to take an oath to Zygmunt August as the king of Poland⁷⁰.

It should be remembered that the border between Podlasie and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania was fluid, as the owners of estates lying at the borderland changed their affiliation from the Crown to the Grand Duchy or the other way round, depending on what was more profitable at the moment⁷¹. The main object of dispute was the border between Podlasie and the Brest-Litovsk voivodeship⁷². Some border changes also occurred between the Bielsk district and the Grodno powiat, an example of which is the town of Wasilków, which was part of the Crown after 1569 and later returned to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania for a long time⁷³.

Some border transformations might have occurred in the 1590s in the area belonging to the Wiesiołowski family. This is proved by the defence of Grodno powiat by the Hetman of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, Krzysztof Radziwiłł "Piorun". In 1598, he called up the Grodno company of Tartars and sent

⁶⁸ J. Maroszek, *Dzieje województwa podlaskiego*, pp. 126–139.

⁶⁹ Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, ms. 1793, p. 555.

⁷⁰ J. Maroszek, *Dzieje Białegostoku w latach 1547–1692*, [in:] *Historia Białegostoku*, ed. A.Cz. Dobroński, Białystok 2012, pp. 60–61; T. Wasilewski, op. cit., p. 115.

⁷¹ D. Michaluk, op. cit., s. 178–182. Border Commissions assigned by the sejm between Podlasie and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (1589, 1591, 1596, 1598, 1601, 1607, 1611, 1616, 1620, 1623, 1635, 1638, 1649, 1661): *Volumina Legum*, vol. II, issued by J. Ohryzko, Petersburg 1859, pp. 287, 289, 332, 367, 371, 391, 393, 403, 444, 469; *Volumina Legum*, vol. III, issued by J. Ohryzko, Petersburg 1860, pp. 14–15, 151–152, 180–181, 219, 414, 429, 448–449; *Volumina Legum*, vol. IV, issued by J. Ohryzko, Petersburg 1860, pp. 149, 336. Cf. H. Gmiterek, *Komisja graniczna z 1623 roku. Przyczynek do dziejów sporów granicznych polsko-litewskich w XVII wieku*, „Rocznik Białkopodlaski” 11(2003), pp. 25–32.

⁷² M. Wójciuk, *Urzednicy ziemscy województwa brzesko-litewskiego w czasach saskich*, „Wschodni Rocznik Humanistyczny” 2 (2005), p. 96; A. Wilkiewicz-Wawrzyńczykowa, *Spory graniczne polsko-litewskie w XV–XVII w.*, Wilno 1938, pp. 185 ff.

⁷³ J. Maroszek, *Dzieje Białegostoku*, pp. 58–60.

them against the troops gathered by Brzózka⁷⁴. On 17th July, the commander of the company, Bieniasz Kamieniecki, notified the Hetman of the situation within the band of Brzózka, who had been *in Białystok, the property of Mr Wiesiołowski, Court Treasurer, but turned from there to Podlasie, toward Brańsk*⁷⁵. Having crossed the border of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, the substarost decided to send the Tartars home, because he had no right to use them in the territory of the Crown. It must be mentioned that the source included not only the name of the town (an analogous name functioned in the Zabłudów estate as the so-called Białystok farm) but also the owner of the estate, so there is no doubt about the identity of the described place⁷⁶.

Additional confirmation of the new state affiliation can be found in the fact that in the 1590 the problem of Bielsk-Grodno border suddenly began to be raised at sejm sessions. The first borderline dispute was mentioned in the constitution of 1591, and then border regulations were provided in years: 1596, 1598, 1601, 1607, 1616⁷⁷. Afterwards, the problem disappeared. Thanks to research done by Henryk Gmiterek, we know that the border commission took place in Kodeniec, but the nobility from Lublin, considering the southern part of the disputable area as vital for their interests, did not allow the separation of the Mielnik district from the Brest voivodeship⁷⁸. Before documents from the works of the commission concerning Bielsk district and Grodno powiat are found, it will be difficult to determine beyond any doubt whether Białystok was the object of the dispute, and if so, what the judgement of the assembly was. In-

⁷⁴ Uniwersał K. Radziwiłła, Wilno 10 VII 1598, Российская национальная библиотека (Санкт-Петербург). Отдел рукописей, Собрание автографов П. П. Дубровского, Ф. 971, Авт. 115, file card 11.

⁷⁵ B. Kamieniecki to K. Radziwiłł, Grodno 17 VII 1598, Российская национальная библиотека (Санкт-Петербург). Отдел рукописей, Собрание автографов П. П. Дубровского, Фонд 971, Авт. 115, file card 11.

⁷⁶ Cf.: K. Łopatecki, E. Zalewska, *Najazd na dobra białostockie w 1598 roku. Z badań nad najstarszymi dziejami Białegostoku*, „Studia Podlaskie” 19 (2011), pp. 119–122.

⁷⁷ *Volumina Legum*, vol. II, pp. 287, 289, 332, 367, 371, 391, 393, 403, 444; *Volumina Legum*, vol. III, pp. 14–15, 151–152.

⁷⁸ H. Gmiterek, op. cit., pp. 26–27. In the southern section (Mielnik district – Brest voivodeship), the border dispute was only settled by the constitution of 1638 titled *Uspokojenie komisji Brzeskiej*, which read: “As the Brest Commission, with Lubelskie and Podlaskie Voivodeships, in order to settle the issue that has bothered so many sejms, at the consent of all the Estates we decide that from now on nobody should part from these Voivodeships, either from the Crown to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, or from the Grand Duchy to the Crown, or be evoked by the law, but everybody should be subjected forever to the jurisdiction to which they are currently subjected and where they pay the taxes”. *Volumina Legum*, vol. III, pp. 448–449.

terestingly, neither the Wiesiołowskis nor the Białystok estate were mentioned in the Bielsk district tax collector census of 1611⁷⁹.

The dispute concerning Crown or Grand Duchy affiliation of the Grodno powiat and the Bielsk district was very significant because of legal divergences between the two states. The rules of service were different (additionally, in Podlasie they sometimes differed from the Crown solutions), there were different court forums, different kinds of taxes were imposed and they were selected in a different way, there were also differences in the system of defence⁸⁰. All that leads to the conclusion of potential fluidity of the shape of the borders, dependent on the will of owners of the borderline areas. The Wiesiołowskis, originating in the Crown but having close relations with the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, were undoubtedly interested in holding estates in Lithuania where they had great political influences⁸¹.

The testament of Krzysztof Wiesiołowski (ob. 19/04/1637) made the situation even more complicated, as he transferred the Białystok estate to the veteran house in Tykocin (a starosty in the Bielsk land). Transfer of hereditary property to the king for the benefit of the whole country was legally dubious⁸². In particular, the constitution of the Warsaw sejm of 1631 prohibited alienation of land property encumbered with the obligation of military service⁸³. In this case, the issue of disposing of real property by means of a testament was also combined with another one: changing the state affiliation of the area.

Of course the above-mentioned doubts had to be settled by a sejm court after the death (on 15/09/1645) of Wiesiołowski's wife – Aleksandra Wie-

⁷⁹ *Retenta poboru na sejmiku brańskim dnia 3 Augusti w roku [1611] przez obywatelę powiatu bielskiego uchwalonego i [s]porząd[zonego] przez mie Piotra Grajewskiego poborcie ziemi bielskiej*, Нацыянальны гістарычны архіў Беларусі, Ф. 1708, оп. 1, нр 27, file cards 42–43v.

⁸⁰ Cf.: K. Łopatecki, *Organizacja, prawo i dyscyplina w polskim i litewskim pospolitym ruszeniu (do połowy XVII wieku)*, Białystok 2013, pp. 44–45, 515–516, 590.

⁸¹ It is evident when considering the offices held by the Wiesiołowskis (all of them functioned in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, unless otherwise stated). Piotr Wiesiołowski the elder was a Crown Quartermaster, while his son Piotr Wiesiołowski the younger, a Court Treasurer (1590), Court Marshal (1598) and the Grand Marshal (1615). Krzysztof Wiesiołowski became a Steward in 1600, a Pantler in 1604, a Carver in 1620, and three years later he was given the office of Court Marshal and finally in 1635, the Grand Marshal. *Urzędnicy centralni i nadworni Polski*, s. 93; *Urzędnicy centralni i dygnitarze Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego XIV–XVIII wieku. Spisy*, ed. by H. Lulewicz, A. Rachuba, Kórnik 1994, pp. 59, 73, 74, 77, 161, 165, 188.

⁸² P. Dąbkowski, *Prawo prywatne polskie*, vol. II, Lwów 1911, pp. 72–73; M. Miłko, *Zakres przedmiotowy spadkobrania testamentowego w statutach litewskich*, „Krakowskie Studia z historii państwa i prawa” 3 (2010), pp. 132–139.

⁸³ *Volumina legum*, vol. III, p. 319.



4. Krzysztof Wiesiołowski – Grand Marshal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (1636) [Author unknown, size: 205.5 × 182 cm. Picture kept in Minsk (Нацыянальны мастацкі музей Рэспублікі Беларусь). See Н.Ф. Высоцкая, *Жывапіс Беларусі XII–XVIII стагоддзяў*, Мінск 1980, pp. 127 ff.].



5. Aleksandra Marianna Wiesiołowska, née Sobieska [Author unknown, date of painting: 1633–1645, size: 210 × 133.5 cm. Picture kept in Minsk (Нацыянальны мастацкі музей Рэспублікі Беларусь). See Н.Ф. Высоцкая, *Жывапіс Беларусі XII–XVIII стагоддзяў*, Мінск 1980, pp. 128 ff.].

siółowska, née Sobieska, who was holding the estate pursuant to the life estate right. The legal heirs immediately (on 28/09/1645) made an inventory of the Białystok estate and then took the property over⁸⁴. *That was the reason for litigation between them and the contemporary Crown State Prosecutor, the starost of Tykocin, Mikołaj Ostroróg. By the sejm court decision, in 1646 the Białystok estate was recognized as property of the Crown*⁸⁵. The decision evoked outrage of deputies from the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Albrecht Stanisław Radziwiłł evaluated the situation as follows: *The dispute was triggered by the testament of*

⁸⁴ Нацыянальны гістарычны архів Беларусі, Мінск, Ф. 1708, оп. 1, нр 137, file cards 93–95v.

⁸⁵ J. Bąkowski, *Kronika kościoła parafialnego w m. Białymstoku położonego w diecezji wileńskiej, guberni grodzieńskiej, powiecie i dekanacie białostockim*. 1849, ed. by J. Maroszek, „Białostoczczyzna” 8 (1993), 2, pp. 95–96.

Marshal Wiesiołowski, who allocated the estate called Białystok to old and ailing veterans and to the repair of the Tykocin castle, which he confirmed by his seal in the testament, but he did it without the consent of the estates – indeed he had sought this consent while still alive but without success. When the estate was given to the Crown Royal Cupbearer, Wiesiołowski's successors sued him. Because the court proceeding began and it resulted in a new situation, those in Lithuania wanted to choose members of parliament for this from the Grand Duchy but Poles were against it, claiming it would be illegal; they protested so fiercely that the case was judged without the participation of the Lithuanians and actually unfairly, as the estate was granted perpetually to the Tykocin castle without consent. I did not participate in this [because I was ill – K.L. and W.W.]⁸⁶. Even nine years later, Hieronim Kazimierz Chalecki persuaded the nobility of Bielsk district present at the pre-sejm assembly to support his material claims involving the recovery of the Białystok estate, but due to the war with Russia and Sweden, the demand was never put into practice⁸⁷.

The same sejm made some other shifts between the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania concerning land property. In exchange for Trubchevsk handed over to Russia one year before, the Lithuanians received Lyubech (previously belonging to the Crown), yet the quarter tax would still be paid to the Crown treasury and the levée en masse would still be arranged like in Poland⁸⁸. The Białystok estate, for a change, was released from military levies applying to starosties, such as quarter tax or providing soldiers with winter accommodation⁸⁹.

In 1698, Stefan Mikołaj Branicki assumed (as a security for a loan he had granted) the following places within the territory of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania: Dojlidy, Ogrodniczki, Pacyliszki, Solniki, Olmonty, Krywlany, Bagnówka, Pieczurki, Pietrasze and Skorupy⁹⁰. The Białystok estate was joined together again, though part of it was still within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. The town of Białystok itself, established in 1692, was in the territory of the Crown, right next to the border with Lithuania. A problem appeared in 1749, when the incorporation was extended to the land located on the right bank of the Biała river, thus – *de iure* – an area belonging to the other state of the Common-

⁸⁶ A. S. Radziwiłł, op. cit., p. 519.

⁸⁷ Нацыянальны гістарычны архіў Беларусі, ф. 1708, оп. 1, нр 39, file card 186v.

⁸⁸ Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, ms. 224, p. 949.

⁸⁹ B. Tykiel, *Kilka uwag historyczno-statystycznych o guberni augustowskiej*, „Biblioteka Warszawska” 4 (1857), pp. 616–617; Нацыянальны гістарычны архіў Беларусі, ф. 1708, нр 1, no. 39, file card 186v.

⁹⁰ A. Sztachelska-Kokoczek, *Magnackie dobra*, p. 34. Stefan Mikołaj Branicki treated the estate in Podlasie in an instrumental way, often pledging, selling or buying land from the local nobility. A. Laszuk, op. cit., pp. 42–43.

wealth. Then Białystok became an unusual town, lying on the territory of two states, so a specific regulation was included in the charter: *therefore, we perpetually grant and confer laws to this town, dismissing any other common laws, **Polish or Lithuanian**, which differ from any Teutonic or Magdeburg laws in any way*⁹¹. What is more, so as to unify Stare Miasto – (the Old Town, located within the Crown) and Nowe Miasto (the New Town, located within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania), no solutions used in any of these states of the Commonwealth were applied but instead the solutions existing in the Brandenburg-Prussian state were used as the model⁹².

A very important source allowing to recognize the administrative affiliation of particular settlements is the description of the Knyszyn deanery of 1784. Even in that document, however, it was often mentioned that the estate lay *in the borderland*. Regarding the topic of our discussion, the note read: *A parish church in the town of Białystok, Podlaskie Voivodeship, Brańsk powiat, Knyszyn deanery. The villages and places in the parish at times belong to this voivodeship and deanery and at times to the Grodno powiat*⁹³. The author of the description assigned both Białostoczek and the town of Białystok to the Crown, but he did not mention Nowe Miasto, this way avoiding the problem of classification of the area. However, when describing the Białystok pond, we wrote: *twelve sznury, a hundred and twenty-two Lithuanian przęty, between Nowe Miasto on the right of the church*, which may suggest an originally different state affiliation⁹⁴.

Pragmatics connected with the functioning of Białystok as a whole (e.g. regarding the subject of tax payment) forced the shift of border and incorporating Nowe Miasto into the Crown. It is worth mentioning that customs houses between the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania were located near Białystok, in Waliły, Żółtki, Chwasty (Fasty) and Wasilków⁹⁵.

⁹¹ J. Maroszek, *Ponowienie praw miejskich Białegostoku*, „Białostoczczyzna” 13 (1998), 3, p. 3. The same expression can be found in August II's repetition of the charter of 1760. *Описание рукописного отделения Виленской Публичной Библиотеки*, вып. IV, Вильно 1903, p. 117.

⁹² It must be noted that the Magdeburg law was introduced to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania by Jogaila (Jagiello), who incorporated Vilnius in 1387, and in Podlasie it was popularized by Alexander Jagiellon. More about this: W. Jarmolik, *Pierwsza lokacja miejska na Podlasiu (Sokołów Podlaski – 1424 r.)*, „Studia Podlaskie” 1 (1990), pp. 71–82.

⁹³ The Białystok parish covered both Crown lands (the proper Białystok estate) and Lithuanian ones, including Zabłudów area.

⁹⁴ *Opisy parafii dekanatu knyszynskiego z roku 1784*, ed. by W. Wernerowa, „Studia Podlaskie” 1(1990), pp. 108–112.

⁹⁵ A. Sztachelska, *Białystok w korespondencji Branickich*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów miasta Białegostoku*, vol. III, p. 55.

When analyzing the state affiliation of Białystok, it is worth tracing the location of the town on modern maps of the 2nd half of the 18th century. In cartographic sources there are great discrepancies in the determination of administrative and political affiliation of the town. It was only at the end of the 18th century that Białystok was correctly placed on the Polish side, and the nearby towns of Wasilków (lying north-east of Białystok) and Choroszcz (to the west), in Grand Duchy of Lithuania⁹⁶. At best, the cartographers gave up on the arduous attempts of marking Choroszcz, at the same time correctly marking Białystok and Wasilków, which is presented on the two maps below.



6. Jan Jakub Kanter, *Regni Poloniae Magni Ducatus Lituaniae Provinciarum Foedere et Vasallagio illis junctarum, et Regionum vicinarum Nova Mappa Geographica*, Królewiec 1770 [L. Kublin, „Regni Poloniae (...) Jakuba Kantera z 1770 r., „Zabytki Polskiej Kartografii” 2 (1980)].

In most cases, Białystok was marked within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Even Giovanni Antonio Rizzi Zannoni, the author of *Carte de Pologne* – an atlas including 24 cards, published in Paris in 1772, was no exception. He introduced several significant mistakes to the little fragment of Podlasie; apart from the state affiliation of Białystok, he also marked Choroszcz erroneously. However, he was the first to mark on the map the residence of the deceased Jan Klemens Branicki, already famous in Europe as the “Versailles of the North”.

⁹⁶ As a consequence, when J. M. Bazewicz published *Mapa Polski z podziałem na województwa z 1770 r. oraz kilku ważniejszych okresów* (Warszawa 1918) based on cartographic sources, he placed Białystok on the Lithuanian side. Jan Birecki did otherwise in his map *Polska w roku 1771* (Kraków 1895), yet this time nearby Wasilków was not placed in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania but in Poland.



7. Georg Friedrich Utz, *Nova Mappa Geographica Regni Poloniae, Magni Ducatus Lituaniae Regni, Norimbergae 1773* [Map available on the website: <http://rcin.org.pl/dlibra/doccontent?id=460&from=FBC> (accessed 23/05/2013)].



8. *Carte de la Pologne divisée par provinces et palatinats et subdivisée par districts construite par J. A. B. Rizzi Zannoni 1772* [Centralny Katalog Zbiorów Kartograficznych w Polsce, v. 5: *Wieloarkuszowe mapy topograficzne ziem polskich 1576–1870*, part 2, ed. by T. Paćko, W. Trzebiński, Wrocław 1982, item 18. The settlements wrongly marked on the map south of Białystok are worth noting here].

Generally, the wrong presentation of the Polish-Lithuanian borderland was common until the end of the 18th century. A selection of it from the chronological perspective is presented below.

Cartographers often got confused when marking Białystok. For example, Tobias Mayer did not include the town at all in his *Mappa geographica Regni Poloniae* published in Nuremberg in 1757. The residence of Jan Klemens Branicki and Izabela Branicka was still absent from the next edition of the work,



9. Bartłomiej Folin, *Carte générale et nouvelle de toute la Pologne du grand duché de Lithuanie et des pays limitrofes* (1770) [A copy printed on a silk board is kept in the National Library of Poland, in Warsaw. *More Precious Than Gold. Treasures of the Polish National Library*, ed. H. Tchórzewska-Kabata, Warszawa 2003, p. 62 (<http://bn.org.pl/download/document/1236004326.pdf>). See a reproduction: <http://www.rcin.org.pl/igipz/dlibra/docmetadata?id=282> (accessed 23/06/2014)].



10. Philip Theodor von Pfau, *Regni Poloniae, Magni Ducatus Lituaniae Nova Mappa Geographica concessu Borussorum Regis. XVIII* [Berlin 1771] [The map was prepared by a Prussian quartermaster on the basis of Polish cartographic materials. M. Kocójowa, „Pamiętkom ojczystym ocalonym z burzy dziejowej”. Muzeum Emeryka Hutten Czapskiego (Stańków-Kraków), Kraków 1978, p. 187].



11. Franz Johann Joseph von Reilly, *Schauplatz der fünf Theile der Welt*, Wiedeń 1789 [Der königlichen Republik Polen Woivodschafft Podlachien mit dem obern Theile der Woivodschafft Lublin oder Klein Polens nördlicher Theil. Nro. 43, hrsg. F. J. J. von Reilly, Wiedeń 1789. It is worth noting that the author of the map completely ignored settlements located in the Grodno poviat (except Czarnystok); just like Białystok, Wojszki was also presented on the Lithuanian side].



12. William Faden, *A map of the Kingdom of Poland and Grand Dutchy of Lithuania with their dismembered provinces and the Kingdom of Prussia*, Londyn 1792 [Reproduction of the map available on the website: http://rcin.org.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=289&from=&dirids=1&ver_id=&lp=51&QI=1839E235687D009648366B54E33F0E6D-33 (accessed 22/10/2014)].



13. Александр Михайлович Вильбрехт, Чертеж новоприобретенным от Польши Россією Землям в 1793 году, Санкт-Петербург 1793 [Reproduction of the map available on the website <http://leb.nlr.ru> (accessed 11/04/2013)].



14. Franz Müller, *Neueste Karte von Polen und Litauen*, Wiedeń 1795 [Centralny katalog zbiorów kartograficznych w Polsce, vol. VI: *Mapy ziem polskich przeglądowe i jednoarkuszowe topograficzne wydane w latach 1764–1814 i wybór map z lat 1815–1870 z uwzględnieniem zbiorów Biblioteki Polskiej w Paryżu*, ed. by T. Paćko, W. Trzebiński, Warszawa 2000, item 104].

published 16 years later⁹⁷. It was only in a reproduction of 1793 that the site was introduced, but it was marked in a completely wrong part of Podlaskie Voivodeship, near Brańsk, Narew and Nowy Dwór.

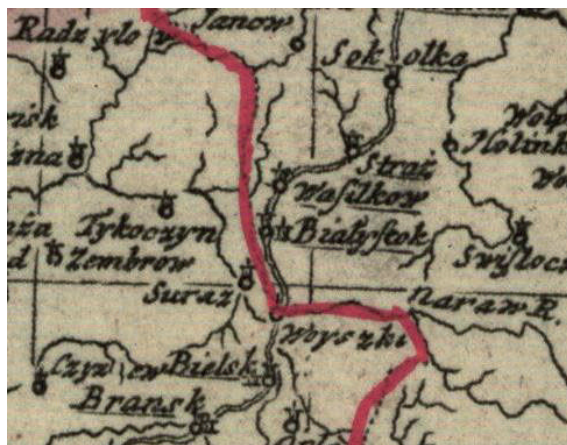
⁹⁷ K. Kozica, J. Pezda, *Imago Poloniae*, vol. II: *Dawna Rzeczpospolita na mapach, dokumentach i starodrukach w zbiorach Tomasa Niewodniczańskiego*, ed. T. Niewodniczański, Warszawa 2002, item K44/4; B. Krassowski, *Polska na mapach wydawców norymberskich i augsburskich z XVIII wieku*, „Studia i Materiały z Historii Kartografii”, Warszawa 1985 pp. 46, 58.



15. Tobias Mayer *Mappa geographica Regni Poloniae*, Norymberga 1793 [Map available on the website: http://rcin.org.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=408&from=&dirids=1&ver_id=&lp=1&QI=255C6F045CD617D330752E0301CE29BF-5 (accessed 3/03/2014)].



16. Karol Perthées, *Polonia secundum legitimas projectionis stereographicae regulas et iuxta recentissimas observationes adhibitis*, (1770–1771) [K. Buczek, O kilku mapach Polski z czasów Stanisława Augusta, „Kwartalnik Historii Nauki i Techniki” 18 (1973), 1, pp. 85–98; *Białystok oczami kartografa*, ed. by A. Gawroński, Białystok 2011, p. 5].



17 Karol Perthées, *Carte generale & itineraire de Pologne*, Warszawa 1773 [B. Olszewicz, *Kartografia polska XVIII wieku. Przegląd chronologiczno-bibliograficzny (dokończenie)*, „Polski Przegląd Kartograficzny” 10 (1932), pp. 264–265. Reproduction of the map available on the website: <http://jbc.bj.uj.edu.pl/dlibra/docmetadata?id=229083&from=pubstats>].

The geographer of Stanisław August Poniatowski – Karol Perthées – met the challenge of representing the specificity of the Podlasie-Trakai borderland⁹⁸. During the reign of the last king of the Commonwealth, he drew general maps four times, but none of them has survived till now. *Polonia secundum legitimas proiectionis stereographicae regulas* of the years 1770–1771 was burnt in 1944 but its photographic reproduction has survived. It was based on detailed maps made by Franciszek Florian Czaki. It presented Białystok in a very interesting way, at the border of two states; Wasilków was correctly marked on the Lithuanian side but Choroszcz was erroneously placed in the Crown.

A bit later, in 1773, Michał Gröll published in Warsaw a printed version of *Carte générale et itinéraire de Pologne*, which due to the 1:5,200,000 scale (*Polonia* was nearly six times more accurate) disregarded many smaller places. Luckily, Białystok and Wasilków were included (Choroszcz was not), but Perthées placed both towns within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania.

The map made by Karol Perthées in 1795, which he created on the basis of existing cartographic materials, descriptions drawn up by parish priests and

⁹⁸ The most important works concerning this person are: K. Buczek, *Kartograf króla Stanisława Augusta. Życie i dzieła*, [in:] *Karol Perthées (1739–1815), fizjograf Pierwszej Rzeczypospolitej. Życie oraz działalność kartograficzna i entomologiczna*, ed. J. Pawłowski, Warszawa 2003, pp. 21–134; H. Rutkowski, *Okres Stanisława Augusta w badaniach Karola Buczka nad kartografią dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, [in:] *Karol Buczek (1902–1983), człowiek i uczony*, eds D. Karczewski et al., Kraków–Bydgoszcz 2004, pp. 76–102.



18. Karol de Perthées, *Mappa szczegulna [!] województwa podlaskiego* (1795).

sites with cartographic coordinates, is regarded to be the most reliable and detailed map of Podlasie⁹⁹. For the needs of cartographic works, Perthées organized the collection of cards and called them *Geograficzno-statystyczne opisanie parafiiw Królestwa Polskiego przez K. Perthéesa geografę J.K.Mci*. Nowadays, his work provides especially valuable material for the studies on borderland deaneries of the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania¹⁰⁰. The following fragment of a source made by this cartographer in 1795 shows how the border between the states developed, how its line was evidently adjusted to the decisions of owners of the borderland estates, and how complicated it was¹⁰¹. In this version, in conformity to historical knowledge, Białystok lies at the border of the two states, determined by the Biała river.

Obviously, the examples presented above do not mean that Białystok in the 18th century belonged to the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, but they show the difficulty of determination of the state affiliation of the town.

⁹⁹ A better map, based on trigonometry, was made by J. C. Textor. Unfortunately, it was drawn up in the years 1795–1800 and it no longer included the borders of the former Commonwealth. T. Lankamer, *Mapa J. C. Textora pod tytułem „Nowe Prusy Wschodnie” z lat 1795–1800*, „Rocznik Białostocki” 7(1967), pp. 181–204.

¹⁰⁰ A. Ertman, *Rękopiśmienna mapa woj. podlaskiego K. Perthéesa z r. 1795. Jej źródła, metoda opracowania, znaczenie dla badań historycznych*, „Analecta” 16 (2007), 1–2, pp. 129–137; K. Buczek, *Kartograf króla Stanisława Augusta*, pp. 21–134; W. Wernerowa, *Ocena „ankiet parafialnych” jako źródła wiedzy Karola Perthéesa o fizjografii Rzeczypospolitej przedrozbiorowej*, [in:] Karol Perthées (1739–1815), *fizjograf Pierwszej Rzeczypospolitej*, pp. 165–192.

¹⁰¹ S. Alexandrowicz, „*Mappa szczegulna województwa podlaskiego*” Karola de Perthées z 1795 r. *Uwagi wstępne*, „Studia Podlaskie” 1(1990), pp. 91–97; A. Ertman, op. cit., pp. 129–137.

3. Development of the Białystok estate

It must be emphasized that in tax declarations of the 16th c. and 1st half of the 17th c., the denomination “Białystok” was used to refer to Białystok estate including several villages belonging to one owner. Its area was determined in a church foundation document of 04/12/1581, where Piotr Wiesiołowski wrote: *I grant property to the church in my home land of Białystok. To the parish priest I give, bequeath and grant perpetually the annual tithe from each lan, from the fields of my subjects from the villages: Białystok, Stara Wieś, Zawady, Supraśl, Parszyce, Miłosze – 60 sheaves of high quality rye and 60 sheaves of oats. I also give the yield of 4 łans in Białystok*¹⁰² (Stara Wieś is later Starosielce, Supraśl – Usowicze, Miłosze – Bojary, and Parszyce was in the place of Ogródniczki Wysokostockie). This bequest is confirmed by a tax register of 1580, providing information that Białystok included 70 *włókas*: exactly as much as the village of Białystok (36 settled *włókas*) and Stara Wieś (24 land *włókas*) covered together in the light of the pledge made in 1577 by Piotr Wiesiołowski and Zofia Wiesiołowska, née Lubomirska¹⁰³. As the inventory drawn up by Maciej Grabowski in 1645 shows, the Białystok estate included: Białystok – 39 *włókas*, Starosielce – 25 *włókas*, Zawady – 13 *włókas*, and areas whose acreage was not given: the village of Supraśl and two farms located in Białystok and Wysoki Stok¹⁰⁴. Generally, these data are consistent with the oldest map presenting the Białystok estate of 1808.

It should be stressed that in the Zabłudów estate, near the contemporary village of Kuriany¹⁰⁵, there was a farm of Białystok. Despite the same name, it should not be mistaken for the Białystok estate. It lay within the Grand Duchy of Lithuania and was owned by other people. For example, in October 1662,

¹⁰² Archiwum Archidiecezjalne w Białymstoku, Original of Piotr Wiesiołowski's foundation document of 4 XII 1581; J. Maroszek, *Najstarszy dokument uposażeniowy kościoła farnego w Białymstoku z 4 grudnia 1581 r.*, „Białostoczczyzna” 11 (1996), 2, p. 5.

¹⁰³ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa (Warszawa), Teki Glinki, 62, p. 15; A. Jabłonowski, *Podlasie*, part 1, [in:] *Źródła dziejowe*, vol. XVII, part I, Warszawa 1908, p. 112; J. Maroszek, *Dzieje Białegostoku w latach 1547–1692*, [in:] *Historia Białegostoku*, ed. A.Cz. Dobroński, Białystok 2012, p. 56.

¹⁰⁴ Нацыянальны гістарычны архіў Беларусі, 1708, оп. 1, нр 137, file card 95v.

¹⁰⁵ See <http://pl.wikipedia.org/wiki/Kuriany>

the Białystok farm *was occupied by Mr Błoński as a result of pledge*¹⁰⁶. After the estate was bought out by Bogusław Radziwiłł, in turn, it was given in possession to Szczesny Morsztyn (1663–1665)¹⁰⁷.

The first colonization campaign in the Białystok estate was associated with the figure of Mikołaj Michnowicz Raczkowicz, who organized the clearing and settlement of the forest growing in the discussed area even in the early 16th century¹⁰⁸. This is confirmed by a list of services prepared after Mikołaj's death, in 1528, which included the record: *Lady Bakalarzowa should meet from Białystok and Dowspudy seven soldiers on horseback*¹⁰⁹.

An important but still ignored problem is the potential presence of dependent boyars in the Białystok estate¹¹⁰. This seems probable, especially that when gathering greater units, landowners used the dependent nobles deployed within their own estates, released from feudal obligations in return for the necessity to participate in magnate troops during their expeditions¹¹¹. It is worth noting that lists of services of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania included boyars with the surname "Białostocki". The list of Volhynia nobility of the years 1528–1565 mentions: Wańko, Semen, Roman, Olechno, Iwan and Griszka Białostocki¹¹². Of course the similarity of names to the Białystok estate may be incidental, but actually there might have been some dependent boyars among the residents of great land properties. They may have lived in the village of Bojary located just next to Białystok, and received the nickname for the family settlement¹¹³. Its

¹⁰⁶ Letter from St. Świnarski to B. Radziwiłł, Białystok 1 X 1662, AGAD, Archiwum Radziwiłłów, V, 15506, p. 10. Description of the manor of 1645: *Inwentarz majątności Białegostoku*, p. 92.

¹⁰⁷ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa (Warszawa), Teki Glinki, 290, pp. 24–25.

¹⁰⁸ J. Tęgowski, W. Wróbel, op. cit., p. 48. J. Wiśniewski, op. cit., pp. 17 ff, presents a different opinion – that the colonization of this area had already taken place at the turn of the 16th century.

¹⁰⁹ *Lietuvos Metrika, Knyga Nr. 523 (1528), Viešųjų reikalų knyga 1*, parengė A. Baliulis, A. Dubonis, Vilnius 2006, p. 30 : "Pani Bakalarovaja majet staviti z Bielostoku i z Dovspuda 7 koniej".

¹¹⁰ I. Rychlikowa, *Bojarzy pancerni na pograniczu moskiewskim XVI–XIX wieku*, „Przegląd Wschodni” 3 (1994), pp. 411–450.

¹¹¹ More in: V. Kalyada, *Mobilizacja służby ziemskiej w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim w XVI stuleciu*, [in:] *Organizacja armii w nowożytnej Europie: struktura – urzędy – prawo – finanse*, ed. K. Łopatecki, Zabrze 2011, pp. 107–122.

¹¹² AGAD, Archiwum Radziwiłłów, II, 21, file cards 78, 79, 116v; *Lietuvos Metrika, Knyga Nr. 523 (1528)*, p. 133.

¹¹³ Tomasz Popławski (*Przestrzeń współczesnego miasta Białegostoku na tle historycznych podziałów*, „Białostoczczyzna” 11 (1996), pp. 11–14) indicates that the Bojary settlement had been created even before the Volok Reform (1547) and was only incorporated by the town of Białystok in the 1730s or 1740s. Cf. D. Korolczuk, J. Maroszek, T. Popławski,

probability is supported by the fact that – as linguists argue – two-word names with the element “stok” are in 90% typical of Masovia and Podlasie¹¹⁴.

From the debt record concerning the village of Białystok we learn that in 1543 the Białystok estate covered only 15 *włókas* of developed land¹¹⁵. The wide-scale campaign of colonization of the Białystok estate only began in the middle 16th century. This is supported by a decree issued in 1547, which did away with the right to use the Białystok Forest¹¹⁶, pursuant to which the residents of Hryniewiczze and Kożany estates received compensation for the privileges they had been taken away. Cutting down the forest and establishment of villages must have occurred at that time, then¹¹⁷. As a result, in the last quarter of the 16th century Białystok was counted among large estates in Podlasie: in 1577 it covered 62½ *włókas*, and three years later, 70 settled *włókas*, 4 empty *włókas*¹¹⁸ and two mills on the Białystok river¹¹⁹. It seems likely that the process of managing forests and wasteland occurred very quickly at that time, as a result of which the estate was indeed enlarged by 7½ *włókas*, since the tax was paid using new tickets both in 1577 and in 1580¹²⁰.

This estate was administered by Jakub Kamieński, apparently in an effective way, because in 1576 as much as 18 lasts (łaszt) of rye was floated only from the estate belonging to Piotr Wiesiołowski, located in the Bielsk powiat¹²¹. The information of floating this amount of cereal is of key importance, as it may

Wartość przestrzeni i środowiska kulturowego dzielnicy Bojary, „Białostoczczyzna” 9 (1994), pp. 72–73. The first piece of information about boyars in the vicinity of the Białystok manor can be found in 1676. *Kościół katolicki na Podlasiu. Zbiór dokumentów erekcyjnych i funduszowych*, v. 3: *Białystok*, introduction and edition J. Maroszek, Białystok 1999, p. 19.

¹¹⁴ W. Pałucki, *Nazwy miejscowe typu Białystok, Górnystok, Ponikłystok, „Onomastica”* 7 (1961), pp. 45–46.

¹¹⁵ Нацыянальны гістарычны архіў Беларусі, 1708, оп. 1, нр 204, file cards 82v–83.

¹¹⁶ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa (Warszawa), Teki Glinki, 28, pp. 15–18; J. Maroszek, *Rewelacyjne odkrycie*, p. 26.

¹¹⁷ J. Maroszek, *Najstarszy dokument uposażeniowy* p. 3; cf. T. Wasilewski, op. cit., p. 119; J. Maroszek, *Rewelacyjne odkrycie*, p. 17; J. Ochmański, *Biskupstwo wileńskie w średniowieczu*, Poznań 1972, p. 69; J. Wiśniewski, op. cit., pp. 26–27.

¹¹⁸ On 04/12/1581, four *włókas* of land were granted to the Białystok parish priest. J. Maroszek, *Najstarszy dokument uposażeniowy*, p. 5.

¹¹⁹ A. Jabłonowski, *Podlasie*, part 2, [in:] *Źródła dziejowe*, vol. XVII, part II, Warszawa 1909, p. 50, 144; J. Maroszek, *Dzieje Białegostoku*, p. 54.

¹²⁰ *Volumina Constitutionum*, part II, vol. 1: 1550–1585, ed. by S. Grodziski, I. Dwornicka, W. Uruszczak, Warszawa 2005, pp. 398, 432.

¹²¹ A. Jabłonowski, *Podlasie*, part 1, p. 112; *Regestra thelonei aquatici Vladislaviensis saeculi XVI*, ed. by S. Kutrzeba, F. Duda, Kraków 1915, p. 361. On the use of rivers for floating goods in Podlasie: J. Oleksicki, *Splaw zboża rzeką Narwią w XVI wieku*, [in:] *Studia nad społeczeństwem i gospodarką Podlasia*, ed. A. Wyrobisz, Warszawa 1981; A. Wyrobisz, *Splaw*

testify to the profits the owners of the Białystok estate derived from it. We know that in the years 1576–1580, the price for a last of cereal was 28.40 złoty, which means that Piotr Wiesiołowski could have received more than 510 złoty for a single transport¹²². So it seems legitimate that the estate, lying in the vicinity of navigable rivers, gave potentially high revenues¹²³.

What is important, 1 Gdańsk last (łaszt) was approximately 3,300 litres, which gives 2,200 kilograms of rye: this was the average yield of 4.5 hectares. So, if 81 hectares yielded 18 lasts, but rye only accounted for 40% of the farm crops, its can easily be calculated that the whole sown area of the farm must have been approximately 200 hectares. Besides, 1/3 should be added to account for the fallow. All this leads to the conclusion that the farms which produced that cereal must have had about 300 hectares, so combined they had approximately 14–15 Lithuanian łans (*włókas*)¹²⁴. These data indirectly show that, firstly, farms existed in the Białystok estate as early as in the 1570s. Secondly, they make allows us to estimate the potential total acreage of the Białystok and Wysoki Stok farms.

The data from the late 16th century, however, are surprising. As the collection of 1591 shows, the owner only paid tax for 40 settled *włókas*, so almost a half of the Białystok estate had disappeared¹²⁵. A very probable reason for this surprising change seems to be withholding the information on the actually settled area: it must be remembered that the tax was paid *in accordance with tax tickets as of the year 1578, but without the oath* [highlighted by K.Ł. and W.W.]¹²⁶. This meant the assumption of the number of farms of 13 years before, while the nobility were allowed to lower the number as a result of a natural disaster (e.g. a fire in one of the villages). In Piotr Wiesiołowski's handwritten notes of the autumn 1580, we can read that an epidemics occurred which *affected all the people around*, involving symptoms such as *severe headaches and high fever*¹²⁷. Making note of this means that the epidemics resulted in significant

na Bugu w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku, „Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej” 32 (1984), 4, pp. 471–490.

¹²² J. Pelc, *Ceny w Gdańsku w XVI i XVII wieku*, Lwów 1937, p. 117.

¹²³ For 510 złoty, 34 Hussars could be enlisted for 3 months. K. Kościelniak, *Źródła dochodów oficerów jazdy polskiej w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, [in:] *Organizacja armii w nowożytnej Europie: struktura – urzędy – prawo – finanse*, ed. K. Łopatecki, Białystok 2011, p. 155.

¹²⁴ P. Guzowski, *Chłopi i pieniądze na przełomie średniowiecza i czasów nowożytnych*, Kraków 2008, pp. 110–126.

¹²⁵ A. Jabłonowski, *Podlasie*, part 1, p. 153.

¹²⁶ *Volumina Constitutionum*, part II, vol. 2: 1587–1609, ed. by S. Grodziski, Warszawa 2008, p. 182.

¹²⁷ Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, ms. 1793, p. 863.

losses in the author's property. However, they may not have been so great, as in the years 1580–1591 one or two farms may have been created, for which the nobility were not obliged to pay taxes except *poradlne* (land tax) amounting to 2 groszy per łan/*włóka* (although such a farm rather could not have been bigger than a dozen or so *włókas*)¹²⁸. Alternatively, the state affiliation of the estate formerly belonging to Wiesiołowski may have changed¹²⁹.

The documents which deserve attention at the analysis of the discussed estate at the end of the rule of Wiesiołowski family are two tax registers preserved at the beginning of the Brańsk town register of the years 1640–1641, kept in the State Archives in Białystok. The second one is dated 1635, and as for the first one, it was assumed to have been drawn up about 1630. Accurate information is unavailable because of the few missing cards at the beginning. The document is probably the first register of *podymne* (household tax) – the tax which was adopted in 1629 and thus provided the basis for imposing taxes of this kind in the following years¹³⁰. As for the *podymne* adopted in 1635, it directly referred to the tax resolution of 1629, providing for four-fold *podymne* for the Bielsk land¹³¹.

As the above-mentioned register of 1629 shows, in Białystok (Białystok estate) there were 157 peasants households (*dymy*)¹³² on the lord's land, and 5 families tilling the soil on 4 *włókas* belonging to the priest¹³³. The data allow for the conclusion that peasants had big farms, with surface areas of half or even one *włóka*. Taxes introduced six years later are provided with specific amounts, but on the basis of the ratio of the number of subjects to the tax paid, sometimes we can assume that the number of farmers in Białystok did not increase very much (there were 17 more of them), and that it was the largest estate in the "parish" of Surazh¹³⁴.

On the basis of data showing the state of Białystok property at the end of Wiesiołowski's rule, we can roughly estimate the demographic situation¹³⁵. The

¹²⁸ The average size of a farm in Podlasie was 6.37 *włókas*. In the Białystok estate, there were two farms. A. Jabłonowski, *Podlasie*, part 3, [in:] *Źródła dziejowe*, vol. XVII, part 3, Warszawa, 1910, p. 33.

¹²⁹ It is worth mentioning that in 1591 the sejm constitution for the first time addressed the problem of separation between the Podlaskie Voivodeship and the Grodno poviat. *Volumina Legum*, vol. II, p. 287.

¹³⁰ *Volumina Legum*, vol. III, pp. 290–291.

¹³¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 425, 427.

¹³² M. Kopczyński, *Studia nad rodziną chłopską w Koronie w XVII–XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1998, pp. 90 ff.

¹³³ Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Księga grodzka brańska 1640–1641, file card 18.

¹³⁴ *Ibidem*, file card 36.

¹³⁵ As Andrzej Wyczański emphasized (*Historyk wobec liczby*, [in:] *Metody i wyniki. Z warsztatu historyka dziejów społeczeństwa polskiego*, ed. S. Kalabiński, in cooperation with

information of approx. 1630 mentions 157 subjects of Wiesiołowski and five subjects of the priest, giving 162 peasants *dymy* (households), each of which is made up of a family, household servants and tenant farmers¹³⁶. Unfortunately, no model of peasants' farms of the 1st half of the 17th century in Podlaskie voivodeship has been drawn up yet. The size of a farm was probably within the two extremes: in Kujawy, an average farm in the 2nd half of the 18th century involved seven people, and in Podlasie – after huge damage resulting from the military activity of Swedes, Transylvanians, Cossacks and Russians in the middle of the 17th century¹³⁷ – an average peasants' farm included approximately 3.35–3.45 persons¹³⁸. These last data did not take many social groups (children, the elderly, fire victims, the poor etc.) into account, so the proposal to multiply the number of registered tax payers by two, applied in the study, seems to be justified¹³⁹. The result we get this way – approximating 6.7–6.9 persons per farm – is consistent with well-documented studies from Kujawy region. These ratios are higher than the ones averaged for the Commonwealth and assumed by Zenon Guldón, who on the basis of tax sources of 1629 concluded that on average in Podlaskie Voivodeship "one *dym*" was inhabited by six people¹⁴⁰.

The situation of Podlasie villages in the 1630s must have been good. Direct military activities taking place in the 1620s and 1630s did not affect this area. The problem for big starosties in the Bielsk land was rather companies which stayed there over the winter (*leże* and *hiberna*)¹⁴¹. Sometimes – though much more rarely – noblemen's estates were also plundered¹⁴². A constant nuisance

J. Hensel, I. Rychlikowa, Warszawa 1980, p. 11) even less accurate estimates provide some information on the order of magnitude involved.

¹³⁶ Cf. C. Kukło, *Demografia Rzeczypospolitej przedrozbiorowej*, Warszawa 2009, pp. 83–91.

¹³⁷ See: J. Płosiński, *Potop szwedzki na Podlasiu 1655–1657*, Zabrze 2006, *passim*.

¹³⁸ M. Kopczyński, *op. cit.*, pp. 95–97; A. Laszuk, *Ludność województwa podlaskiego w drugiej połowie XVII wieku*, Warszawa 1999, *passim* (particularly p. 108).

¹³⁹ A. Laszuk, *Ludność województwa podlaskiego*, p. 21; I. Gieysztorowa, *Wstęp do demografii staropolskiej*, Warszawa 1976, p. 196.

¹⁴⁰ Z. Guldón, *Zaludnienie Polski w 1629 r.*, „Zapiski Historyczne” 33 (1968), 4, p. 49.

¹⁴¹ Нацыянальны гістарычны архіў Беларусі, ф. 1708, оп. 1, нр 37, file card 841.

¹⁴² The analysis of complaints of civilians about soldier abuse leads to interesting conclusions: the level of security in the 1st half of the 17th century proved to be surprisingly high, then it dramatically dropped in the 2nd half of the century, but still it cannot be regarded as very low. For example, for the 17-century Łęczyca Voivodeship the ratio of soldiers stationed there ending with a complaint recorded in town records was 0.85, meaning that on average they bothered a settlement less than once in a century (for the Wieluń district, the index was 1.06). T. Srogosz, *Żołnierz swawolny. Z dziejów obyczajów armii koronnej w XVII wieku*, Warszawa 2010, pp. 134–138; Z. Ćwiek, *Z dziejów wsi koronnej w XVII wieku*, Warszawa 1966, pp. 180 ff.

for the people living in of the discussed areas was also *kupy swawolne*, hooligan bands robbing the residents, like in the documented example of 1598, when a band was prowling in Wiesiołowski's estate¹⁴³. We know of some classic natural disasters but there is no information of an unusual event occurring in the 1st half of the 17th century¹⁴⁴.

This relatively optimistic information allows to assume the coefficient of 7, which – when multiplied by 162 farms – gives 1,134 persons. Although this result must definitely be considered as very high, we should remember that it does not refer to one village but the whole complex of Wiesiołowski's estates lying upon the Białystok river. According to an inventory of 1645, Białystok had 39 *włókas*, Starosielce – 25, and Zawady – 13, as well as areas whose acreage was not given: the village of Supraśl and two farms located in Białystok and Wysoki Stok¹⁴⁵. Besides, we know that *Poświętne białostockie* (covering 4 *włókas*) – land belonging to the local church – had about 35 inhabitants. With the assumption that the inventory included properties in the order from the largest to the smallest, we can assume that Supraśl covered approximately 10 *włókas*, and applying generalization typically used in the literature of the subject, the two farms may have been inhabited by a total of 30 people¹⁴⁶. Hence, it appears that within the four villages covering 87 *włókas* there were 1,070 persons, and the population density was 12.3 persons per *włóka*. With the assumption that the distribution of residents is proportional to the size, Białystok would have had 480 residents, Starosielce 307, Zawady 160, and Supraśl 123. It must be emphasized that the figures are only estimations based on relatively imprecise information, and they can only reflect a certain order of magnitude. A few years later, in 1635, the Białystok estate was inhabited by 179 farmers, which might have meant a total of 1,253 people, plus 530 people in Białystok. All this leads to the conclusion that the 1630s was a period of prosperity and considerable demographic growth in the Białystok estate.

The growing importance of Białystok and, more broadly, the Białystok estate, is indicated by the construction of a Roman Catholic church. The church quickly became not only a place of worship but also the central point of the spatial development of the settlement, providing the basis for the future

¹⁴³ K. Łopatecki, E. Zalewska, op. cit., pp. 115–126; cf. Нацыянальны гістарычны архіў Беларусі, ф. Ф. 1708, оп. 1, нр 141, file card 53.

¹⁴⁴ Probably one of the most fatal accidents was the fire of 1635, which destroyed 18 houses. Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Księga grodzka brańska 1640–1641, file card 36. Even more destructive was the fire of 1692, when 22 out of 47 households burnt down. AGAD, Księgi grodzkie brańskie, 47, file card 300.

¹⁴⁵ Нацыянальны гістарычны архіў Беларусі, ф. Ф. 1708, оп. 1, нр 137, file card 95v.

¹⁴⁶ A. Jabłonowski, *Podlasie*, part 3, pp. 33–34.

town.¹⁴⁷ The first church must have been built even before 1547, but the oldest direct evidence for its existence in Białystok is *Regestr skarbowy wybierania serebszczyzny z dóbr duchownych kapitulnych i plebanskich Biskupstwa Wileńskiego* of 1553.¹⁴⁸ Perhaps after 1556 the Białystok Roman Catholic church was converted into a Calvinistic congregation.¹⁴⁹ The information of the church being taken over by heretics is mentioned by Jan Kazimierz in the charter of 1661.¹⁵⁰ According to Józef Maroszek, who provided convincing evidence for his thesis, the heretical occupation should be associated with the period of the "deluge".¹⁵¹ This assumption would not contradict very general legends popular at the turn of the 19th century. Franciszek Józef Biłgorajski retells one of them: *The parish church with a very high tower, according to the local tale built by Arians, is said to hold graves of believers of this religion under one of the chapels on the cemetery by the church.*¹⁵²

An important initiative taken by Piotr Wiesiołowski in 1581 was to erect a new wooden church in Białystok, whose construction was completed in 1584. It is commonly thought that it stood opposite the marketplace, where the west wing of St. Martin's House run by Sisters of Charity was later built, and next to it there was the oldest cemetery, functioning nearly until the end of the 18th century.¹⁵³ Actually, however, this was the site of an older church, and the construction of 1581 began in another place on the hill, opposite the previous one¹⁵⁴. The

¹⁴⁷ W. Wróbel, *Działalność Stefana Mikołaja Branickiego herbu Gryf w Białymstoku w latach 1689–1709*, „Biuletyn Konserwatorski Województwa Podlaskiego” 14 (2008), p. 42.

¹⁴⁸ T. Krahel, *Zarys dziejów parafii Wniebowzięcia Najświętszej Maryi Panny w Białymstoku*, p. 1. 2009, [p. 3] (article available in FIDES Digital Library: <http://digital.fides.org.pl/dlibra/docmetaddata?id=575&from=pubstats>, accessed 1/12/2012); J. Maroszek, *Najstarszy dokument uposażeniowy*, pp. 3–4.

¹⁴⁹ At that time (until approx. 1565), the administrator of the estate and guardian of the young Wiesiołowskis was an Evangelical, Ostafi Wołowicz. Thanks to his efforts, his nephew Piotr was also a Calvinist in the time of his youth. So the obscure issue related to the Białystok church was probably connected with the period of Piotr Wiesiołowski's minority. T. Wasilewski, op. cit., p. 119; J. Tazbir, *Arianie w Białymstoku i okolicach*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów miasta Białegostoku*, vol. I, p. 82. Z. Dunin-Kozicki, *Białystok w XVIII wieku*, „Kwartalnik Litewski” 3 (1910), p. 60 mentions that Piotr Wiesiołowski seized the church from the Evangelical Reformed Church in 1584.

¹⁵⁰ AGAD, Metryka Koronna, 203, file cards 298v–299.

¹⁵¹ J. Maroszek, *Najstarszy dokument uposażeniowy*, pp. 7–8.

¹⁵² [F. Biłgorajski], *Pamiętnik szlachcica podlaskiego*, „Czas” 1876, no. 275, p. 2.

¹⁵³ H. Mościcki, *Białystok – zarys historyczny*, Białystok 1933, p. 14; J. Maroszek, *Najstarszy dokument uposażeniowy*, p. 7; idem, *Dzieje Białegostoku*, pp. 64–66; *Kościół katolicki na Podlasiu*, p. 14.

¹⁵⁴ Cf.: W. Wróbel, op. cit., p. 71, footnote 27, where the author claims a wooden church cannot have existed within the area of the nunnery of Sisters of Charity.

hill was made about one meter higher and the founders' crypt was built (from the perspective of the current church, slightly shifted from the main axis)¹⁵⁵. Even in 1617, Piotr Wiesiołowski had founded a new brick church¹⁵⁶. The defensive character of the structure is evident, but obviously it could only serve its role in the case of attacks by bands of soldiers without any artillery¹⁵⁷. The construction was completed in 1626, and then in the same year it was consecrated by the Vilnius bishop Eustachy Wołłowicz, who additionally approved the new church fund (the Białystok parson became a parish priest); it was also dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary and All Saints.

It must have been at the same time that near the manor and Catholic church, by the route connecting the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, a settlement was formed which would later become the town of Białystok.

The Białystok estate was first damaged by the Swedes during the Deluge, and then by the Russians, which is corroborated by the document confirming the assumption of the estate by Stefan Czarniecki on 05/04/1660¹⁵⁸. Tax sources, however, do not agree with the above-mentioned document in such a pessimistic assessment. The census of men and women in Białystok, carried out in relation with the poll tax adopted in 1662, included 180 persons, 15 at the manor and manorial farm, and in the whole Białystok estate, 634 persons¹⁵⁹. The adoption of these data, however, requires some explanations: children below 10 (approx. 30% of the total number) and those over 60 (3.4%) were *ex lege* exempted from the tax. Other groups who usually were not subject to tax were the poor, ill and disabled people, as well as fire victims and soldiers during the service. Further, there were individuals who consciously evaded taxation (by leaving the place of residence) and war fugitives¹⁶⁰. All this leads to the conclusion that in 1662 a relatively high number of people were among fire

¹⁵⁵ Z. Skrok, *Kościół parafialny pod wezwaniem Wniebowstąpienia [!] NMP w Białymstoku. Sprawozdanie z badań archeologicznych*, Białystok 1983, pp. 2–7 (the typescript kept at the Białystok Branch of National Heritage Board of Poland); cf. J. Bąkowski, op. cit., pp. 92–93.

¹⁵⁶ As J. Maroszek observed in *Białystok i Knychówek – dwie realizacje tego samego projektu kościoła parafialnego w pierwszej połowie XVII wieku*, „Białostoczczyzna” 7 (1992), 4, pp. 10–15, we are able to reconstruct the original appearance of the church thanks to the preserved, unchanged church in Knychówek, which was built following the same design.

¹⁵⁷ Z. Dunin-Kozicki, op. cit., p. 60; T. Wasilewski, op. cit., p. 120; K. Łopatecki, E. Zalewska, op. cit., pp. 115–126.

¹⁵⁸ *Intromisya na starostwo i leśnictwo tykoc[ińs]kie, dolistowską i białostocką dzierzawy do starostwa tykocińskiego należące*, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, CXX/7 (old ref. no.).

¹⁵⁹ *Regestr wybierania pogłównego (...) od stanów i urzędów ziemi bielskiej (...) 1663*, AGAD, Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego, division I, book 70, file cards 547v–549v.

¹⁶⁰ A. Laszuk, *Ludność województwa podlaskiego*, pp. 21–25.

victims, fugitives or military servants. If we again double the number of people, we receive very similar data: approximately 1,260 people living in the Białystok estate and 360 in Białystok itself. We can assume that over 30 years the population did not change, but in the 2nd half of the 17th century, the very village of Białystok had fewer residents.

Although these calculations should be treated with caution, the conclusion presented here is supported by historical research. True, Tadeusz Wasilewski assumed that in the years 1635–1663 the population of the Białystok estate increased, mostly thanks to the colonization activity of Czarniecki, but we also need to accept the argumentation of Anna Laszuk, explaining the constant population level¹⁶¹.

These data are surprising if we take into consideration the fact that the period of wars and confederacies particularly affected starosties¹⁶². Still, the Białystok estate was lucky enough to avoid the greatest war damage and natural disasters. This does not mean, of course, that there were none. For example, a servant of Bogusław Radziwiłł, Stanisław Świnarski, provided noteworthy information of a plague that broke out in Zabłudów, *which is spreading very fast, causing a number of good people, both burghers and Jews, to die in a short time. ... Apart from Zabłudów, almost everywhere was plague stricken. I had to flee to a farm one mile from Zabłudów and I'm staying here for fear of the plague*¹⁶³. Świnarski found shelter from the beginning of September, first in the Białystok farm located in the Zabłudów estate (currently near Kuriany), and later in the Białystok village. Meanwhile, as he described in subsequent letters, another plague struck the Radziwiłłs' property, as the army decided to take over the real estate belonging to Bogusław Radziwiłł¹⁶⁴. In the early 1663, Radziwiłł's servant described disasters striking the hereditary property of his master: *first the plague, which continued as God's retribution, was not an obstacle, but then there were troops going*

¹⁶¹ T. Wasilewski, *Kształtowanie się białostockiego ośrodka miejskiego w XVII i XVIII w.*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów miasta Białegostoku*, vol. IV, p. 30; A. Laszuk, *Ludność województwa podlaskiego*, p. 18.

¹⁶² Z. Romaniuk, *Straty na Podlasiu w czasie „potopu” na przykładzie starostwa brańskiego*, „Białostoczczyzna” 12 (1997), 1, pp. 46–61; A. Rachuba, *Konfederacje wojska litewskiego 1655–1663*, Zabrze 2010, pp. 34–96. The research carried out by Zenon Guldón (*Zniszczenia gospodarcze w królewskich sandomierskich w dobie rokoszu Zebrzydowskiego /1606–1609/*, „Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej” 30 (1982), 3–4, pp. 336–339) showed that confederate troops might have caused the damage or theft of up to 90% crops.

¹⁶³ Letter from St. Świnarski to B. Radziwiłł, Białystok farm 4 IX 1662, AGAD, Archiwum Radziwiłłów, V, 15506, p. 1.

¹⁶⁴ Letter from St. Świnarski to B. Radziwiłł, Białystok 1 X 1662, AGAD, Archiwum Radziwiłłów, V, 15506, pp. 10–11; the same, Białystok 22 X 1662, ibidem, p. 14; the same, Białystoczek 11 XII 1662, ibidem, pp. 16–17.

across the estate and shamefully burdening the subjects, and finally deputies, who have been staying there for three weeks and causing me much trouble¹⁶⁵. On the basis of these data, we can assume that the epidemics did not affect at least part of the Białystok estate (only in March did Świnarski return to Zabłudów); the residents did not face intensified soldiers' violence either, thanks to the protection of the Deputy Hetman Czarniecki¹⁶⁶. All these factors explain the decision of the Vilnius chapter of moving the church archive from Vilnius and placing it in Białystok. We definitely know the archive was there in 1666¹⁶⁷.

To sum up, it may be concluded that the population in the Białystok estate in the 1660s definitely exceeded one thousand people. A visible demographic decrease occurred in the next years: in the light of the tax register of 1664, there were 561 "officially registered" tax payers in the Białystok estate (meaning 1,122 persons overall), but according to the sources, in 1676 this number dropped to 309 (meaning, when doubled: Usowicze – 62, Zawady – 88, Starosielce – 136, Białystok – 184 and tax was imposed on 11 Jews, 26 small-holders, 22 boyars, and 15 manor residents)¹⁶⁸. However, it must be remembered that during the *interregnum*, tax collection effectiveness was always much lower.

Data referring to the next decade – the 1670s – can only be interpreted from the perspective of the epidemics which caused significant demographic changes. The settlement gap resulting from this was filled in the 2nd half of the 17th century by Jews who came to Podlasie as a result of the Khmelnytsky uprising and the later wars with Sweden and Russia¹⁶⁹. The earliest source information of their inflow appeared in 1658. The tax collection of 1663 already listed 75 Jews¹⁷⁰. In 1676, 11 Jews were living in an inn situated probably near

¹⁶⁵ Letter from St. Świnarski to B. Radziwiłł, Białystoczek 6 I 1663, AGAD, AR V, 15506, p. 19.

¹⁶⁶ We do not know of any universal protecting Białystok, but there is preserved *Uniwersał na ochronę folwarku wielebnych ojców Bazylianów klasztoru supraskiego nazwany Topielec*, issued by Paweł Sapieha in the Kozany camp, 11 VI 1657, Lietuvos mokslių akademijos Vrublevskių biblioteka, f. 59–18, p. 1.

¹⁶⁷ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa (Warszawa), Teki Glinki, 57, p. 1.

¹⁶⁸ *Regestr parafii białostockiej (...) Anno Domini millesimo sexcentesimo septuagesimo tertio*, AGAD, Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego, division I, ref. no. 70, file card 624v; *Komput osób z regestrów w parafiach traktu suraskiego przez księży plebanów opisanych i summy pogłównego podług instruktarza w roku 1674 od nich wybranych*, ibidem, file card 674v; Biblioteka XX. Czartoryskich w Krakowie, 1099, p. 789; J. Maroszek, *Dzieje Białegostoku*, p. 82; A. S. Herszberg, *Pinkas Bialistok*, vol. 2, New York 1950, p. 39.

¹⁶⁹ A. Leszczyński, *Żydzi ziemi bielskiej od połowy XVII w. do 1795 r.*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1980, pp. 28–30; Z. Romaniuk, *Żydzi białostoccy do 1915 roku*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów miasta Białegostoku*, vol. V, ed. H. Majecki, Białystok 2001, pp. 147–149.

¹⁷⁰ AGAD, Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego, division I, ref. no. 70, file cards 549v, 624v.

the Białystok church¹⁷¹. It was also then that the oldest Jewish cemetery (*kirkut*) was established, right behind the south frontage of the marketplace, opposite the entrance of Wasilkowska street (currently Sienkiewicza street)¹⁷². At the end of the 17th c., a school was also built, which became the centre of social life for those of the Mosaic faith¹⁷³.

¹⁷¹ Biblioteka XX. Czartoryskich w Krakowie, 1099, file card 789; *Kościół katolicki na Podlasiu*, p. 19.

¹⁷² J. Maroszek, *Przykahalek żydowski w Białymstoku 1658–1795*, [in:] *Białystok Mayn Heym*, ed. D. Boćkowski, Białystok 2013, p. 8.

¹⁷³ The construction of the place was confirmed by the obligation issued by the Białystok kahal on 16/05/1700, involving the commitment to pay to the Białystok church 30 złoty of annual charge in return for permission to build a school. J. Maroszek, *Przykahalek żydowski*, p. 14.

4. Establishment and development of the town of Białystok

Due to the considerable human potential occurring in the dense complex of Białystok estate in the 1st half of the 17th century, establishing a market settlement in the area seemed just a matter of time, especially that Białystok was located in a convenient place, at the crossing of Biała river. Other roads ran across the site as well: the Great Lithuanian Route, the Suraz route, the Basilian road leading to Supraśl and Wasilków, as well as roads to Gródek and Choroszcz¹⁷⁴. Probably a market settlement had existed here as early as in the 1st half of the 17th century, but officially the right of free trade in Church estates was confirmed by Jan Kazimierz in the act of 15/01/1661¹⁷⁵. Hence, the marketplace must have been established at that time, probably to the west of the church dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary.

There are a few hypotheses concerning the granting of town charter to Białystok. Jan Glinka assumed that the town was established in 1668, which was reportedly confirmed by Białystok town records of the years 1668–1725 (it turned out, however, that these were town records of Wasilków)¹⁷⁶. Now it is commonly assumed that the town was incorporated under German town law in 1691 or 1692¹⁷⁷. Zbigniew Romaniuk, however, concluded that in 1692

¹⁷⁴ AGAD, Księgi miejskie białostockie, 1, file card 240, item 3; W. Wróbel, op. cit., p. 41; T. Popławski, *Droga Chodkiewiczowska i Bazylikańska – najstarsze trakty Białegostoku, „Białostoczczyzna”* 10 (1995), 4, p. 103–106; D. Korolczuk, J. Maroszek, T. Popławski, op. cit., p. 73; P. Czyżewski, *Wasilków – przykład renesansowego rozplanowania miasta i starostwa, [in:] Małe miasta. Przestrzenie, Supraśl 2004*, pp. 13–34; A. Sztachelska-Kokoczek, *Nieznany fragment lustracji mostu pod Płoskami, „Białostoczczyzna”* 1 (1986), 2, p. 19.

¹⁷⁵ AGAD, Metryka Koronna, 203, file cards 298v–299; J. Wiśniewski, op. cit., p. 27. More about town marketplaces: J. Maroszek, *Targowiska miejskie w Koronie Polskiej w drugiej połowie XVIII i XVIII wieku*, Białystok 1990.

¹⁷⁶ J. Glinka, *Herb miejski Białegostoku, „Miesięcznik Heraldyczny”* 17 (1938), 2, p. 17–18; *Inwentarz b. Wileńskiego Archiwum Centralnego*, ed. by I. Sprogis, Wilno 1929, p. 337; P. Czyżewski, *Najstarsza białostocka księga miejska, „Białostoczczyzna”* 10 (1995), 4, pp. 111–113; A. Sztachelska, *Trzy księgi miejskie białostockie, „Archeion”* 50 (1968), p. 126.

¹⁷⁷ T. Wasilewski, *Kształtowanie się*, pp. 29–39; idem, *Powstanie miasta Białegostoku, [in:] Studia nad społeczeństwem i gospodarką Podlasia w XVI–XVIII w.*, ed. A. Wyrobisz,

the town was not yet formally established but an instruction was only issued to transform the structure of Białystok so as to make it town-like (a similar instruction was also issued by Jan Klemens Branicki in 1745). Thus, Białystok was not a town from the formal and legal point of view, but only a private settlement where the lord established a town hall and structures resembling urban instruments to ensure its better organization¹⁷⁸. This can be confirmed by the memorial concerning the legal status of the town written at the end of the 18th century by the advisor of Kamera Wojny i Domen, Schimelfening, pursuant to which Stefan Mikołaj Branicki established a municipal council for the sake of the residents. Still, there are no sources to confirm the existence of a town charter issued by the king¹⁷⁹.

The compilation of facts made by Józef Maroszek¹⁸⁰, who found out that several actions of Stefan Branicki of the years 1691–1692 are connected and indicate an attempt to organize Białystok, seems to be convincing. According to the scholar, the essence of this attempt was to combine two elements: the palace and garden layout and the settlement which the lord intended to transform into a town¹⁸¹. This concept was supplemented with new elements by Wiesław Wróbel, who pointed out the preparatory phase concentrated on gaining the right of patronage of the Białystok parish church (this privilege belonged to the last descendants of the Wiesiołowskis – the Chaleckis and the Kroszyńskis). Stefan Mikołaj Branicki transferred the amount of 15 thousand złoty – the remuneration of the Białystok provost – from the villages of Bartkowo and Korczew (in the Drahichyn land) to the Tykocin and Białystok estates. This probably occurred in the years 1685–1689, allowing for an agreement as to the exchange of land and founding a town in the area formerly belonging to the priest¹⁸².

Warszawa 1981, pp. 9–29; A. Sztachelska-Kokoczka, *Prawa miejskie Białegostoku*, „Białostoczczyzna” 4 (1989), 4, pp. 1–5; T. Krahel, *Od parafii do stolicy metropolii. Z kościelnych dziejów Białegostoku*, „Białostoczczyzna” 14 (1999), 1, pp. 33–34.

¹⁷⁸ Z. Romaniuk, *Kilka uwag*, pp. 9–16; *Instruktarz*, AGAD, Księga miejska białostocka, 2, file cards 89 ff.; *Описане рукописнаго отделения*, вып. IV, pp. 113–116. Cf. M. Lech, *Dzieje i obraz Białegostoku w XVIII wieku*, [w:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów miasta Białegostoku*, t. I, pp. 129–130.

¹⁷⁹ A. Małek, *Białystok pod zaborem pruskim 1795-1807*, „Białostoczczyzna” 14 (1999), 4, p. 20.

¹⁸⁰ J. Maroszek, *Ponowienie praw miejskich*, pp. 3–13. Another origin of the incorporation of the town of Białystok was presented by W. Wróbel, op. cit., pp. 44–51, who was of the opinion that the urban layout was directly connected with the exchange of church and manor lands, thus moving the date of town origin to the year 1691.

¹⁸¹ See: A. Czapska, *Zasady sytuowania założeń barokowych w miasteczkach podlaskich od połowy XVII po wiek XVIII*, „Rocznik Białostocki” 9(1970), pp. 85–144.

¹⁸² W. Wróbel, op. cit., pp. 44–45.

Particular actions of Stefan Mikołaj Branicki involved first of all the beginning of conversion of the Białystok manor by Tylman von Gameren¹⁸³. Secondly, on 27/08/1691, an agreement was reached and the land belonging to the Białystok church was exchanged with the hereditary land of Branicki¹⁸⁴. It was important because the coexistence of a vast church estate and the manor land would make it very difficult to carry out the potential incorporation of the town¹⁸⁵.

As a result, Stefan Mikołaj Branicki founded the town in 1692, making use of the privilege granted by Jan III Sobieski, pursuant to which Białystok received the Magdeburg municipal law. Unfortunately, the document has been lost. We only know of it thanks to the information included in *Kronika* of 1849 by rev. Józef Bąkowski¹⁸⁶. Also rev. Jan Michał Głowiński, the Białystok parish priest, recorded in a poll tax register of 1692: ***Year: 1692. The town of Białystok. As for the granted privileges waiving duties for a certain period, the first year is now beginning*** [highlighted by K.Ł. and W.W.]¹⁸⁷.

The above quotation does not directly refer to the foundation charter granted by Jan III Sobieski, but – what has gone unnoticed so far – the context of the source unambiguously corroborates the hypothesis of such a document being issued. If the priest registering the people for the purpose of collecting the poll

¹⁸³ S. Mossakowski, *Tylman z Gameren. Architekt polskiego baroku*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1973, p. 233.

¹⁸⁴ *Archiwum Kościoła Parafialnego Białostockiego. Ułożone, spisane i zebrane przez ks. Piotra Kalinowskiego kapłana Zgromadzenia Missji, kapelana gimnazjum białostockiego w roku 1818 w Augustie czasie wakacyjnym*, Archiwum Archidiecezji w Białymstoku, Archiwum parafii Farnej w Białymstoku, nonpaginated cards (*Fascykuł trzeci zamian gruntów kościoła białostockiego*). See: *Odpis sprawozdania z działalności komisji biskupiej złożonej z ks. Leopolda Niemiry, proboszcza jasionowskiego oraz Piotra Kobylińskiego, proboszcza dolistowskiego, która w 1691 r. dokonała wymiany gruntów kościelnych należących do parafii w Białymstoku, między ks. Janem Michałem Głowińskim, proboszczem tejże parafii, a Stefanem Mikołajem Branickim, właścicielem dóbr białostockich*, [in:] W. Wróbel, op. cit., pp. 64–66.

¹⁸⁵ W. Wróbel, op. cit., pp. 42–43.

¹⁸⁶ J. Bąkowski, op. cit., p. 96. The privilege of Jan Sobieski granting town rights should be entered in records of a borough (or district) office, their copies would have to go to the town archive, and the original should be kept by Branicki. We know of the record (“oblata”) from the list of town documents of 16/04/1752, made at the change of the person holding the mayor’s office. The second item in the list is “oblata dawna” – a former record. As J. Maroszek explains in *Ponowienie praw miejskich*, p. 5: “This was definitely a certified transcript of the recorded Magdeburg town charter of 1692. It was referred to as former upon obtaining a new charter from king August III on 01/02/1749”. See: *Konotacja odebrania papierów w roku 1752 die 16 Aprilis od burmistrza Szymona Aczkowskiego podaje się do burmistrza Antoniego Borsuka w całości do tego przybyłe nowe papiery, to jest ablata z grodów na maydeburia*, AGAD, Księga miejska białostocka, 1, p. 140.

¹⁸⁷ AGAD, Księgi grodzkie brańskie, 47, file card 299.

tax used the above quotation instead of enumerating the townspeople, it means that **in the charter the king released the town from public duties, which Stefan Mikołaj Branicki could not have done by his own declaration of will** [highlighted by K.Ł. and W.W.]¹⁸⁸. Additionally, *Instruktarz* of 1745, published four years before the renewal of the charter, includes the following information in item 19: *From the moment of receiving the Magdeburg law from His Majesty, common issues, for example concerning a loss in the field of theft at home, squabble, strife, hitting or similar problems, including criminal cases, shall be judged by a magistrate, without prejudice to the unlimited right to appeal to the castle court*¹⁸⁹. It should be remembered, however, that in 1749 neither the Branickis nor the Białystok town council had the act of 1692. This is proved by the charter including the expression: *the town of Białystok ... still does not have any decent municipal rights*¹⁹⁰. This is not very surprising, taking into consideration the great damage and political turbulence of the Great Northern War, of which Stefan Mikołaj Branicki was a victim¹⁹¹.

Tadeusz Wasilewski argues that the town had been founded in *cruda radice*, and streets and parcels were marked out in the late 17th century¹⁹². It is remarkable that the streets planned in the town at the time correspond to the layout of leas on the fields of Białystok (Białostoczek) village¹⁹³. At the same time, the spacious marketplace preserved until this day was created, whose characteristic southern curve was related to the necessity to incorporate a Jewish settlement (Chanajki) in the south-western part of the contemporary Białystok¹⁹⁴. Generally, that urban layout was typical of towns founded in Podlasie in that period,

¹⁸⁸ A. Sztachelska, *Białystok w okresie działalności Jana Klemensa Branickiego. Zagadnienia prawno-ustrojowe, sądownictwo i zabudowa miasta*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów miasta Białegostoku*, vol. IV, p. 72, refers to the sejm constitution of 1678, exempting all the towns that had been destroyed from any taxes for eight years. This assumption is wrong. First of all, the constitution (*Volumina Legum*, vol. V, issued by J. Ohryzko, Petersburg 1860, p. 278) only referred to "tax releases adopted at sejms", and besides, the tax should only be paid "by craftsmen and the owners of empty squares".

¹⁸⁹ *Описание рукописнаго отделения*, вып. IV, p. 116. The same quotation made Z. Romaniuk, *Kilka uwag*, p. 15, draw opposite conclusions: "This extremely important remark shows that even Branicki could not let the town magistrate execute judgements pursuant to the Magdeburg law. This would only be possible after the granting of an appropriate king's charter".

¹⁹⁰ Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Dokumenty z Tek Jana Glinki, file cards 2–2v.

¹⁹¹ J. Urwanowicz, op. cit., p. 416.

¹⁹² For example: AGAD, Księgi miejskie białostockie, 1, file card 79, where a legal dispute concerning the division of a parcel was recorded in 1763.

¹⁹³ T. Wasilewski, *Kształtowanie się*, pp. 34–35; W. Wróbel, op. cit., pp. 47–49.

¹⁹⁴ Z. Romaniuk, *Kilka uwag*, p. 13; W. Wróbel, op. cit., p. 50.

which were incorporated with possible expenses reduction in view¹⁹⁵. The newly established town covered the market square as well as Niemiecka¹⁹⁶, Wasilkowska, Suraska and Choroska streets. Niemiecka street led to the residence, while the names of the other ones indicated the directions of the routes¹⁹⁷.

The process of building the town followed legal actions taken in the years 1691–1692. First of all, it was necessary to mark out the marketplace and streets, divide the area into plots, bring settlers, and finally erect houses and outbuildings¹⁹⁸. Assistance of an engineer (architect) was necessary for that, so Branicki employed Mr Popławski, who *often comes to Tykocin to provide counsel for his lordship Crown Pantler. ...*¹⁹⁹ The level of responsibility of his task is best evidenced by the fact that all his mistakes and oversights resulted in litigation with neighbours in the future decades. In the second half of the 18th century, municipal courts had to settle these. The effects of the sessions usually involved measuring the land again, and the judges *sticking stakes in the measurements so as to avoid perennial arguments between the parties*²⁰⁰. Such disputes seem to be natural if we take into consideration the passing of time and the confusion resulting from the Great Northern War.

Bringing settlers to Białystok proved to be a much greater challenge, which was even more important as in the 1670s the population density in the Białystok estate largely decreased, so absorbing the excess of village residents, which might have occurred in the 1630, 1640, 1650 or 1660s, was no longer possible. Such a phenomenon obviously occurred – which was thoroughly studied by Tadeusz Wasilewski – but it was no mass influx²⁰¹. In the poll tax registers of 1713 and 1716, 11 out of 45 householder names can be associated with former residents of the Białystok village. It was only 24.4% of the total number of inhabitants, but the percentage is rather a consequence of extremely poor settlement conditions.

¹⁹⁵ A. Czapska, op. cit., pp. 85–86.

¹⁹⁶ According to Józef Maroszek (*Ponowienie praw miejskich*, p. 5) “The name Niemiecka (meaning ‘German’) reflects the fact that the people living in that street used the German town law, unlike the Jews residing in Chanajki”.

¹⁹⁷ Vide: the boundaries of the established town: W. Wróbel, op. cit., p. 46.

¹⁹⁸ Cf. G. Wróblewska, *Rozplanowanie nowożytnych miast w Wielkopolsce od XVI do końca XVIII wieku*, Warszawa–Poznań 1977, passim.

¹⁹⁹ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa (Warszawa), Teki Glinki, 409, p. 1. See, for example: *Program popisu z geometrii, czyli zadania matematyczne z geometrii cywilnej i wojskowej, podane do rozwiązania uczniom akademii wileńskiej w czerwcu roku 1744*, [in:] K. Łopatecki, *Wojna o szkoły wojskowe – czyli rzecz o kształceniu żołnierzy w Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej do połowy XVIII wieku*, „Gryfita. Białostocki Magazyn Historyczny” 28 (2008), p. 36.

²⁰⁰ AGAD, Księgi miejskie białostockie, 1, file card 79.

²⁰¹ T. Wasilewski, *Powstanie miasta*, pp. 10–17, 25–29.

A standard element giving incentive to settle in the new place might have been *wolnizna*, i.e. release of duties and charges due for the lord. The Branickis offered this opportunity constantly; we know e.g. of a decree of Jan Klemens Branicki of 1746, in which he released peasants, burghers or individuals coming from beyond his estate who wanted to take up the management of wasteland in Pieczurki, Zahorki or Sobolewo from the above-mentioned levies (*four-year freedom from the payment of rent and other encumbrances related to this land and meadows*)²⁰².

First of all, however, in order to encourage people to settle in towns, rulers included exemptions from the payment of public taxes in town charters²⁰³. Białystok was one of the towns that had this privilege²⁰⁴. Finally, financial liabilities of townspeople due to the land owned (squares and *włókas*) can be regarded as negligible, because it was 300 złoty from Stare Miasto and 77 złoty from Nowe Miasto. Jan Klemens Branicki lowered these liabilities were lowered by 45 złoty at the end of his life. In 1772, the land taxes only amounted to 332 złoty²⁰⁵. Just before his death (in 1771), the Hetman had net income of 637,871 złoty from the land property, and from the hereditary estate in Podlasie alone, 142,179 złoty. The income from Białystok (excluding arable lands) was 0.052% and 0.23% respectively²⁰⁶. An interesting way to increase the population of the town was also receiving country fugitives; what is important, the owner of the town protected the fugitives and tried to buy them out if the nobles happened to find their subjects there²⁰⁷.

But generally, in the late 17th century and the 1st half of the 18th century, Christians were rather slowly coming to the town, which is not surprising if we take into account the liquidation of the peasants' right to leave the village (*prawo wychodu*) in the Commonwealth. Much more important for demography was Stefan Branicki's decision to bring Jews to Białystok. A special district was allocated for them in the area of land acquired in 1691 from the Catholic Church. This area, located by the Suraz Route, was called Chanajki. On 11/07/1692, the legal situation of Jews in Białystok was regulated. A temple and a cemetery were then allowed²⁰⁸. According to Józef Maroszek, in the 1680s and 90s, a big

²⁰² Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Dokumenty z Tek Jana Glinki, file card 8.

²⁰³ For example, in 1580 Zamość was exempted for 25 years from any obligations due to the lord and for 15 years from the payment of public duties. S. Herbst, *Potrzeba historii, czyli o polskim stylu życia: wybór pism*, vol. II, Warszawa 1978, p. 96.

²⁰⁴ AGAD, Księgi grodzkie brańskie, 47, file card 299.

²⁰⁵ AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, 122, file card 204.

²⁰⁶ A. Sztachelska-Kokoczka, *Magnackie dobra*, p. 214.

²⁰⁷ T. Wasilewski, *Powstanie miasta*, pp. 16–17.

²⁰⁸ Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, ref. no. 2466, file cards 8–8v; Z. Romaniuk, *Żydzi białostoccy*, p. 147–149.

number of Jewish settlers came from Brest-Litovsk. The economic and religious tensions resulted in accusing Jews of ritual murder. According to Christian sources, six-year-old Gabriel born on 22nd March 1684 was kidnapped by a Jewish lessee Szutka, taken to Białystok and there killed²⁰⁹. Notwithstanding the tensions, Jews soon began to play a greater and greater role in the development of the town²¹⁰. As early as in 1711, a document was issued by the Białystok kahal confirming the reception of 1,000 złoty from Teresa Wydrzycka, in consideration of which the kahal was to pay her 10% of the amount on a yearly basis; after the death of lender the interest was to be reduced by 25%. What is important, the manor court would be materially competent for settling disputes²¹¹. Hence, it seems that Jews were not excluded from the competence of Białystok town authorities²¹².

The municipality established at the end of the 17th century received its own seal, representing a stag with antlers spread apart and an inscription in the rim: *SIGILL[UM] CIVI[TATIS] MAGD[EBURGENSIS] [BIAL]OSTOCEN[SIS]*. At the renewal of the town rights in 1749, the coat of arms was altered and adjusted to the coat of arms of the estate owner (a crowned gryphon with Jan Klemens Branicki's initials)²¹³. The coat of arms remained unchanged until the end of the 17th century; in 1800, Izabela Branicka's initials were introduced to it and in 1802 the inscription in the rim was changed into: *SIGILLUM CIVIT[ATIS] BIALOSTOCENSIS BORUS[SIA] ORIENT[ALIS] NOVA*²¹⁴.

²⁰⁹ J. Maroszek, *Przykahałek żydowski*, pp. 11–14.

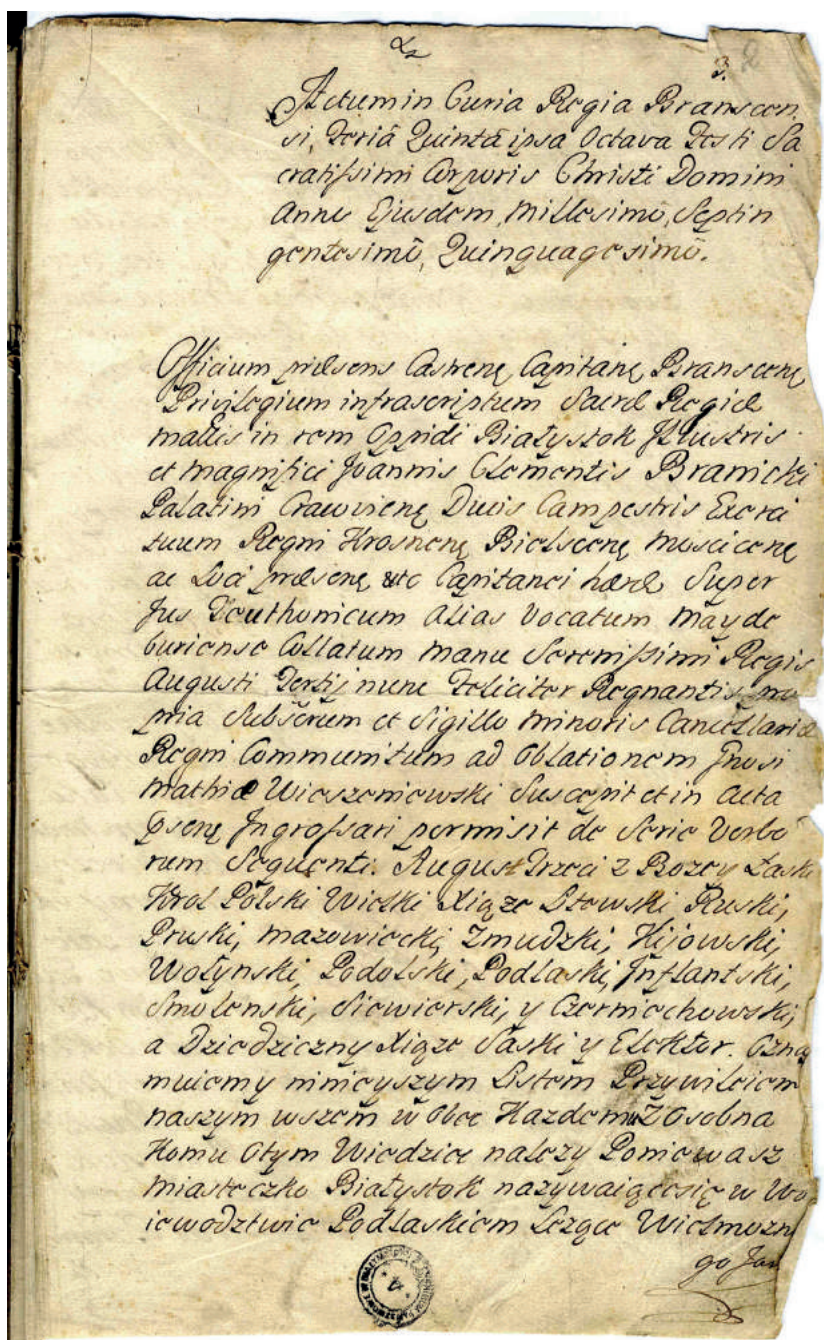
²¹⁰ The Branickis many times had to defend Jews charged with ritual murders. For instance, in 1753 the lessee of Janów, Kiwa, was accused of a ritual murder. Jan Klemens Branicki appealed to his officials for protection for Kiwa. Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 317, p. 30. In retaliation for the pogrom of Jews in Tyczyn (resulting from the allegations of ritual murder), whose leader was the local priest Słomiński, Branicki withheld the remuneration for the clergyman. Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 359, p. 4.

²¹¹ J.A. Moszyński, *Podróż do Prus, Saksonii i Czech odbyta w roku 1838–1839*, vol. I, Wilno 1844, pp. 264–265.

²¹² It was compliant to the laws introduced in 1539, when voivodes lost the court jurisdiction over Jews living in private estates. Since then, the cases were settled by dominion (castle) courts, or – if that was the will of the lord – private town courts. M. Mikołajczyk, *Proces kryminalny w miastach Małopolski XV–XVIII wieku*, Katowice 2013, pp. 78–79; W. Uruszczak, *Ustawodawstwo sejmowe w sprawach Żydów z lat 1496–1572*, [in:] *Rzeczpospolita państwem wielu narodowości i wyznań XVI–XVIII wiek*, eds T. Ciesielski, A. Filipczak-Kocur, Warszawa–Opole 2008, pp. 277–278.

²¹³ AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Akta rodzinno-majątkowe, 336; J. Glinka, *Herb miejski*, pp. 17–18; K. Filipow, *Herby białostockie*, „Białostoczczyzna” 13 (1989), 1, p. 1.

²¹⁴ Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, 2203; ibidem, 3014; ibidem, 3104; A. Cz. Dobroński, *Białystok w latach 1795–1864*, [in:] *Historia Białegostoku*, p. 220.



19. A transcript from Brańsk town records made in 1750, including the town privilege for Białystok of 1749 [Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Dokumenty z Tek Jana Glinki, file card 2].

According to Józef Maroszek, the initial incorporation of the town failed because of external factors, the most important of which was the great epidemics of cholera in the years 1710–1711, which decimated the population of the newly established town and *must have caused the decline of a town in which certain administrative and commercial functions had no chance to develop. The town did not have a mayor or town council*²¹⁵. Apart from the epidemics, great destruction was caused by Muscovite and Saxon armies, as well as Crown and Lithuanian troops loyal to August II Mocny. The first serious material losses affected the town in 1700, when Stefan Mikołaj sheltered the Sapiehas after the lost battle of Olkieniki, in revenge for which the Saxon troops started to invade the Podlasie estate of Branicki²¹⁶. Based on the sources used so far, it was thought that especially serious havoc in the Białystok estate took place in 1704, when Stefan Mikołaj Branicki had to emigrate to Prussia, and – as he himself wrote in 1706 – his estates (including the Białystok one) were completely devastated and some possessions grabbed²¹⁷. But in March 1703, Stefan Mikołaj Branicki informed of the occupation of Tykocin by the Swedes. He complained: *190 thousand tynfs were taken from Bielsk alone, apart from supplies, all my funditus estates were ruined, farms devastated, threshing floors used up, villages burnt, neither oxen nor any other beasts were left in the whole estate, people were tortured, splinters stuck behind nails (which will be evidenced); oh, God knows that many years will pass before my fortune is restored, quo demerito that all my property has been destroyed*²¹⁸. In a letter to Hieronim Lubomirski, he added: *from these starosties, ... more than a hundred thousand has been taken and they are still being plundered*, and then he stated: *when all my estates: Tykocin, Białystok, Orle and other funditus in Podlaskie Voivodeship are ruined*²¹⁹.

All these events led to the situation that in 1713 the register only included 97 tax payers, and three years later, another 24 households had disappeared²²⁰.

The rebuilding of the town was gradual and began in the second decade of the 18th century. This is proved among other things by the economic standing

²¹⁵ J. Maroszek, *Ponowienie praw miejskich*, p. 6.

²¹⁶ J. Urwanowicz, op. cit., p. 415.

²¹⁷ Letter from S. M. Branicki to K. Ruszkowski, 11 VIII 1706, Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa (Warszawa), Teki Glinki, 296, p. 1; W. Kuczyński, *Pamiętnik 1668–1737*, compilation under the supervision of J. Maroszek, Białystok 1999, p. 34; J. Urwanowicz, op. cit., pp. 416–417.

²¹⁸ Letter from S. M. Branicki to J. J. Przebendowski, Malbork 16 III 1703, Biblioteka Kórnicka, 407, p. 89.

²¹⁹ Letter from S. M. Branicki to H. A. Lubomirski, Warszawa 29 III 1703, Biblioteka Kórnicka, 407, p. 92.

²²⁰ T. Wasilewski, *Powstanie miasta*, pp. 25–29.

of the Białystok Jews, good enough for them to build a synagogue in 1718²²¹. Another important thing was a privilege for organizing markets (every Thursday) and fairs (four times a year), which August II the Strong granted Białystok five years later²²². It was so significant because even in 1718 people who travelled across Białystok only bought food (bread, beer, mutton, pork fat, chickens, cream and milk) and simple practical commodities (wood, candles), whereas in Brańsk and Tykocin it was possible to purchase tools, fabrics etc.²²³. From the 1730 there were more and more craftsmen and merchants invited or educated by the owner of the Białystok estate. The importance of the town was additionally enhanced by Jan Klemens Branicki, who in 1727 founded a wooden Uniate church dedicated to St. Nicholas as a branch of the church in Dojlidy²²⁴. In close proximity of the town, there were farms in Wysoki Stok, Sobolewo and Dojlidy, operating relatively efficiently²²⁵.

As already mentioned, the time of the Great Northern War was a period of serious damage to the town, so reconstruction activities began soon after the war. They were, however, partly withheld as a result of a great fire in 1753²²⁶. As a result, it was deemed necessary to apply to August III Wettin for a confirma-

²²¹ Until WWII, an old brick Beth Midrash ("der alter gemojerter bejt midrasz") functioned in Białystok next to the synagogue, with the date of construction provided (478, meaning 1718). A pinkas was kept in the building, which contained information of the existence of a kahal pinkas of the years 490 (1730) and 494 (1734). A. S. Herszberg, *Pinkas Bialistok*, vol. 1, New York 1949, pp. 85–86; idem, *Pinkas Bialistok*, vol. 2, New York 1950, pp. 39–40.

²²² AGAD, Zbiór Ignacego Kapicy Milewskiego „Kapicjana”, 26, file cards 752–754 (microfilm: Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku); Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa (Warszawa), Teki Glinki, 206, file cards 14–15; A. Sztachelska-Kokoczka, *Prawa miejskie*, p. 2; eadem, „Kwadrat Rynku” jako centrum handlowe Białegostoku, „Białostoczczyzna” 5 (1990), 3, pp. 2–3; eadem, *Białystok*, pp. 15–16; J. Maroszek, *Ponowienie praw miejskich*, p. 6.

²²³ AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Akta rodzinno-majątkowe, 32, p. 113–114 ff.

²²⁴ A. Mironowicz, *Nieznane dokumenty do dziejów cerkwi Białostockich z początku XIX wieku*, „Białostoczczyzna” 14 (1999), 4, p. 32.

²²⁵ *Instruktorz ekonomiczny dla starostw bielskiego i brańskiego oraz dla dóbr: białostockich, choroskich, dojlidzkich, orlańskich, sobolewskich i tykocińskich*, AGAD, Archiwum Branickich z Białegostoku, 58, pp. 7–8.

²²⁶ This event was recorded in calendars popular at the time. *Kalendarz polityczny lwowski* included the following information for April 1753: “because of Jews burning vodka, the town of Białystok and the village of Bojary [originally Odolany – K.L. and W.W.], where the shooters were living, burnt down completely. To protect the castle and Nowe Miasto, the rest of burning houses had to be blown up by balls shot from cannons”. *Kalendarz półstuletni 1750–1800*, ed. by B. Baczek, H. Hinz, Warszawa 1975, pp. 112–113; cf. A. Sztachelska-Kokoczka, *Białystok*, pp. 102–103; J. Maroszek, *Pożary w miastach podlaskich do końca XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Ars historiae – historia artis*, eds E. Dubas-Urwanowicz, J. Maroszek, Białystok 2012, p. 201.

tion of municipal rights. This attempt succeeded on 19/11/1760.²²⁷ The charter did not merely repeat the one of 1749 but it also included new rights. From then on, the Białystok self-government was allowed to *establish any craftsmen's guilds, determine laws, and proficient master craftsmen, to educate and release journeymen*²²⁸. Despite these regulations, the right to control guilds remained with the Branicki family. Just like in 1759, when he issued a charter for the first guild, Jan Klemens Branicki again issued guild privileges ten years later (twice in February and once in May). Guild laws were also issued²²⁹.

Even before the fire, works aimed at organizing the market square began. In 1745, ten brick stalls were built and leased out to merchants. In 1757, Białystok municipal authorities moved from the private facilities of the mayor to a building erected in the centre. Court trials were held in the same place; for that purpose the attic and a room under the tower were again converted. In 1755, a permission was granted to 20 Białystok Jews (who had requested it) to build stalls at their own expense. Jan Henryk Klemm made them a design of four one-storey shops that would adjoin the corners of the town hall. The construction finished in the 1760s, at least this is what can be inferred from shop leasing agreements of 1762, 1764 and 1766. At the turn of the 1761, a one-storey tower was built on top of the middle building, and a prison was set up there²³⁰. Another storey was added in 1798²³¹. Besides, a town weighing house was obviously present on the market square with model length and weight measures²³². Finally, during the rule of Izabela Branicka, in 1789, the market square was paved.

²²⁷ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa (Warszawa), Teki Glinki, 124, pp. 1–5; *Onuцane pyкoпuснaгo oтдeлeнuя*, вып. IV, pp. 116–117; A. Sztachelska-Kokoczka, *Białystok*, pp. 17–18. At the request of townspeople, the commissary of the Podlaskie estates, Józef Wojnarowski, explained to Branicki that a confirmation of municipal rights and guild privileges was necessary. Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 362, pp. 18–20.

²²⁸ *Onuсane pyкoпuснaгo oтдeлeнuя*, вып. IV, p. 116.

²²⁹ M. Rutkowski, *Przywilej cechowy Jana Klemensa i Izabeli z Poniatowskich Branickich z 1769 r.*, „Rocznik Białostocki” 17(1991), pp. 239–250; A. Sztachelska-Kokoczka, *Białystok*, pp. 17–20; M. Lech, *Dzieje*, pp. 143–144.

²³⁰ Description of arresting and torturing a suspect (hitting with sticks): Letter from W. Matuszewicz to I. Branicka, Białystok 2 IX 1776, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Korespondencje, LXV/1, file card 39.

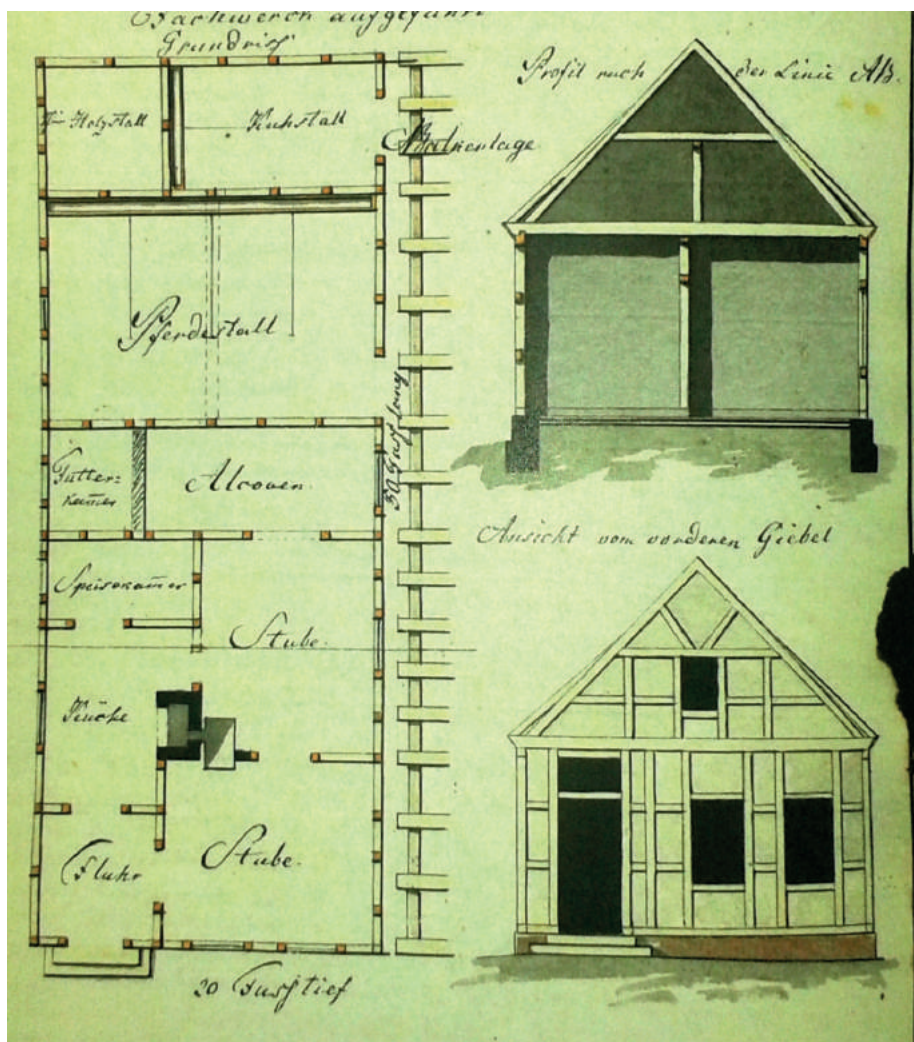
²³¹ AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, 122, file cards 79–83; Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa (Warszawa), Teki Glinki, 107, pp. 1–2; Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa (Warszawa), Teki Glinki, 362, p. 10; E. Zeller, *Ratusz w Białymstoku*, „Białostoczczyzna” 4 (1989), 2, pp. 5–7; A. Lechowski, E. Zeller-Narolewska, *Ratusz w Białymstoku*, Białystok 2003, pp. 3 ff; A. Sztachelska-Kokoczka, „Kwadrat Rynku”, pp. 1–4.

²³² *Onuсane pyкoпuснaгo oтдeлeнuя*, вып. IV, pp. 115–116; A. Sztachelska, *Białostocki ośrodek miejski w okresie działalności Jana Klemensa Branickiego. Zagadnienia prawno-ustrojowe, sądownictwo i zabudowa miasta*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów miasta*



20. Białystok and its surroundings at the end of life of Jan Klemens Branicki [J. Ch. Kamsetzer, *Plan du chateau et de la cille de Bialystok avec ses environs*, Российский государственный военно-исторический архив, f. 846, op. 16, d. 21755. See T. Popławski, *Errata do „Moskiewskiego planu Białegostoku”* [in:] „Białostoczczyzna” 8 (1993), 2, p. 124].





21. Example layout of a house standing at the Wasilków Gate (late 18th century) [Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, ref. no. 54, file card 79].

Finally, it is worth mentioning the findings of Janusz Grycel concerning the housing in the town in the 2nd half of the 18th century²³³. He identified four

Białegostoku, vol. IV, p. 80; K. Bieńkowska, Wyniki nadzoru archeologicznego prowadzonego w zachodniej części Rynku Kościuszki w Białymstoku, „Podlaskie Zeszyty Archeologiczne” 2007, no. 3, pp. 121–129, 132–138.

²³³ J. Grycel, Współczesna architektura mieszkaniowa polsko-białoruskiego pogranicza na przykładzie Białegostoku i Grodna, pp. 33–35. Doctoral thesis written under the supervision of prof. dr hab. inż. arch. Dariusz Kozłowski from the Department of Architecture,

categories of urban buildings. The dominant type wooden houses modelled after cottages, located on big plots with orchards and gardens. They had shingled roofs and were built with either ridges or front walls facing the roads. Within this category, we can identify buildings located in the Jewish area, concentrated around Suraska, Browarna and Zatylna streets: these were houses with three windows, wooden board (*dranica*) on the roof, and brick or clay chimneys. They were built very chaotically. Inside, each of them had one room and one or two cubbyholes. Another category was wooden houses with brick front walls facing the road. Overall, there were 32 such buildings in the market square (in 1771/1772) – 17 in the southern frontage, 9 in the northern frontage and 4 in the western one. All of them were built for commercial purposes; the largest chamber from the road was used as a shop, and the residential rooms in the back had separate entrances from the backyard. So as to enlarge the floor space, in some objects wooden stalls were additionally built next to the main entrance. Another category was wooden houses with plaster-coated walls and treasury buildings made of timber frames with brick infills. Their internal layout was more complicated. Brick houses, in turn, were totally unique. What is interesting, all the four housing types remained until the 1st half of the 20th century, although the proportions obviously changed²³⁴.

What distinguished Białystok from other towns in the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania?

First of all, it was a private town, where its owners (Stefan Branicki, Jan Klemens Branicki and Izabela Branicka, née Poniatowska) had unlimited rights to control the internal affairs. We elaborate on this in the chapter on the organization of Białystok. Here it is worth mentioning that the town privileges of 1749 and 1760 included the provision that *rents and other charges traditionally due to the lord shall be retained as regards their mode and custom, while the granted freedoms and rights may not infringe them in any way*²³⁵. It meant that the landlords could overturn the elected municipal authorities at their own discretion²³⁶. First of all, the burghers were obliged to do some duties in favour of the manor. *Tłoka* (practical help) was to be applied in special circumstances

Cracow University of Technology of 2007, see: http://suw.biblos.pk.edu.pl/resources/i3/i4/i2/i4/r3424/GrycelJ_WspolczesnaArchitektura.pdf (accessed on 16/09/2012).

²³⁴ It is noteworthy that while in the years 1771–1772 no bricklayer was employed in Białystok, already in 1799 there were four of them, and in 1806, six others were working. A. Małek, *Mieszkańcy Białegostoku pod zaborem pruskim*, „Zeszyt Naukowy Muzeum Wojska” 10 (1996), pp. 56, 63.

²³⁵ Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Dokumenty z Tek Jana Glinki, p. 4; *Kopia prawa magdeburskie Białostockiej*, [in:] A. Sztachelska-Kokoczek, *Białystok*, p. 150.

²³⁶ *Описание рукописного отделения*, вып. IV, p. 114.



22. Reconstruction of the town of Białystok of the late 18th century according to Jan Glinka [*Białystok oczami kartografa*, p. 8].

es – as it is customary, Catholics should send two people from each household once a year to my castle²³⁷; other obligations included brick transportation and extraordinary taxes²³⁸. The townspeople were to carry letters and provide *podwoda* – make saddle horses available for the needs of the lord. In 1737, this obligation was limited: officials had to make written orders signed by the Court Marshal or estate administrator, and 22 years later they were limited to the area of seven kilometres from the town²³⁹. Landlords could interfere with – as it would seem – completely independent municipal issues, such as the introduction of measurements, chimney cleaning, trade regulations, weddings, alcohol consumption, operation of slaughterhouses etc.

Secondly, the influence of the nearby palace on the functioning of the town was evident. It was a consequence of two elements: the existence of the park, gardens, game preserve and ponds, as well as the courtiers and servants settling in the town. The palace and garden layout existing by the palace needed fences and watchful guard, as whenever the situation allowed, townspeople tried to catch fish in the ponds, pasture cattle in the gardens and hunt in the game preserve. Further, acts of vandalism were common²⁴⁰. As a result, even in 1737 the responsibilities of municipal authorities included surveillance and repair of the game preserve fence as well as hiring a watchman to supervise and take care of the ponds²⁴¹. On the other hand, many courtiers and craftsmen employed at the palace lived in the town. The register from 1712 shows that apart from maidservants and officials (a marshal, a notary, an equerry and a treasurer), this group also included laundresses, cooks, room attendants, buffet and cellar attendants, pages, carters, servants, hunters etc. Over the 18th century, their number multiplied considerably from the initial 49. At the time of Jan Klemens Branicki's death in 1771, the number of officials and servants was 173 (probably during the extension of the residence there were much more of them), and during the rule of Izabela Branicka it dropped again and was 150 people at best. Probably

²³⁷ So Elżbieta Kowecka (op. cit., p. 55) is wrong in the supposition that "serfs would be used for some temporary jobs, especially in the garden". Since burghers had their own work obligations, peasants were used for farm work.

²³⁸ For instance, in 1772 Izabela Branicka wrote in the instructions for Antoni Patyński: "nobody must rip off anyone at the market or by any means collect the market charge, which is currently cancelled in order to improve trade, unless a new regulation is introduced", *Описане рукописнаго отделения*, вып. IV, p. 125.

²³⁹ *Описане рукописнаго отделения*, вып. IV, pp. 115; 124–125; Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 122, pp. 2, 4.

²⁴⁰ The most serious case was in 1805, when drunken townspeople forced their way to the French garden and broke many of the mythology-theme sculptures standing there. Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, ref. no. 2454, pp. 1–12.

²⁴¹ *Описане рукописнаго отделения*, вып. IV, pp. 115, 124.

it was much lower for most of the time²⁴². A dramatic change occurred after the palace was taken over by tsar Alexander I of Russia. In his *Ukaz* of 27th August 1809, the emperor demanded the Białystok manor to include 23 persons (15 working in the palace and 8 in the gardens)²⁴³. The annual expenditure on palace maintenance was to amount to 4,445 roubles (28,892 złoty and 15 groszy). Even these data imply that especially during the life of Jan Klemens Branicki the role of courtiers and palace servants in the development of the town was enormous, and then it gradually decreased, only to fade out around 1809²⁴⁴. Apparently, the owners of the town were perfectly aware of the role the people employed at the manor played in the development of the town. In the years 1737–1745, their legal situation was regulated: they were exempted from municipal taxes (however *they should pay the poll tax on their wives*), but the duties imposed by the landlords on all the town residents applied to them too²⁴⁵.

Thirdly, the owners took great care of the appearance of the town, which was definitely beyond the average activities of towns administered autonomously. The housing had to conform to the planned spatial design, the streets were planted with trees and paved and gates were placed at the outlets, the whole area was fenced, and trading with real estate was limited (the lord's consent was required for each transaction)²⁴⁶. We can still read Branicki's decree of 1742, in which *so as to prevent further damage and to ensure better organization in the*

²⁴² AGAD, Księgi grodzkie brańskie, 52, file cards 246v–247; E. Kowecka, op. cit., pp. 44–55; I. Kulesza-Woroniecka, *Współpracownicy Izabeli Branickiej w latach 1771–1808*, „Studia Podlaskie” 20 (2012), pp. 155–173. In 1787, Izabela Branicka paid 171 persons, but not all of them were directly connected with the manor. The number indicates how many people directly used the palace. Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 115 (p. 13), 292 (p. 25); I. Kulesza-Woroniecka, *Dwór Izabeli Branickiej w Białymstoku 1771–1808*, [w:] *Izabela z Poniatowskich Branicka. Życie i działalność publiczna*, ed. C. Kukło, Białystok 2014, s. 109–110.

²⁴³ Полное собрание законов Российской Имперіи, Т. XLIV: Книга штатов, Ч. 2: Штаты по духовной и по гражданской части. Штаты по гражданской части (1809–1811), Санкт-Петербург 1830, p. 148. Handwritten copy of the document: Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Rada Białostockiego Instytutu Panien Szlacheckich, ref. no. 1, file cards 10–11.

²⁴⁴ Cf.: A. Oleksicki, *Socjotopografia Białegostoku w XVIII w. w świetle inwentarza miasta z 1771/1772 r. i planu Beckera z 1799 r.*, [in:] *Studia i materiały z dziejów miasta Białegostoku*, vol. IV, pp. 52–53. Interestingly, in 1776, due to the reduction in the number of courtiers, servants and soldiers stationed in the town, it was visible that “there are so many empty tenement houses in Białystok”. Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 316, p. 36.

²⁴⁵ Описание рукописного отделения, вып. IV, pp. 116, 124–125.

²⁴⁶ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 125 (pp. 37, 44–45, 56), 315 (p. 240), 316 (pp. 29, 63–64, 78–83), 328 (pp. 11–15), 342 (file cards 7v, 13, 18–19, 21, 23v), 358 (file cards 17, 19), 362 (pp. 3–12), 368 (pp. 1–2, 6), 372 (pp. 3–6), 375 (p. 2–5), 397 (pp. 18–20).

town, he ordered the residents to collect materials necessary for house repair in winter²⁴⁷. The attention to fire protection activities was simply proverbial and central to Jan Klemens Branicki's and then Izabela Branicka's, attempts²⁴⁸. This attitude even intensified after the destruction of a great part of the town as a result of a fire in 1753²⁴⁹. In order to ensure cleanliness in the town, a responsible person was appointed. Since 15/04/1768, it was Mateusz Brzozowski, and since 30/12/1772, Antoni Patyński. The residents were obliged to clean and remove *manure from around the houses, which makes buildings decay*, as well as rubbish from the streets adjacent to the plots. Besides, monthly cleaning of the gutter channelling the waste was ordered. Special importance was also attached to the market square, wells and sculptures, which should be given particular attention²⁵⁰. The effects were impressive and confirmed by travellers crossing the Commonwealth. Let us mention just a few opinions.

A Prussian diplomat, count Ernest Ahasverus von Lehndorff, visited Branicki's town in 1767, and described it this way: *At 3 p.m. we arrive in Białystok. The avenues are splendid. Once we enter the area belonging to Grand Hetman of the Crown, Branicki, we cannot find a trace of the typical Polish negligence. ... It is a very beautiful town, resembling Leipzig in many ways. The great square in front of the town hall is decorated with the statue of Justice. On the military parade square, there is a figure of Mars. Nice shops can be found in smooth streets with trees on both sides. We can meet almost all nationalities here. I was really surprised to see this beautiful place; it definitely deserves to be more popular*²⁵¹.

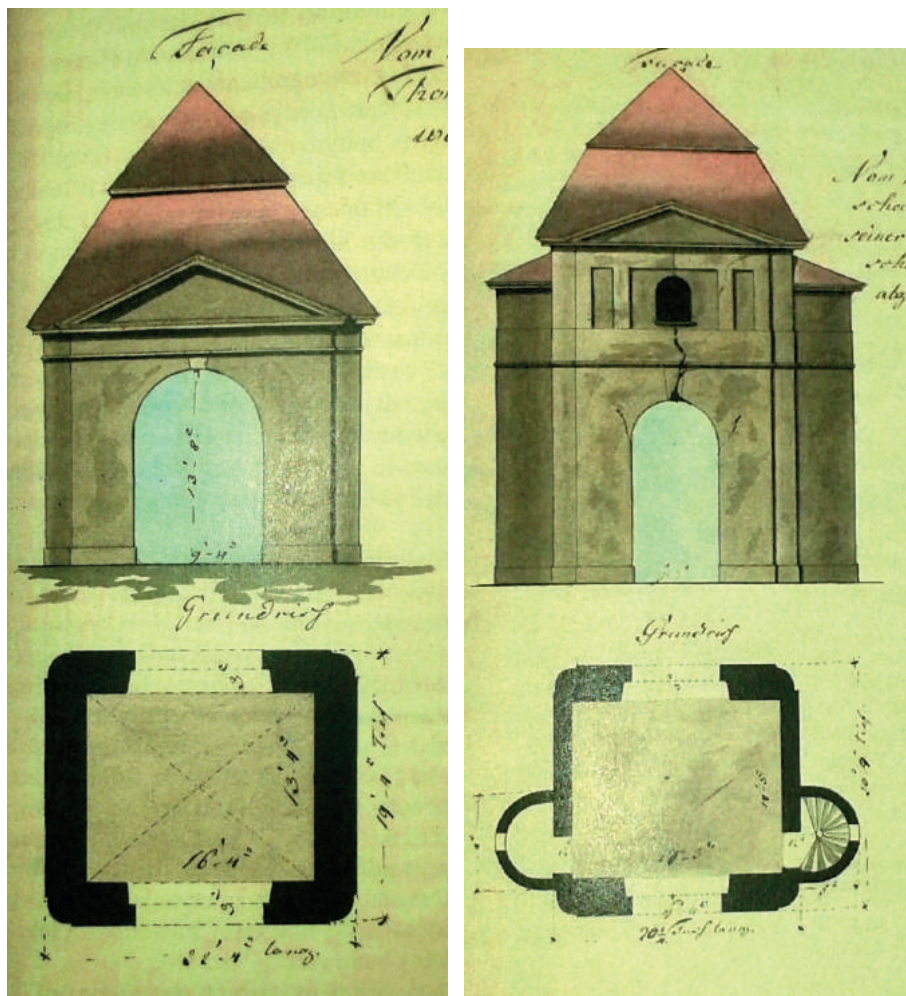
²⁴⁷ Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Dokumenty z Teki Jana Glinki, 2, file card 6.

²⁴⁸ Each householder had to have two ladders: a big one leading to the roof, and a smaller, portable one. Each three householders should jointly buy a vat to store water constantly. Chimneys were given a lot of attention. They had to be cleaned once a week, and the fee of the chimney sweep was 1 grosz. *Описане рукописнаго отделения*, вып. IV, pp. 114–129; Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 339, p. 20.

²⁴⁹ J. Maroszek, *Przykahalek żydowski w Białymstoku*, p. 21. This disaster was the motivation to place a sculpture representing St. Florian on the marketplace. M. Sokół, *Krzyże i kapliczki przydrożne w krajobrazie miejskim Białegostoku – wczoraj i dziś*, [in:] *Zeszyty dziedzictwa kulturowego*, eds K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak, Białystok 2007, p. 127. In 1770, Jan Klemens Branicki effected an exchange of lands – he gave town squares to the parish church, and took the area behind the Wasilków Gate, where he planned to move Jewish breweries. This was for fire protection reasons. Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 391, pp. 7–9.

²⁵⁰ Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Dokumenty z Teki Jana Glinki, file cards 7–7v; *Instrument na gubernatorstwo w Białymstoku*, [in:] A. Sztachelska-Kokoczek, *Białystok*, p. 159; Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 315 (p. 268), 316 (p. 29); A. Sztachelska-Kokoczek, *Kartki z życia Elżbiety (Izabeli) z Poniatowskich Branickiej (1730–1808)*, [in:] *Izabela z Poniatowskich Branicka*, s. 26–27.

²⁵¹ E.A. von Lehndorff, *Dzienniki*, [in:] *Polska stanisławowska w oczach cudzoziemców*, vol. I, ed. by W. Zawadzki, Warszawa 1963, p. 9. The only thing the author did not like very



23. Białystok town gates – as of the turn of the 19th century [Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, ref. no. 2284, file cards 17, 22].

Two independent accounts of 1778 provide information on this. A Swiss astronomer and mathematician, Johann III Bernoulli (1744–1807), wrote: *Białystok, lying at the border of Lithuania and Poland, is a very well built, little town, with a nice location, excellently beautified by the Grand Hetman of the Crown, Branicki, who has recently died. ... Beautiful town gates, the market square, and newly built Nowe Miasto, make a very good impression*²⁵². An English

much was the excess of Jews. “Only Jewish inns, which lack some basic comforts, don’t suit here”. Cf.: W. Trzebiński, *Działalność urbanistyczna magnatów i szlachty w Polsce XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1962, p. 158.

²⁵² J. Bernoulli, *Podróż po Polsce 1778*, [in:] *Polska stanisławowska*, pp. 345–346.

traveller and historian, Wiliam Coxe (1747–1828), in turn wrote: *We arrived late in the evening at Biallistock, a neat and well-built town. The streets are broad, and the houses, which are in general plaistered, stand detached at uniform distances*²⁵³.

The account of the end of the 18th century (1798) written by Henryk Kownacki, who stayed here for a longer time, is equally positive: *Houses are well built in the town of Białystok; a hospital with more than a dozen beds, churches, schools, a town hall, brick bridges and paved roads make this place one of the most beautiful in Poland, which is sure to immortalize the name of Branicki. Roads are planted with trees. They decorate the surroundings of the town so that it looks like the capital, and the locals can spend their free time here walking and playing*²⁵⁴.

Fourth, despite the attempts of successive owners, Białystok was to a large extent an agricultural town. At the same time, the history of the Białystok estate and the town itself resulted in the residents being deprived of their own pasture grounds. The cattle, horses, sheep, and ducks bred by the townspeople had to graze somewhere. Hence, in 1737 Jan Klemens Branicki ordered a special pasture ground to be allotted²⁵⁵. But it still did not satisfy the growing needs and the animals were virtually everywhere. This led to *animosities between neighbours and constant complaints*, and finally in 1745, obligatory registration of all the animals living in the town and hiring herdsmen to watch over them was introduced²⁵⁶. Two events were crucial. In 1799, Prussian troops stationed in Białystok had to issue special announcements, *because it was seen that cattle were grazed and canvas was bleached in the local garden designed for recreation, which is detrimental to the garden*. Consequently, it was announced that the cattle would be caught and returned to the owners upon the payment of a talar; at the townspeople's request, the military authorities agreed to make the keys to the garden available from time to time²⁵⁷. When negotiating the lease of Białystok with the authorities of Kamera Wojny i Domen, Izabela Branicka had the foresight to demand that the new lessees forbid the keeping of goats and grazing cattle or swine without supervision, catching fish in water reservoirs or letting dogs in the game preserve²⁵⁸.

²⁵³ W. Coxe, *Travels In Poland Russia and Denmark*, Londyn 1802, p. 217; cf. I. Kulesza-Woroniecka, *Cudzoziemcy w Białymstoku w osiemnastym wieku*, „Studia Podlaskie” 19 (2011), p. 150.

²⁵⁴ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 419, file card 89.

²⁵⁵ *Описание рукописного отделения*, вып. IV, p. 124.

²⁵⁶ *Instruktarz z dnia 13 kwietnia 1745 r.*, [in:] A. Sztachelska-Kokoczka, *Białystok*, p. 148.

²⁵⁷ *Neu-Ostpreussisches Intelligenz-Blatt* of 5 VII 1799, [p. 9].

²⁵⁸ *Punkta do kontraktu względem dzierżawy miasta Białegostoku*, Archiwum Państwa w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, ref. no. 2318, file card 115v.

5. Municipal authorities and judicature

We do not know the document of 1692 granting Białystok municipal rights²⁵⁹. But from the act issued by the royal chancellery of August III Wettin in 1749 and 1760, we know that the town used the Magdeburg law. Interestingly, these documents refer to the solutions applied in Brandenburg-Prussia, where towns with both full and partial rights (without full magistrate and court representation) existed²⁶⁰.

In the light of the above-mentioned documents, the town was to be administered by a mayor (*burmistrz*), an advocate-mayor (*wójt*), councillors (*rajcy*) and aldermen (*ławnicy*), autonomously appointed but *approved by his lordship*²⁶¹. The municipal authorities were given the competence to adjudicate in civil and criminal cases between town residents. The municipal court would examine crimes committed within the town, regardless of the class the perpetrator belonged to²⁶². Obviously, there were some exceptions from this rule: the clergy and soldiers²⁶³. In accordance with the Toruń constitution of 1520, nobles who committed violent acts in the town would be judged before a mixed, borough-district court²⁶⁴, which was directly referred to in the Białystok charters (*acting and behaving ... against the people of knightly origin, like in*

²⁵⁹ This chapter is a modified version of the article: K. Łopatecki, *Białostockie władze miejskie w okresie staropolskim*, „Miscellanea Historico-Iuridica” (in press).

²⁶⁰ J. Maroszek, *Ponowienie praw miejskich*, pp. 11–12; A. Sztachelska-Kokoczka, *Białystok*, pp. 16–17.

²⁶¹ Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Dokumenty z Tek Jana Glinki, file cards 4; *Описание рукописного отделения*, вып. IV, p. 117. We do not know of any event of the lord overturning a mayor. But there was one precedential situation in nearby Tykocin, which belonged to the same lords. In 1756, the General Manager of Jan Klemens Branicki did not approve the townspeople's candidate for this position, appointing Jakub Kalinowski instead. Such actions were taken for four successive years. M. Choińska, *Powinności mieszczan w mieście królewskim a w mieście prywatnym: przykład Tykocina w XVI–XVIII wieku*, „Studia Podlaskie” 18 (2009–2010), p. 40.

²⁶² M. Mikołajczyk, op. cit., pp. 67–84.

²⁶³ For example: K. Łopatecki, *Cywilna jurysdykcja wobec wojskowych w Koronie na przełomie XVI i XVII stulecia*, [in:] „Miscellanea Historico-Iuridica” 5 (2007), pp. 33–56.

²⁶⁴ W. Maisel, *Sądownictwo miasta Poznania do końca XVI wieku*, Poznań 1961, pp. 142–147.

*other towns*²⁶⁵). As for civil cases, municipal courts settled disputes concerning properties located within the town, irrespective of the class²⁶⁶. But in this case the town charter also provided for the lord's interference in the issues to a great extent. First, the appeals against such judgements should be sent directly to the castle court. Second, the document included general information that the lord's rights should not be limited in any way. As a consequence, lords freely established and abolished new offices, which affected the judicial system. Offices established in opposition to the town laws were e.g. bailiff (*landwójt*), governor (*gubernator*), and many others without specific names, who received broad administrative and judicial rights.

Reconstruction of the structure of Białystok municipal authorities is very complicated as a result of several factors. Firstly, it was a private town whose owners not only theoretically kept the right to interfere in the self-government authorities but actually often meddled with the town's internal matters. Secondly, the area of Białystok was not organizationally homogeneous. The left-bank section was definitely part of the town. As for the right-bank area, comprising Bojary and streets such as Zamkowa, Kleidorf, Nowe Miasto and Przedmieścia Wasilkowskie, its status was not really clear. In addition, there was the Jewish population with their independent rule, and a strong military garrison. A completely new situation occurred after the partitions, when the Prussian government tried to impose their state administration at least in part, appointing a police mayor²⁶⁷.

Consequently, four different jurisdictions overlapped in Białystok in the Old Polish period. The information about this has been preserved in an agreement concerning activities taken in the case of fire in Białystok, concluded between *the battalion of fusiliers of Crown artillery and the representatives of manor authorities* of 09/07/1777. In the document for officers who obviously did not know the organization of the town, the municipal system was explained in detail. ***In Białystok there are three kinds of citizens: the burghers have their bailiff, those from Nowe Miasto and Bojary, an advocate-mayor, and the Jews, their own elder***²⁶⁸. Each of the three listed representatives of local authorities had judicial competence over his subjects. The fourth group, absent from the

²⁶⁵ Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Dokumenty z Tek Jana Glinki, file cards 4; *Описане рукописнаго отделения*, вып. IV, p. 117.

²⁶⁶ T. Opas, *Własność w miastach szlacheckich województwa lubelskiego w XVIII w.*, „Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne” 22 (1970), 1, p. 41.

²⁶⁷ Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, ref. no. 2195, file cards 40–40v ff.

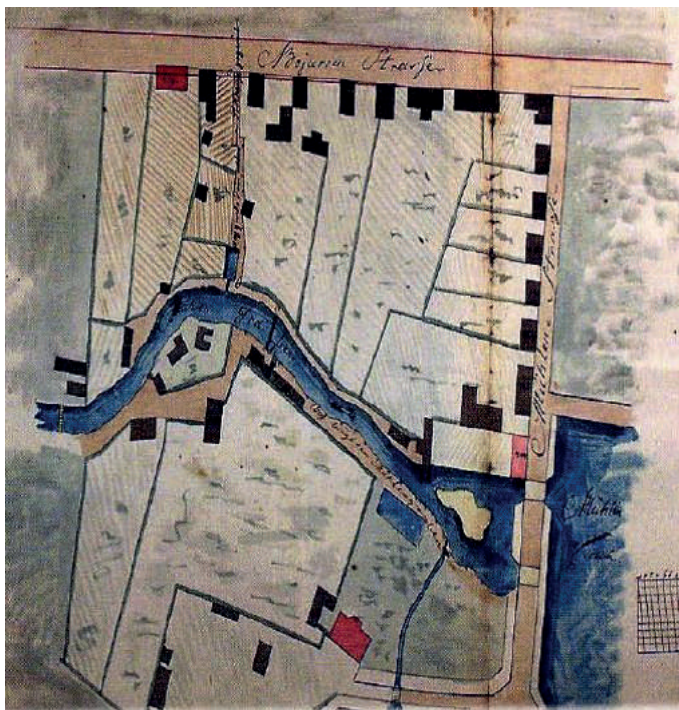
²⁶⁸ *Описане рукописнаго отделения*, вып. IV, p. 127. These regulations were applied in practice e.g. in 1780, when “the soldiers of the battalion stationed here quickly came to

Year*	Mayor	number of town council members	Scribe	Bailiff
1728	Stanisław Bielecki	2 (1 communal)		
1740	Maciej Zaleski	6 (2 communal)		
1744	Maciej Zaleski	3 (1 communal)	Henryk Strzyżewski	
1745	Jan Hołubowski	4		
1747	Wojciech Bielecki	5 (1 communal)	Henryk Strzyżewski	
1749	Maciej Zalewski	4	Józef Danilewicz	
1750	Jan Hołubowski	5		
1751	Szymon (H)aczkowski	1 communal		
1752	Antoni Borsuk	6		
1754	Antoni Borsuk	6	Henryk Strzyżewski	
1755	Jakub Jasiński	6 (1 communal)		
1756	Wojciech Bielecki	6		
1757	Antoni Borsuk	4		
1758	Maciej Czudowski	6	Henryk Strzyżewski	
1759	Maciej Czudowski	4		
1760	Wojciech Jabłoński	5		
1762	Wojciech Jabłoński	6	Henryk Strzyżewski	
1763	Andrzej Je(d)liński	6		
1765	Wojciech Jabłoński	6		
1766	Wojciech Jabłoński	6		
1767	Wojciech Jabłoński	3	Henryk Strzyżewski	
1768	Wojciech Jabłoński	3	Henryk Strzyżewski	
1769			Stanisław Jeleniewski	Antoni Wroczyński
1770	Andrzej Je(d)liński	5	W. Snopkowski	Antoni Wroczyński
1771				Antoni Wroczyński
1772	Wojciech Jabłoński	4	Wojciech Dobczyński	Antoni Wroczyński
1773	Andrzej Je(d)liński	2	Florian Żukowski	Jan Borsukiewicz
1774			Florian Żukowski	Jan Borsukiewicz
1775	Andrzej Je(d)liński	12	Wojciech Dobczyński	Jan Borsukiewicz
1776	Marcin Kozłowski	4	Wojciech Dobczyński	Jan Borsukiewicz
1777	Marcin Kozłowski	10	Wojciech Dobczyński	Jan Borsukiewicz
1778				Jan Borsukiewicz
1779				Jan Borsukiewicz
1780				Jan Borsukiewicz
1781	Marcin Kozłowski	11	Wojciech Dobczyński	Jan Borsukiewicz
1782				Jan Borsukiewicz
1783				Jan Borsukiewicz
1784	Marcin Kozłowski	1		Franciszek Ratkowski
1785	Marcin Kozłowski	14	Antoni Jaskólski	Franciszek Ratkowski
1786	Marcin Kozłowski	6	Józef Penczyński	Franciszek Ratkowski
1793	Augustyn Puchalski			Franciszek Ratkowski (up to 1795)

24. Białystok municipal council in the Old Polish period

[Based on: A. Sztachelska-Kokoczka, *Białystok*, pp. 24–49].

* The elections to the municipal council took place on Holy Wednesday before Easter – in April. Year meant when the election took place.



25. Bojary at the end of the 18th c. [Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, ref. no. 2234, file card 3].

above fragment, was the soldiers, subject to the general military judge or unit commander in substitution for the Grand Hetman of the Crown (during the life of Jan Klemens Branicki).

What is the most surprising is the separation of Stare Miasto (Old Town) and Nowe Miasto (New Town) structures, which has been so far ignored in the literature of the subject. Józef Maroszek, for instance, holds the view that the town charter of 1749 was issued to extend the territory of the town by the left-bank suburbs²⁶⁹. But not only this document indicates developmental dualism.

help to Pieczurki” and the fire was successfully extinguished. AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Korespondencja, LXV/1, file card 304v.

²⁶⁹ J. Maroszek, *Ponowienie praw miejskich*, p. 11. The two sections are not organizationally distinguished by: H. Mościcki; A. Sztachelska-Kokoczka, *Białystok* (information repeated in: A. Sztachelska-Kokoczka, *Białystok w czasach Branickich (lata 1708–95)*, [in:] *Historia Białegostoku*, pp. 95–178. Actually, the authors of this book also used to erroneously interpret the town organization: K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak, *Wstęp*, [to:] *Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku*, vol. 1: *Inwentarze z wieku XVII–XVIII*, part 1, ed. by K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak, Białystok 2012, pp. 60–61.

In 1785, Idzi Jazłowiecki was recorded as *a master of the new town guild*, which suggests he was beyond the guild structure of the Stare Miasto. In 1789, the town self-government presented Izabela Branicka with the proposal to incorporate Kleindorf and Nowolipie in the town, in return for which they promised greater participation in the process of paving the market square²⁷⁰. The proposal was rejected, which we can infer from the inspection of Białystok conducted by the Brańsk borough judge, Władysław Markowski, two years later. He recorded that the areas of Bojary, Nowe Miasto, Nowolipie and the palace were excluded from the town, which resulted in changes in taxes (especially *skórowe*)²⁷¹. The area was actually quite large: as can be seen in a very detailed register of 1793, there were 87 houses in the right-bank section of Białystok²⁷². These distinctions were abolished during the time of Prussian occupation, when the authorities of Kamera Wojny i Domen unified the town structure and even tried to include the palace area in the territory of the town²⁷³.

We have no information about the advocate-mayor “ruling” in Nowe Miasto, which is not surprising provided the very poor state of Białystok archive materials preserved till now. The only exception is *Inwentarz generalny* drawn up after the death of Jan Klemens Branicki. We read there that, as determined by the inspector, mayor and councillors, *the town of Białystok pays 270 złoty, and boyars from the boyar street should pay 77 złoty in general, but since higher official Kodeński received Branicki’s consent to lower the amount by 15 złoty, then the liability was set at 62 złoty*²⁷⁴. This fragments suggests that Bojary was a separate organizational formation and unlike in Stare Miasto ruled by a mayor and councillors, boyars’ representative was the higher official (*oberstrażnik*) Wojciech Kode(y)ński, in the act of 1777 referred to as the advocate-mayor (*wójt*). This was not an obscure person: according to the inventory, he was the wealthiest boyar who possessed considerable real estate that he leased out to others; he received the ownership of houses by virtue of the privilege of 1770²⁷⁵. In light of partially preserved correspondence of the years 1774–1794, he held the title of Białystok Master of the Hunt. Interestingly, in the document granting

²⁷⁰ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 368, pp. 1–2; J. Maroszek, *Ponowienie praw miejskich*, p. 12.

²⁷¹ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 368, p. 4; cf. J. Sobczak, *Sejmiki województwa podlaskiego po reformie w r. 1791*, „Studia Historyczne” 29 (1986), 4, p. 539; E. Danowska, *Podatek skórowy i od rzezi 1789–1793*, „Studia Historyczne” 49 (2006), 2, p. 139–152.

²⁷² *Kwaterlista od lejbkompanii 1go bat. z regimentu 5go fizyliarów*, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Militaria, box 9, nonpaginated cards.

²⁷³ Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, ref. nos 2305, 2450.

²⁷⁴ AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, 122, file card 204.

²⁷⁵ AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, 122, file cards 183v–184, 186v–187v.

him land in Bielsk forest division (in 1776) it is mentioned that he is Branickis' official in the third generation, which may indicate the hereditary nature of the advocate mayor function²⁷⁶. His responsibilities included the organization of hunting events, caring about the forests and the game preserve, supervision of hunters, preparing wood and management of *podwoda*²⁷⁷. That boyars brought by Branicki had a separate administrative structure may also be proved by the fact that in the village of Skorupy in 1748 boyars built a house for – as the source calls him – *the boyar ensign*²⁷⁸.

What is surprising in the quoted document of 1777 is the lack of information on the mayor, marginalized to someone subject to the bailiff. But in accordance with the Magdeburg law, it was this official in whom the widest competences were vested. The scope of mayor's and municipal council's rights was confirmed in *Instruktarz* announced on 13th April 1745 by Jan Klemens Branicki. This document specified the principles of electing municipal authorities, the duties of townspeople, fire protection regulations and bylaws supplementing the Magdeburg law applicable in the town²⁷⁹.

Pursuant to this ordinance, the mayor and aldermen were elected for a one-year term of office on Holy Wednesday. The election involved proposing six candidates, out of which the mayor was chosen by majority voting. The composition or way of appointing of the council was not specified. The list of town council members shows that it was usually composed of six people; any lower numbers resulted from the fact that sometimes only few of the present members signed the documents. In other cases, there is a large group approximating the double number of the councillors, which suggests that it was a combined session of Stare and Nowe Miasto or old and new council. Pursuant to regulations, the mayor was entitled to annual remuneration of 60 złoty, which was a rather symbolic amount²⁸⁰. He had the right to issue municipal ordinances, the failure to observe which was punished with a fine of 3 *grzywnas* (144 groszy,

²⁷⁶ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 128, p. 2.

²⁷⁷ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 315 (p. 287a), 316 (pp. 47–48, 79) 317 (file cards 14, 16v), 370 (p. 6), 372 (pp. 10, 14, 21), 375 (p. 8, 18, 21, 24), 376 (p. 4); I. Kulesza-Woroniecka, *Współpracownicy Izabeli Branickiej*, p. 166.

²⁷⁸ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 315, p. 177.

²⁷⁹ *Описание рукописного отделения*, вып. IV, pp. 113–116. An important piece of information which indicates that *Instruktarz* was in force until the end of the Old Polish period is the fact that its content was entered into the Białystok town register. This document can be found after the entry of 28 VI 1795. AGAD, Księgi miejskie miasta Białystok, ref. no. 2, pp. 89–93.

²⁸⁰ At the time, an ordinary infantryman received 189 złoty, and after the deduction, 114 złoty. T. Ciesielski, *Problematyka badań nad skarbowością polską i litewską czasów sa-skich (lata 1717–1764)*, „Miscellanea Historico-Archivistica” 12 (2000), p. 105.

equal to 4 złoty and 24 groszy). There was a similar sanction for those who failed to attend the “assembly” called by the mayor.

We do not know the complete list of municipal council of the Old Polish period due to fragmentary documentation that has been preserved²⁸¹. Historical sources mention Stanisław Bielecki as the earliest Białystok mayor whose full name is provided (in 1728). The keeping of Białystok town register began in 1737 at the latest²⁸². It is very likely, however, that there had been earlier registers, destroyed in the fire of 1753.

Judicial bodies were relatively well paid, which can explain the low remuneration for the mayor. A person who initiated court proceedings by filing a claim had to pay 6 groszy to the notary, 12 groszy to the court before the proceedings and 1 złoty 30 groszy before the decision. If a party wanted to appeal, the fee was 12 groszy. The cost of protest or manifest was similar; while a transaction concerning real estate was much more expensive and cost 1 złoty.

The municipal court in Białystok could hear both civil and criminal cases²⁸³. *Common [civil – K.L and W.W] issues, for example concerning a loss in the field of theft at home, squabble, strife, hitting or similar problems, including criminal cases ... shall be judged by a magistrate*²⁸⁴. It was competent in the case of disputes between Catholics and Jews²⁸⁵. Initially, before 1756, mayor courts took place in mayors' private homes, and later in the town hall erected on the market square²⁸⁶.

In light of three preserved town records (one kept by a mayor and two kept by bailiffs), it is clear that the above rules were not practical. Very rarely did

²⁸¹ A. Sztachelska, *Trzy księgi miejskie*, pp. 121–142.

²⁸² AGAD, Księgi miejskie białostockie, 1, file card 2; cf. A. Sztachelska, *Źródła do dziejów miasta Białegostoku w XVII i XVIII w. (do 1795 r.)*, „Rocznik Białostocki” 11(1972), pp. 307–308; A. Sztachelska-Kokoczka, *Białystok*, pp. 24–26. It is very likely that there had been earlier registers, destroyed in the fire of 1753.

²⁸³ In the Commonwealth, the division into civil and criminal cases was based on the kind of punishment for particular unlawful acts. “In the civil ones, the perpetrator pays with his property, cash, or is temporarily sent to the upper jail. The criminal ones result in the loss of life or part of the body, dignity, honour, or estate, flogging, or deeper jail.” T. Ostrowski, *Prawo cywilne albo szczególne narodu polskiego*, vol I, Warszawa 1784, pp. 378–379; cf. Z. Zdrójkowski, *Teodor Ostrowski (1750–1802). Pisarz dawnego polskiego prawa sądowego*, Warszawa 1956, pp. 68, 111–112; K. Bukowska, *Tomasz Drezner polski romanista XVII wieku i jego znaczenie dla nauki prawa w Polsce*, Warszawa 1960, p. 161.

²⁸⁴ *Описане рукописнаго отделения*, вып. IV, p. 116; AGAD, Księga miejska miasta Białystok, 2, p. 92.

²⁸⁵ This solution introduced a change to the previous practice, which is proved by a document from 1711, including the provision that in the case of a dispute between a male Jew and a female Christian, the castle (dominion) court would be competent. J.A. Moszyński, *op. cit.*, pp. 264–265.

²⁸⁶ A. Sztachelska-Kokoczka, *Białystok*, p. 32.

the mayor settle disputes alone with the assistance of the council; usually the panel was made up of the bailiff and the mayor. Thus, the manor authorities interfered with court decisions to a considerable degree²⁸⁷.

We do not know for sure when town owners began to appoint bailiffs, but probably it was in 1769, when Jan Klemens Branicki appointed Antoni Wroczyński. The document issued at the time referred to the town privilege of 1760 and mentioned the *still vacant bailiff's office*.²⁸⁸ The competence of that lifelong office was also described in detail. First of all, he had judicial tasks: *in differences, controversies or mutual grudges between burghers, as well as all cases that needed to be solved and so as to punish crimes and offences*. Therefore, all the town residents (including Jews) were told not to defy his judicial decisions²⁸⁹.

What was the purpose of establishing this office? We suppose the main goal was to limit appeals to the manor authorities. It was only provided in the document that *no criminal decrees sentencing someone to death or to the loss of honour and fame should be executed ... without my approval*²⁹⁰. Probably in the beginning the bailiff court was to be a court of second instance or in the case of combination of the bailiff and mayor court, their decision (in the first instance) was definitive²⁹¹. Besides, the appointment of a bailiff allowed for greater control of the judicature by the manor administration. Perhaps this was a remedy aimed at limiting bribery (which the document explains) and raising the qualifications of the judiciary²⁹².

Moreover, the office of a bailiff was modelled on the functioning of other Podlasie towns. In particular, it could have followed Tykocin (also owned by the Branickis). Both a mayor temporarily elected by the townspeople and a bailiff holding the office for life served in that town. Court cases were heard twice a week. On Fridays, there were bailiff courts with the assistance of mayor and councillors, and on Wednesdays, there were courts of the mayor, with

²⁸⁷ A. Sztachelska-Kokoczka, *Białystok*, pp. 25–28; A. Sztachelska, *Białystok w okresie działalności Jana Klemensa Branickiego*, pp. 73–74.

²⁸⁸ H. Mościcki, op. cit., p. 250, mentions without any source reference that before 1769 a certain Andruszko was the bailiff.

²⁸⁹ AGAD, Księgi miejskie białostockie, 2, pp. 8–9; A. Sztachelska-Kokoczka, *Antoni Wroczyński – landwójt Białegostoku*, „Echa Bojar” (2001), 4, p. 8.

²⁹⁰ AGAD, Księgi miejskie białostockie, 2, p. 8.

²⁹¹ The bailiff sometimes cooperated in the judgement activity not only with the municipal council but also with the Białystok vice-bailiff. AGAD, Księgi miejskie białostockie, 2, p. 52.

²⁹² We know very little about the people serving as bailiffs in Białystok. But Antoni Wroczyński was a burgrave of the land of Wizna, and thus he was knowledgeable about enforcing justice and court work. *Volumina legum*, vol. VII, issued by J. Ohryzko, Petersburg 1860, p. 125.

the assistance of bailiff and councillors. It was possible to appeal against the decisions to castle courts²⁹³. Unfortunately, the scholars studying the history of Tykocin are unable to identify the competence of each of the courts.

The Jews in Białystok had an intricate official structure, reformed by Izabela Branicka in 1777²⁹⁴. The kahal was to elect a “yearly elder” and “monthly elder” for each year and each month respectively; their task was to manage the commune. The financial issues were entrusted to a person (called “*wiernik*”) who collected taxes and paid instalments on the amounts deposited in the kahal. So as to avoid embezzlement, the kahal cash box had three locks. The keys were kept by *wiernik*, the yearly elder and the monthly elder. Jews had separate craftsmen’s guilds: in 1777, guilds of tailors, bakers, barber-surgeons and furrier were active. Caring about the spiritual condition of the community, it was necessary for the rabbi to express his consent to weddings. The candidates had to meet the property criterion, being able to set up their own business (e.g. commercial activity by establishing a stall) or a professional one (acquiring skills enabling them to work as craftsmen)²⁹⁵. The Jewish administration kept three records: the first, financial one, focused on the revenues and expenditures of the kahal; in the second, all the kahal officials were recorded, and the third one included protests, manifestations and documentation of civil and criminal procedures.

Internal disputes among Jews were settled by a kahal court (under the leadership of the yearly elder and the monthly elder) or religious court (under the leadership of a rabbi), using the Talmudic law²⁹⁶. If the value of claim exceeded 500 złoty, they always had the right to *appeal against the local religious, Jewish and kahal court to the Tykocin synagogue, pursuant to the old law*. The most severe punishment these courts could adjudge was expulsion, but it could only be applied at the consent of the supreme authorities. *Otherwise, the perpetrators*

²⁹³ M. Choińska, op. cit., p. 45.

²⁹⁴ *Przepis przyzwoitego w obywatelstwie dla kahału białostockiego do zachowania podany 1777 r. w Białymstoku*, [in:] A. Herszberg, *Pinkas Bialistok*, vol. 1, pp. 448–449; *Описане рукописнаго отделения*, вып. IV, pp. 129–132.

²⁹⁵ In the period of Jan Klemens Branicki, Lichtenstein Kielman Józefowicz (Lichtszteyn) was the Białystok Rabbi. Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 206 (pp. 17, 20–21), 458, (p. 5).

²⁹⁶ M. Bałaban, *Ustrój gminy żydowskiej w XVI–XX w. (nowe badania naukowe)*, „Głos Gminy Żydowskiej” 1937, no. 1, p. 7, claimed that the administrative system of Jewish communes developed under the influence of organizing municipal authorities pursuant to the Magdeburg law, but their essence was based on the Jewish law with interpretation included in the Torah, Talmud and later rabbinic commentaries, with the most important code of Joseph ben Ephraim Karo and oral tradition. See: *Statut krakowskiej gminy żydowskiej z roku 1595 i jego uzupełnienia*, ed. by A. Jakimi, Kraków 2005; A. Michałowska, *Gminy żydowskie w dawnej Rzeczypospolitej. Wybór tekstów źródłowych*, Warszawa 2003.

*should be punished with a sztrof [a fine – K.Ł and W.W], and if the kahal concealed this from the public, the punishment would apply to the kahal as well*²⁹⁷.

Soldiers were also subject to separate jurisdiction, military law and courts, with the right to appeal to the Hetman's court. In the lifetime of the Grand Hetman of the Crown, i.e. up to 1771, all the four parts of the town community were integrated with the rulership of Jan Klemens Branicki²⁹⁸. Later, the military authorities began independent rule, which was often the source of trouble. Izabela Branicka managed to negotiate court autonomy with the troops coming to the town at the time. For instance, in 1779, when negotiating the terms and conditions of stationing a regiment of Crown mounted guards, in item 11 she demanded that there should be no situation in which *the command would judge the local citizens or peasants coming to the market without appealing to the manor authority*. The military authorities agreed to this demand; they also accepted a demand of item 15, providing that they would not free people from jail without the consent of the court²⁹⁹.

The manor court was the court of second instance. It was each time appointed by the lord. Perhaps the introduction of a bailiff was an attempt to reduce the number of appeals, but this experiment did not succeed: despite the existence of a life manor official, parties still preferred to appeal to the castle court. So as to sort out this issue systemically, on 30th December 1772 Izabela Branicka issued *Instrument na gubernatorstwo w Białymstoku*. In it, she appointed Antoni Patyński as the governor of Białystok. In accordance with the act, this official would supervise the whole town. Firstly, as a supreme authority, he was to supervise the observance of the strict fire protection regulations, he also controlled trade (it should only be done within the market square, inns should not sell alcohol on credit, and the property of those going bankrupt should be auctioned off). Besides, his task was to ensure the proper cooperation between the town and soldiers (he established food storehouses). He took care of the security of residents, having militia at his disposal, he could arrest those who disturbed the order in the town. He also controlled slaughterers so that they

²⁹⁷ *Przepis przyzwoitego w obywatelstwie dla kahału białostockiego do zachowania podany 1777 r. w Białymstoku*, [in:] A. Herszberg, *Pinkas Bialistok*, vol. 1, pp. 448–449; *Описане рукописнаго отделения*, вып. IV, p. 131. For example, a Jew named Boruch, accused of theft, was to be expelled from the town. Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 363, p. 8.

²⁹⁸ When Jan Klemens Branicki was holding the highest military position, Białystok became the site of military courts of second instance and courts hearing the most important cases in the first instance under the supervision of Grand Hetman of the Crown. Zob. AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Militaria, box 13, nonpaginated cards.

²⁹⁹ *Punkta z okoliczności konsystencji obiecaniej w mieście Białymstoku*, Białystok 10 IX 1779, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Militaria, box 13, nonpaginated cards.

would not bring ill cattle to the town. In financial issues, he ensured the quality of coins; it was his responsibility to detect the introduction of coins of lesser value. Also, on behalf of the manor, he expressed consent to the sale of town real estates³⁰⁰.

First of all, however, the governor received judicial competence. He was an authority to appeal to against mayor, bailiff and kahal courts (five years later it was agreed that in some cases between Jews the appeal would be to the Tykocin kahal)³⁰¹. During the markets and fairs, the governor had the right to settle disputes as the first instance. This may have been the extension of a regulation introduced in 1745 that the exclusive jurisdiction of the dominion (castle) court would be the cases in which the manor sustained a financial loss³⁰².

The last sentence of provision 2 of the act of 1772 is hard to interpret: *Whoever is dissatisfied with a decision of the governor, has the right to appeal against it to me*. The problem is the lack of certainty whether the appeal referred to the decisions issued on market days in the first instance, or whether it provided for the establishment of another court instance. We guess that the first is the case³⁰³.

To sum up, organizationally Białystok was divided into four distinct parts. To illustrate the situation, let us use the original ordinance issued by governor Antoni Patyński³⁰⁴. On 12th February 1779, he forbade the residents of Białystok to sell anything on credit to the town garrison. Under this normative act, there were three notes informing of the dissemination of the order among the townspeople. *This decree was announced to all the Białystok citizens this day*, bailiff Jan Borsukiewicz wrote on 15th February with his own hand. On the same day, *I decreed a ban on credits for the battalion of fusiliers of mounted artillery for the citizens of Nowe Miasto, Milergas, Kleidorf and the boyar street*. This was signed by Antoni Korbut³⁰⁵. At the end, a similar note was made in

³⁰⁰ The execution of Patyński's responsibility is well documented. Apart from these tasks, he assigned quarters to soldiers, took care of "foundlings", organized sprinkling roads with sand etc. Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 315 (pp. 268–269), 316 (pp. 26, 29, 58–61), 317 (pp. 31–55).

³⁰¹ For information about the relations between the Białystok and Tykocin kahals, see A. Kaźmierczyk, *Żydzi w dobrach prywatnych: w świetle sądowniczej i administracyjnej praktyki dóbr magnackich w wiekach XVI–XVIII*, Kraków 2002, pp. 148–149.

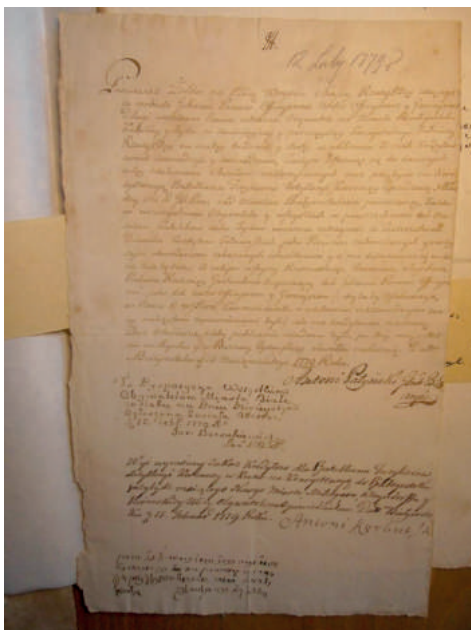
³⁰² *Описане рукописнаго отделения*, вып. IV, p. 116; AGAD, Księga miejska miasta Białystok, ref. no. 2, p. 92. One case like that took place in 1778, when Białystok Jews bought damask stolen from the Choroszcz palace. Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 370, p. 12.

³⁰³ *Описане рукописнаго отделения*, вып. IV, p. 131.

³⁰⁴ AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Militaria, box 9, nonpaginated card.

³⁰⁵ The name of the office was not complemented with a surname. What is surprising is the person who executed that in the case of Nowe Miasto: Antoni Korbut, unlike the Bia-

Hebrew for the Jewish community by the kahal *wiernik* – Shemaryahu, the son of teacher Jehoshua Falk. He announced the ordinance in the synagogue and Beth Midrash three times on Sunday, 28th Shevat 539 (i.e. 14th February 1779)³⁰⁶. Then the ordinance was disseminated among the soldiers stationed in Białystok.



26. Dissemination of the ordinance of Antoni Patyński of 1779 in Stare and Nowe Miasto and the Jewish district.

łystok Master of the Hunt Wojciech Kode(y)ński, did not belong to the town elite. He was a craftsman – a saddle maker. One year before he had asked Izabela Branicka for financial aid because he was unable to support his family. His misery was aggravated by the fact that his horses had died and the buildings he lived in needed renovation. Izabela Branicka may have then exempted Wojciech Kodyński from his duties and assigned Korbut as the advocate-mayor of Nowe Miasto, granting him remuneration for that. *Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki*, 400, p. 1.

³⁰⁶ Acknowledgements for deciphering the Hebrew text to mgr Ewa Wroczyńska. Regarding Jehoshua Falk, on 12/09/1756 he made an agreement with the kahals of Tykocin and Orla concerning the estimation of royal poll tax. *Pinkas kahal Tiktin* 381–566. *Haskamot, hachlatot we-takanot kefi shehetikan min ha-pinkas ha-mekori sze-awad be-Szoa Israel Halperin*, vol. I, ed. by M. Naday [M. Kacykowicz], Jeruzalajim 1996, no. 112, pp. 64–65.

6. Białystok as a garrison town

So as to properly assess the development of Białystok in the 18th century, it is necessary to inquire about the reasons for the economic situation beginning in the 1730s. Looking for the answer to this, scholars often refer to the convenient location – the fact that main routes ran through the town. They also mention the role of the manor and Jan Klemens Branicki's patronage³⁰⁷. These elements were definitely helpful, but actually that they were neither new nor unique. The existence of the palace, despite doubtless economic influence on the development of the town, was not the decisive factor, either³⁰⁸. We are of the opinion that the key element stimulating the development of Białystok was converting it into a garrison town.

Before the rule of Jan Klemens Branicki nobody would have even thought about placing army in Białystok, located in the most peaceful region of the Commonwealth³⁰⁹. The troops were brought here – undoubtedly on the initiative of Jan Klemens Branicki – as early as in the 1730s, and served incessantly until 1771³¹⁰. The Hetman's intentions had nothing to do with military needs. The purpose was to strengthen Białystok from the economic point of view and to use the officers and soldiers for works related to Branicki's latifundium. This is confirmed by *Instruktarz* of 1745, issued by the Hetman for the needs of the town, which in item 11 mentions a garrison: *for their security and benefit I have brought a garrison of infantry regiment* [highlighted by K.Ł. and

³⁰⁷ For example: W. Kusiński, *Przemiany funkcji Białegostoku w przeszłości*, „Rocznik Białostocki” 6 (1966), pp. 268–271; M. Lech, *Dzieje*, p. 135.

³⁰⁸ It is worth noting that in 1772 only 40 townspeople (approximately 5% of residents of Białystok) worked for the palace. A. Sztachelska-Kokoczka, *Białystok*, p. 106.

³⁰⁹ In Podlasie, in the 2nd half of the 16th century, a fortress was built in Tykocin – probably the only site within the voivodeship important from the military point of view. It was to protect the royal dominion and especially served as the protection for Zygmunt II August, who used to stay in nearby Knyszyn. J. Maroszek, *Pogranicze Litwy i Korony w planach króla Zygmunta Augusta. Z historii realizacji myśli monarszej między Niemnem a Narwią*, Białystok 2000, pp. 309–344; K. Łopatecki, *Plan przebudowy twierdzy w Tykocinie z 1708 roku*, „Zapiski Historyczne” 74 (2009), 2, pp. 63–76.

³¹⁰ T. Ciesielski, *Garnizony państwowe w miastach koronnych w latach 1717–1763*, [in:] *Studia historyczno-wojskowe*, vol. III: *Armia i społeczeństwo*, ed. T. Ciesielski, Zabrze 2009, p. 202.

W.W.]³¹¹. As the document shows, the army not only guarded the town, protected the residents and the surrounding estates, but first of all had to acquire food, craftsmen's products, luxuries and weaponry. It ensured great cash flow and the real wealth of the residents increased.

Unfortunately, it is difficult to determine precisely how many soldiers stayed in Białystok. First of all, Branicki – then the Crown Field Hetman – moved some of the soldiers from his Hetman's infantry regiment he had been commanding since 1728³¹². The available data show that in 1747 the unit included eight companies (899 portions³¹³) and was composed of 320 soldiers, 24 musicians and 117 officers and non-commissioned officers – the total of 461 persons³¹⁴. Thanks to the findings of Tomasz Ciesielski we know that in the late 1750s, there were 300 soldiers stationed in Białystok, while the other part of the regiment was accommodated in Lviv³¹⁵.

In fact the data indicate when the optimum number of soldiers in Podlasie was achieved. But the very process of moving soldiers was gradual and implemented systematically. There is nothing to suggest that Jan Klemens Branicki dislocated his regiment in the late 1720s or early 1730s. It was only the civil war between the faction of Stanisław Leszczyński and that of August II Wettin what motivated the Hetman to protect the town. In 1734, soldiers of the Masovian party (confederates of the Łomża district) commanded by Jakub Zieliński, supporting the "king of Piasts" attacked and robbed Białystok. Luckily the palace survived thanks to the provision of cash for the confederates³¹⁶.

The earliest reliable data concerning the numerical strength of soldiers gathered in Białystok are dated 1739, when 98 individuals were stationed in the town³¹⁷

³¹¹ *Описание рукописного отделения*, вып. IV, p. 115.

³¹² B. Gembarzewski, *Rodowody pułków polskich i oddziałów równorzędnych od r. 1717 do r. 1831*, Warszawa 1925, p. 27.

³¹³ Portion was a unit of calculation in Polish and Lithuanian army. An ordinary soldier received one portion of pay, worth 189 złoty for a year of service. All the others, from musicians through non-commissioned officers, up to unit commanders, received a multiple of that amount. This should be supplemented with so-called "blind portions", which were not remuneration but guaranteed the maintenance of the uniform, weapons and coaches in good condition.

³¹⁴ AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Militaria, box 11, nonpaginated cards.

³¹⁵ T. Ciesielski, *Armia koronna w czasach Augusta III*, Warszawa 2009, p. 504. The whole regiment was then made up of 612 soldiers and officers. Cf. K. Górski, *Historia piechoty polskiej*, Kraków 1896, pp. 256–259.

³¹⁶ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 280, pp. 106, 110–112.

³¹⁷ *Rolla komenderowanych ludzi w Białymstoku z regimentu pieszego buławy polnej koronnej*, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Militaria, box 11, nonpaginated cards. Different figures are provided by M. Lech, *Dzieje*, p. 147, who mentions 84 persons.

(including a considerable number of 10 army musicians)³¹⁸. This was still a temporary solution; the soldiers were sent to the town from five different companies³¹⁹. We suppose the army had just appeared in Białystok, and the consequence of that was Branicki's ordinance addressed at the townspeople in 1737 that *vegetables should be proportionally given to persons from the regiment*, and candles be provided for the needs of guards in town³²⁰. This issue was specifically regulated by colonel Klemm, and certain responsibilities remained valid for the subsequent decades. Between 3 and 6 candles were to be provided daily, depending on the season (the length of the night)³²¹.

The establishment of military structures in Białystok is proved by two memorials written in 1740 by Jan Michał Kampenhauzen. Those documents addressed at the Hetman referred to the issue of timely payments for soldiers staying in Białystok (the regiment bank was in Lviv); a decision was then made to increase the garrison by means of recruiting volunteers in Kamieniec Podolski and Lviv. Finally, in response to the plans of purchasing tents for the Białystok soldiers, Kampenhauzen wrote – *I have a hundred people in Kamieniec* – and promised to send the tents to Podlasie³²².

From *Tabella od komendy w Białymstoku z regimentu pieszego 1744* we learn that two permanent companies (commanded by captains) and a regiment staff were stationed in the town. Nominally, there were 134 persons, but after reducing the number by those on holiday, deserters, the chronically ill, and vacant posts, the garrison included 116 soldiers. Two companies were stationed here for some years: in 1746, there were 122 (in reality 125) persons, and in the middle of the 18th century, the number fluctuated between 120 and 130

³¹⁸ The excessive number of musicians suggests that Jan Klemens Branicki used military portions to pay the manor music band set up in the early 1730s. Cf.: A. Żórawska-Witkowska, *Muzyka na dworze Jana Klemensa Branickiego*, [in:] *Dwory magnackie w XVIII wieku. Rola i znaczenie kulturowe*, eds T. Kostkiewicz, A. Ročko, Warszawa 2005, p. 223; K. Łopatecki, *Muzycy wojskowi w Rzeczypospolitej – zarys problematyki*, [in:] *Nad społeczeństwem staropolskim*, vol. II: *Polityka i ekonomia – społeczeństwo i wojsko – religia i kultura w XVI–XVIII wieku*, ed. D. Wereda, Siedlce 2009, pp. 231–246.

³¹⁹ *Tabella odkomenderowanych ludzi w Białymstoku z regimentu pieszego*, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Militaria, box 11, nonpaginated cards.

³²⁰ *Описание рукописного отделения*, вып. IV, p. 124; Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa (Warszawa), Teki Glinki, 122, file card 2.

³²¹ In November and December, it was 6 candles, in January and February – 5; in March, April, September and October – 4, and in the other months, only three candles. *Punkta z okoliczności konsystencji obiecaniej w mieście Białymstoku*, Białystok 10 IX 1779, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Militaria, box 13, nonpaginated cards.

³²² [A second memorial Kampenhauzen], AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Militaria, box 11, nonpaginated cards.

people³²³. The breakthrough came in 1752, when the staff was increased up to four companies. Tomasz Ciesielski is of the opinion that it meant increasing the number of soldiers up to 250, and in 1757, even to 300 people³²⁴. In fact, the number must have been slightly lower, about 250 at the maximum. For example, in 1761 four companies except the headquarters had 209 persons; there were 19 higher officers, 9 staff musicians, and 2 discipline officers, which makes 239 individuals³²⁵.

The described process shows that the transfer of soldiers from other locations of the Commonwealth to Białystok was gradual, thanks to which the town could adjust to the new situation, needs and potential benefits.

It should be noted that most towns did not want any soldiers in their territories³²⁶. In Białystok it must have been otherwise, first of all because it was a private town belonging to the Field, and then Grand, Hetman, who spent a lot of time there. As a result, soldiers could not count on his leniency in the case of disputes with townspeople and peasants. What is noteworthy, the commander of the garrison was general Stanisław Łętowski, who had been the general military judge since 1749. This allowed Branicki to expect high discipline among soldiers in his estate³²⁷. Besides, after the reforms of the Silent Sejm (1717), the fiscal system worked relatively well, so the payments were regular, thanks to which the soldiers could be well disciplined³²⁸. The town also benefited from that, since on the condition of efficient provisioning, the army could ensure substantial profits to those who sold products to the army³²⁹.

Not only infantry guard was stationed in Białystok. Michał Starzeński wrote that in the residence of Grand Hetman of the Crown there was a very strong

³²³ See *Tabele od komendy w Białymstoku z regimentu pieszego*, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Militaria, box 11, nonpaginated cards.

³²⁴ T. Ciesielski, *Armia koronna*, p. 504. Lists of officers staying in Białystok in that time have been preserved. AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Militaria, box 10, nonpaginated cards.

³²⁵ *Kwity IchM PP. oficerów regimentu pieszego buławy W. Kor.*, Białystok 31 VII 1761, Archiwum Główna Akt Dawnych, Archiwum Roskie, Militaria, box 10, nonpaginated cards. Nearly identical data were recorded in 1757: 212 soldiers and officers in four companies.

³²⁶ T. Ciesielski, *Garnizony państwowe*, pp. 204–220.

³²⁷ Z. Koszyła, *Dzieje wojskowe Białegostoku w XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Z dziejów wojskowych ziem północno-wschodnich Polski*, part I, ed. Z. Koszyła, Białystok 1986, p. 120; T. Ciesielski, *Armia koronna*, pp. 154, 171.

³²⁸ Jan Klemens Branicki's infantry regiment received money for the pay from Wielkopolska (170,000 złoty), Lubelskie Voivodeship (42,260 złoty) and Podolskie Voivodeship (7,946 złoty). AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Militaria, box 11, nonpaginated cards.

³²⁹ This was how Galicia inhabitants under the reign of Habsburg rulers perceived that issue. *Memoriał z 23 IV 1790 r.*, [in:] *Projekt konstytucji dla Galicji z 1790 r.* („Charta Leopoldina”), ed. and transl. by S. Grodziski, A. S. Gerhardt, Warszawa–Kraków 1981, pp. 49–51.



27. Jan Klemens Branicki as a Field Hetman of the Crown [J.Ch. Sysang, *Le Comte Branitzki Petit General de la Couronne*, (Paris after 1727)].

garrison including the infantry regiment described before as well as a dragoon regiment, a company of Hayduk and janissary infantry, plus private units: a cavalry troop and a lancer troop (guards)³³⁰. Zygmunt Kosztyła estimated the number of those units to be approximately 1.5–2 thousand soldiers, which – provided the contemporary state of the army – seems not an overestimated but a really fantastic number³³¹. Further we will try to present our own calculation, only estimating the order of magnitude.

Definitely the Hayduk and janissary companies amounting to 150 portions accompanied Branicki and constantly kept guard in front of the palaces

³³⁰ M. Starzeński, *Na schyłku dni Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. by H. Mościcki, Warszawa 1914, pp. 5, 26.

³³¹ Z. Kosztyła, op. cit., p. 120; idem, *Bitwa pod Białymstokiem 13 VII 1769*, „Rocznik Białostocki” 2(1961), p. 436; cf. Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa (Warszawa), Teki Glinki, 114, file cards 12–17. A similar estimation (1,500 soldiers) was also provided by E. Kowicka, op. cit., p. 53, and J. Maroszek, *Dzieje województwa*, p. 628.

in Białystok and Warsaw, so it can be assumed that units of guard of honour were evenly distributed in both towns³³². Their permanent presence in Białystok is confirmed by the purchase of special oriental tents in 1752³³³. We do not know, however, what was the strength of dragoons and private troops. If we make a conservative assumption that only a small dragoon units (50–100) was stationed in Branicki's estate, and the private troops of lancers and guards included 80 people at the maximum³³⁴, we can estimate the size of the garrison at 500 soldiers, which still seems a very high number for the Commonwealth.

Having such data, we can calculate how much money from the state treasury and Branicki's private purse went to the troops stationed in Białystok. The Grand Hetman's infantry regiment received 952 portions, 350 of which went to Białystok. Combined with the janissary and Hayduk companies and private troops (with the assumption that they received a similar pay), this makes approximately 500 portions (each worth 189 złoty). All in all, 94.5 thousand złoty went to those units annually. In addition, the Grand Hetman's dragoon regiment had a budget of 150 thousand złoty, out of which 15–30 thousand złoty went to Białystok (300 złoty per portion), hence the soldiers stationed near Białystok received the pay of 110–125 złoty from the state treasury, at least since the 1750s and 1760s³³⁵.

So far there have been no studies concerning the amounts soldiers left with the inn-keepers, publicans, craftsmen, merchants etc., but it can be assumed that most of the soldiers were not able to save anything from the pay: most of the received amounts were used to pay these service providers³³⁶. This can be proved on the basis of income from Branicki's estates in Podlasie calculated as

³³² J. Kitowicz, *Opis obyczajów za panowania Augusta III*, introduction by M. Dernałowicz, Warszawa 1999, p. 208.

³³³ *Specyfikacja co Imć porucznik Lindsay w Królewcu sprawić ma*, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Militaria, box 10, nonpaginated cards.

³³⁴ After the Hetman's death, militia included 11 soldiers, two non-commissioned officers and an officer. The armoury had weapons sufficient for 32 infantry and 54 cavalry soldiers, and equipment for 86 soldiers reflects the maximum numerical strength of Branicki's private troops. Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 115, p. 13; M. Lech, *Dzieje*, p. 148. In 1778, *frei poczta* (militia) lodgings were reported to be in Bojary and Skorupy, where soldiers lived in their own flats or with relatives. Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 370, p. 15.

³³⁵ The calculations were made on the basis of: T. Ciesielski, *Armia koronna*, pp. 80–112. Cf. Институт Истории Российской Академии Наук, Коллекция Павла Доброхотова (ф. 52), оп. 1, нр 55, file card 1.

³³⁶ Tomasz Ciesielski assumes that each soldier left at least 100 złoty in the place of accommodation (*Armia koronna*, p. 220).

of 1771 and presented by Alina Sztachelska-Kokoczka (rounded up to full złoty, with percentage in brackets)³³⁷.

Property	Number of villages/towns	Dry lease*	Money for liquor	Rent
Bielsk (starosty)	48 / 1 (38.0%)	21,305 (18.1%)	3,876 (7.8%)	22,247 (39.6%)
Lady (forest division)	17 / 0 (13.2%)	12,897 (11.0%)	17,353 (34.7%)	17,089 (30.4%)
Orla	12 / 1 (10.0%)	9,226 (7.9%)	1,773 (3.5%)	2,534 (4.5%)
Tykocin	35 / 1 (28.0%)	32,000 (27.3%)	-	8,472 (15.1%)
Białystok	6 / 1 (5.4%)	37,500 (31.9%)	27,000 (54.0%)	2,539 (4.5%)
Choroszcz	6 / 1 (5.4%)	4,481 (3.8%)	-	3,269 (5.9%)

28. Revenues from Jan Klemens Branicki's Podlasie estates in 1771.

* The "dry lease" (arendą suchą) means any contracts with lessees concerning propination, running mills and breweries, as well as collecting marketplace or bridge charges. M. Lech, *Białystok – miasto i jego mieszkańcy w XVIII w.*, „Rocznik Białostocki” 6 (1965), p. 453.

The above table illustrates how great was the influence of the army of the economy. As we can see, the Białystok estate, small in comparison to the other Branicki's estates (which is evidenced by the rent paid) gave the highest revenues from lease, and what is even more spectacular, Białystok together with the nearby villages provided more income from vodka distillation than any other estate in Podlasie. This proves that the soldiers bought huge amounts of vodka and beer.

Soldiers also bought food. *For the battalion in Kamieniec it was cheaper than in Białystok, but although the cereal was more expensive here, he [the commander] liked the bread and drinks here more than those in Kamieniec, and as for the fuel, he could get it immeasurably cheaper here*³³⁸. From a preserved report of soldiers stationed here in 1777 we know that the prices of basic foodstuffs were determined top down: *the battalion demanded that the price of meat for the soldiers, now sold for 5 groszy per pound in the case of better quality and 4 groszy in the case of poorer quality, should be reduced.*

Not only trade flourished with the garrison. Craft was also developing dynamically. Military documentation shows that since 1750s, town craftsmen were employed to repair weapons and military equipment, ready-made products were also bought³³⁹. Those who made and repaired clothes and shoes had much more work from then on. At the turn of 1772, in Białystok there were as many as

³³⁷ A. Sztachelska-Kokoczka, *Magnackie dobra*, pp. 43, 127–130.

³³⁸ Letter from W. Matuszewicz to I. Branicka, Białystok 27 II 1777, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Korespondencja, LXV/1, file card 63.

³³⁹ AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Militaria, boxes 10 and 11, nonpaginated cards.

25 shoemakers and 38 tailors; in 1799, 109 people were already working in both professions, and seven years later, another seven tailors were functioning³⁴⁰.

It was usual for officers and soldiers to buy on credit. Then, up to 1779, the debts were systematically repaid from the soldiers' pays. A representative of the town owners (after 1772, a governor) participated in these settlements. For example, in 1775 a regiment of Crown mounted guard had to pay 456 złoty to the citizens of Choroszcz and 529 to those of Białystok (a year later, 957 złoty), and officers paid another 1,342 złoty³⁴¹. The creditors included goldsmiths, shoemakers, tailors, saddle makers, blacksmiths, innkeepers, cooks, servants, slaughterers, paramedics, and bakers, which well shows the impact the garrison had on the development of economic situation. In spite of the theoretical ban on selling anything on credit, in 1780 the military authorities pleaded to apply this solution to officers; the latter, in turn, probably contracted loans for their subordinates. Huge liabilities were accrued: only the officers of the battalion of fusiliers of mounted artillery were indebted for 8,766 złoty and 23 groszy (the whole amount was repaid)³⁴².

Generally, the troops stationed in Białystok were very satisfied with the place and the living conditions. First, the location far from areas exposed to military activities resulted in practical reduction of the troops' responsibilities. Branicki compensated for the lack of military needs by using them in the case of neighbours' disputes, to protect estates lying near the march of foreign troops or to settle unrest among peasants³⁴³. First of all, he used the soldiers as supervisors of construction and craft works, security guards for transportation, and those who had useful skills (architects, engineers) were sent to work both on important projects and less important ones (e.g. a certain Grużyński constructed fireworks, and an anonymous soldier used to catch moles in the garden and the courtyard)³⁴⁴.

The Białystok garrison only once participated in a military event. In July 1769, a group of 3,000 Bar Confederates wanted to come to Białystok to take

³⁴⁰ A. Małek, *Mieszkańcy Białegostoku*, pp. 63–64.

³⁴¹ *Regestr długów od różnych osób w regimencie znajdujących się*, Białystok 19 V 1775, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Militaria, box 13, nonpaginated cards.

³⁴² *Rachunek długów oficerach*, Białystok 3 IX 1780, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Militaria, box 9, nonpaginated cards.

³⁴³ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 215 (p. 9), 247 (pp. 1–3), 315 (pp. 18–19), 339 (pp. 11–15).

³⁴⁴ E. Kowicka, op. cit., pp. 44–45; T. Zielińska, *Klientela w otoczeniu Jana Klemensa Branickiego kasztelana krakowskiego i hetmana wielkiego koronnego około połowy XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Patron i dwór*, pp. 211–213. It is worth stressing that in 1764 August Czartoryski used some of the Białystok soldiers for his services, for which they received remuneration. Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 315, pp. 20–21.

over the Crown troops stationed there. At the same time, Jan Klemens Branicki had Aleksander Golicyn staying in his residence – he was the commander of a Russian corps (approx. 800 soldiers) fighting the confederates. The Hetman decided to remain neutral in the face of the unavoidable clash. The sympathies of regular soldiers were definitely with the confederates; the threat that they would rebel against the authorities and attack Golicyn's corps was real. At dawn on 13th July, the Hetman ordered his troops to take up positions in the palace gardens, where the soldiers would be under close oversight of officers. At the same time, a skirmish between the confederates and the Russians was going on at the village of Olmonty. Despite a huge numerical advantage, the irregular troops commanded by Józef Bierzyński failed. Finally, Branicki sent there a 200-person unit with four cannons, commanded by general Franciszek Puget. The unit's task was to separate the fighting parties, in which he succeeded³⁴⁵.

Assessing Branicki's actions, we need to emphasize that despite the apparent neutrality, he was rather inclined towards the Russian side. In that situation, Poles had an excellent opportunity to completely destroy Golicyn's corps. Of course it would not have changed the course of the battle dramatically, but as part of repression, the Russian army would have definitely destroyed the estate of Jan Klemens Branicki. After the battle of Białystok, 370 injured Russians were hosted; they even received financial aid³⁴⁶.

Incessant stationing of such numerous troops posed a serious logistic problem. Ensuring about 500 soldiers good living conditions had to be very difficult, but – what is interesting – there is no information on the construction of barracks, and it seems totally unrealistic that *the soldiers were quartered in the palace buildings*³⁴⁷. The problem looks even greater provided that infantry soldiers were here with their wives (about 30% of the unit's number) and children³⁴⁸. All this shows that compulsory lodging in town buildings was used³⁴⁹.

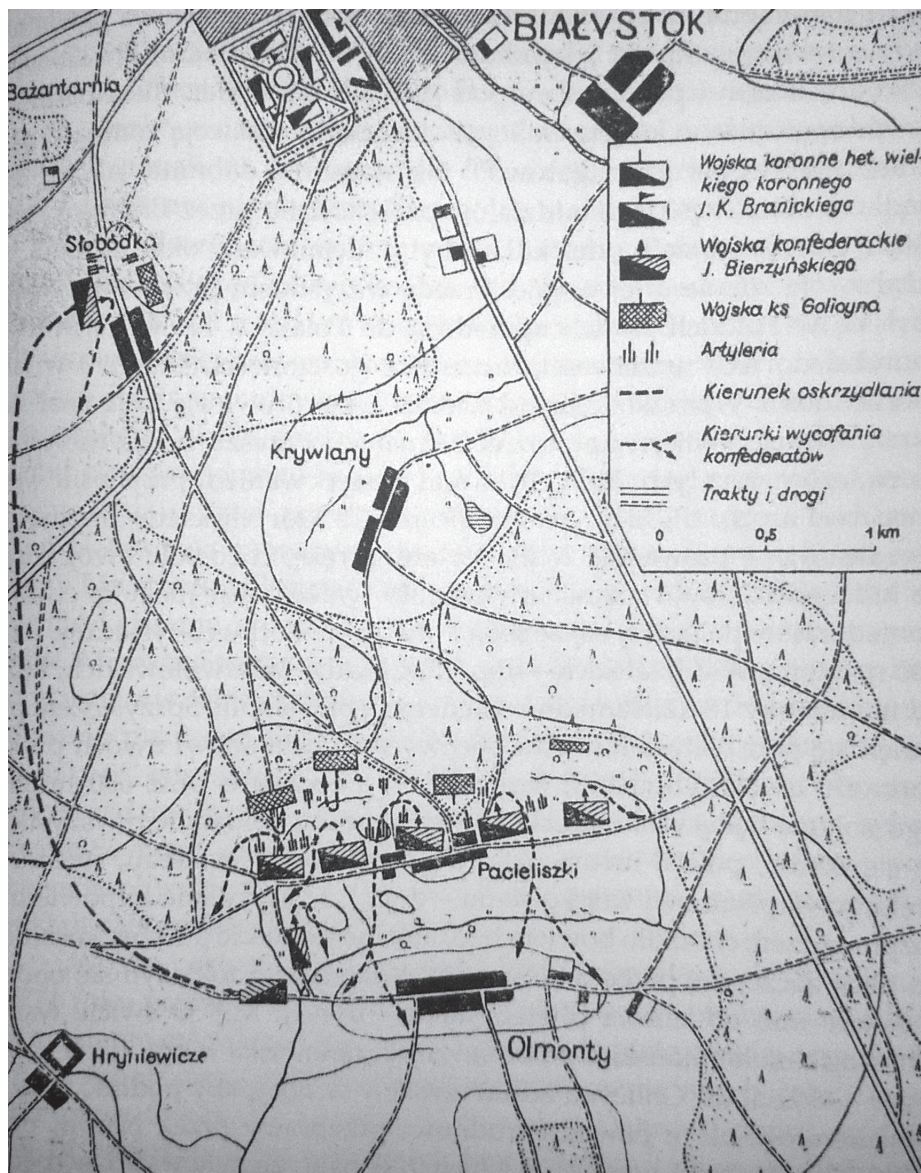
³⁴⁵ M. Starzeński, op. cit., pp. 26–27; Z. Koszyła, *Bitwa pod Białymstokiem*, pp. 435–444.

³⁴⁶ J. Maroszek, *Dzieje województwa*, pp. 628–631.

³⁴⁷ A. Cz. Dobroński, *Białystok garnizonowy*, „Medyk Białostocki” 2012, no. 107, p. 26; H. Mościcki, op. cit., p. 39.

³⁴⁸ K. Łopatecki, *Blaski i cienie funkcjonowania rodzin w nowożytnych wojskach Europy Zachodniej*, „Białostockie Teki Historyczne” 5 (2007), pp. 57–74; T. Ciesielski, *Armia koronna*, p. 356. If a soldier had a family, this was taken into account at the dislocation; the soldier was then entitled to larger living space. Letter from W. Matuszewicz to I. Branicka, Białystok 6 I 1777, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, LXV/1, file cards 52–53; the same, Białystok 27 II 1777, ibidem, file card 60.

³⁴⁹ Due to the varied level of lodgings, when allocating soldiers, the commanders drew lots in order “to avoid disagreements between the companies”. Letter from W. Matuszewicz to I. Branicka, Białystok 27 II 1777, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Korespondencja, LXV/1, file card 58.



29. Layout of the Battle of Białystok (13th July 1795) made by Zygmunt Koszyła [Z. Koszyła, *Bitwa pod Białymstokiem*, p. 439].

Accommodating soldiers in 1773, Izabela Branicka issued an ordinance that *several soldiers should not be crowded in one Catholic or Jewish house, but separate rooms do not necessarily have to be found for non-commissioned officers*; she also banned the expulsion of tenants and established a great area free from the accommodation obligation. It was the whole Nowe Miasto (Nowe Miasto street, Kleindorf, Bojary, Nowolipie) and single houses in Stare Miasto³⁵⁰.

The attempt to save Nowe Miasto from the accommodation obligation was over in 1777. The growing number of soldiers meant that all the existing houses had to be used. Izabela wanted to accommodate some of the soldiers in Choroszcz and – what is important – within the village of Białostoczek, but the command did not agree. As a result, two companies lived in Wasilkowska, Zielona and Rynkowa streets, two others on a part of Rynek (Market square) and in Choroska and Gumienna streets, and two more, at two frontages of Rynek as well as Podzwierzyniecka and Suraska streets. Basically, one or two soldiers were allotted per house. Inhabited buildings were chosen, because the rooms needed to be heated, and the hosts had to allocate space for sleep and provide a blanket for each tenant³⁵¹. Moreover, the officers had to receive separate flats or rooms, equipped by the owners with a table, stools and a divan; sergeants had their own rooms with fuel provided³⁵². It is worth mentioning that in 1793, 103 persons were accommodated in 74 buildings in Nowe Miasto (13 households were exempted from the obligation of providing accommodation). This meant that 29 hosts had two soldiers staying, and 45 – one soldier³⁵³.

Officers of higher rank needed to have special lodgings. In 1777, Wojciech Matuszewicz wanted to place a commander and six officers in rooms previously inhabited by colonel's wife Paszkowska and Mrs Hibler³⁵⁴. Married officers received lodgings in private houses (finally the major commander-in-chief of the garrison was given such a lodging). The idea of gathering officers in one place was not accepted and then they were placed individually in most elegant town

³⁵⁰ AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Militaria, box 13, nonpaginated cards.

³⁵¹ Later, the provision of a bucket and an axe was also required. *Kwatier-lista (...) batalionu fizyliarów artylerii koronnej*, Białystok 1 II 1782, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Militaria, box 9, nonpaginated cards.

³⁵² Letter from W. Matuszewicz to I. Branicka, Białystok 6 I 1777, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, LXV/1, file cards 51–52; the same, *ibidem*, Białystok 9 I 1777, file cards 54–55; the same, Białystok 27 II 1777, *ibidem*, file cards 58–59, 61–62; A. Sztachelska-Kokoczka, *Białystok*, p. 44;

³⁵³ *Kwaterlista od lejbkompanii 1go bat. z regimentu 5go fizyliarów*, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Militaria, box 9, nonpaginated cards.

³⁵⁴ Letter from W. Matuszewicz to I. Branicka, Białystok 6 I 1777, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Korespondencja, LXV/1, file cards 52–53; the same, Białystok 9 I 1777, *ibidem*, file cards 54–55.

buildings³⁵⁵. The soldiers demanded to renovate the officers' flats; there were even detailed instructions about which buildings needed refreshment and to what extent³⁵⁶.

How many soldiers could the town hold profitably? The inventory of 1772, in Białystok there were about 450 residential houses, 51 treasury houses and nine inns and hostels. These data let us conclude the garrison might have included up to 500 people³⁵⁷. We need to remember that some of the houses were exempted from the accommodation obligation due to the living conditions (the lack of a source of earnings other than renting rooms, which often occurred in the case of widows); the houses of the bailiff, mayor, lessees and other soldiers were always exempted too; there were also some individual releases. Furthermore, houses where student hostels were established did not accept tenants either³⁵⁸.

In the whole garrison, only 32 soldiers were permanent residents of the town (the inventories of 1772 only mentioned the owners of houses or people who had "the permission to reside" in treasury buildings): 10 of them were ordinary soldiers, sons of Białystok burghers or husbands of the local women; 18 of them with the highest ranks occupied manor buildings, and the rest had estates, usually located near the town borders³⁵⁹. Some of the soldiers from the estates belonging to Izabela and originating from the nobility and bourgeois of Podlasie were also – though occasionally – invited to stay in the outbuildings³⁶⁰.

To sum up, it can be concluded that during the lifetime of Grand Hetman of the Crown it was a common practice to accommodate troops in nearby villages and even in small towns, but after 1771, this solution could no longer be used. After Branicki's death, the town's encumbrances in favour of the garrison also increased. In order to meet them, in 1779 the governor of Białystok proposed the introduction of a special tax³⁶¹, but still the army was not a big problem

³⁵⁵ *Kwaterlisty batalionu fizylierów w Białymstoku konsystującego*, Białystok 4 II 1781, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Militaria, box 9, nonpaginated cards.

³⁵⁶ *Regestr stancji*, Białystok 7 VIII 1782, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Militaria, box 9, nonpaginated cards.

³⁵⁷ A. Sztachelska-Kokoczka, *Białystok*, p. 105.

³⁵⁸ Letter from W. Matuszewicz to I. Branicka, Białystok 27 II 1777, Archiwum Główna Akt Dawnych, Archiwum Roskie, Korespondencja, LXV/1, file cards 58–59.

³⁵⁹ A. Oleksicki, op. cit., p. 53.

³⁶⁰ See: a refusal to accommodate Szuszkiewicz in palace outbuildings: Letter from W. Matuszewicz to I. Branicka, Białystok 1 I 1781, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Korespondencja, LXV/1, file card 348.

³⁶¹ Letter from W. Matuszewicz to I. Branicka, Białystok 25 III 1779, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Korespondencja, LXV/1, file card 111v.

for Izabela Branicka's officials and the general balance of profits and losses was definitely positive.

The soldiers from the Białystok garrison were also provided with tents. In 1740, 100 tents were ordered from Kamieniec Podolski; in 1752 another 80 pieces were purchased in Królewiec (Kaliningrad) plus 18 special decorative "round" tents for janissaries made in accordance with a specific design³⁶².

It is worth emphasizing that among Białystok troops, discipline was much higher than e.g. in Kamieniec Podolski, where providing the quarters was associated with many abuses and townspeople's complaints³⁶³. Michał Starzyński informs of it, perhaps exaggerating a little: *The discipline in the military was nearly as strict as in Prussia, only softened with kindness and good manners*³⁶⁴. The right level of military discipline was achieved thanks to the parade square existing in the town, where drills were conducted. Ernst Ahasverus von Lehdorff, who visited Białystok, made an interesting remark: *On the square for military parades, there is a statue of Mars*³⁶⁵, which provides a rare example of art having a disciplinary effect on soldiers³⁶⁶. First of all, however, the exemplary order (as for Polish conditions) was the result of the existence of the Grand Hetman. Following the established daily routine of Branicki, his adjutants had to accompany him in getting up (before 6 a.m.); about 9 a.m., *officers came with a service unit and military music, for the Hetman never avoided the performance of his army*, which lasted about an hour³⁶⁷.

The central point of the Białystok garrison was the guardroom, built in close proximity to the parish church and mentioned even in sources of 1745, which also had residential rooms for officers. After a renovation of 1777, two captains, a lieutenant, a regiment quartermaster, an auditor and an adjutant were accommodated there. The room above the guardroom was used by militia (*frejpcz-*

³⁶² *Specyfikacja sprawionych namiotów etc. w Królewcu*, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Militaria, box 10, nonpaginated cards; *Specyfikacja co Imć porucznik Lindsay w Królewcu sprawić ma*, ibidem, nonpaginated cards.

³⁶³ See: T. Ciesielski, *Armia koronna*, pp. 548 ff. Many regulations were issued for the needs of the Kamieniec garrison: Biblioteka Kórnicka, 658, file cards 16v–22 (*Artykuły Wojskowe według Których powinien się każdy sprawować Officyaer iako też y Gemejne w Regimencie Pieszym Łanowym Pisano Kamieńcu Podolskim Anno Domini 1750*), 85–123v (*Porządek Exercycyi Ktora Reformowana iest z przeszłych na nową y approbowana na od wyzey Komendy w Garnizonie Kamienieckim in Anno Domini 1745to*).

³⁶⁴ M. Starzeński, op. cit., p. 5.

³⁶⁵ E.A. von Lehdorff, op. cit., p. 8.

³⁶⁶ For example: K. Łopatecki, *Ideowa wymowa ozdób armatnich z przełomu XVI i XVII wieku*, [in:] *Nad społeczeństwem staropolskim*, vol. I: *Kultura–instytucje–gospodarka w XVI–XVIII stuleciu*, eds K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak, Białystok 2007, pp. 249–270.

³⁶⁷ M. Starzeński, op. cit., pp. 5–6.



30. The statue of Mars on the parade square (centrally in the fragment the map *Plan du chateau et de la ville de Białystok*, approximately 1774) [See: A. Turecki, *Plan du chateau et de la ville de Białystok avec ses environs*, [in:] *Ochrona reliktyw urbanistycznych Białegostoku*, eds J. A. Włodarczyk, G. Dąbrowska-Milewska, A. Turecki Białystok 1996, p. 14].

ta)³⁶⁸. The officers of highest rank were invited to the buildings adjacent or close to the guardroom³⁶⁹. In 1779, the command received a proposal to accommodate two officers in an uninhabited building, but – as Wojciech Matuszewicz wrote – *I'm not sure if they will agree because of the distance from the guardroom*³⁷⁰.

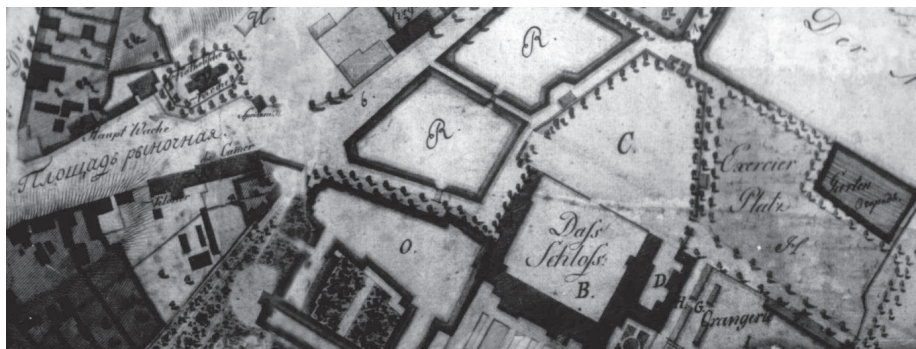
The military hospital was originally located in a hostel belonging to Manes, and in 1777 it was moved to a private house where Boćkowski family used to live³⁷¹.

³⁶⁸ One room was also renovated so as to install a fireplace there and make it available for one officer "if he was dissatisfied with the lodging or the host was dissatisfied with him". Letter from W. Matuszewicz to I. Branicka, Białystok 27 II 1777, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Korespondencja, LXV/1, file cards 60; *Описане рукописнаго отделения*, вып. IV, p. 119.

³⁶⁹ In 1780, a lieutenant-colonel was allocated "in a tenement house next to the guardroom", a major, "in a residence in front of the guardroom", and captains stayed nearby. *Kwaterlisty batalionu fizylierów w Białymstoku konsystującego*, Białystok 4 II 1781, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Militaria, box 9, nonpaginated cards.

³⁷⁰ Letter from W. Matuszewicz to I. Branicka, Białystok 8 II 1779, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Korespondencja, LXV/1, file card 99v.

³⁷¹ Letter from W. Matuszewicz to I. Branicka, Białystok 6 I 1777, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Korespondencja, LXV/1, file cards 51–52; the same, Białystok 27 II 1777, ibidem, file cards 61–62.



31. Guardroom (on the left, with the inscription *Haupt Wache*) with an exercise square (on the right, with the inscription *Exercier Platz*) [Plan von der Stadt Bialystok, 1807/1808, Российский государственный военно-исторический архив, f. 846, op. 16, d. 21756].

In 1793, it was established in Abel's inn in Wasilkowska street³⁷². Besides, one or two houses were always allocated as a military jail and prison³⁷³. A very interesting piece of information was recorded in 1797, when Izabela Branicka promised to build a special house for the garrison commander, provided that she was promised the Prussian offices would remain in Białystok forever³⁷⁴.

A longer stay of soldiers in one place made the command think of religious service for their subordinates³⁷⁵. It was common either to use the existing churches or to build chapels for the needs of the troops. For example, we can read a request of the commander of a Hussar regiment, Iwan Chorwat, to the Pereiaslav bishop Gervase in 1758 for an establishment of a regiment (Greek Catholic) church³⁷⁶. It is also worth noting that the construction of an Eastern church in Białystok (in 1728) coincided with the coming of the first troops. The establishment of a Roman Catholic chapel dedicated to Mary Magdalene (1758) may also have been connected with its being used among others by the

³⁷² *Kwaterlista od lejtkompanii 1go bat. z regimentu 5go fizylierów*, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Militaria, box 9, nonpaginated cards.

³⁷³ Letter from W. Matuszewicz to I. Branicka, Białystok 27 II 1777, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Korespondencja, LXV/1, file card 59.

³⁷⁴ Letter from I. Branicka to Kamera Wojny i Domen, Białystok 7 VI 1797, AGAD, Archiwum Branickich z Białegostoku, 114, pp. 112–113, 119.

³⁷⁵ K. Łopatecki, *Nabożeństwa wojskowe w Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej: zarys organizacyjno-prawny*, [in:] *Rzeczpospolita państwem wielu narodowości i wyznań. XVI–XVIII wiek*, eds T. Ciesielski, A. Filipczak-Kocur, Warszawa–Opole 2008, pp. 521–539.

³⁷⁶ Институт Истории Российской Академии Наук, Коллекция Павла Доброхотова (ф. 52), оп. 1, нр 45, file card 1.

soldiers stationed in the town³⁷⁷. As for the ministry, A. Uciechowski was employed as a chaplain in the Białystok infantry regiment, with 348 złoty of pay³⁷⁸.

With the death of Jan Klemens Branicki, the town temporarily emptied: the troops left, and so did officers who had tried to solve their problems with the help of the Hetman³⁷⁹. Also the officers who settled in Białystok began to leave it, moving to other regions of the Commonwealth³⁸⁰. The situation is well summarized by Franciszek Biłgorajski: *Białystok did not rise, it barely remained in the state the Hetman had left it*, and by Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz, who wrote about the Hetman's funeral in Cracow: *Along with the Hetman, the grandeur and splendour of Białystok finished*³⁸¹. In 1777, the problem was a higher and higher number of houses without residents, so to prevent their further emptying, I will see to it that level-headed tenants are brought, as Wojciech Matuszewicz wrote to the Hetmaness³⁸².

But the exodus did not last very long. Even in the years 1773–1776, a part of the regiment of Crown mounted guards came for the winter³⁸³. In the meantime, the terms of permanent presence of soldiers in Białystok were being negotiated. Scrupulous preparations carried out at the turn of 1777 and the extensive correspondence with the widow being its result, including no complaints or attempts to get rid of "unwanted guests", allow for the conjecture that she was the originator of the activities. As a result, between February 1777 and the end of 1778, a whole battalion of fusiliers made up of six companies was stationed in the town, and at the beginning of 1779, another infantry battalion came. Other units were also recorded in years 1780, 1782, 1789 and 1793³⁸⁴. For

³⁷⁷ Cf.: J. Glinka, *Kaplica i cmentarz pod wezwaniem św. Marii Magdaleny w Białymstoku*, „Rubież” 1 (1992), pp. 21–27.

³⁷⁸ Kwity IchM PP. oficerów r[egi]m[e]ntu piezego buławy W. Kor. komendy białostockiej, Białystok 4 II 1762, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Militaria, box 10, nonpaginated cards.

³⁷⁹ M. Starzeński, op. cit., p. 6. The infantry regiment was relocated to Lviv, the dragoons to Warsaw, and the janissaries and Hayduks, to Luboml. M. Lech, *Dzieje*, p. 148.

³⁸⁰ For example: Letter from W. Matuszewicz to I. Branicka, Białystok 9 VIII 1776, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Korespondencje, LXV/1, file card 35, informs of colonel Zakrzewski leaving Białystok: "taking furniture from the house he lived in, he left for Wielkopolska".

³⁸¹ [F. Biłgorajski], *Pamiętnik szlachcica podlaskiego*, „Czas” 1877, no. 19, p. 2; J. U. Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki czasów moich*, vol. I, ed. by J. Dihm, Warszawa 1957, p. 150.

³⁸² Letter from W. Matuszewicz to I. Branicka, Białystok 9 I 1777, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Korespondencje, LXV/1, file card 56.

³⁸³ AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Militaria, box 13, nonpaginated cards.

³⁸⁴ Letter from W. Matuszewicz to I. Branicka, Białystok 4 II 1779, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Korespondencja, LXV/1, file card 97v; the same, Białystok 8 II 1779, ibidem, file card 99v; the same, Białystok 23 IX 1780, ibidem, file card 304v; the same, Białystok 26 XI 1780, ibidem, file card 327; B. Gembarzewski, op. cit., p. 27 (providing the wrong date 1776

example, the battalion of fusiliers was composed of 325 persons, including 25 higher and 12 lower officers. It was not the entire unit, as two companies were left in Warsaw – hence the conclusion that in some years even 421 persons out of these troops were stationed in Białystok³⁸⁵. This meant that only after a year's break, since 1773, the troops returned to Białystok, first for the winter stay, and then as a garrison. So after the death of Branicki, the garrison did not actually diminish. Perhaps during the winter it was bigger than before, when Jan Klems Branicki was the lord.

It is worth noting that after the 3rd partition of the Commonwealth, in Białystok there was still a garrison. It included the staff and four companies of von Wallenitz's battalion of fusiliers and one unit of von Günter's Bosnian regiment. The number of soldiers was 561, but they were accompanied by wives and children – 200 women, 128 sons and 130 daughters³⁸⁶. Although Jan Wąsicki is sceptical about the order of magnitude presented here, it seems rather impossible for Prussian data to be falsified. What is more, Białystok administered by Izabela Branicka was perfectly well prepared to maintain 500 soldiers³⁸⁷. For comparison, the garrison in Cracow in the years 1796–1801 included about a thousand of soldiers and only later was it increased³⁸⁸.

Generally, the efforts of Izabela Branicka, who again “invited” the Crown troops to Białystok and negotiated the most beneficial terms of hosting them, prevented the demise of the place. The partitions of 1772 forced the army to look for new locations, and Białystok filled this gap perfectly well, thanks to which the town could develop all the time³⁸⁹. Luckily, also after the partitions, the Prussian authorities – encouraged by Hetman's wife – placed their garrison here, which made it possible to draw profits from the army even after 1795.

for the stationing of a battalion of fusiliers in Białystok); A. Sztachelska-Kokoczka, *Białystok*, p. 44; M. Lech, *Dzieje*, p. 140; F. Schulz, *Podroże Inflantczyka z Rygi do Warszawy i po Polsce w latach 1791–1793*, transl. by J. I. Kraszewski, ed. by W. Zawadzki, Warszawa 1956, p. 42.

³⁸⁵ *Kwaterlisty batalionu fizyliarów w Białymstoku konsystującego*, Białystok 4 II 1781, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Militaria, box 9, nonpaginated cards.

³⁸⁶ *Pruskie opisy miast polskich*, pp. 52–53. On the distribution of garrison in Białystok: A. K. Holsche, *Geographie und Statistik von West- Süd- und Neu- Ostpreußen: nebst einer kurzen Geschichte des Königreichs Polen bis zu dessen Zertheilung*, Bd. 1, Berlin 1800, p. 451.

³⁸⁷ Under the Prussian rule, about 200 people of the administrative staff must have come to Białystok, W. Kusiński, op. cit., p. 273; J. Łukasiewicz, op. cit., p. 62.

³⁸⁸ M. Baczowski, *Garnizon Krakowa w latach 1796–1815. Struktura, finansowanie, stosunki z mieszkańcami*, [in:] *Zamki, twierdze i garnizony Opola, Śląska i dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, ed. T. Ciesielski, Zabrze 2010, p. 197.

³⁸⁹ At the end of the existence of the Commonwealth was very positively assessed by F. Schulz, op. cit., p. 42.

Dyspartyment Kwater			
Od Kompanij W. P. Cichockiego Podkucownika y Kommandanta Batalionu Fuszliow Artylleryi Koronney.			
Nazwiska Gospodarow	Przemi	Stos	Stos
1. Jeko Krawiec	1.	1.	
2. Jozef Rzemik	1	1.	
3. Raczkiwicz	1	1.	
4. Jeko Krawiec	1		
5. Woff Izraelowicz	1	1.	
6. Koziko Morymonis	1		
7. Wiermk Argdanski	1.	1.	
8. Abram Kutowicz	1.	1.	
9. Binek Kuznierz	1.		
10. Koziko Chw.	1.		
11. Gerszon Eglowicz	2	2.	
12. Faybus Abramowicz	1.		
13. Pauter Damiowicz	1.		
14. Selman Krawiec	1.	1.	
15. Koziko Kowicz	1.		
16. Leybka Krawiec	2.	2.	
17. Fglarz Rzemik			
18. Enoch Morymonis	1.	1.	
19. Menko Kraw	1.		
20. Chaim Kozkowicz	1.	1.	
21. Abram Szalchowskia	2.	2.	
22. Mosko Kozkowicz	1.	1.	
Summa = 45 = 27.			
Dzierzbicki Chor.			
Dyspartyment Kwater			
Od Kompanij W. P. Bultnera Majora Batalionu Fuszliow Artylleryi Koronney.			
Nazwiska Gospodarow	Przemi	Stos	Stos
1. u Stanislaw Brabantzki	1.		
2. Jozef Jaczowski	1.		
3. Landelowy adony	1.		
4. Ignacy Wyszowski	1.		
5. Jakub Waleczuk	1.		
6. Jozef Krawiec	1.		
7. Jozef Krawiec	1.		
8. Jozef Krawiec	1.		
9. u Abramka	2.		
10. Jozef Damiannita	2.		
11. Jozef	2.		
12. Franciszek Kuzana	2.		
13. Ignacy Kuzana	2.		
14. Pisanowy adony	1.		
15. Michala Kuzana	2.		
16. Jozef Krawiec	2.		
17. u Stanislaw			

32. The accommodation list of soldiers from the battalion of fusiliers located in Białystok in 1781 [AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Militaria, box 9, nonpaginated cards].

We know an example of negotiating the terms of troops stationing of 1779. Izabela Branicka drew up a 16-item, very detailed desideratum, the vast majority of which was accepted by the command of the regiment of Crown mounted guards³⁹⁰. The document began with the demand of being notified of the soldiers coming at one month's notice. Regarding the location of lodgings, she demanded to be able to converse with a competent and responsible person (item 2). The assigned lodgings should not be changed without a justified reason, and otherwise, the military tenants' flats could be changed at the manor's request (item 13). She wrote that no high standard should be expected – in the case of ordinary soldiers and non-commissioned officers, several people could be placed in the same room, and the bed linen would not be of the highest quality. The military authorities knowing the accommodation capacity of Białystok did not care about it; what is more, they informed even bed linen would be unnecessary (item 12)³⁹¹.

The Hetmaness gave a lot of attention to limiting the military authority over the civilians. She decided that soldiers would not be allowed to expect horse grooming or watching from townspeople; forced use of private horses for the needs of the army or paper requisition for military documentation was also forbidden. Hunting was prohibited, but officers could turn directly to the manor to request a one-time permission (items 3, 6, 9, 16). The only thing that the authorities objected to was the ban on recruiting soldiers from Branicka's estates. However, military authorities made great concessions in this case too, agreeing to resign from a recruitment campaign and only enlist volunteers at the lady's consent. It was demanded that the soldiers on guard in the guardroom have firewood and lighting provided (items 5, 14).

A doubtless economic success was a ban on the operation of army merchants who would sell food and, first of all, trade in alcohol. The food could only be purchased on the market square (soldiers could not collect the market charge); the establishment of military greasy spoon restaurants was forbidden, and officers were allowed to provide the necessary products to the entire units³⁹². Finally, it was agreed that either the soldiers would accept a fixed price

³⁹⁰ *Punkta z okoliczności konsystencji obiecaniej w mieście Białymstoku*, Białystok 10 IX 1779, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Militaria, box 13, nonpaginated cards.

³⁹¹ Later, the military authorities were not so compliant. For example, in 1789 was prepared *Regestr (...) rewizji pościeli złej w batalionie fizylierów artylerii koronnej*, Białystok 24 II 1789, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Militaria, box 9, nonpaginated cards. It turned out then that the problem occurred in the Jewish district. The bed linen provided by Jews had to be replaced in 33 cases, and that from Christians, only in 8 cases.

³⁹² In 1773, Izabela Branicka received complaints from people bringing cereal to the Białystok market about harm done to them by the soldiers. *Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki*, 316, p. 26.

for meat, or the military butcher would give the hide of the slaughtered animals to the manor (items 4, 7, 8, 10, 14).

Such detailed regulations show that the Hetman's wife and her officials had great experience in very specific determination of rules to observe in the Białystok garrison, beneficial for the residents and the manor.

It is assumed that at the early 1770s, Białystok could boast approximately 3.5 thousand residents, whereas Tykocin was inhabited by 3 thousand people and Bielsk Podlaski just over 2.5 thousand³⁹³. The number of Białystok residents, however, seems to be overestimated, as in accordance with the inventory of 1772 there were 1,790 persons in the town: among the citizens (property holders) there were: 938 Christians (282 males, 232 females, 229 boys and 195 girls) and 689 Jews (203 males, 199 females, 148 boys and 139 girls). The number of families without their own real estate was definitely underestimated. 163 persons (109 Jews and 54 Christians) were listed in rented places (leased out by 49 families)³⁹⁴. The degree of the underestimation is a matter of assessment, but it seems that – if we take into consideration the precision of the inventory – the discrepancies should not be considerable. Even if we assume that the number of families without their own real property was 100% higher than recorded, it still means slightly below 2 thousand residents³⁹⁵. If we add to it the soldiers temporarily stationed in the town, we get the result of approx. 2.5 thousand people. More accurate data that we know were recorded in the year 1800 – then the town had 3,370 residents, and in 1808 it was inhabited by 6,000 people³⁹⁶, which clearly testifies to the constant and dynamic development of the town until the end of the period discussed in this book.

³⁹³ A. Dobroński, *Białystok – historia miasta*, Białystok 2001, p. 38; W. Kusiński, op. cit., p. 272.

³⁹⁴ M. Lech, *Dzieje*, pp. 140–141; A. Sztachelska-Kokoczek, *Białystok*, pp. 105–106.

³⁹⁵ Most houses did not have large surface areas, so there might not have been many tenants. For example, in the Christian part of Wieluń (1792) the number of households was 264, and separate mortgages, 186. It means that in the vast majority of cases, families resided in their own property. AGAD, Akta Komisji Porządkowej Cywilno-Wojskowej ziemi wieluńskiej i powiatu ostrzeszowskiego, 4. Calculations done by dr Radosław Poniat.

³⁹⁶ W. Kusiński, op. cit., p. 274; cf. A. Cz. Dobroński, *Białystok w latach 1795–1864*, pp. 215–218.

7. The Białystok palace until the early 18th century

Probably the earliest owners of the Białystok estate erected a manor house in their land. There are several theories of where it might have been located. One of them holds that the manor was in the place of the contemporary palace of Rüdiger–Lubomirski family. What supports this location is that the name Dojlidy has Lithuanian origin and can be found in the hereditary property of Raczek Tabutowicz in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania (later Lida powiat). Besides, a farm developed in the place of Tabutowicz's manor, and in 1571 there was a record of an Orthodox church built right next to the manor³⁹⁷. Another, alternative, theory is that the palace was in the place of the current hill with the church dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary³⁹⁸.

However, probably after the creation of the palace and garden layout, the Białystok manor transformed into the Białystok farm, which should not be identified with.] the object with the same name located in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania near the village of Kuriany. This is proved with the inventory of 1645, including information on the extended old farm layout in close proximity of the palace. Providing that there was already a Roman Catholic church there, the farm was probably within the later Stare Miasto³⁹⁹.

The entire layout, including a vegetable garden, was fenced. The farm included a wooden manor with a basement, a bath house, a cowshed, a pigsty, two barns, a coach house, two large granaries with basements and a big cellar for fish and vegetables, as well as a new storage room for valuable things such as books, documents, trunks, armours etc.

³⁹⁷ T. Wasilewski, *Białystok w XVI–XVII wieku*, pp. 107–108; *Prawa i przywileje miasta i dóbr Zabłudów*, pp. 72–73; J. Maroszek, *Własność cerkiewna na terenie Białegostoku*, „Białostoczczyzna” 7 (1992), 3, p. 13; K. Samusik, J. Samusik, *Pałace i dwory Białostoczczyzny*, Białystok 1998, pp. 23–24.

³⁹⁸ J. Maroszek, *Rewelacyjne odkrycie*, p. 21; *Kościół katolicki na Podlasiu*, pp. 6–12. Vide archeological findings: Z. Skrok, op. cit.

³⁹⁹ Нацыянальны гістарычны архів Беларусі, Мінск, Фонд 1708, опис 137, file cards 95–95v; *Inwentarz majątności Białegostoku*, pp. 92–93.

Around 1547, Piotr Wiesiołowski the elder built a new manor and created an Italian style garden and a game preserve by the manor⁴⁰⁰. It is hard to verify when the wooden manor was converted into a brick tenement. In the previous literature of the subject it has been held that the works were commenced by Piotr Wiesiołowski the younger approximately in 1570 in the place of the former Raczkowski's manor. The building was modelled on the nearby Tykocin castle, and Job Bretfus, Vilnius and Tykocin *horodniczy* was the architect of the new building.⁴⁰¹ It was added that the object definitely had significant defensive values, as the castle was surrounded by the Białka river and its tributaries from three sides, and there was a moat from the south-west⁴⁰².

These findings, however, are only based on speculations. There sources which provide some information about the Wiesiołowski castle in Białystok are extremely scarce: these are mostly the results of architectural and archaeological research projects and very few written sources. The latter materials include the account of Szymon Starowolski in the book *Polonia sive status Regni Poloniae descriptio* issued in 1632, whose author very well evaluates the beauty of the structure located in Białystok⁴⁰³. This source suggests that the object must have existed at least since the 1620s.

The 1645 inventory of Białystok estate only includes two elements whose dates can be determined and which thus can potentially be taken into account when analyzing the time of construction of the palace. Two enormous battle pieces are mentioned there: *a representation of the Kirchholm expedition and a representation of the Smolensk expedition*⁴⁰⁴. The first of them referred to the Battle of Kirchholm in 1605, and the other one could be identified either with the siege and conquest of Smolensk (1609–1611)⁴⁰⁵, or with the relief of Smolensk (1632–1634). The selection of these two works of art is quite surprising, as many other battle pieces, presenting battles of the 1st quarter of the 17th c., such as Kłuszyn (1611), Chocim (1621), and other skirmishes with Gustavus II

⁴⁰⁰ J. Maroszek, *Dzieje Białegostoku w latach 1547–1692*, [in:] *Historia Białegostoku*, ed. A. Cz. Dobroński, Białystok 2012, pp. 54–55.

⁴⁰¹ *Prayetfuss (Bretfus, Bretfus, Prefusz) Hiob*, [in:] *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. XXVIII, v. 2, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk–Łódź 1985, pp. 367–368.

⁴⁰² J. Glinka, *Zamek obronny w Białymstoku na przełomie XVI i XVII wieku*, „Rocznik Białostocki” 2 (1961), pp. 53–100; T. Wasilewski, *Białystok w XVI–XVII wieku*, pp. 120–121.

⁴⁰³ Sz. Starowolski, *Polska albo opisanie położenia Królestwa Polskiego*, ed. by A. Piskadło, Kraków 1976, p. 116. The information included there was repeated by A. Cellarius, *Regni Poloniae, regionumque omnium ad id Pertinentium Noviſſima descriptio*, Amsterdam 1659, p. 602.

⁴⁰⁴ Нацыянальны гістарычны архіў Беларусі, Ф. 1708, оп. 1, нр 137, file card 94.

⁴⁰⁵ *Inwentarz majątności Białegostoku*, p. 97.

Adolphus (from 1621) were missing⁴⁰⁶. We can suspect that in Białystok there were copies of paintings ordered by Zygmunt III Vasa from Jan Brueghel the Elder. We know that on 18/09/1619, the secretary of archduke Albrecht and infanta Isabella Clara Eugenia requested the general treasurer Monfort to release from customs duties all the paintings sent to Zygmunt III Vasa. Among them were three battle pieces by Pieter Snayers: the battle of Prague, the burning of Smolensk (conquest of Smolensk of 1611) and the battle of Kirchholm⁴⁰⁷. The king probably received the paintings before the end of the year, so we can speculate whether those at the Wiesiołowski manor are their copies or not. Both Piotr Wiesiołowski the younger as Grand Marshal of Lithuania, and Krzysztof Wiesiołowski as Court Marshal of Lithuania (from 1623) and Grand Marshal of Lithuania from 1635, had direct relations with the royal court⁴⁰⁸. We can hypothesize that the paintings came from Warsaw when Piotr Wiesiołowski was finishing the construction works or already decorating the rooms; thus, he might have used the works of art present in the royal castle to decorate his residence. The above analysis may suggest that the brick manor was created in the second or third decade of the 17th century.

As for the architectural and archaeological investigations, it must be emphasized that in the body of the existing palace there are the remains of “Wiesiołowski tenement”, among others the fragments of Gothic walls and widows in the ground floor of Branicki Palace⁴⁰⁹. Jan Glinka, who carried out some investigations during the reconstruction of the palace destroyed as a result of war, evaluated the stages of its conversion⁴¹⁰, but his conclusions seem to be a bit far-fetched. Glinka assigned bricks to the successive stages of the conversion: *Fortress, approx. 1570 29.26 × 13 × 8.04 cm; corner annexes, first storey, approx. 1602: 25.8 × 13 × 6 cm; corner annexes, second storey (Tylman's superstructure) 1691–1697: 26 × 13.5 × 6.75 cm; palace, third storey, 1726: 27 × 13.5 × 5.5 cm*⁴¹¹.

⁴⁰⁶ See the art decoration in the palace of Podhorce (taking into consideration the scale of the layout). Z. Bania, *Pałac w Podhorcach*, „Rocznik Historii Sztuki” 13 (1981), pp. 124–137.

⁴⁰⁷ J. Teodorczyk, Z. Żygulski jun., *Dwugłos o bitwie pod Kircholmem. Historia i ikonografia*, „Rocznik Historii Sztuki” 24 (1999), p. 124.

⁴⁰⁸ *Urzędnicy centralni i dygnitarze Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*, pp. 73–74, 77.

⁴⁰⁹ W. Paszkowski, *Wątki gotyckie pałacu Branickich w Białymstoku*, „Ochrona Zabytków” 5 (1952), 4, p. 287; cf. Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa (Warszawa), Teki Glinki, 149, pp. 1–23.

⁴¹⁰ M. Kacperczyk, *Założenie pałacowo-ogrodowe Branickich w Białymstoku w XIX i XX w. – przemiany, zniszczenia, praktyka konserwatorska*, [in:] *Zeszyty dziedzictwa kulturowego*, eds K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak, Białystok 2007, pp. 90–95.

⁴¹¹ J. Glinka, *Zamek obronny*, p. 64, footnote 50. See also: U. Stankiewicz, *Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku – źródła archeologiczne z lat 2001–2002*, „Podlaskie Zeszyty Archeolo-

Undoubtedly the determination of the basic phases of conversion: body of the building (first and second storey) – corner annexes (first storey) – corner annexes (second storey) – palace (third storey) was of key importance, while the information of at least first two dates (1570 and 1602) is rather subjective. Thanks to the inventory of 1645, we now know that the stage of construction of corner annexes can't have occurred in 1602, because even documents drawn up 43 years later did not mention them⁴¹². One-storey outhouses were probably made during the conversion of the palace in the years 1691–1697, attempted in order to create an honour courtyard.



33. Pointed arch basement window in the garden elevation of the palace
[W. Paszkowski, op. cit., p. 287].

Currently, a lot of information can be found in the summaries of works of a team studying the basements under Branicki Palace in Białystok⁴¹³. They confirmed the supposition that the basements are the part of the palace that has undergone the least serious transformations in relation to the former Wiesiołowski's tenement. It was also verified that the spatial layout of basements

giczne" 3 (2007), pp. 34–52; Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa (Warszawa), Teki Glinki, 149, file cards 1–28.

⁴¹² *Inwentarz majątności Białegostoku*, pp. 90–93.

⁴¹³ The investigation was carried out between September and November 2011 by a team composed of: mgr inż. arch. Zenon Zabagło, dr inż. arch. Marek Barański, mgr inż. arch. Paweł Kinsner, mgr inż. arch. Leszek Dobrowolski, master of archaeology Stanisław Petrykowski, master of history Wiesław Wróbel and mgr inż. arch. Karolina Porowska. M. Grassmann, W. Wróbel, *Pierwszy raport z badań piwnic pałacu Branickich*, „Medyk Białostocki” 2012, no. 109, p. 24.

corresponded to the division into rooms on the ground floor. Therefore, on that basis it can be concluded that the first storey of Wiesiołowski's palace comprised a central hall, two rooms (a guest room and a bedroom on the left) and a large, open-space women's room. This layout rather reflects the style of manors-tenements constructed in the early 17th century, so the investigating team suppose that *it was created in the first decade of the 17th century in the place of the former wooden object*⁴¹⁴. This hypothesis seems probable; it does not contradict the findings resulting from the analysis of written sources. It is also possible that the end of the layout construction was connected with the beginning of a new project: the brick church in Białystok in 1617.

Maybe the decision as to the construction of the new manor layout was made after 1598, when Piotr Wiesiołowski's estate was attacked by Brzóska and his people⁴¹⁵. Even if the band did not destroy the manor, the magnate might have decided it was necessary to build a stronger residence: that would conform to the custom common in Podlasie in the early 17th century, exemplified e.g. by the construction of the brick manor in Pawłowicze near Sidra by Wołłowicz family (1610) and in Dubno near Boćki by Sapieha family (the second decade of the 17th century)⁴¹⁶. As we can see in the inventory of 1645, the whole manor layout was well fortified: *strong beam surrounding, 2 stone wells*. The entrance was only possible through a well protected gate. The fence protected not only the tenement but also the brewery operating in the courtyard, the slaughterhouse, the kennels, the larder, the servants' and craftsmen's houses, the kitchen as well as the new house and the outbuilding⁴¹⁷. It is hard to determine whether a land fortification was also built then. Obviously, it was not necessarily bastions, as Jan Glinka and the scholar studying Swedish and Muscovite Deluge in Podlasie, Jacek Płoński, thought⁴¹⁸. It may have been a mere embankment, frequently occurring in manor layouts or fortified villages, which greatly increased the defence value of the fence surrounding Wiesiołowski's residence⁴¹⁹.

⁴¹⁴ Ibidem, p. 25.

⁴¹⁵ K. Łopatecki, E. Zalewska, op. cit., pp. 115–126.

⁴¹⁶ Z. Romaniuk, *Dubno – zapomniana rezydencja Sapiehów*, [in:] *Rezydencje Sapiehów w Dubnie*, eds A. Andrzejewski, H. Karwowska, Białystok 2007, pp. 23–45; A. Andrzejewski, H. Karwowska, *Kamienica wielka rezydencji Sapiehów w Dubnie, gm. Boćki, woj. podlaskie*, „Biuletyn Konserwatorski Województwa Podlaskiego” 14 (2008), pp. 264–279.

⁴¹⁷ The defence structure is very similar to the one used in the South-Eastern Borderland of the Crown. F. Kotula, *Warownie chłopskie XVII w. w ziemi przemyskiej i sanockiej*, „Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości” 1962, vol. VIII, v. 1, pp. 74–149.

⁴¹⁸ J. Glinka, *Zamek obronny*, pp. 53–100; J. Płoński, op. cit., p. 16; M. Lech, *Dzieje*, p. 145.

⁴¹⁹ Cf. F. Kotula, op. cit., pp. 74 ff.

Even if bastions were created in the meantime, they were levelled for the needs of the garden in the 1690s, which is proved by a letter written by Stefan Mikołaj Branicki in 1703. The Podlasie Voivode wrote: *excluding Tykocin, no other estates have fortresses, except in private residences, providing comfort for residents*⁴²⁰. The only remnant of the former fortifications by Branickis' palace in Białystok was the south-western bastion, where the so-called Chinese garden house was built. Indeed, the inventory of 1772 included the following record: *The brick basement under the garden house with a brick corridor by which there is a brick wall*⁴²¹. One year later, some garden works were in progress next to the garden house, and it was recorded: *In the lower garden, the round embankment behind the garden house has two levels. On the top and in the middle, i.e. on the upper and lower level, roses are planted and half of the embankment is already turfed*⁴²². These quotations are unclear, just like the summary of the archaeological investigation carried out at this site in 2001 (it must be remembered that archaeological works had to be discontinued due to a high surface water level)⁴²³.

The brick palace located in Białystok became the centre of life of Wiesiołowski family. This is proved by the testament of 19-year-old Gryzelda Sapieha, née Wodyńska, made on 19/01/1633 in Słonim, in which the testator demanded to be buried in Białystok⁴²⁴. Krzysztof Wiesiołowski himself, serving as the Court Marshal, and later Grand Marshal, in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, did not often stay in Białystok; anyway, he spent a lot of time in nearby Kamienna near Dąbrowa Białostocka, where *nota bene* another brick residence was built⁴²⁵.

In accordance with the inventory of 20th September 1645⁴²⁶, the entrance to the fortified layout was possible from the side of the church. The wooden gate

⁴²⁰ Letter from S. M. Branicki to J. J. Przebendowski, Malbork 16 III 1703, Biblioteka Kórnicka, 407, p. 89, vide Swedish attempts to convert the fortresses of Tykocin: K. Łopatecki, *Plan przebudowy*, pp. 63–76.

⁴²¹ AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, 122, file cards 61v.

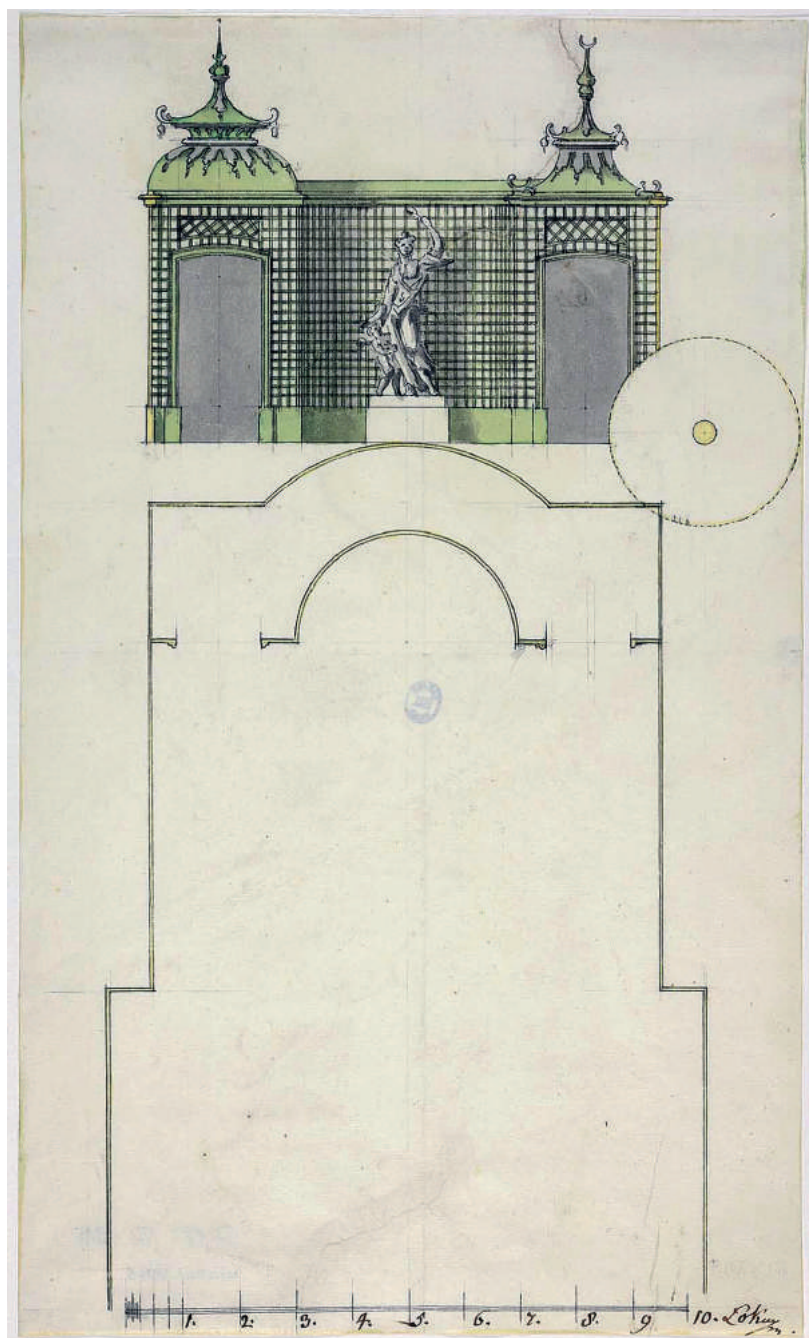
⁴²² Letter from J. Sękowski to I. Branicka, Białystok 26 IV 1773, [in:] J. Glinka, *Zamek obronny*, p. 95.

⁴²³ A. Kola, *Archeologiczne badania wykopaliskowe na terenie zabytkowego ogrodu Branickich w Białymstoku w 2001 roku*, „Biuletyn Konserwatorski Województwa Podlaskiego” 8–9 (2003), pp. 155–156.

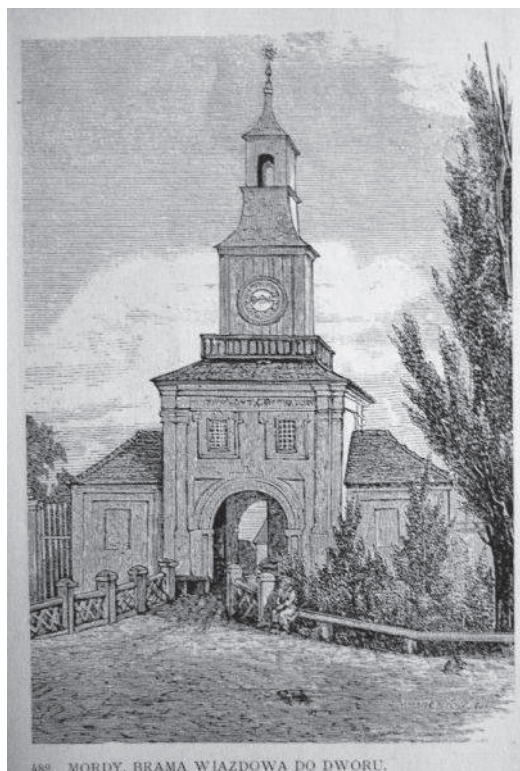
⁴²⁴ Sapiehowie. *Materiały historyczno-genealogiczne i majątkowe*, vol. II, Petersburg 1892, pp. 241–244; cf. W. Jarmolik, *Gryzelda Wodyńska*, pp. 44–45; W. Wróbel, *Klasztor brygidek w Grodnie – największa fundacja sakralna rodu Wiesiołowskich*, „Zeszyty Naukowe Studentckiego Koła Naukowego Historyków Uniwersytetu w Białymstoku” 2 (2009), pp. 11–12.

⁴²⁵ J. Glinka, *Zamek obronny*, p. 78; G. Ryżewski, *Stara Kamienna – opis rezydencji Wiesiołowskich z 1712 r.*, „Biuletyn Konserwatorski Województwa Podlaskiego” 8–9 (2003), pp. 87–97.

⁴²⁶ Нацыянальны гістарычны архів Беларусі, Мінск, Фонд 1708, опис 137, file cards 93–95v; *Inwentarz majątności Białegostoku*, pp. 90–93.



34. Chinese garden house in the upper garden, with a sculpture of Venus and Amor in front of it [Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku, vol. I, part 2, pp. 220–221].



35. Entrance gate to a manor in Mordy in Podlasie [See *Materiały do architektury polskiej*, vol. I: *Wieś i miasteczko*, v. 3, Warszawa 1916, fig. 482, p. 180].

was extended and probably resembled the gate existing in Mordy in Podlasie, but it did not have a tower or a clock. On both sides of the gate, there were eight cubbyholes for tools and other things useful at the farm. Above the gate, there was a large room used as a dining room (with a pantry), with six tables and benches next to them. Probably there was also a flat for the estate manager, comprising two rooms.

It must be stressed that Wiesiołowski's manor and garden layout was impressive. Apart from a small brick palace described below, the owners established an adjacent Italian garden. The garden was modified many times but it provided the germ of the later Italian garden which survived until the end of the discussed period⁴²⁷.

The whole manor complex was in the process of extension, which is proved by two newly-built wooden houses (in 1645): a two-storey house for the manor

⁴²⁷ W. Wróbel, *Działalność*, pp. 55–56.

officials, and a one-storey house with a lower standard, used as a prison. Actually, this is the oldest confirmation of the functioning of manor courts in the Białystok estate.

On the right of the gate, there was an outbuilding, where a kitchen for the servants was established together with numerous food storage rooms. Nearby, there was a bakery⁴²⁸. A bigger, two-storey building held a granary, where ground flour was kept. Another wooden one-storey house with two rooms inside was referred to as craftsmen's house – so probably craftsmen working at the manor lived and worked there. Another house for servants had four rooms with stoves, five larders, and one common bedroom upstairs.

On the left of the gate, there was a blacksmith's workshop, where horseshoes were made and horses were shod. Slightly farther off, there was a slaughterhouse, a kitchen building and a larder. Just next to the exit, a large stable with three doors was located. A *mastarnia* was also placed nearby: it was a small building where things used for harnesses were kept. The cart house and another stable did not fit the manor layout and thus they were placed on the road leading to the farm.

Within the fortifications, there was also a bath house, with water heated in a copper boiler. The brewery took a lot of space. Next to it there was a building called *ozdownia*, where malt was dried and soaked.

The Wiesiołowski's palace was referred to as a *kamienica* (tenement)⁴²⁹. One entered it through a brick porch with an iron door, additionally protected with a grating. Exactly on the axis, there was another (oak) door facing the garden through the hallway. On the ground floor, five rooms and a toilet were arranged. The rooms were conventionally equipped with a stove, lockable doors, and some of them were furnished and decorated with paintings. Among them, there was also a chamber for women with a trunk and four *iron rods for hanging clothes*.

Of course, the second storey (*bel-étage*) was the elegant part of the palace. One could get there by the stairs with a wooden railing, lit with a lantern. They led to a small, light room decorated with a huge painting presenting the battle of Kirchholm. The doors from that room led to two places. On the left, there was a suite with a chamber and a bedroom, where the ceiling was covered with beautifully finished wooden ornamentations. Two tables and two leather chairs were standing there.

⁴²⁸ More about the equipment of bakeries in the Commonwealth: J. Trzoska, *Gdańskie młynarstwo i piekarnictwo w II połowie XVII i w XVIII wieku*, Gdańsk 1973, pp. 81 ff.

⁴²⁹ At the time, the expression 'tenement' referred to a brick manor, and this form became popular in Podlasie in the 2nd half of the 16th century. See T. Jakimowicz, *Dwór murowany w Polsce w wieku XVI. Wieża – kamienica – kasztel*, Warszawa–Poznań 1979.

The largest room was a dining room with eight windows and a white tiled stove. Depending on the needs, it was possible to arrange the seven tables at will. Apart from the tables, there were chairs and benches as well as four brass candlesticks. The only piece of furniture by the wall was a lockable cabinet for glassware and utensils. In the upper part of the dining room, there was a small balcony for musicians. The walls were decorated with battle pieces.

It must be added that stairs led from the first floor to the attic, where four storehouses were sectioned off. From there, one could go to the balcony for musicians.

The palace had a basement including two rooms closed with an oak door, where five trunks were kept (for weapons, horse gear etc.) and a case for spices. Before it, there was a little hall⁴³⁰. In addition, a two-storey tower was built on top of the palace body. The room located downstairs in the tower was called a bedroom. From that room, stairs led to the upper storey⁴³¹.

This description should be completed by information about the game preserve, which was already functioning then. The inventory does not specify what species of animals were kept there, it only provides the number: eleven animals.

What is important in the description of the whole layout is that there were already its three basic elements: a brick palace, a garden, and a game preserve. This shows that the Branickis did not create the later "Versailles of Podlasie" from scratch but rather transformed and extended the existing elements. It must be added that the outbuildings may have been unchanged until the erection of brick corner annexes, which did not occur before the time of Jan Klems Branicki.

In 1691, Stefan Mikołaj Branicki began to convert the palace, entrusting this task to a famous architect, Tylman von Gameren. The architect designed a new building, which was then constructed within six years⁴³². Six draft designs of the palace made by the architect were destroyed during WWII, but two of them were copied in 1938 in a book by Tadeusz Makowiecki⁴³³. Now they are the only source of knowledge about the appearance of the structure, since no inventory of

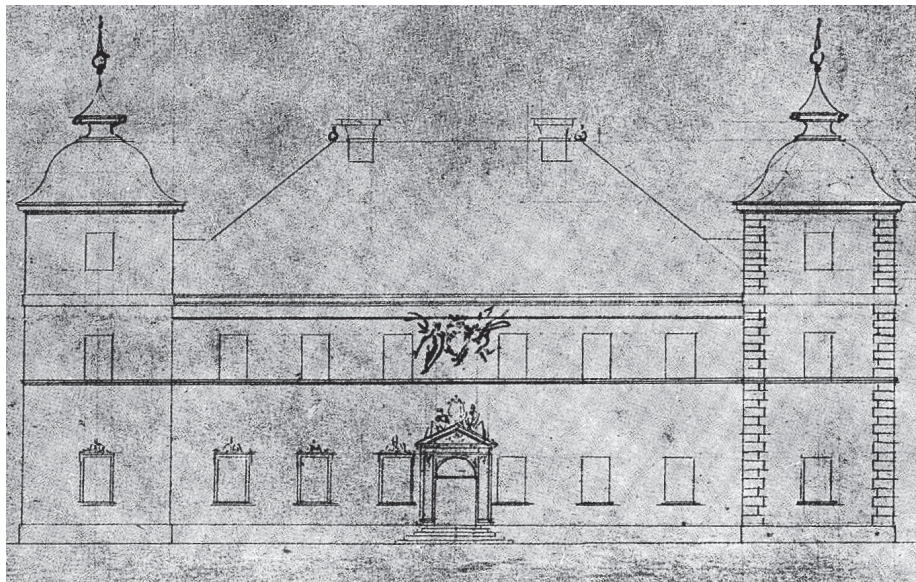
⁴³⁰ Architectural investigation carried out in the basement of the Białystok palace in 2012 found that originally there was a direct entrance from the outside to the basement (from the west). That entrance was later bricked up (about the middle of the 17th century). Besides, it has been confirmed that the cellars included four rooms. M. Grassmann, W. Wróbel, op. cit., pp. 24–26.

⁴³¹ M. Sokół, *Inwentarz majątności Białegostoku*, p. 87.

⁴³² Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa (Warszawa), Teki Glinki, 92, p. 8; S. Mossakowski, op. cit., pp. 238–239, figures 252–253.

⁴³³ T. Makowiecki, *Archiwum planów Tylmana z Gameren, architekta epoki Sobieskiego*, Warszawa 1938.

the palace built at the time has been preserved. Although Jan Glinka claimed that the 1709 palace inventory without the title page referred to Białystok⁴³⁴, a more thorough analysis showed that it was an inventory of the palace in Choroszcz⁴³⁵.



36. Design of the elevation of Branicki Palace by Tylman von Gameren.

Designing the new layout, Tylman von Gameren wanted to place the palace between the courtyard and the garden (*entre cour et jardin*)⁴³⁶. So far, a belief predominated in literature of the subject that the palace was then rearranged by 180°, so that the façade with the main entrance was to the East, and the

⁴³⁴ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa (Warszawa), Teki Glinki, 139, pp. 4–11 (introduction: pp. 1–3).

⁴³⁵ W. Sekunda, *Płyty kominkowe z pałacu w Choroszczy pozyskane do zbiorów Muzeum Okręgowego w Białymstoku*, „Rocznik Białostocki” 15 (1981), p. 309. In spite of the findings, some scholars still draw wrong conclusions, trying to match the inventory of the Choroszcz palace with the Białystok layout. Vide W. Wróbel, *Działalność*, pp. 54, 57–58, 75 (footnote 102), 76 (footnotes 118, 135).

⁴³⁶ S. Mossakowski, op. cit., p. 53. *Entre cour et jardin* – the type of a French palace characterized by strict symmetry, usually including the main body (often with a central avant-corps) and wings adjacent to it, and an elegant courtyard between the wings; behind the yard and the palace there was a garden, and the palace interior usually involved a suite of connecting rooms. *Słownik terminologiczny sztuk pięknych*, ed. K. Kubalska-Sulkiewicz, Warszawa 2002, p. 298.

garden could be extended from the West side⁴³⁷. The inventory of 1645 does not confirm this; it rather indicates that the original façade – just like the current one – was facing the river (towards the north-east)⁴³⁸. Anyway, as Łukasz Opaliński wrote, *in Poland we should avoid as much as possible placing the front of the building, the entrance and the façade (usually most ornamented) towards the west*, due to generally adverse climatic conditions⁴³⁹.

From the preserved iconographic sources we know that a two-storey palace based upon a rectangle was then built, covered with a hip roof, flanked with three-storey towers from the yard and two corner annexes from the garden. The main entrance was situated on the axis of the building and topped with a Baroque portal. In the central section, on the second storey, Branickis' coat of arms was placed on a shield supported by two figures. The façade of the palace was cut through on the level of each storey with six symmetrically distributed windows having ornamented frames. The ground floor was separated from the first floor with a band cornice and the entire building was topped with a crown cornice. The palace was probably covered with a mansard roof and had at least two independent heating systems. The structure was flanked by two towers based upon a square, protruding before the façade. Three-storey towers were rusticated at the corners, and there were windows on the axis of each storey.

The palace was constructed in the same way from the garden side; the only difference was the lack of a portal and family coat of arms. Corner annexes were built next to the wall on that side. Unfortunately, we do not know whether these were one- or two-storey structures. In the northern and southern walls, two windows were installed on each storey. From the north there were stairs leading to the basement. It was also then that the entrance to the basements existing in the 1st half of the 17th century on the western façade of the building was bricked up. Basement windows in the ground floor of the front and rear elevation were bricked up at the same time. The layout of the basement (three rooms, one of which divided into two smaller ones) was retained⁴⁴⁰. The spatial layout on the ground floor was relatively simple: in the centre, there was a staircase, and around the main body, five evenly distributed rooms. We may suppose that the decoration of the palace interior was made by Józef Szymon

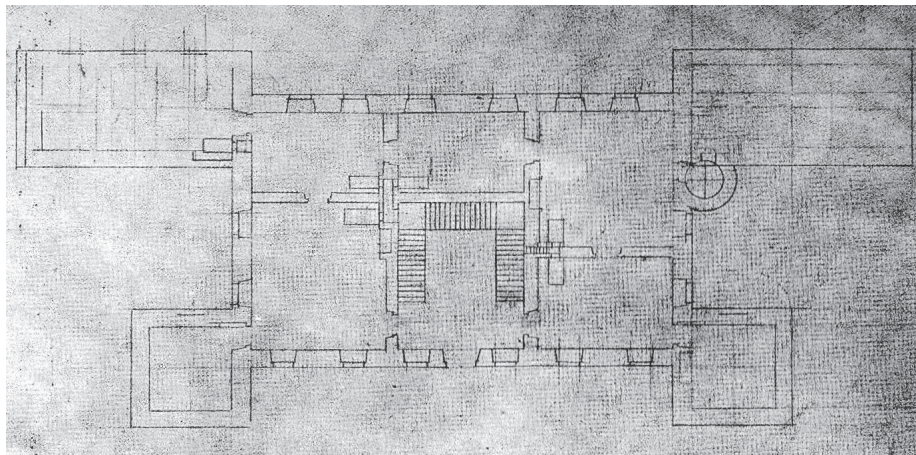
⁴³⁷ J. Glinka, *Zamek obronny*, p. 61; E. Bończak-Kucharczyk, J. Maroszek, K. Kucharczyk, *Katalog parków i ogrodów zabytkowych*, vol. I: *Część szczegółowa*, Warszawa 2000, p. 28.

⁴³⁸ *Inwentarz majątności Białegostoku*, p. 86. This hypothesis is rejected in the latest work by Izabela Szymańska and Aneta Średzińska (op. cit., p. 13); the authors still hold the idea that the conversion involved rearrangement of the façade.

⁴³⁹ *Krótką nauka budownicza dworów, pałaców, zamków podług nieba i zwyczaju polskiego*, ed. by A. Miłobędzki, Wrocław 1957, pp. 5–6.

⁴⁴⁰ M. Grassmann, W. Wróbel, op. cit., pp. 24–26.

Bellotti – he may have made the stuccowork in the chapel and in two studies of the *Golden Suite*⁴⁴¹.



37. Białystok Palace designed by Tylman von Gameren – ground floor plan.

Tylman von Gameren built a very similar palace in Nieborów, where cardinal Michał Stefan Radziejowski resided. The Białystok layout is more modest, without the pseudo avant-corps in the middle, in the form of a two-storey portico topped with a tympanum.

We know even less about the activities carried out around the palace. Definitely some earthworks were in progress, aimed at the achievement of a flat rectangle on the manor hill and surrounding it with a brick retaining wall which would separate it from the lower garden. That would regulate the water reservoirs near the palace⁴⁴². Obviously, it was necessary to pull down the palisade around the entire layout.

Stefan Mikołaj Branicki definitely must have intended to extend the garden layout too. For that purpose, in 1708 he made an agreement with the church committee appointed by the Vilnius bishop Konstanty Kazimierz Brzostowski,

⁴⁴¹ I. Szymańska, A. Średzińska, op. cit., p. 13.

⁴⁴² Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa (Warszawa), Teki Glinki, 409, p. 1; W. Wróbel, *Działalność*, p. 56; A. Kola, *Archeologiczne badania wykopaliskowe na terenie ogrodu Branickich w Białymstoku w 1998 roku*, „Biuletyn Konserwatorski Województwa Podlaskiego” 5 (1999), pp. 157–158; R. Kaźmierczak, A. Kola, *Archeologiczne badania wykopaliskowe na terenie ogrodu Branickich w Białymstoku w 2000 roku*, „Biuletyn Konserwatorski Województwa Podlaskiego” 7 (2001), p. 68.

pursuant to which he exchanged *włóka* and 20 of his land within the village of Bojary for 50 cubits of land between the market square, church and game preserve, previously belonging to the Church⁴⁴³.

The palace and garden layout created at the end of the 17th c. was ruined during the Great Northern War. Probably in 1706, the palace was conquered and *totalium mobiliium, like in the Białystok palace, valuables worth a hundred thousand were lost*⁴⁴⁴. We can guess that during these events, the original town charter of 1692 kept by the Hetman was destroyed too.

⁴⁴³ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa (Warszawa), Teki Glinki, 95, p. 11; W. Wróbel, *Działalność*, p. 45.

⁴⁴⁴ Letter from S. M. Branicki to K. Ruszkowski, 11 VIII 1706, Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa (Warszawa), Teki Glinki, 296, p. 1.

8. Jan Klemens Branicki – the originator of the Białystok palace and garden layout

The estate organization and the patronage of Jan Klemens Branicki have been the subject of many publications, so we will only try to provide basic information concerning the changes that occurred in the garden and palace in the 1720–1771 period⁴⁴⁵. We must remember that although Stefan Mikołaj Branicki effected the transformation of the palace and gardens, at the moment of his death (1709) the residence was completely ruined and plundered. The mother of Jan Klemens – Katarzyna Scholastyka – tried to restore the palace⁴⁴⁶.

In 1712, 49 people plus children already lived in the palace layout. The court of the voivode's wife included six maidservants, a marshal, a scribe, an equerry and a treasurer. The employed service members were: four laundresses, six valets, four cooks, two butlers, three pages, eight servants, two hunters, three carters, a cellar attendant and a scullery attendant⁴⁴⁷. Unfortunately, although the manor was slowly reviving, the town was not developing so well as one could expect. And no surprise, provided that the number of adult town residents was just the double of the number of manor residents (49 men and 48 women)⁴⁴⁸.

⁴⁴⁵ Hetman Jan Klemens Branicki died in 1771, and his wife, Izabela Branicka, née Poniatowska, remaining in Białystok on the basis of life estate right, was committed to maintain the objects listed in the hereditary estates inventory so as to enable their handover to the Hetman's successors in an unchanged condition after her death. That is why after completing the inventories after the Hetman's death (in 1772), Izabela did not make any major changes to the palace, only focusing on its maintenance. The year 1772 was the moment when the ultimate shape of Białystok residential layout was achieved. J. Nieciecki, *Białostockie założenie*, p. 17.

⁴⁴⁶ For example, she funded the monument of "hearts" of Stefan Mikołaj and Katarzyna Aleksandra Czarniecka, made by Kacper Bażanka in 1711. Later, in the years 1751–1752, it was moved to the Białystok church. Idem, *Monument serc Stefana Mikołaja i Katarzyny Aleksandry Branickich w Białymstoku*, „Biuletyn Konserwatorski Województwa Podlaskiego” 3 (1997), pp. 5–18.

⁴⁴⁷ AGAD, Księgi grodzkie brańskie, 52, file cards 246v–247. In 1718, the semi-annual expenses "for the whole manor" amounted to 2,036 zloty. AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Akty rodzinno-majątkowe, 32, p. 116; cf. I. Kulesza-Woroniecka, *Współpracownicy Izabeli Branickiej*, p. 161.

⁴⁴⁸ A. Sztachelska-Kokoczka, *Białystok*, p. 13.

The above mentioned data prove that Katarzyna Scholastyka chose Białystok as her hereditary residence. This is supported by the account made by Krzysztof Zawisza, who recollects that in the autumn of 1718, king August II, travelling from Grodno to Warsaw, visited Białystok and stayed there for two days with Jan Klemens and his mother⁴⁴⁹. The event definitely proves the prestige, propaganda and political importance of Białystok, which lay by the route leading from one sejm city to another – Warsaw and Grodno (from 1673, every third convention of the three sejm estates was organized in Grodno)⁴⁵⁰.

August II the Mocny visited Białystok again on his way back from the Grodno sejm and stayed as a guest at the Branickis' manor house from November 1726 to March 1727. For Jan Klemens, this visit was an impulse for changes: it was then that he made the decision about a conversion of the whole layout⁴⁵¹.

The main architect of the transformations made to the palace was initially Jan Zygmunt Deybel, associated with the Warsaw royal court. Probably it was him who suggested the introduction of Baroque urban development concept to Białystok⁴⁵². Afterwards, Branicki's architects included: Jakub Fontana, Jan Henryk Klemm, Józef Sękowski, Pierre Ricaud de Tirregaille.

The first stage of extension started in the late 1720s. Another – third – storey was then added to the main body of the palace, two one-storey pavilions were erected apart from the main building and two identical one-storey outbuildings were built to constitute a horseshoe arrangement together with the palace (connected with palace with column galleries). Hercules holding the globe was put over the tympanum⁴⁵³. All the decorations drew on the French style of the end of the 17th century, already outdated at the time⁴⁵⁴.

The completion of the first phase of construction works gave the expected effects. Władysław Aleksander Łubieński, who described most beautiful sites in Podlasie in 1740, mentioned *Białystok, lying 4 miles of Tykocin upon the Narew*

⁴⁴⁹ K. Zawisza, *Pamiętniki*, ed. by J. Bartoszewicz, Warszawa 1862, p. 171.

⁴⁵⁰ The attraction of the town, especially for people travelling from the Crown to Lithuania, was emphasized by Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz (op. cit., p. 51).

⁴⁵¹ W. A. Łubieński, *Świat we wszystkich swoich częściach większych y mniejszych, to iest: w Europie, Azji, Affryce y Ameryce, w monarchiach, królestwach, księstwach, prowincjach, wyspach y miastach, geograficznie, chronologicznie y historycznie okryślony*, vol. I, Wrocław 1740, p. 424; I. Szymańska, A. Średzińska, op. cit., pp. 17–18.

⁴⁵² J. Glinka, *Prace Jana Zygmunta Deybla w ramach mecenatu Jana Klemensa Branickiego*, „Biuletyn Historii Sztuki” 23 (1961), 4, pp. 385–390; A. Sztachelska, *Białostocki ośrodek miejski*, p. 77.

⁴⁵³ E. Kowicka, op. cit., pp. 28–31.

⁴⁵⁴ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa (Warszawa), Teki Glinki, 464, pp. 18–19.



38. Portrait of Jan Klemens Branicki (1749–1750) – by Antoni Tallman [The painting can be found in the Roman Catholic church dedicated to the Holy Trinity in Tykocin].



39. Tympanum of the Białystok palace topped with a sculpture of Atlas – present appearance.



40. Fragments of elevation of the Białystok palace – columns, pilasters, frontage and balcony [Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku, vol. I, part 2, pp. 176–177, 198–199].

river, adorned with a splendid, beautiful and merry residential palace belonging to Branicki, Field Hetman, and a beautiful brick church and a monastery⁴⁵⁵.

The second phase of the conversion occurred in the years 1754–1757, after Deybl's death⁴⁵⁶. This time, architect Jakub Fontana was working at Branicki's order, invited to Białystok by the Hetman who was enchanted with the staircase in Potockis' palace in Radzyń and wanted to have something similar in his residence. The works mostly focused on giving the palace the Rococo style fashionable at the time. Therefore, the windows on the first floor were enlarged to reach the floor (*porte-fenêtre*) and a balcony with iron balustrades was added⁴⁵⁷.

In addition, Jan Chryzostom Redler was at work, making three sculptures for the palace staircase. The suites of Izabela Branicka were renovated, including a change in wall arrangement. After Branicki's death, the palace with outhouses and pavilions had a total of 178 rooms, including 115 elegant and residential ones. Undoubtedly, the construction works were possible thanks to the huge dowry (500,000 złoty) provided by Izabela Poniatowska as the third wife of Jan Klemens Branicki.

Although the basic construction works finished in the 1750s, until the end of his life Jan Klemens Branicki aimed at beautifying the palace with furniture, paintings and other decorations. Many craftsmen were employed at the palace, doing repair works but also implementing different ideas of the Hetman. The interior of the palace is very well characterized in inventories of the years 1772 and 1775. Their brief description is provided in the next chapter⁴⁵⁸.

During Jan Klemens Branicki's lifetime, not only the mass of the palace was radically changed but the shape and decorations of the place in front of it were modified. The first transformation of the palace courtyard was carried out in 1738. Then the entrance courtyard was arranged and the entrance gate, leading to the honour yard, was built following the design by Jan Henryk Klemm⁴⁵⁹.

⁴⁵⁵ W.A. Łubieński, op. cit., p. 424.

⁴⁵⁶ E. Kowicka, op. cit., p. 30; A. Sztachelska, *Białystok w korespondencji Branickich*, pp. 47–48; I. Szymańska, A. Średzińska, op. cit., p. 22.

⁴⁵⁷ E. Kowicka, op. cit., pp. 28–31. Halina Dmowska-Grabiasowa (*Działalność kulturalna Izabeli Branickiej w świetle korespondencji*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów miasta Białegostoku*, vol. IV, p. 87), claims that the main construction activities occurred in the years 1752–1760.

⁴⁵⁸ *Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku*, vol. I, part 1–2, passim; I. Szymańska, A. Średzińska, op. cit., pp. 15–45; E. Kowicka, op. cit., pp. 69–76.

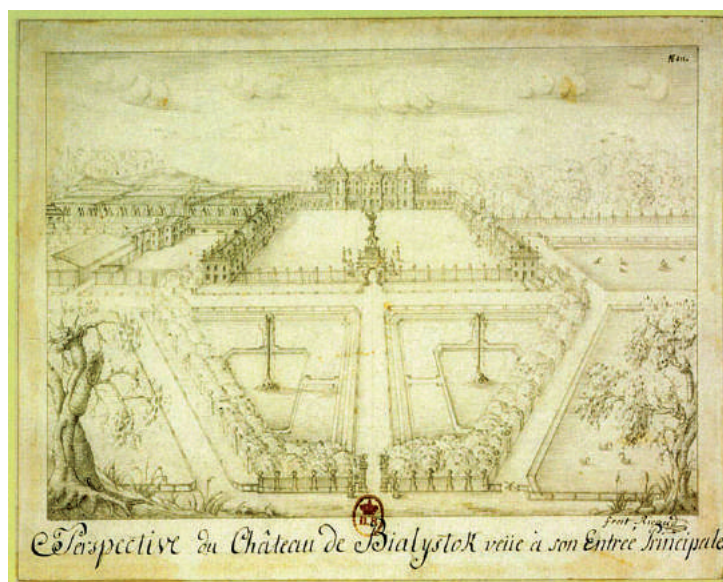
⁴⁵⁹ See: P. R. de Tirregaille, *Perspective Du Château De Bialystok Veüe à Son Entrée Principale* (original available at the National Library in Paris, ref. no. Hd 206 R14 552); cf. P. Wątroba, *Trzy ogrody Podlasia w świetle rysunków Pierre'a Ricaud de Tirregaille'a odnalezionych w Bibliotheque Nationale de France*, „Biuletyn Historii Sztuki” 63 (2001), 1–4, pp. 265–279.



41. The Białystok Palace – front and garden side elevations.



42. The *Rotator* (“grinder”) sculpture by Jan Chryzostom Redler made of Genoese white marble in 1754.



43. Pierre Ricaud de Tirregaille, *Perspective du Château de Bialystok veüe à son Entrée Principale*, (front general view of the palace before the conversion of 1758).

The main entrance gate following the pattern of the triumphal gate was originally between the entrance courtyard and the grand courtyard, but in 1758 it was pulled down and placed before the entrance courtyard⁴⁶⁰. The entrance to the palace area was watched by guards, who could shelter in two rooms built by the gate⁴⁶¹. In the upper part of the structure, there was a clock⁴⁶² and two bells, which rang every quarter and hour⁴⁶³. The top of the gate was an iron roof decorated with brass pyramid ornamentations. On it, there is a *gold-plated gryphon, holding a board with gilded letters JB on a blue background, turned towards the visitors*⁴⁶⁴. Four wooden sculptures painted white provided the decoration⁴⁶⁵.

The *Avant-cour* was separated by a low wall from the *cour d'honneur*, with the gate including two sculptures showing Hercules in the fight, made by Jan Chryzostom Redler⁴⁶⁶. The limits of the honour courtyard were: the main body

⁴⁶⁰ Adam J. Miłobędzki (*Tradycja średniowieczna w polskiej rezydencji nowożytnej*, „Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki” 24 (1979), 4, p. 343), indicates that “the tall gate tower became a feature of the Baroque layout, showing it was the entrance to the grand courtyard”. In the middle 18th century this solution was unnecessary from the practical point of view and contrary to the contemporary ideal of spatial composition.

⁴⁶¹ Jędrzej Kitowicz recorded that “in front of the Grand Hetman’s palace, the first guard was kept by the janissary company, the second by the Hayduk one, and the third, by mounted infantry guard”. J. Kitowicz, op. cit., p. 208.

⁴⁶² From Jan Klemens Branicki’s testament, we can see what importance he attached to clocks: “Because people of any state, both clerical and secular, want to control, decide and measure their church services, needs, works and games with reference to time, for common convenience I ordered to make and display on palace and church towers in Białystok, as well as in Choroszcz and Tykocin, my hereditary towns, great clocks with magnificent faces on four sides, showing and striking quarters and the hours, so I decide and confirm this so that it continues in the future”. J. Nieciecki, *Testament Jana Klemensa Branickiego*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów miasta Białegostoku*, vol. V, p. 21.

⁴⁶³ The bells had a date engraved: 1727. Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa (Warszawa), Teki Glinki, 95, p. 50.

⁴⁶⁴ AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, 122, file card 2. Tradition holds that Jan Klemens Branicki erected the Gryphon Gate in accordance with the original design of August II Mocny. Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa (Warszawa), Teki Glinki, 95, p. 11.

⁴⁶⁵ The sculptures were allegories of seasons and complemented the message of the gate, where Branicki’s cartouche (a gryphon with the “JB” monogram) was placed under the clock. This represented the triumph of Branicki family (Gryf coat of arms) over time and the passing of life. E. Bończak-Kucharczyk, J. Maroszek, „Pawilon Pod Orłem” w Parku Branickich w Białymstoku, „Białostocka” 7 (1992), 4, p. 1. Cf.: A. Oleńska, op. cit., pp. 129, 228–229, who thinks that the sculptures could have represented Hercules, Mars and Mercury, “just like on the gate described in 1755”.

⁴⁶⁶ J. Nieciecki, *Avant-cour białostockiej rezydencji*, [in:] *Rola oświaty i szkolnictwa w procesie kształtowania się świadomości narodowej na pograniczu polsko-litewsko-białoruskim*, ed. W. Śleszyński, Białystok 2007, pp. 381–384; A. Oleńska, *Wątki heroiczne w programie dekoracji białostockiej rezydencji Jana Klemensa Branickiego*, [in:] *Dwory magnackie*



44. Entrance gate leading to the palace courtyard – at present.

of the palace, the guest house with a stable on the north and the kitchen house with a coach house on the east. The entrance courtyard was separated from the honour one with a low wall and surrounded on three sides with a fence made of wooden spans installed between brick, plastered pillars. Two large lawns with fountains in pools were on that courtyard⁴⁶⁷.

The conversion of the body and the construction of outhouses was not all. Jan Klemens Branicki planned the construction and funded investments of both functional (kitchen and garden) buildings and places serving recreation and entertainment purposes in the whole enormous garden layout. Garden sections were allocated for vegetable cultivation, for brewery and for servants' lodgings⁴⁶⁸. In the town, the first school of engineering and architecture in the Commonwealth was established by the Grand Hetman of the Crown in 1741⁴⁶⁹. At the shore of the large pond, on the south-eastern side, a military exercise field was created with a sculpture of Mars in the centre. But the real pride of Białystok owners was the hothouse and orangery⁴⁷⁰. The inventory of 1772 mentions 38 laurels, partly growing in huge plant pots, as well as 277 orange and citrus trees⁴⁷¹. The fruitage of those trees was used at the manor, and some of it was also sold in Białystok, Grodno or Warsaw⁴⁷². The orangery also held 50 pineapple seedlings, 12 ginger vases, 70 rosemary bushes, as well as trees: date (7), pomegranate (7), box (10), yew (4), cypress (8), myrtle (2), mulberry (3), peach (20), apricot (21), and fig trees (60). Other plants included among others:

w XVIII wieku. *Rola i znaczenie kulturowe*, eds T. Kostkiewiczowa, A. Ročko, Warszawa 2005, pp. 252–253; J. Kowalczyk, *Nurt klasycyzny w polskiej sztuce późnobarokowej*, [in:] *Klasycyzm i klasycyzmy. Materiały Sesji Stowarzyszenia Historyków Sztuki*, Warszawa 1994, p. 110. In 1790 it was decided that "the Herculeuses in front of the palace should be oil painted for better preservation". AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Majątkowo-prawne, ref. no. 375.

⁴⁶⁷ D. Sikora, *Ogród Branickich w Białymstoku i jego rewaloryzacja*, „Ochrona Zabytków” 2006, no. 1, pp. 80–82. A more detailed description was made in 1778 by Johann Bernoulli, who wrote: "In the courtyard, apart from an oval lawn with an arch of little flowers finished with a triumphal gate, there is an obelisk with a gryphon (Branicki's coat of arms) standing on a sphere". J. Bernoulli, op. cit., p. 344.

⁴⁶⁸ E. Bończak-Kucharczyk, J. Maroszek, K. Kucharczyk, op. cit., pp. 29–32.

⁴⁶⁹ Z. Koszyła, *Wojskowa szkoła budownictwa i inżynierii w Białymstoku*, „Wojsko Ludowe” 1960, no. 3, pp. 45–52.

⁴⁷⁰ The Białystok orangeries were counted among the biggest winter gardens in the Commonwealth, next to the royal one in Warsaw and the one in Nieśwież, belonging to Radziwiłł family. See T. Bernatowicz, op. cit., pp. 22–23, 61–62.

⁴⁷¹ They were mostly purchased in Hamburg from Jan and Kacper Bockman. Z. Dunin-Kozicki, op. cit., p. 79; A. Oleńska, *Jan Klemens Branicki*, p. 246.

⁴⁷² Citrus fruit were used at the manor or for sale in Białystok, Grodno or Warsaw. Letter from W. Matuszewicz to I. Branicka, Białystok 27 XII 1779, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Korespondencja, LXV/1, file card 155v.



45. Hercules fighting the hydra and dragon, located in the courtyard in front of the palace – the present state and a drawing of the 2nd half of the 18th century
[*Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku*, vol. I, part 2, pp. 200–201].

cloves (200), jasmine plants (10), passion flowers (4), roses (30), violets (24), primroses and forget-me-nots (60)⁴⁷³.

The theatre built in the years 1762–1763 was an extremely important building⁴⁷⁴. The works were so described by Jan Sękowski in a letter to Jan Klemens Branicki. *In the theatre, both on the stage and on the ground floor and balconies, the flooring is ready. The lower balcony is finished. The stairs to that balcony are being installed at the moment, the windows and doors will be ready before the holidays so it will be possible to close them*⁴⁷⁵. It was a multi-storey structure made of timber frame with brick infill, with a brick front on the garden side. The Gryf (gryphon) and Ciołek (taurus) coats of arms and a crown above them were painted on that elegant wall⁴⁷⁶. The building was topped with three sculptures of sitting human figures. So as to strengthen the structure, brick buttresses were built next to the walls made of timber frame with brick infill, topped with wooden vases painted white. The roof was tiled and had one chimney⁴⁷⁷. The entrance was from a marble hallway, leading downstairs, to a room with bench seats on the ground floor and numerous boxes on the first and second floor. The impressive theatre room could hold up to 400 people. The curtain painted with oil paint by Sylwester Augustyn Mirys, which the author decorated with mythological scenes, was extremely beautiful. The scenes included: *different gods, heroes, muses, nymphs, satyrs and other mythological characters, which – thanks to the perfect proportions kept at different distances – together make an extraordinary image and each of them separately might be an equally beautiful picture*⁴⁷⁸. The theatre existed until the death of the Hetman (1771), and was later restored for a short time in 1808. In the 1840s, the theatre was demolished⁴⁷⁹.

⁴⁷³ AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, 122, file cards 65–66.

⁴⁷⁴ D. Laszuk, *Teatr hetmana Branickiego w Białymstoku*, [in:] *Z badań Katedry Historii Architektury*, v. 3, Białystok 2001.

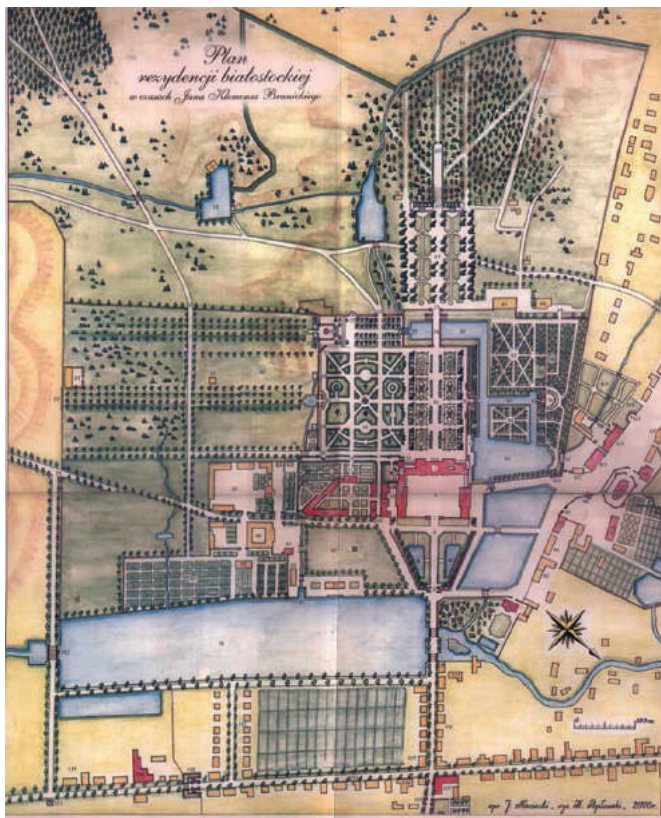
⁴⁷⁵ Instytut Dziedzictwa Narodowego (Warszawa), Teki Glinki, 357, p. 8.

⁴⁷⁶ Gryf (gryphon) was the coat of arms of Jan Klemens Branicki, and Ciołek (taurus), of Izabela Branicka, née Poniatowska. The crown highlights the royal status of the family, as Izabela Branicka was a sister of Stanisław August Poniatowski. *Do Jaśnie Oświeconey Jeymosci Pani Elzbiety z Xiążąt Poniatowskich (...) oda*, [in:] *Zabawy przyjemne i pożyteczne*, vol. V, v. 1, Warszawa 1772, pp. 200–201: "After the Father, you have the first seat in the Senate, your beloved Brother is the Lord and Monarch. Through you Mother, royal blood flows in you, and thanks to your Husband, you entered double honours, connected with both the sword and gown".

⁴⁷⁷ Eugeniusz Skrodzki remembers that the roof of the palace was covered "with shining silver Gdańsk tiles". The sources do not inform whether the buildings standing within the park were tiled the same way. E. Skrodzki, *Partia wolanta z dyplomataq*, „Tygodnik Ilustrowany” 11 (1881), 263, p. 30.

⁴⁷⁸ W. Bogusławski, *Dzieje Teatru Narodowego na trzy części podzielone*, Warszawa 1965, p. 201.

⁴⁷⁹ S. Dąbrowski, *Teatr hetmański w Białymstoku w XVIII w.*, Białystok 1938, pp. 12 ff.

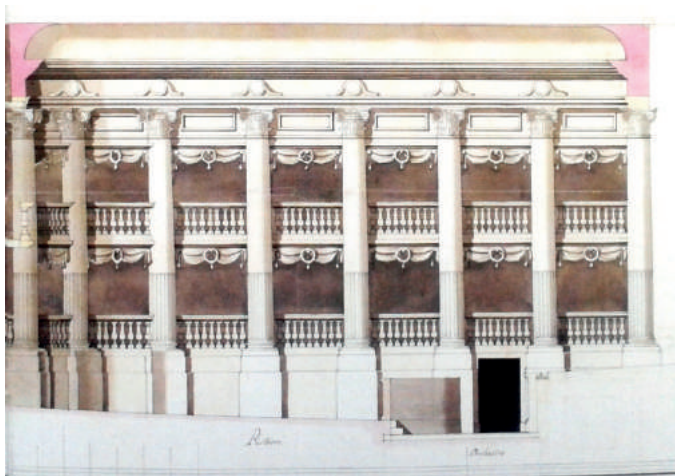


46. Layout of the palace and garden residence of Jan Klemens Branicki designed by Jan Nieciecki and performed by Henryk Popławski [J. Nieciecki, *Plan rezydencji białostockiej w czasach Jana Klemensa Branickiego*, „Biuletyn Konserwatorski Województwa Podlaskiego” 7 (2001), p. 48, and insert. See <http://www.wrotapodlasia.pl/pl/region/historia/rezydencja.htm> and <https://pl-pl.facebook.com/Wschodzacy.Bialystok/posts/491680020901665>].

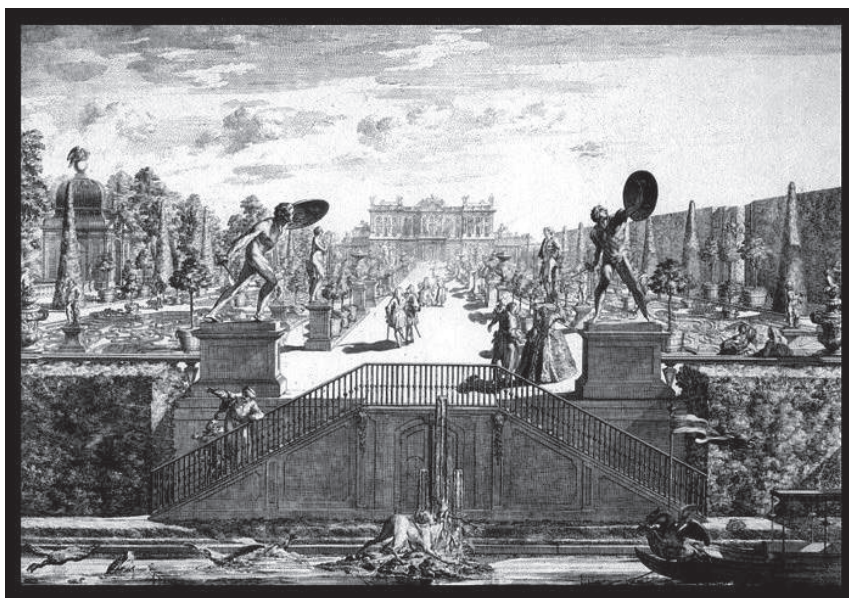
The works in the garden began at the turn of the 1730s. Then the design of the upper garden was created, modelled on the output of a French architect, André Le Nôtre⁴⁸⁰. Eight embroidered box parterres were created on a previously formed platform. The main alley between them led to a harbour with an arcade bridge with two gladiator figures⁴⁸¹. In 1737, bosquets and tree lines began to be formed, both in the upper and lower garden. Linden, hornbeam,

⁴⁸⁰ More in: P. Wątroba, op. cit., pp. 265–279; J. Putkowska, *Wpływ sztuki Andre Le Notre’a na kształtowanie otoczenia rezydencji w Polsce w końcu XVII i 1. połowie XVIII wieku*, [in:] „Biuletyn Historii Sztuki” 63 (2001), 1–4, pp. 243–264.

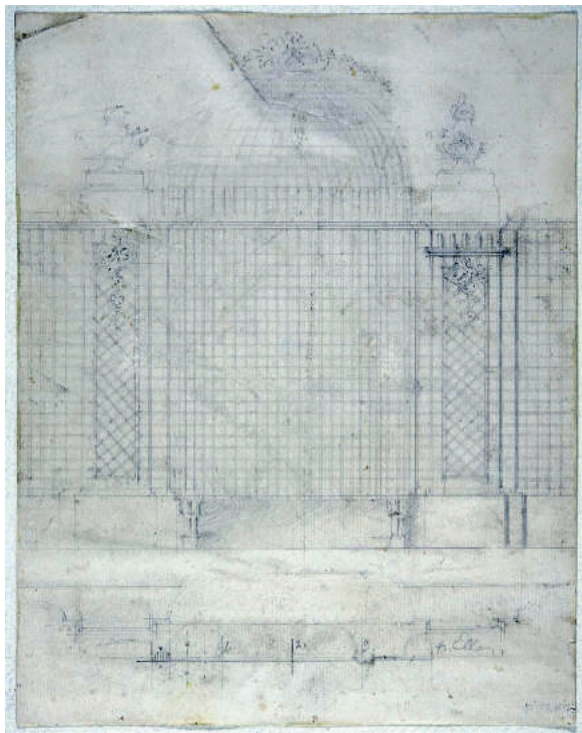
⁴⁸¹ E. Bończak-Kucharczyk, J. Maroszek, K. Kucharczyk, *Katalog parków i ogrodów*, p. 28.



47. Theatre room in Białystok, around 1784 [I. Szymańska, A. Średzińska, op. cit., pp. 82–83].



48. Garden cabinet – view from the canals, drawing by Jan Klemm, relief by Michael Heinrich Rentz, approx. 1750.



49. Trellis in the Białystok palace gardens with a fragment of fence [*Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku*, vol. I, part 2, pp. 222–223].

chestnut, birch and alder trees were planted there, most of which came from the Knyszyn Forest⁴⁸².

The “Italian garden” established then was located directly behind the palace; on the axis there were eight stone sculptures and vases, both painted white. Another 16 sculptures were distributed in the other parts of that garden section. Additional decoration was provided by four fountains, in the middle of which there were *four figures on pedestals, each holding an iron fountain pipe*⁴⁸³.

Some garden pavilions were probably created in the 1730 – the Tuscany Pavilion by the canal, the Italian Cabinet, and the Chinese Garden House⁴⁸⁴. The other pavilions were made in the 1750s. The Pavilion of the Eagle was constructed in the years 1752–1756 at the border of the upper and lower garden,

⁴⁸² J. Nieciecki, *Białostockie założenie przestrzenne*, p. 27.

⁴⁸³ AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, 122, file cards 60. Jan Klemens Branicki received a sketch of the fountain “ex opposito the Italian cabinet” in 1752 from the architect Klemm. Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa (Warszawa), Teki Glinki, 339, p. 2.

⁴⁸⁴ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa (Warszawa), Teki Glinki, 339, p. 3.

where a cascade was created by the canal and two rose berceaux along the wall of the upper garden⁴⁸⁵. In 1755, on the axis of the Italian Pavilion and the Pavilion of the Eagle, in the lower garden, a pavilion was built of timber frame with brick infill and decorated with frescos by Antoni Herliczka⁴⁸⁶. A bit earlier, in 1752, a three-arcade bridge was constructed on the principal axis of the garden, and on both sides of the entrance to the bridge from the palace, two sandstone sphinxes by Jan Chryzostom Redler were placed⁴⁸⁷. The garden was also decorated with sculptures: Jan Nieciecki, referring to the inventory of 1772, wrote that in the gardens there had been 122 sculptures, statues and vases⁴⁸⁸. Out of the 74 stone figure sculptures, only seven have survived. Most of them had their prototypes in sculptures present in the gardens of Versailles. These are the figures of: Flora, Diana, nymphs attending Diana, two sphinxes with puttos and a herma with the head of a Satyr. The upper garden was surrounded with a stone balustrade, and in the garden there were mythological figures sculpted by Redler and some vases. Few of them have been preserved until now⁴⁸⁹.

Fountains were very important for Jan Klemens Branicki. They were designed for the garden by Jan Chryzostom Redler in 1750 and produced by Cracow stoneworkers. In the meantime, pool elements were transported to Białystok and in 1752 four of them were installed⁴⁹⁰. The final effect was not satisfactory, as the pressure in wooden pipes was too low, so in 1755 they decided to build a *Paris machine* beyond the garden. The works were supervised by Pierre Ricaud de Tirregille⁴⁹¹.

Fountains were installed in the Białystok *avant-cour* at least twice. The first time was in the 1730s, and the second one in 1758. However, they are already absent from an inventory of 1772⁴⁹². Despite continuous problems with the fountains' work and repairing them every year by a fountain technician, until the end of the discussed period they were one of the key attractions for visitors⁴⁹³.

⁴⁸⁵ E. Bończak-Kucharczyk, J. Maroszek, op. cit., pp. 1–3.

⁴⁸⁶ J. Nieciecki, *Kalendarium prac Antoniego Herliczki*, „Białostoczczyzna” 5 (1991), 2, p. 11; idem, *Kim był Antoni Herliczka?*, „Białostoczczyzna” 5 (1991), 3, pp. 12–16.

⁴⁸⁷ AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Letters, X/18, file cards 500–507 (6 I 1752), 520–526 (27 I 1752); H. Dmowska-Grabiasowa, op. cit., pp. 87–88.

⁴⁸⁸ J. Nieciecki, „*Polski Wersal*”, p. 308.

⁴⁸⁹ A. Oleńska, *Analiza kompozycji i dekoracji ogrodu przy pałacu Jana Klemensa Branickiego w Białymstoku*, [in:] *Ogród Branickich w Białymstoku. Badania – projekty – realizacja 1998. Studia i materiały*, *Ogrody* 4 (10), pp. 37–43.

⁴⁹⁰ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa (Warszawa), Teki Glinki, 320, p. 27; E. Kowecka, op. cit., p. 154; D. Sikora, op. cit., pp. 79–80.

⁴⁹¹ E. Kowecka, op. cit., pp. 156 ff.

⁴⁹² J. Nieciecki, *Avant-cour białostockiej rezydencji*, pp. 381–384.

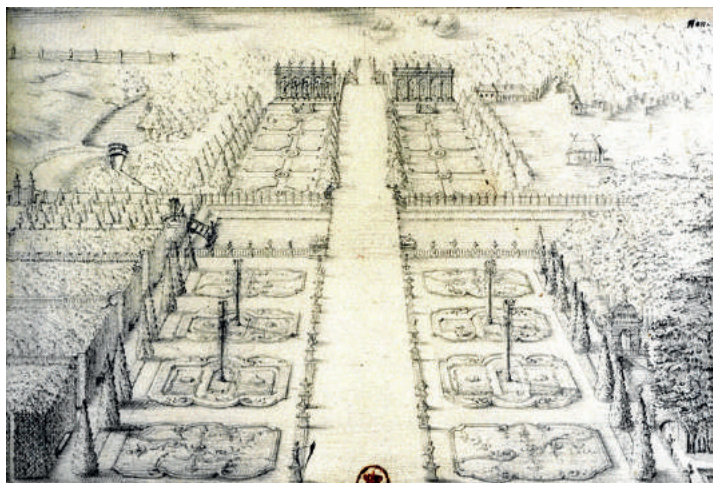
⁴⁹³ J. U. Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki czasów moich. Dzieło pośmiertne*, Lipsk 1868, p. 51.



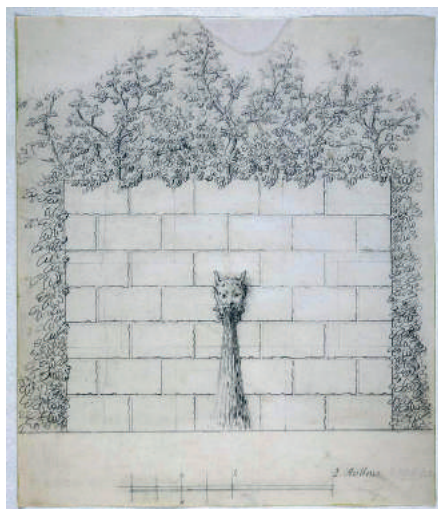
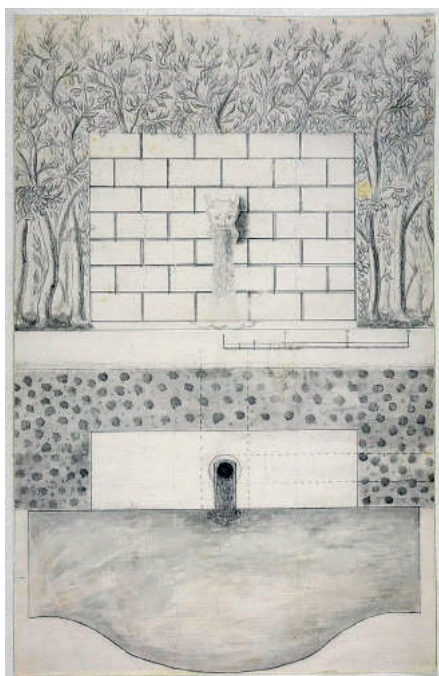
50. Sculpture of Sphinx by J. Ch. Redler of 1752 – photographed in 1941 by Sager [T. Szyburska, *Białystok. Zespół pałacowy d. Branickich. Dokumentacja historyczno-architektoniczna*, Warszawa 1972 (typescript), photo 176].



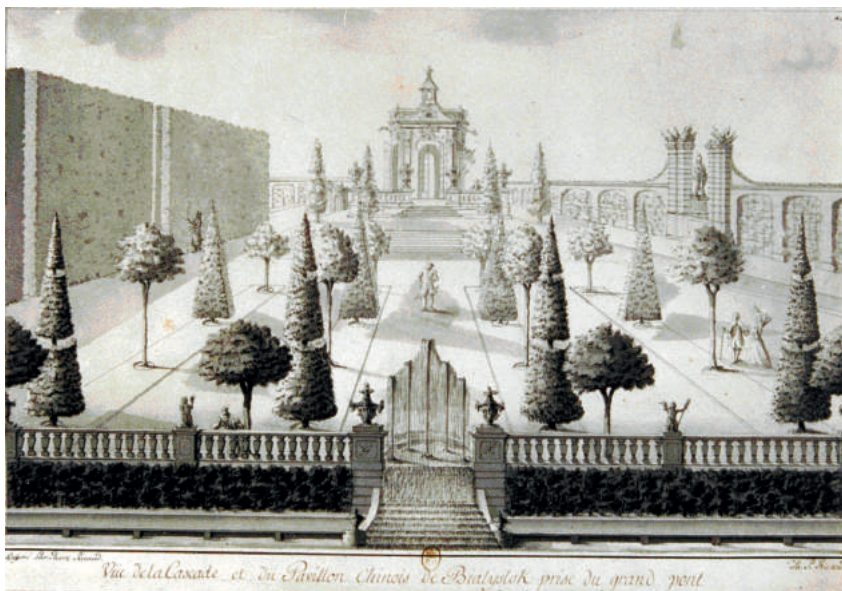
51. Fountains in the Białystok park in 1751 – etcher by M.H. Rentz [*Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku*, vol. I, part 2, pp. 212–215].



52. Pierre Ricaud de Tirregaille, Garden cabinet – view from the upper floor of the palace, mid 18th century.



53. Plan and elevation of the fountain in the Branicki Palace in Białystok. Rusticated cuboid fountain with a mask of a satyr by the fountain jet [*Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku*, vol. I, part 2, pp. 224–227].



54. Pierre Ricaud de Tirregaille, *Vue de la Cascade et du Pavillon Chinois de Białystok prise du grand pont*, (view of the cascade and Chinese pavilion in the garden of Branicki Palace in Białystok).

On the left of the main axis of the upper garden, tree lines were formed, divided into nine quarters upon the plan of a square, interwoven with view corridors and axes. Between the tree lines, two axes were created in the form of diagonal alleys (one of them was the view corridor from Izabela Branicka's suite to the screen) and alleys crossing at the right angle. In the middle of the lines, there was a cabinet with a fountain. Smaller cabinets were located in other places, two of them on the plan of a square with little ponds.

The perspective of the middle axis, on which the Canal Pavilion, Pavilion of the Eagle and the Italian Pavilion were also erected, was closed by a brick wall with a fresco titled *End of the world*. It was the longest perspective in the Białystok garden.

In the lower garden, separated with a retaining wall and a canal, walking alleys and view corridors were established, and the entire garden was embraced with tree lines. All the paths met in the main round cabinet. The garden lying on the main axis of the layout, behind the bridge, was composed of lawn parterres distributed symmetrically to the main alley, along which there were trees cut in a conical shape⁴⁹⁴. Thanks to these efforts, the palace of Jan Klemens

⁴⁹⁴ D. Sikora, op. cit., p. 74.

Branicki together with the outbuildings, service buildings and the garden, constituted a coherent composition. The axis of symmetry ran through two courtyards, across the palace, ending at the main garden alley. The opinion of Hipolit Kownacki is worth noting. He observed: *all the buildings, outhouses and the whole layout of the lord's residence have such proportions that all the parts perfectly match each other, showing that in the mind of the originator [Jan Klemens Branicki] there was a certain plan and goal at which everything aimed for fifty years*⁴⁹⁵.

⁴⁹⁵ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 419, pp. 26–27.

9. Description of palace interiors (as of 1772)

In this section we briefly describe the appearance of the object called by the contemporaries the “Versailles of the North”. We do not present all the rooms, only the most elegant ones⁴⁹⁶.

From the courtyard one entered the palace through a double door, and in the palace hallway (vestibule) soldiers were always on guard⁴⁹⁷. The floor was laid with black-and-white marble tiles, on the walls there were frescos, and the ceiling was painted white⁴⁹⁸. In the middle of the room, there were four black marble columns with gilded capitals, and pilasters on the walls. Two Atlant figures made of sandstone supported wide right-handed stairs hanging in the air, and a marble sculpture of Rotator was placed at the base⁴⁹⁹. Two closets were built into the alcoves, and two sedan chairs stood in the corner: one modelled on the oriental style, painted green, and an ordinary black one⁵⁰⁰. On the other side of the hall, there was a double door leading to the garden. A small room used by the soldiers on guard was adjacent to the vestibule.

⁴⁹⁶ The description is based on the source: *Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku*, vol. I, parts 1–2.

⁴⁹⁷ According to Jędrzej Kitowicz, the guards were posted “in the gallery in front of the rooms”, usually they were dragoons of the Hetman’s regiment. J. Kitowicz, op. cit., p. 208.

⁴⁹⁸ The Hetman ordered the flooring for the study from Jan Grykier and Franciszek Kszążecki, Cracow stoneworkers, in 1753. The order involved 320 pieces of slabs (160 white and black ones) made of “pure and beautiful marble”, “square by square a cubit of good measure in length and in width”. The Hetman was to pay 960 złoty for the tiles. In the face of problems with the execution of the order, in August 1754 Branicki accepted only 188 tiles, which would be laid in the hallway instead of the study. They were probably laid in 1756. E. Kowecka, op. cit., pp. 84–85. In order to maintain flooring clean, “four pairs of polishing brushes and six sweeping brushes were bought in Warsaw”. Letter from W. Matuszewicz do I. Branicka, Białystok 24 IV 1783, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Korespondencja, LXV/1, file card 472v.

⁴⁹⁹ A similar sculpture was also in Versailles. A. Oleńska, „*Sekretne treści*” pałacu w Białymstoku. *O Figurze Rotatora na klatce schodowej*, [in:] *Artyści włoscy w Polsce. XV–XVIII wiek*, Warszawa 2004, pp. 643–656.

⁵⁰⁰ The vestibule and the stairs were made in the years 1753–1755. The direct inspiration for Jan Klemens Branicki was the staircase he saw in the residence of Eustachy Potocki in Radzyń. Description of the structure: A. Oleńska, *Jan Klemens Branicki*, pp. 119–127; A. Bartczakowa, *Jakub Fontana, architekt warszawski XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1970, pp. 113–115.



55. Hall and staircase before and after WWII, and at present [M. Kacperczyk, op. cit., p. 111].

On the right of the entrance, on the ground floor, there were rooms of the *Grand Suite*. Since the 1760s, they were used by Izabela Branicka. The suite comprised a living room, a bedroom, a study, a dressing room and a toilet⁵⁰¹.

The suite was entered through the guest room, with oak slabs on the floor⁵⁰². On the ceiling, there was a vault with gypsum ornamentations painted white and green. The walls covered with wood panels had the same colours and were additionally decorated with many landscapes in gilded frames. In the room there was a mirror, next to which two gilded candlesticks were placed on the wall, as well as a gilded clock and a gypsum relief of August III topped with a laurel and a gilded crown. In the hall, there was a desk with three drawers, two sofas upholstered with red leather and six matching chairs. Above the two

⁵⁰¹ That Izabela occupied those rooms is proved by a letter from J. K. Branicki to Mr Bujakowski in 1767, when the Hetman ordered "that the suite of my wife over the canal be opened to dry". Previously, the Hetman's wife had to occupy other rooms with a view to the Chinese garden house. E. Kowecka, op. cit., p. 72.

⁵⁰² Considerable amounts of oak wood floor finish were ordered from Warsaw in 1739. Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa (Warszawa), Teki Glinki, 358, p. 2.



56. Medallion with a representation of August III Wettin (photo by Sager in 1941) [*Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku*, vol. I, part 2, pp. 256–257].

windows, two roller blinds of white canvas were mounted, used to cover the window panes⁵⁰³.

A white double door with gilding led to the grand room. The room was one of the most impressive in the palace. On the walls, there were white dados with gilded slats, covered with crimson damask. The ceiling was white and ornamented with gilded gypsum stuccowork. In the room, there was a mirror with gilded candlesticks on both sides and an exceptionally beautiful marble

⁵⁰³ In 1740, Lhuillier informed Branicki that blinds became fashionable in Vienna; probably in the 1740s the Hetman began to purchase and install them too. E. Kowecka, *op. cit.*, p. 109.



57. Two preserved 18th century fireplace tiles with Gryf and Ciołek coats of arms
[I. Szymańska, A. Średzińska, op. cit., p. 71].

fireplace with a cast iron tile decorated with a combined coat of arms including Gryf and Ciołek (referring to the families of Jan Klemens Branicki and Izabela B, née Poniatowska)⁵⁰⁴. Apart from the fireplace, there was a little stove made of white Saxon tiles, standing on gilded wooden legs⁵⁰⁵.

The furniture was unique and beautiful. There was a desk with a mirror and a marble top, eight drawers and four brass, gilded shells where maps were stored⁵⁰⁶. Next to the desk, a small folding table was standing with green upholstery and a game of draughts. Besides, 12 wicker stools were there. How-

⁵⁰⁴ Further in the description of the palace we do not include information on coat of arms decorations on fireplaces, since it was part of standard equipment. W. Sekunda, op. cit., pp. 304–311.

⁵⁰⁵ The manufacture of such stoves developed in the 1st half of the 18th century in Saxony. A stove like that consisted of a metal lower box and an upper section made of big tiles (or decorative ceramic elements). Those stoves were very decorative, thus becoming an extra decoration element of the room. The model for the Grand Suite was designed in 1747. M. Dąbrowska, *Kafle i piece kaflowe w Polsce do końca XVIII wieku*, Wrocław 1987, p. 56; A. Sztachelska, *Białystok w korespondencji*, p. 48.

⁵⁰⁶ Some of the maps and plans were lent to Kamera Wojny i Domen after 1795. On 10/05/1797, Franciszek Wilczewski applied to that office for a return of maps of Choroszcz,

ever, the dominant colour was crimson. Crimson damask upholstery was on the sofa, 11 chairs and four stools, two of which were equipped with mirrors. A harpsichord *with two keyboards* was also in the room. Minor items included porcelain from Vienna, a clock *on a metal elephant covered with bronze, and a metal gilded plinth underneath, and on top of the clock, a metal gilded monkey with a baldachin*. The conspicuous element was a portrait of Russian successor, Paul I Romanov. What is interesting, he considered Stanisław August Poniatowski (Izabela's brother) to be his natural father⁵⁰⁷. Double-wing windows with 10 crystal panes in each frame also contributed to the beauty of the room⁵⁰⁸. Crimson silk net curtains were hanging at the windows.

The next room in the suite was a bedroom with an alcove, behind a double white door with gilding. The flooring was made of oak wood, and the walls – white with gilded slats and crimson upholstery, where two mirrors were placed with two gilded candlesticks by each of them. The room was furnished with two little tables: the first one was folding, covered with crimson velvet with golden ornaments, and the other one had a marble top on a wooden plinth on which there was a green clock imported from Paris. The set of furniture comprising a sofa and nine chairs with crimson upholstery and golden ribbons, made of walnut wood, was extremely rich⁵⁰⁹. The room was also decorated with a fireplace with gilded elements, Chinese motifs, china vases and minor ornaments, and – just like in the grand room – a Saxon stove made of white gilded tiles. The windows and net curtains in the bedroom followed the style of the one before. The wall was decorated with a large portrait of Jan Klemens Branicki, placed there after his death at the request of the widow, Izabela Branicka⁵¹⁰.

Rogowo, Sobolewo, Wysoki Stok, and a plan of the Białystok palace. Archiwum Państwowe, Białystok (further: APB), Kamera Wojny i Domen, 192, file cards 1–1v.

⁵⁰⁷ Rumour had it that the baby of Catherine the Great was Aleksandra Branicka, née Engelhardt, after the birth substituted with a male baby: Paul I Romanov. H. Mościcki, *Branicka Aleksandra*, [in:] *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. II, Kraków 1936, pp. 393–396.

⁵⁰⁸ The crystal panes for Izabela Branicka's study were purchased and imported in the years 1753–1754. According to the contemporaries, the panes “provide great decoration and outshine other windows”. E. Kowecka, op. cit., p. 87.

⁵⁰⁹ Two sofas and twenty-four chairs of walnut wood were bought by Jan Klemens Branicki in Paris in 1753. After the manufacture, they were to be transported to Białystok in parts, except two chairs that served as a model for the assembly and upholstery. They only came to the palace in October 1758, and there the laborious process of their finishing (upholstery) began. For that purpose, twisted horsehair, 205 cubits of gold braid and 250 cubits of crimson damask were procured. E. Kowecka, op. cit., pp. 110–111.

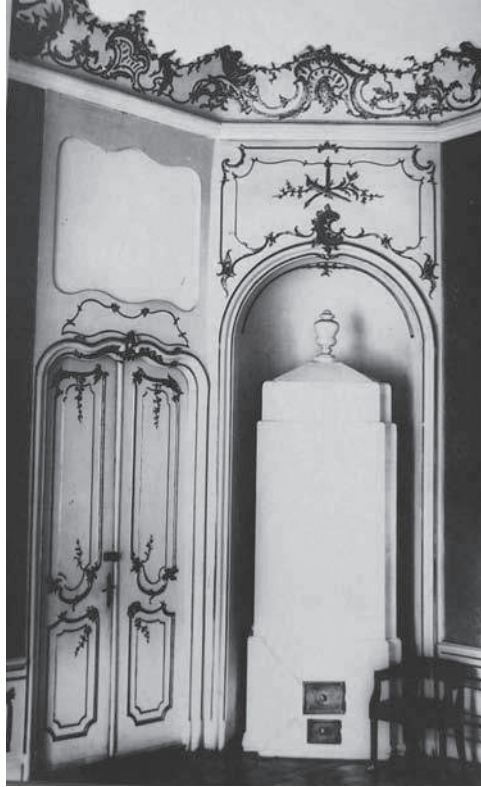
⁵¹⁰ This painting (“the second portrait of Branicki on canvas without a stretcher”) was among the movable property of the palace in Boćki of 1796. AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Akta majątkowo-rodzinne, 533, nonpaginated cards.



58. Bedroom with an alcove in Grand Suite [*Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku*, vol. I, part 2, pp. 238–239].

In the alcove, there was an extremely beautiful double bed with a curtain, covered with crimson damask with golden ribbons and ruffles, additionally decorated with ostrich feathers⁵¹¹. An ebony crucifix with a brass figure was hanging over the bed. In the wardrobe, a small Chinese table was kept, which could be placed next to the bed and used e.g. for eating meals in the bedroom.

⁵¹¹ The bed was ordered by Jan Klemens Branicki in May 1766. Its design followed the piece of furniture belonging to the Hetman's long-term mistress, the wife of Lithuanian Chamberlain, Katarzyna Mniszchowna. The works were to be done in Warsaw and supervised by Andrzej Mokronowski. The basic works were done by Samuel Contessa, who promised to carve the head board and the wooden elements decorating the baldachin within 3 months for 80 ducats. The metal worker who made the metal frame received 20 ducats. A carpenter also participated in the work, but we do not know his responsibilities. At the end of October, the piece of furniture was sent to Białystok, where an upholsterer began to finish it, using crimson damask imported from Paris by Józef Rousseau. E. Kowecka, op. cit., pp. 114–115.



59. Interior of Izabela Branicka's bedroom – photo by Jan Glinka of 1933 [T. Szyburska, *op. cit.*, photo 122].

In addition, there was enough space for a little marble table and china decorations, among others a black Chinese teapot with flowers. To kill the time, Izabela Branicka had a little loom in the alcove, which was a kind of frame on which she would spread canvas and embroider some pictures.

Next to the grand rooms, there was also a study to which one entered from the bedroom through a white, gilded door. There, the flooring was made of oak wood, and the walls, covered with wooden panels painted white and ornamented with gypsum stuccowork. On the walls there were paintings in decorative gilded frames (including portraits of representatives of Radziwiłł family from Nieśwież), a mirror in an identical frame and 24 porcelain decorations made in Holland⁵¹². After the death of her husband, Izabela Branicka hung

⁵¹² According to Elżbieta Kowecka (*op. cit.*, p. 127), these dishes came from a manufacture in Delft.

there a portrait of her brother (and political opponent of Jan Klemens Branicki) Stanisław August Poniatowski, as well as a painting titled *The Rape of Proserpina*⁵¹³. There were two tables in the study: a folded one and one covered with green cloth with wooden, gilded legs and a white marble top. An interesting piece of furniture was the desk with a folded table covered with black leather, having five brass, gilded legs, one of which could be moved to support the table. A set of a sofa and four chairs made of crimson damask, decorated with gold ribbon, was used for rest. The room was heated with a marble-covered fireplace, above which there was a mirror and two candlesticks mounted on the wall. The windows and net curtains were identical as in the other grand rooms.

The dressing room was finished with oak wood flooring, and the walls, with a wallpaper showing flowers and birds. A copper bath⁵¹⁴ and a special prayer chair covered with red leather were interesting elements. The rest of furnishing included three desks, three tables, and a wardrobe hidden in the wall with green silk net curtains⁵¹⁵.

A door from the wardrobe led to a toilet. In the toilet, there was one of the first water closets in the Commonwealth that could be flushed. In one of the two units, there was *a copper vase with a cover, from which a flushing pipe runs*⁵¹⁶. It was connected to *the stool covered with red leather where the necessary faience vessel is installed*⁵¹⁷. It seems, however, that this sanitary device did not always work, because apart from it, an ordinary porcelain chamberpot was also available.

From the suites, one could go out to the garden through the hallway.

The other group of rooms was arranged around the dining room. One could go there through the guest hall, also leading to the *Grand Suite*. From there, a white double door led to a study. The colours of the room were a combina-

⁵¹³ We only know of three pictures presenting mythological scenes in the palace. They were: a huge painting "The Abduction of Europa", "The Rape of Proserpina", and "The Picture of Proserpina". J. Nieciecki, *Opowieści o „Polskim Wersalu”. O tym jak ogród przenikał do palacu*, „Biuletyn Konserwatorski Województwa Podlaskiego” 5 (1999), p. 152.

⁵¹⁴ It is the only device in the palace where one could bathe. According to the presented inventory, in the bathroom there was already no bath. A small bath was also recorded for the Choroszcz palace. AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, 122, file card 233.

⁵¹⁵ The dressing room was enlarged and converted in 1760 by Jan Sękowski. Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 357, p. 3.

⁵¹⁶ The flushing lavatory was installed in 1753 following the guidelines of an English officer serving in Zamość, who explained how such devices were made in Great Britain. E. Kowecka, op. cit., p. 129. See R. S. Neale, *Bath 1680–1850: a social history, or, a valley of pleasure, yet a sink of Iniquity*, London 1991, passim.

⁵¹⁷ AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, 122, file card 7v.

tion of celadon green and white on the walls⁵¹⁸ and ceiling with brown wooden flooring. The furniture (a sofa, seven stools and a table for Faro game) – was covered with green material. On the walls there were landscapes, and over the fireplace, a canvas painting of Adonis. The study was furnished with a fireplace and a stove made of Gdańsk tiles.

The dominant colour of the dining room was green, and most of decorations followed the Chinese style. On the floor, there were decorative friezes made of pine wood⁵¹⁹. On the walls, there were 24 tapestries showing Chinese figures and trees⁵²⁰ and three mirrors with lavishly decorated frames. In addition, three landscapes were hanging over the door. The ceiling was white, decorated with gypsum stuccowork and six frescos⁵²¹. The main furniture was, obviously, tables. Actually, three tables. They were made up of a few elements (8 – 7 – 5 respectively), connected with three hinges, and had legs fixed from the bottom. A collection of 19 stools covered with green material matched the tables. They were painted nut-brown and laid with green cloth. The tables were lit with 15 gilded, brass candlesticks and two chandeliers with six candles each, as well as three windows covered with three white canvas net curtains. The fireplace was made of stone, painted grey, and above it, a mirror with ornamented and gilded frame was mounted⁵²². Next to the dining room, there were two rooms the sources call *kredens* (a scullery)⁵²³. Silverware, goblets and china sets were stored there⁵²⁴.

⁵¹⁸ The walls were covered with wooden panels. In 1743, resin patches appeared on it. Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa (Warszawa), Teki Glinki, 342, p. 33.

⁵¹⁹ Z. Dunin-Kozicki, op. cit., p. 77.

⁵²⁰ In the Białystok treasury, 69 cards were kept presenting “Chinese trees and human figures, which were cut and glued to upholstery”. AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, 122, file card 553v.

⁵²¹ The painted decorations in the dining room were made by Antoni Herliczka in March and April 1754. J. Nieciecki, *Kalendarium*, p. 11.

⁵²² In 1755, Jan Klemens Branicki ordered Sękowski to “lower the fireplace by half of the height of the base in the palace dining room, and lower the mirror, so that it be just above the fireplace”. E. Kowecka, op. cit., p. 94.

⁵²³ Breakfasts were made and the table was laid by an official referred to as *kredencarz* (scullery servant). He took care of the room, with the assistance of three scullery maids. In 1754, Mr Sławecki was the scullery servant, with the annual remuneration of 126 złoty and 20 groszy. E. Kowecka, op. cit., p. 51.

⁵²⁴ As emphasized by A. J. Kasprzak, *O szkle na pańskim stole. Przyczynek do rozwoju szklanej zastawy stołowej w czasach saskich*, [in:] *Zastawy stołowe XVI–XX w. Materiały z sesji towarzyszącej wystawie „Splendor stołu” w Muzeum Sztuki Złotniczej Kazimierz Dolny 26–27 października 2006*, p. 9 [online: <http://www.mnkd.pl/files/userfiles/files/Zastawy.pdf>, accessed 9/09/2012], this is a rare case of glass being prominently displayed on purpose. The oldest attempt of this kind was made by Anna Radziwiłówna in the palace in Biała, where glassware was placed in special cabinets in window alcoves.



60. Fragments of stuccowork occurring in the Palace in Białystok [*Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku*, vol. I, part 2, pp. 242–245, 252–253].

From the dining room, a passageway led to the hall, and then further to other rooms or to the garden. The complex called Łazienki, comprised three separate flats: a bedroom, a dressing room and a living room. The rooms received the name in 1737, when Branicki transformed the following the design of Jan H. Klemm. A bath with running water was then installed, and the walls were covered with tiles. However, the installation did not stand the test of time, and the bath rooms were converted into guest rooms⁵²⁵.

In the first suite, the flooring was made of oak wood, and on the walls, there were dados and damask covering. The walls in the room were decorated with a clock *having a lead gilded medal* and a mirror. The furniture included a desk with three drawers and a marble top, a sofa made of reed or wicker with a green, damask mattress, and six matching chairs. It was heated by a fireplace made of marble, above which there were three mirrors and a stove made of Saxon tiles, supported upon stone legs. The central place in the bedroom was occupied by a bed finished with green damask and six matching wicker chairs. On the wall, two mirrors in rich, gilded frames were hanging, and below them, there were marble tables. The heating system was identical to that in the day room. In the wardrobe, in turn, the walls were covered with white tapestries with blue stripes and flowery patterns⁵²⁶. In the room, there was a table and a bed covered with green oilcloth.

In the other suite, the flooring was also made of oak wood, but the walls were covered with yellow and blue checked tapestry with flowers, and in the upper part, paintings were hanging⁵²⁷. Through a completely glazed door, covered with a white ruffle, one could go from the room to the garden. In the bedroom, there was a Saxon bed covered with crimson, silk feather quilt, and four matching stools, as well as two small tables. On the walls, there were six paintings (watercolours) behind glass panes, showing different birds, and one landscape. All of them had black frames. The fireplace was made of stone, painted grey, and above it, there was a mirror and a large painting. The wardrobe was furnished identically to the first bath suite⁵²⁸.

⁵²⁵ E. Kowicka, op. cit., pp. 72–73. Works at those rooms continued in 1752 and 1753. Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa (Warszawa), Teki Glinki, 358, file cards 22–23, 24–25.

⁵²⁶ At least some of the wallpapers in the palace might have been printed in Białystok. We can still read a complaint of 14/09/1749 made by Karolina Jabłonowska, née Radziwiłł, against a German printer who had taken money for the ordered tapestry but failed to do the task in time and did not want to return the deposit. Z. Romaniuk, *Drukarnstwo w Białymstoku do 1915 r.*, „Białostoczczyzna” 14 (1999), 4, pp. 41–42.

⁵²⁷ In April 1791, a Dutch ambassador travelling from Warsaw to Petersburg was staying in the bath suite. I. Szymańska, A. Średzińska, op. cit., p. 43.

⁵²⁸ In 1777, a fire broke out in this room, but luckily it was extinguished in time. Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa (Warszawa), Teki Glinki, 370, p. 8.



61. Fireplace with a mirror and stuccowork – photo by Jan Glinka in 1933 [*Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku*, vol. I: , part 2, pp. 248–249].

The floor in the third room of the *bath suite* was covered with oak wood flooring, and on the walls there were dados of green damask. The furnishings of the room and bedroom was nearly identical to that in the first suite. The dressing room, in turn, was covered with golden-striped wallpaper. There was a table and a bed there, and it was heated with a fireplace.

In that section of the palace were also maids' rooms, used by Izabela Branicka's maidservants. One could reach the complex via the corridor leading through the wardrobe from the Grand suite, which made the exit to the garden possible, and there wooden stairs led to a small hall on the entresol. Two flats were arranged there, made up of a living room and another little room (a study

or a dressing room). The first of them was directly above the dressing room of the Grand Suite. It had pine wood floor, on the walls there was tapestry with a yellow background and green flowers, and the ceiling was painted white. The furnishing included a mirror, a table with three drawers and a tiled stove. The other flat was located above the scullery by the dining room. It was furnished the same way, except for the tapestry which had blue background and green flowers.

In the main body of the palace, on the right of the ground floor, there was Jan Klemens Branicki's suite. One entered it from the vestibule through a hall, which in itself promised the grandiose furnishing of the whole suite. The floor in it was covered with waxed oak woodblocks. The walls were covered with green flowery material and had slats painted white and gilded. The ceiling was decorated with paintings on the plaster. In the hall, there were two windows covered with white net curtains; on the walls were hanging: a mirror and numerous pictures (in 1772, 17 of them) related to hunting⁵²⁹ – hunting scenes, wild animals, dogs and horses⁵³⁰. But the central element was the head of Stefan Czarniecki made of white marble⁵³¹. We must add that Jan Klemens Branicki – a great grandson of Grand Hetman of the Crown Czarniecki – highlighted the figure of the great commander⁵³². The furniture included a large sofa, 11 stools and a coffee table, all upholstered with green material. A Gdańsk stove made of white tiles, decorated with gilded vases, was used to heat the room. After the death of Jan Klemens Branicki, Izabela converted this room into an archive⁵³³.

The entrance to the bedroom was through a double door, painted white and having gilded slats, hinges and lock. A landscape was placed over the door. In

⁵²⁹ These are probably the pictures that were painted in 1755 by Antoni Herliczka. Letter from D. Pruszyński to J. K. Branicki, Białystok 27 II 1755, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Korespondencja, XVII/16: "The three paintings for the most honourable lord, that is, horses, will be finished in the middle of the Lent".

⁵³⁰ The paintings were associated with the hunting passion of Jan Klemens Branicki. The Hetman, for example, had his dogs portrayed. As mentioned in the diary account of F. Biłgorajski (*Pamiętnik szlachcica podlaskiego*, „Czas” 1876, no. 279, p. 1), once the gamekeeper brought to the manor a wolf shot to death. At this sight, the mastiff died of fear. "When [Branicki] sat down, they showed [him] the wolf and told them what had happened to the dog, expecting punishment and scolding. But he ordered to give a talar to the forester, and he told the one who had had the idea to put the wolf in front of the mastiff, to go and throw away the portrait of the dog from his room, allowing him to keep it, as he did not want to have a coward like that in his house, dying of fear because he had not seen a wolf before".

⁵³¹ Description of a marble medallion with a portrait of Stefan Czarniecki, with information on its location above the fireplace: Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa (Warszawa), Teki Glinki, 96, p. 18.

⁵³² A. Oleńska, *Wątki heroiczne*, pp. 245–262.

⁵³³ I. Szymańska, A. Średzińska, op. cit., pp. 43–44.

the bedroom, the flooring was made of oak wood blocks, and the ceiling was painted white and ornamented with gilded stuccowork. The walls were decorated with green damask, and all the ornaments in the room were gilded. The room was lit with one window with a green silk net curtain. Most of the furniture (a sofa a seven chairs) was covered with green damask. As for a chair on three brass wheels, bought in Paris, it was covered with crimson material with big green flowers.

Additionally, there were two desks with marble sculptures (a man with a goat and a standing man) standing on top, as well as a small table. Items of sentimental value were kept by the Hetman in a cupboard with three doors. In the cupboard, there were, among other things, a Chinese teapot, three stone ground cups, a Turkish knife with silver elements, a telescope with a golden handle⁵³⁴, a stick with a brass knob, a Turkish pipe and a Turkish box covered with red leather⁵³⁵. It also contained a reference library with 53 books, all of which except one were in French⁵³⁶.

For administrative works, Branicki used a six-legged table with brass ornaments, whose top was covered with black leather. It included four lockable drawers where writing materials were kept. On the top, there were silver items: two inkwells with a tray, a bell, a sand case, and a box with a sponge (used to dry the ink on the paper)⁵³⁷, as well as iron scissors and two paperweights.

⁵³⁴ This item came from the palace in Choroszcz. AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Akta majątkowo-prawne, 763, p. 57.

⁵³⁵ These items indicate the Hetman's interest in the culture of the Orient. In 1775, a multi-coloured Persian tapestry was also recorded among the things in the room. J. Reychman, *Orient w kulturze polskiego oświecenia*, Wrocław 1964, p. 129.

⁵³⁶ The inventory does not provide any information on the room used as a library. However, the inventory of 1772 includes "Biblioteczka", where books, maps, drawings, atlases and globes were stored. Probably these were movables transported from one palace to the other. The inventory of the libraries finishes with the information that "among the above-mentioned books in the library there are fifty-one books (sic!) included in the description of rooms belonging to the deceased Enlightened Lord". AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, 122, file card 592. The first library catalogue was made in 1762, and eighteen years later Wojciech Matuszewicz made an updated one. A. Sztachelska, *Białystok w korespondencji*, p. 50; T. Dziubecki, *Programy symboliczne i funkcje ceremonialne rezydencji magnackich. Puławy – Białystok – Radzyń Podlaski – Lubartów w latach 1730–1760*, Warszawa 2010, pp. 208–209. More information can be found in a letter from W. Matuszewicz to I. Branicka, Białystok 26 XI 1780, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Letters, LXV/1, file card 327: "There are no bookworms among the books in the closets downstairs, but upstairs, where there are books belonging to the deceased Enlightened Lord, including those three with birds which I sent back to Warsaw, some bookworms must have been before, because the covers of some books are a little damaged, but now there are no bookworms either".

⁵³⁷ This set went to the starost of Brańsk, Maciej Starzeński. J. Nieciecki, *Testament*, p. 23.

On the walls, there were two mirrors, a gilded Parisian clock striking hours and a portrait of Izabela Branicka⁵³⁸. The room was decorated with porcelain figurines and vases. The bedroom was heated with a fireplace with an iron top decorated with a gryphon, above which a mirror was placed, and a Gdańsk stove made of white tiles decorated with gypsum animals.

In the alcove, there was a big ornamented bed, also in green. What is worth mentioning, it had a green silk rope used as an aid in getting up. Next to the bed, two gilded figurines were nailed to the wall. The alcove may have been separated from the rest of the room with two Chinese screens. By the bed, there was a hidden door leading to a secret room with a rifle, a small mobile telescope, a tobacco box, and an astronomer's telescope in a box, covered with black leather, with a brass tripod screwed together⁵³⁹. Apart from that, there was a desk in which maps and plans were stored and reviewed, as well as two oak folded tables with two iron hinges. That was where the Hetman stored his fishing rods, lures (made of porcelain with small golden elements) and hooks⁵⁴⁰.

From the bedroom, a little door painted white with gilded slats led to a small hall ended with another door, the upper half of which was glazed, leading to the wardrobe. Clothes and little china items (jugs, cups etc.), trays, candle holders as well as three copper cauldrons for boiling water were kept in a huge cupboard.

Another tiny room, was a toilet, the walls of which were covered with yellow canvas with green flowers. Two chamberpots were there: a Saxon one made of porcelain, and a Parisian one made of leather.

A wide passageway connected the bedroom and the study⁵⁴¹. The floor was covered with oak blocks, the walls with green damask, and the slats were carved and gilded. The only piece of furniture was a church service chair. All

⁵³⁸ Presumably the author of the painting was Marcello Bacciarelli. We can guess so because he made a portrait of Izabela Branicka in 1757. The painting is currently stored in the national museum in Wrocław, while originally it was in the Białystok palace until the death of the Hetman and was later transferred to a gallery of Stefan Potocki from Roś. A. Chyczewska, *Marcello Bacciarelli 1731–1818*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1973, p. 51; E. Kowecka, op. cit., p. 120.

⁵³⁹ It was probably Kepler's telescope (the type described by Johannes Kepler). J. Nowak, M. Zajac, *Optyka elementarna*, Wrocław 1998, pp. 112–113.

⁵⁴⁰ Vilnius University Library, ref. no. A-1662, file card 12v; AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Akta majątkowo prawne, 763, p. 4.

⁵⁴¹ According to Jędrzej Kitowicz: "By the door of the room where a mace lay on the table, and by the Hetman's bedroom, non-commissioned officers were keeping guard with pikes or spontoons. The Hetman's halls were always full of people who were staying in the residence, officers commissioned as personal servants, and other military and civil persons of various ranks, who were there in business, for entertainment or for attention". J. Kitowicz, op. cit., p. 208.

over the walls, a huge collection of paintings was displayed, most of which were religious in character – e.g. an image of John the Baptist⁵⁴², st. Anthony, st. Francis, Jesus giving the keys to st. Peter, and Jesus revealing himself to Mary Magdalene after resurrection; two little crosses covered with gold were also hanging on the wall.

The floor and ceiling of the study looked the same as in the bedroom, and the walls were completely covered with wooden panels and gilded. The furniture upholstery was also mostly green. That is what the sofa and three chairs looked like. A special wheeled reading chair was in the study. It was covered with red leather and its top was mounted on springs. On the desk, there was Saxon chinaware, a silver figurine of a horse and two gypsum ones, an ivory box, a candlestick, and three china tobacco boxes. The walls were covered with paintings – the richest collection of works of art in the palace. They were mostly landscapes, some religious scenes, battle pieces, seascapes, genre works and portraits. The latter category included portraits of Jan Klemens and Izabela Branicki, Plato, Russian emperor Peter I the Great, kings of the Commonwealth Jan III Sobieski, August III Wettin, and a silver medal with an image of August II Mocny⁵⁴³. There was also *a portrait of Rubens' mother painted on wood*⁵⁴⁴. On the consoles were standing plenty of sculptures, figurines of people and animals (lions, tigers, horses, wolves etc.). Sculptures of ivory – a vase and a figure of Bacchus – were outstanding; there was also a characteristic Parisian clock topped with a metal sculpture of a man, standing on an ivory base⁵⁴⁵. The study was heated with a Saxon tiled stove and a fireplace, above which there was a decorative wooden beam, on which bronze figurines were placed. Even

⁵⁴² The image of John the Baptist baptizing Jesus was presented in a painting by Eckstein on the wall of the chancel of the parish church in Tykocin. A. Oleńska, *Tykocin – pomnik chwały rodu Jana Klemensa Branickiego*, [in:] *Fundator i mecenas*, p. 246.

⁵⁴³ See F. Bentkowski, *Spis medalów polskich lub z dziejami krainy polskiej stycznych*, Warszawa 1830, pp. 87–139. Description and characterization of the silver medal of August II Mocny: Ł. Gołębiowski, *Gabinet medalów polskich oraz tych, które się dziejów Polski tyczą*, ed. by E. Raczyński, Wrocław 1843, no. 616, pp. 301–302. Cf.: Cz. Kamiński, J. Żukowski, *Katalog monet polskich, 1697–1763: epoka saska*, Warszawa 1980, *passim*.

⁵⁴⁴ Michał Walicki (*Rembrandt e Polsce*, „Biuletyn Historii Sztuki” 18 (1956), 3, p. 333), advanced a thesis that it refers to a work by Rembrandt's follower, Christian Wilhelm Dietrich, being part of the Wilanów collection. Cf.: A. Oleńska, *Jan Klemens Branicki*, p. 103: “Guessing from the support (a board), it was a 17th-century Netherlandish or Flemish picture”. As Jan Glinka supposed, it was a portrait of Rembrandt's mother painted by Gerard Dori, which in 1939 was in a private collection in Wilanów. Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa (Warszawa), Teki Glinki, 141, pp. 20a, 117.

⁵⁴⁵ The characteristic description of the clock agrees with the information of purchase of a clock with a bronze figure by Józef Rousseau in Paris. E. Kowecka, *op. cit.*, p. 122.

higher, there was a gypsum relief of August II Mocny in profile⁵⁴⁶. In 1775, in the room there was also a bust of Jan Klemens Branicki made in 1766 of white marble. What is interesting, its author was a self-taught artist, a Białystok Jew⁵⁴⁷.

From the bedroom, a lower passageway, stairs and an upper passageway led to the boudoir of Jan Klemens Branicki. In the 2nd half of the 18th century, it was a popular room for rest and privacy, where meetings in a narrow circle were also held⁵⁴⁸. On the right of the passageway, there was a painting presenting the story of Ovid, spread over the whole width of the room. The frescos in the upper passageway were made by Antoni Herliczka in 1759⁵⁴⁹; great vases of Chinese and Japanese porcelain and two porcelain parrots were also there. In the light of an inventory drawn up in 1802, the library was located in one of the passageways which probably connected the former bedroom with Jan Klemens Branicki's study.

A celadon green door led to the boudoir; the same colour was dominant in the whole room. The walls were covered with white and green checked fabric, partly silk. A giant sofa and six chairs were upholstered with the same material. One of the windows was covered with green silk net curtains. An oriental canvas painting covered the entire wall. On the other walls there were more pictures. The most outstanding were two portraits: of Caterina Ristorini⁵⁵⁰ and Anna Katarzyna Orzelska⁵⁵¹ – women perceived by the contemporaries to be very attractive. A few dozen drawings in black frames and covered with glass were also displayed. In the overdoors, two gilded heads were shown in an oval frame.

⁵⁴⁶ Jean-Joseph Vinache may have been the author of the medallion, since Branicki tried to acquire this work of art from the widowed wife of Johann Sigmund Deybl in 1753. A. Oleńska, *Jan Klemens Branicki*, pp. 166–167.

⁵⁴⁷ J. Bernoulli, *Podróż po Polsce 1778*, p. 346.

⁵⁴⁸ I. Szymańska, A. Średzińska, op. cit., p. 24.

⁵⁴⁹ J. Nieciecki, *Kalendarium*, p. 12.

⁵⁵⁰ Caterina Ristorini was an Italian singer employed by Branicki at the Białystok theatre in 1767. S. Dąbrowski, op. cit., p. 19; A. Oleńska, *Jan Klemens Branicki*, p. 159; A. Żórawska-Witkowska, *Muzyka na dworze Jana Klemensa Branickiego*, [in:] *Dwory magnackie w XVIII wieku. Rola i znaczenie kulturowe*, eds T. Kostkiewicz, A. Ročko, Warszawa 2005, pp. 240–241.

⁵⁵¹ Anna Katarzyna (Karolina) Orzelska (born in 1702 or 1707 in Warsaw, ob. in Avignon) – natural daughter of August II the Mocny. She was regarded as one of the most beautiful women of the Baroque period and portrayed by many artists. A preserved painting by Antoine Pesne is still in the palace museum in Nieborów; a portrait by Loius de Silvestre is in the Palace on the Isle in Warsaw, and one by Rosalba Carriera, in Gemäldegalerie Alte Meiseter in Dresden. Jaroczyński is also the author of a copperplate presenting Orzelska with a dog. M. Czaplńska, *Orzelska Anna Katarzyna*, [in:] *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. XXIV, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków–Gdańsk 1979, pp. 300–301. Orzelska visited Białystok in 1726. Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa (Warszawa), Teki Glinki, 395, p. 2.



62. Boudoir – before 1915 [I. Szymańska, A. Średzińska, op. cit., p. 26].

The furniture included a desk with four drawers, combined with a Chinese style closet, varnished green, with golden figures and oriental motifs, and a folded table varnished red, with hinges and springs, containing six drawers. In addition, two little tables covered with black leather stood next to the wall. On the furniture stood small bronze sculptures of men and women. On the consoles, there were porcelain decorations, e.g. vases having lids with gilded birds; the main element was the gypsum head of Hetman Stefan Czarniecki, the great grandfather of Jan Klemens Branicki⁵⁵².

The equipment showed that Jan Klemens Branicki worked here too. The items kept in the room included: a white marble paperweight, a metal sand case, a wooden box containing four glass inkwells with silver handles, a pair of scissors, and three porcelain bowls to spit into. Writing was done at the table with four legs covered with metal and gilded, with three drawers.

In the boudoir, substances were also consumed: coffee, chocolate, tea, sugar and tobacco, which is evident from the equipment present there: mugs and cups, two china tobacco jars with tin lids, pots for coffee, tea and milk, sugar bowls, and a bottle for tea leaves. There was also a silver sugar basket with tongs, and cups in which broth was served.

The stone fireplace was painted celadon green, on it was a round, gilded Parisian clock, and underneath, a white horse with a Turkish rider. Above, there was a gilded ornament, with a relief of the head of Alexander the Great, all gilded, placed centrally⁵⁵³. Additionally, a tiled stove was in the alcove, covered with a wire net decorated with green and gilded plant motifs⁵⁵⁴.

By the boudoir there was a small dressing room with white canvas with blue flowers on the walls. A Saxon bed stood there, with a green mattress and a pillow, a closet and a nut-brown table. The room was decorated with stuffed birds as well as paintings and drawings showing hunting dogs. The dressing

⁵⁵² The references to Jan Klemens Branicki's great grandfather, common in paintings and sculptures in the palace, legitimized the Tykocin estate as the hereditary land and created the prestige of Grand Hetman of the Crown. On top of that, in 1761–1763, a statue of Stefan Czarniecki was placed in Tykocin on the axis of the square, opposite the church. A. Oleńska, *Tykocin*, pp. 250–256.

⁵⁵³ Apart from drawings representing that figure, there were paintings: "Nine pieces painted by Mr Mirys representing stories from the life of Alexander the Great". AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, 122, file card 554v. According to J. Bernoulli, op. cit., p. 345, the paintings represented a very high artistic level.

⁵⁵⁴ This curiosity was recorded by Bernoulli. He observed that some stoves in the palace were located in alcoves, "and their doors are sometimes made of nice wire net, in many cases painted, so that the stove is often invisible", This way of construction resulted in the fact that that "the stoves are too cramped in the alcoves and only provide heat on one side". J. Bernoulli, op. cit., p. 346.



63. Fireplace in the boudoir, 1933 [T. Szyburska, op. cit., photo 130].

room also served Branicki as a toilet, and a Saxon porcelain chamberpot was part of the equipment⁵⁵⁵.

The last room complex on the ground floor was the *Parisian Suite*⁵⁵⁶. One could get there via a passageway from the study of Jan Klemens Branicki. In that wide corridor with marble flooring, the walls were almost completely covered with paintings, sketches and drawings. There were seven old historical paintings, three of which were really sizeable⁵⁵⁷. Besides, five world maps in frames were hanging there, five drawings showing the battles of Alexander the Great⁵⁵⁸, and for example a Turkish sultan entering a mosque with his troops.

⁵⁵⁵ The porcelain chamberpots were bought in 1752. Instytut Dziedzictwa Narodowego (Warszawa), Teki Glinki, 320, p. 81.

⁵⁵⁶ The Parisian Suite had an enfilade character: it was a number of rooms connected with entrances, located on the same axis. *Słownik terminologiczny sztuk pięknych*, p. 12.

⁵⁵⁷ The nine old paintings recorded in this room might have been here when the Wesołowski family owned the estate. *Inwentarz majątności Białegostoku*, p. 91, mentions "a wall image of the Kirchholm expedition" and "an image of the Smoleńsk expedition". Maybe they survived all the transformations in the palace and because of their size and attractive appearance were still hanging in the rooms belonging to the Grand Hetman of the Crown.

⁵⁵⁸ They were probably drawings by Bernard Picart (1673–1733). The artist created his works under the influence of a series of pictures ordered by Louis XIV from Charles Le Brun. L. Marchesano, Ch. Michel, *Printing the Grand Manner: Charles Le Brun and Monu-*



64. Boudoir – photo taken by Sager in 1941 [*Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku*, vol. I, part 2, pp. 250–251].

In the room, there was an *escritoire* with a folded table covered with green cloth. It had 12 drawers, four at each of the three levels⁵⁵⁹. The Hetman kept there among others: ambers, five books, including two prayer books, a magnifying glass used to kindle the fire, a brass ruler, handwritten maps, a set of jasper cutlery, a telescope, sculpture fragments recognized to be Roman antiquities, three little portraits, numismata, and *various relics wrapped up in paper*. Most of the space was taken by *various papers arranged into three packets and tied up*⁵⁶⁰.

mental Prints in the Age of Louis XIV, Los Angeles 2010, pp. 17, 59–62, 66, 74; T. Kirchner, *Le héros épique: peinture d'histoire et politique artistique dans la France du XVIIe siècle*, Paris 2008, passim (particularly pp. 253, 443, 523).

⁵⁵⁹ This piece of furniture resembles library furniture drawn in the work by J. K. Haura, *Skład albo skarbiec znakomitych sekretów oekonomii ziemiańskiej*, Kraków 1693, p. 167. Cf.: Z. Jaroszewicz-Pierśławcew, *Ideał biblioteki ziemiańskiej w siedemnastowiecznym dziele Jakuba Kazimierza Haura a rzeczywistość*, [in:] *Między barokiem a oświeceniem. Edukacja, wykształcenie, wiedza*, ed. S. Achremczyk, Olsztyn 2005, pp. 55–62.

⁵⁶⁰ It was probably Branicki's reference archive, for there was a note that "All the documents of the hereditary estates in Podlaskie, Ruthenian and Cracow Voivodeships are stored in the Białystok Archive together with the applicable records". AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, 122, file card 590. Letter from W. Matuszewicz to I. Branicka, Białystok 11 V 1780, AGAD,

The smaller *escritoire* had seven sections. Inside, there was a little briefcase covered with green leather, equipped with an iron lock, as well as an inkwell and a sand case. There was also a chess table and a desk with eight drawers. Besides, they kept a broken *camera obscura*⁵⁶¹ in that room, as well as a clay bust of Stefan Czarniecki painted black⁵⁶².

The entrance to the Parisian suite was via a hallway, also with marble flooring⁵⁶³. The first is the hall. The flooring in there was made of oak woodblocks arranged in plots, the walls entirely covered with white wooden panels having gilded ornamentation and slats⁵⁶⁴. The ceiling was white, it had ample gilded stuccowork, in the corners ornamented with painted laurel and floral motifs. On the walls, there were: a mirror and three large portraits, including the central one showing Jan Klemens Branicki in French attire⁵⁶⁵. The two windows were decorated with green silk net curtains. The impressive elements of furnishing were three wooden plinths with the metal-cast head of Socrates, and two huge porcelain birds⁵⁶⁶. As for furniture, there was an impressive walnut wood set upholstered with blue material – a couch and six little tables. The heating was provided by a tiled stove and a stone fireplace, above which there was a mirror and two candlesticks mounted on both sides.

Archiwum Roskie, Korespondencja, LXV/1, file card 225v, informed that Branicki intended to remove the documents from the palace to one of the outhouses.

⁵⁶¹ It was an optical instrument allowing to obtain a real image. It is made up of a box with black inside. On one wall, there is a little hole serving as a lens, and on the other, an opaque pane. Light rays falling through the hole produce a smaller, rotated image. G. Helmut, *The history of photography from the earliest use of camera obscura in the XI c up to 1914*, London 1974. The device was rare in magnate manors. Information on the devices: R. Aftanazy, *Dzieje rezydencji na dawnych kresach Rzeczypospolitej*, vol. V, Wrocław 1994, pp. 260, 278.

⁵⁶² The most important keepsake of Stefan Czarniecki was his "golden cup that he used to wear at his waist", as recorded by William Cox travelling through Białystok (*Polska Stanisławowska*, pp. 677–693). The cup was kept in Białystok; after the death of Jan Klemens Branicki it was inherited by Maria Radziwiłówna, who in 1783 sold it to Stanisław August Poniatowski. AGAD, Archiwum ks. J. Poniatowskiego, 238, p. 12: "Duchess Miecznikowa gave a voucher to Białystok for the goblet bequeathed by Czarniecki, which is not included in this account".

⁵⁶³ The opinion of Ernst Ahasverus von Lehnendorf is worth mentioning. On 10/07/1767, he wrote: "They show us the entire palace. Its magnificent equipment is totally arranged in the French style. Looking at sumptuous furniture and decor of the rooms, you can feel you are in Paris". E.A. von Lehnendorff, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁵⁶⁴ M. Karpowicz counted the wooden panels in the Białystok palace among the most beautiful in Poland (*Sztuka polska XVIII wieku*, Warszawa 1985, p. 123).

⁵⁶⁵ It is the only known portrait of Jan Klemens Branicki in French dress, perhaps even identical to the Hetman's portrait mentioned in 1888 in Rosi, painted by Hyacinthe Rigaud. J. Nieciecki, „*Polski Wersal*”, p. 299.

⁵⁶⁶ These were probably works by Jan Joachim Kendler, who modelled them in the 1730s for the Miśnia manufacture. E. Kowecka, *op. cit.*, p. 127.

The bedroom door was double, had six iron hinges, a lock and two copper bolts. The flooring was the same as in the hall, whereas the walls were covered with a blue satin dado with figures and flowers⁵⁶⁷. White ceiling with gilded stuccowork. Obviously, the main element in the room was an oakwood bed. It was also upholstered like the walls and had silk ruffles. The whole bed was decorated with garlands and ostrich feathers. The set included four chairs in the same colour. The fireplace resembled that in the hall, and the tiled stove was hidden with a door covered with flowers and birds.

The next room was a study whose style was basically identical as that in the bedroom. The dados were crimson and had a pattern of figures and flowers⁵⁶⁸. The silk net curtains were yellow with crimson check. What is outstanding in the room is the flowery carpet and three giant mirrors. The furniture included two marble tables, a desk with a marble top and a gilded clock on it, as well as a round Parisian sofa and six chairs. The walls were decorated with landscapes, and the stove and fireplace were incorporated like those in the bedroom.

The next one was a dressing room with pine wood floor and walls covered with canvas with blue stripes and flowers printed. The bed in the room had upholstery identical to the walls and a mattress made of blue astrachan (cotton plush). Besides that, there was a dressing table, four stools covered with red leather, a mirror, two wardrobes painted nut-brown, and a tiled stove. At the very end of the described rooms, there was a toilet with *a round, Chinese porcelain chamberpot*⁵⁶⁹.

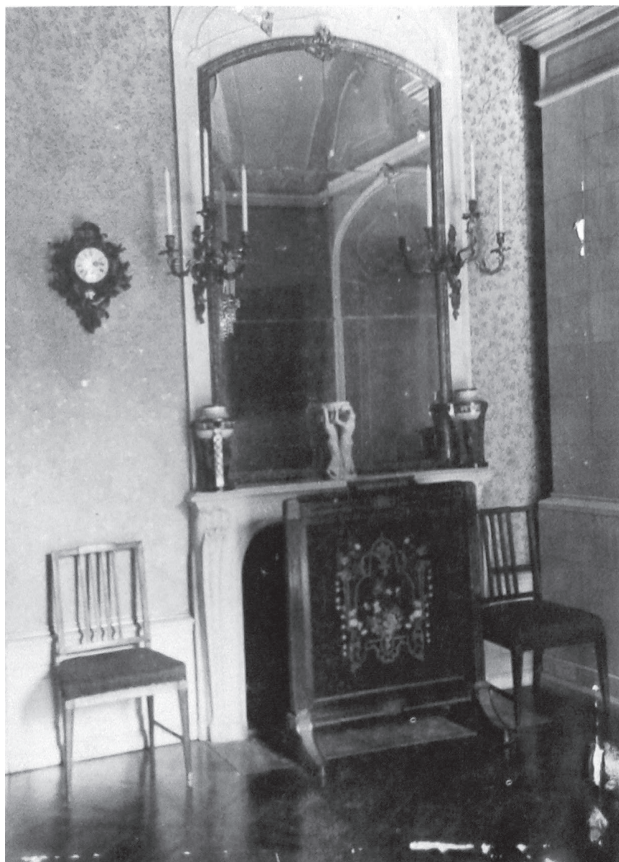
Concluding the description of the ground floor, it is worth mentioning the rooms serving as Branickis' treasury, located on the entresol over the *Parisian suite* and the boudoir. To get there, one had to go to the hall by the Parisian Suite and then up the wooden stairs. The first room was protected by a door with a lock and two iron bolts. The interior of the room was all wooden – oak wood flooring and wooden panels on the walls. Inside, there were five lockable closets with doors covered with green cloth, and a desk with five drawers. Valuables were stored there. Another room was an armoury⁵⁷⁰, and the following, a

⁵⁶⁷ The upholstery was mostly destroyed in 1779 as a result of a fire. Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 379, pp. 8, 17.

⁵⁶⁸ This upholstery was valued by Izabela Branicka, who wanted to decorate the rooms in the Warsaw palace the same way, but – as Wojciech Matuszewicz reported: “there is only a small piece of the crimson upholstery like that in the Parisian suite, only a quarter of a cubit”. Letter from W. Matuszewicz to I. Branicka, Białystok XII 1779, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Korespondencja, LXV/1, file card 147.

⁵⁶⁹ AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, 122, file card 32v.

⁵⁷⁰ The inventory does not list the items found in the room. They are specifically listed in: *Regestr strzelnicy*, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, 122, file cards 579v–582.



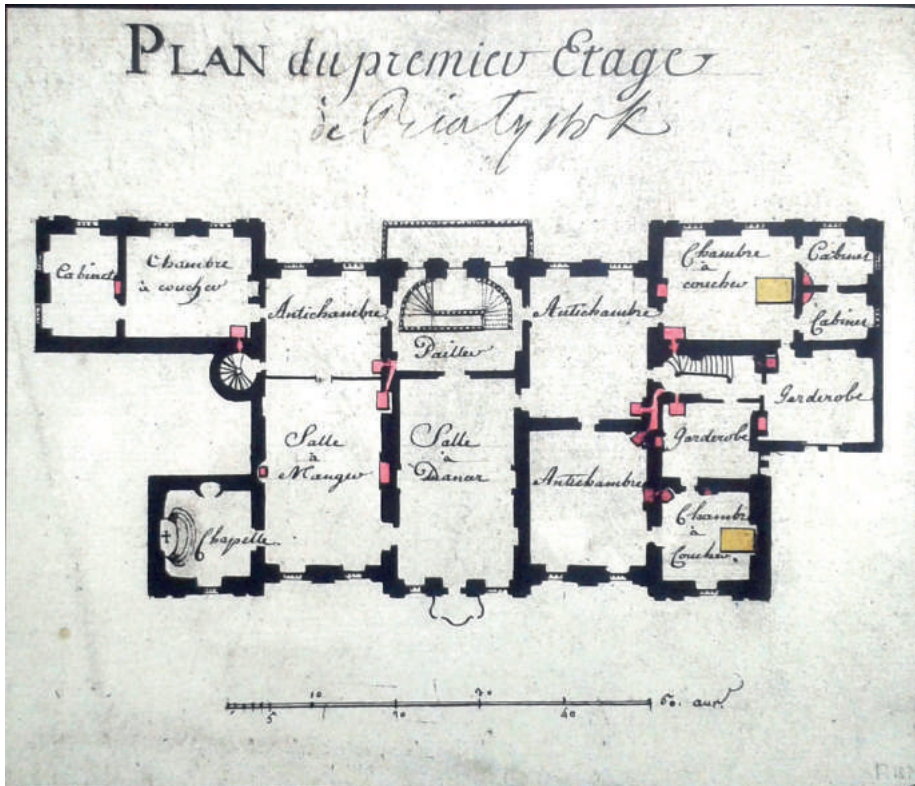
65. An example of fireplace complex over which a mirror and candlesticks were placed on the wall [I. Szymańska, A. Średzińska, *op. cit.*, p. 66].

treasury, where unnecessary furniture was kept. Above the boudoir, there were two more treasuries. The second of them, located in a small room, was especially important, as cash was kept there, in a grey table with a little drawer used to calculate money⁵⁷¹.

Stone stairs with metal railings led from the guarded palace hall (vestibule) to the first floor⁵⁷². The ceiling over the stairs had some frescos, and five win-

⁵⁷¹ Probably it was the thing mentioned in the letter from W. Matuszewicz to I. Branicka, Białystok 1 IV 1779, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, LXV/1, file card 115: "The bolts of the iron cash box in the treasury require to be repaired ... because it is necessary for keeping money safe."

⁵⁷² The balustrade was made on the basis of six models prepared by Klemm, which he sent to Branicki asking him to choose one. AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Korespondencja, IX/40, p. 45.



66. Plan of the first floor of the main body of the palace in Białystok [K. Nowicki, *Plan du premier Etage de Bialystok*, [1771–1778], Gabinet Rycin, Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Zb. król. P. 187, no. 106].

dows provided the light. The stretch of stairs continued with another stairs leading to another storey.

The *ballroom* had a huge double door installed with eight hinges. The flooring of the room was made of chequered oak wood blocks, and the walls were decorated with pilasters. On the ceiling, there were gilded gypsum frames, frescos and ample white stuccowork. The light was provided by eight candlesticks. What is interesting, the room was not heated. Two fireplaces could be found there but they only served decorative purposes: they were not connected to the chimney. Two large portraits hung above the fireplaces: one of August III Wettin dressed in the Polish style, and his wife, Maria Józefa Habsburg⁵⁷³. Four

⁵⁷³ William Coxe wrote: “in another room is a fine portrait of August in his royal robes, with his head shaved in the Polish fashion, as he appeared on the day of his coronation”. W. Coxe, *Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark: Interspersed with Historical Relations and Politucal Inquires*, vol. 1, Dublin 1784, pp. 252–253.

more gilded candlesticks were mounted next to the paintings. The room had three small windows near the ceiling and three big ones closer to the floor. The middle ones were actually a glazed door leading out to the balcony⁵⁷⁴. Normally, there was no furniture in the ballroom. If needed, a harpsichord, four sofas and two tables were brought in.

In the right part of the palace, there was a *billiards room*. The room had oak wood flooring, the walls were covered with crimson dados with gilded slats, and the ceiling was decorated with frescos. For decorative purposes, there were: one great and 12 little mirrors, plus eight big portraits of Bourbons and four landscapes. Apart from an oak wood billiard table, the furniture included an English table covered with black leather and containing five drawers, and 15 stools upholstered with crimson material. A Gdańsk tiled stove was the only source of heat.

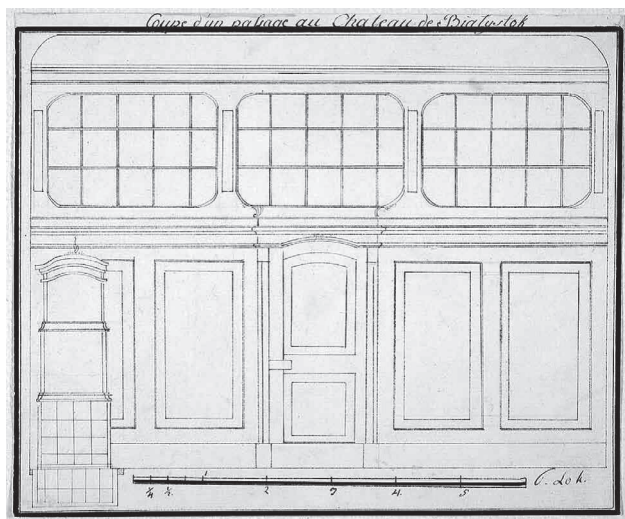
The next one was the *Golden Room*, until the 1720s referred to as the *Yellow Room*. At that time, Jan Klemens Branicki's mother resided there⁵⁷⁵. It was entered via the *Billiards Room*, and the door to it was double, white, with gilded slats and hinges. The floor was covered with oak wood slabs; the dados had crimson damask covering and additional golden stripes. The ceiling was covered with stuccowork and puttons, additionally also with frescos⁵⁷⁶. The central point was a double bed upholstered with crimson damask with golden, embroidered stripes. The bed was covered with a curtain with golden tassels and net curtains. If intimacy was needed, a Chinese screen made of red canvas could be used. Apart from that piece of furniture, there was also a table with a marble top on a wooden, gold-coated plinth, a couch covered with crimson, golden-striped damask, and six matching chairs. The decoration of the walls was a gilded brass clock striking hours, a mirror, and paintings. One of the most interesting was the mounted portrait of Jan Klemens Branicki's grandfather – Kazimierz Jan Sapieha⁵⁷⁷. Sunlight came in through two windows, each having two panes of

⁵⁷⁴ The ballroom was decorated by Wojciech Herliczka. H. Dmowska-Grabowska, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

⁵⁷⁵ A. Oleńska, *Jan Klemens Branicki*, p. 165.

⁵⁷⁶ The decorations in this room were made in the years 1738–1739 by Jerzy Wilhelm Neunhertz. First he prepared the sketches of wall paintings for the golden suite, which were approved by the Hetman with little adjustments. The artist received 30 ducats for the work. E. Kowecka, *op. cit.*, pp. 102–103.

⁵⁷⁷ We only know of two copies of Sapieha's portrait: one in Moscow (Historical Museum, index no. 65873), and the other one in Smoleńsk (District Museum, index no. 9598). Reproductions: M. Kałamajska-Saeed, *Dom Sapieżyński*, part II: *Ikonomia*, Warszawa 2008, p. 67, figures 149 and 150. The painting kept in Moscow may originate from Białystok, since the Historical Museum has some objects from the Moscow Rumyantsev museum where various Polish paintings were moved. The reference both to Sapieha and to Czar-



67. Section of the room in the Białystok Branicki Palace – the wall with a stove [*Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku*, vol. I, part 2, pp. 232–233].

white glass in lead frames, and the whole frame was held by six brass hinges. On the outside, white and gilded shutters were installed on them, and in the room, on both sides, crimson damask net curtains with golden stripes were hanging. The Golden room was heated by a fireplace decorated with porcelain vases and human figures, and a Saxon tiled stove standing on wooden legs.

Next to the *Golden Room*, there was a study with the door, floor and ceiling in the same style as the previous room. The walls were covered with material dados having silver background and gilded slats. Above the two doors (leading to the *Golden Room* and another study) were porcelain and gypsum figurines. In the room, there was a sofa woven from reed with material on the mattress identical to that on the dados, as well as four matching stools and a table. The scarce decorations included two mirrors as well as gypsum figures and porcelain figurines mounted above the corner fireplace. By the windows, there were two sets of net curtains – crimson silk ones, and white canvas ones. The other study was decorated and furnished in a very similar way as the first one, including a reed sofa, four chairs and a table. What was different was the decorations by the corner fireplace, where 11 Dutch porcelain figurines were placed.

niecki was to strengthen his position as Grand Hetman of the Crown. Commemorating Hetman Sapieha might have been an initiative of the wife of Podlasie voivode, Katarzyna Scholastyka Branicka, daughter of Kazimierz Paweł Jan Sapieha. J. Nieciecki, *Pomnik na serca matki i syna*, „Białostoczczyzna” 6 (1991), 4, p. 10.

In this wing of the palace, there were also two dressing rooms. The floor in there was covered with pine wood blocks, and on the walls there was canvas with flowery print. In each room there were two tables covered with green or yellow oilcloth. The lack of chamberpots (both in 1772 and in 1775) indicates that the *Golden Suite* had not been used for some time.

Another suite, comprising a study, a bedroom and a dressing room, was referred to as the *Royal Suite*⁵⁷⁸. One could get to the first of those rooms through the *Billiards Room* with a door painted white and decorated with gilds, which was held by six gilded hinges. The floor was made of oak slabs, the walls covered with white dados of material showing various people. The ceiling was painted white and had ample gilded stuccowork. The central decoration of the room was a portrait of Spanish king Charles III Bourbon. The picture commemorated the event of granting Branicki an Order of Golden Fleece. The award was brought to Białystok by a French envoy, Count de Conflans. For that reason, on 25th July 1766, granting the title of the order member occurred in the Białystok palace. The celebrations lasted eight days⁵⁷⁹.

On the opposite side, a mirror with eight panes in a gilded frame was hanging, by which two candlesticks were installed. A desk with four drawers and a marble top stood below. There was also a black varnished piece of furniture ornamented with plant motifs and Chinese figures. A movable top covered with blue velvet was fixed there, and the whole thing contained 24 drawers. Porcelain and gypsum decorations were standing on top. Another desk had doors with mirrors and four drawers. In addition, there were two stools and a tiny cupboard with a clock on top. A set of a sofa and 12 chairs covered with crimson damask and decorated with gold ribbon was used for rest. The heating was provided by a stone fireplace painted grey, above which there was a mirror in a gilded frame and two candlesticks, plus a Saxon tiled stove with an iron body and stone legs. The room had two big windows with two wings and 10 panes in wooden frames, as well as six iron hinges. Crimson silk net curtains were hanging over the windows.

The door to the bedroom was the same as to the first room of the suite. The floor was covered with oak wood, and the walls with white gilded dados and crimson damask. The ceiling was painted white and in the corners decorated

⁵⁷⁸ The name was related to numerous rulers who stayed as guests in the suite: August II Mocny, August III Wettin, Karol Krystian Wettin, Stanisław August Poniatowski, Louis XVIII, Paul Romanov, and Francis Joseph II. J. Tomalska, *Artyści na dworze hetmana Branickiego*, „Białostoczczyzna” 4 (1989), 1, p. 9; J. Nieciecki, *Ceremoniał powitania królewicza Karola na białostockim dworze Jana Klemensa Branickiego w 1758 roku*, „Acta Academiae Atrium Vilnensis” 54 (2009), pp. 132–142.

⁵⁷⁹ A. Sztachelska-Kokoczek, *Magnackie dobra*, p. 22.



68. Study in the *Royal Suite* – fragment of stuccowork decoration surviving WWII [The photo was taken in 1946 by W. Paszkowski. See T. Szyburska, op. cit., photo 246].

with gilded gypsum stuccowork. Inside there was a double bed with a curtain, covered with Turkish material with golden ribbons and white Persian satin. The net curtains at the bed were made of crimson Turkish material, with golden ribbons and white satin⁵⁸⁰. Besides, in the room there was an eight-drawer desk, seven chairs upholstered with crimson damask, and three angle closets above which there was a mirror made up of two panes in a gilded frame. Sunlight came in through one large two-winged window whose wooden frame held 10 window panes. On the outside, there were white shutters with gilded slats, and crimson silk net curtains were hanging inside. On the walls, there were portraits: two big ones and a smaller one, as well as one landscape and five smaller mirrors. The little portrait showed the Field Hetman Stefan Czarniecki; after Branicki's death, the widow lent it to Stanisław Lubomirski to be used in the Warsaw palace⁵⁸¹. The room was heated by a stone fireplace painted grey; a mirror was placed above it and a landscape even higher. All this was supplemented with a stove made of Saxon white tiles, placed on a metal box with stone legs.

The dressing room in this suite was much less impressive. The floor was covered with pine wood, the walls were covered with white canvas with green flowers, and the ceiling did not have any ornamentations. The whole furnishing was a big table and a small table covered with oilcloth, as well as a bed and three stools.

⁵⁸⁰ The items of Turkish origin present in the Białystok palace were used by Jan Reychman in his work *Orient w kulturze polskiego oświecenia*, p. 66, as one of the expressions of a strong influence of the oriental culture in the Commonwealth.

⁵⁸¹ Biblioteka Uniwersytetu Wileńskiego, ref. no. A-1662, file card 27.

In the left part of the palace, there was a *Chinese Suite* consisting of three rooms: a hall, a day room and a study. In the hall, the floor was made of chequered oak wood blocks. The walls were covered with white gilded dados with green material, and the ceiling was free from any decorations. There were three landscapes on the walls, as well as a mirror and white canvas net curtains at two little windows. The furnishing in the hall was a wooden table painted red with silver-plated corners, a large white wardrobe and three stools with green upholstery. Heating was possible thanks to a Gdańsk tiled stove on wooden legs.

The bedroom had a strong Oriental touch. The first Oriental element was a white dado with Chinese flowers upholstery; the same upholstery was on 11 stools made of wicker or reed. Interestingly, the furniture was also called "Chinese", which meant that the wood was coated with lacquer – the resin of poison sumac. Objects of that type included a black lacquered desk and a red lacquered one, as well as a waxed table. Besides, there was a black wardrobe hidden by a green silk net curtain. Instead of paintings, the upper part of the wall was decorated with frescos showing non-European landscapes. A mirror with two pieces of glass in a silver-plated frame hung on the wall. Heat came from a black marble fireplace, over which there was a landscape painted on the plaster. In addition, a Gdańsk tiled stove on wooden legs was located there. By the two windows hung two green silk net curtains. The entire ceiling was covered with paintings and stuccowork.

The study in the Chinese Suite had floor made of chequered oak wood blocks. The walls were covered with gilded, white flowery dados, and the upper part of the walls and the ceiling were covered with frescos. A mirror and three white canvas net curtains over the windows were mounted on the walls. The following furniture was placed there: a waxed wardrobe, a pine wood table, a Saxon bed and four wicker chairs with upholstery like that on the dados. The fireplace resembled that in the bedroom.

Normally, the dining room on the ground floor was used to eat meals, but during special celebrations, the meals were eaten in the room on the first floor, the entrance to which was from the *Chinese hall*⁵⁸². The flooring was made of oak wood slabs, three walls were panelled with wood, painted white with gilded ornaments, and on the fourth wall there was a low plinth⁵⁸³. On the plinth stood eight wooden sculptures inspired by the antiquity, painted brown. In that group, the outstanding one was Hercules fighting a five-headed hydra⁵⁸⁴. The

⁵⁸² More about the ideological programme of the dining room: J. Nieciecki, *Apoteoza Augusta II*, pp. 217–226.

⁵⁸³ The panelling was made by Samuel Contesse in 1753. E. Kowicka, op. cit., pp. 96–97.

⁵⁸⁴ In 1772, another two figures of "incomplete Herculesees with plinths" were kept in the treasury in Białystok. AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, 122, file card 567. Commanders, espe-

ceiling in the room was white and decorated with gilded stuccowork. On the wall, there was a mirror with eight pieces of glass in gilded frames, and below, a table with a marble top. Four landscapes were also there. The central element of the room was a huge table made of pine wood, on which a *Turkish rug* was spread – probably meaning an oriental, richly ornamented tapestry. Thirty stools covered with green material were put by the table. Eight candlesticks mounted on the wall, each holding three candles, provided the lighting. An additional source of light was two two-winged windows with two green silk net curtains. Near the ceiling, there were two crystal mirrors hanging on a rope. The room was heated thanks to a stone fireplace painted grey, above which hung a large portrait of August II Mocny in a gilded frame⁵⁸⁵, and a Saxon tiled stove standing on an iron box and stone legs. An interesting solution was a fake door, which instead of leading to a room concealed a cupboard containing items necessary during the banquets – some of them from Austria, Holland or the Orient countries.

A chapel was a very important room in the palace⁵⁸⁶. The floor in it was covered with chequered oak woodblocks. The walls were covered with wood panels, which was painted white and supplemented with gilded pilasters. A two-section window and small windows incorporated in the dome provided the source of light. The ceiling and the dome were decorated with frescos and gypsum stuccowork.

People could sit on one of two benches painted white and gilded on the edges, or a bench placed in a frame (alcove) of one of the walls⁵⁸⁷. The places of

cially Hetmans, were compared to ancient heroes in the traditional Polish (sarmatian) ideology. Hercules was a particularly popular motif. See J. Banach, *Herkules Polonus: studium z ikonografii sztuki nowożytnej*, Warszawa 1984, passim.

⁵⁸⁵ In 1754, Joachim Daniola Jauch purchased a portrait of August II Mocny for Jan Klemens Branicki. Instytut Dziedzictwa Narodowego (Warszawa), Teki Glinki, 315, p. 100.

⁵⁸⁶ The wedding of Jan Klemens Branicki's third sister, Konstancja, with Karol Odrowąż Sedlnicki, was celebrated in the chapel. The celebration took place on 07/11/1725, and the indult was granted by the Vilnius bishop. Four days later, the fourth sister, Urszula, married Jan Kazimierz Lubomirski in the same chapel, being granted the indult by pope Benedict XIII. On working days, Jan Klemens Branicki attended Mass celebrated in the chapel at 11 o'clock. M. Starzeński, op. cit., p. 6; A. Sztachelska-Kokoczka, *Magnackie dobra*, p. 15.

⁵⁸⁷ According to Jan Nieciecki (*Pomnik*, pp. 9–10), a monument was placed here with the heart of Podlasie Voivode, Stefan Mikołaj Branicki, and his mother, Court Marshal's wife, Katarzyna Aleksandra Branicka, daughter of Stefan Czarniecki. The hearts were placed there on 27/08/1711. Only about 1752 was the monument removed to the church dedicated to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in Białystok. After the removal, a semicircular alcove remained in the chapel, which was transformed into a "frame". The grave existing until now is made of black marble, and the capital and bases of columns and pilasters, of pink marble. On an elliptical, double base there is a sarcophagus covered by columns inclined forward



69. Fragment of the altar in the chapel – after WWII [M. Kacperczyk, op. cit., p. 112].

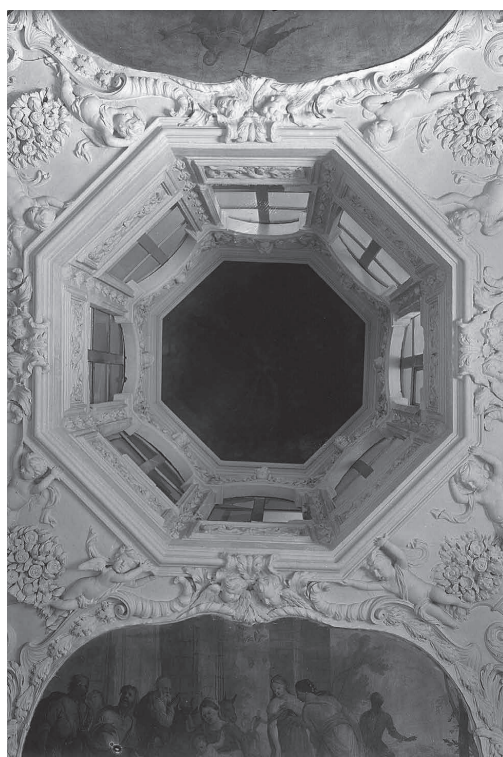
honour, occupied by the Branicki couple, were two chairs with crimson upholstery, whose wooden elements were carved and gilded. In the altar, there was an image of Immaculate Conception of Mary. On both sides, there were marble pilasters made in the Ionic order, on capitals with characteristic volutes⁵⁸⁸. In the upper part of the altar there was an image of Jesus Christ⁵⁸⁹. The noteworthy element was the crucifix, in which the figure of Christ was made of ivory. On a black wooden plinth, there was also a statue of Jesus Christ made of ivory and a like sculpture of St. Sebastian. The altar contained a reliquary with the relics of St. Clement, whose appearance resembled a monstrance made of gilded copper. Obviously in the chapel there was a desk, painted white and gilded, containing equipment for church service in three drawers.

On the wall, there was a copy of an image of the Holy Virgin Mary stored in Jasna Góra, made on a copper sheet. There were also other impressive pictures:

and pilasters copying them. They support the beams and segments of pediment. The whole mausoleum is topped with a decorative cartouche placed in the middle on the beams, with brass clan coats of arms: Gryf (gryphon) – Branicki clan, Lis (fox) – Sapieha clan, and probably Łódź (boat) – Czarniecki clan.

⁵⁸⁸ A. Maśliński, *Architektura antyku w interpretacji baroku*, Lublin 1962, pp. 122, 136 ff.

⁵⁸⁹ It was the picture of Christ in the Crown of Thorns painted at the end of the 17th century (perhaps by Carlo Dolci) and was probably bought by Stefan Mikołaj Branicki. The canvas was initially in the Białystok parish church devoted to the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, and in the mid 18th century it was moved to the palace chapel. A. Oleńska, *Jan Klemens Branicki*, p. 105.



70. Fragment of ceiling stuccowork with a dome and frescos in the chapel [T. Szyburska, op. cit., photo 146; *Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku*, vol. I, part 2, pp. 236–237].

saint Jerome, saint Theresa, Mary Magdalene, the Descent from the Cross, and Mary the Nazarene with the sleeping Son⁵⁹⁰. The portrait of the current pope – Clement IV – was also present.

The second floor did not serve any representative functions; there were two modest suites there comprising a bedroom, a study and a dressing room, as well as a treasury. The floor of the first suite was panelled with pine boards and had no ornamentations on the walls or ceiling. In the bedroom, there was a sofa and 11 matching stools upholstered with crimson material, a mirror, a desk varnished red with gilded legs, containing four drawers. An oval table covered with red leather, used to play Faro, was impressive⁵⁹¹. Of course there was also a Saxon-style bed covered with crimson damask. The room ensured sufficient temperature in winter thanks to a fireplace and a white and blue tiled stove. Two white canvas net curtains were hanging on the windows.

In the study there was another bed, covered with crimson silk, and a folding table varnished black. The room also had a corner fireplace and two windows with white net curtains. In the wardrobe, there was a table covered with green plastic cloth and a closet. Four years after the death of the Hetman, Izabela Branicka used the rooms of this suite as a junk room where damaged items from lower storeys, the garden or other buildings were kept.

In the other suite, the walls were covered with green material. It was better equipped. In the first room the furniture included a small, varnished coffee table, three stools with green upholstery, three reed stools covered with green damask, and a Saxon-style bed with an identical cover. On the walls were a mirror, three landscapes, twelve portraits, and two pictures presenting Biblical stories of Abraham and Cain. What was noteworthy was the drawings showing Polish kings⁵⁹², Turkish sultans, popes, Spanish and French kings, as well as a

⁵⁹⁰ According to Johann Bernoulli, three paintings out of those hanging in the chapel (by Augustyn Mirys) "at first sight seemed to be painted by the most famous Italian artists". It was the picture of the Assumption of Mary with Jesus and a group of apostles. J. Bernoulli, *op. cit.*, p. 344.

⁵⁹¹ As Kitowicz informed: "When Polish travellers brought to Poland the game of Faro originating in Paris, everybody liked it so much that it became popular at all the receptions, assemblies, balls, and even royal chambers. For many, the game became the way to fortune, and for many to collapse, when as a result of the game of faro, distinguished people and even the greatest lords became cheats, the thing used to be despised and only popular among low estates. In the game people lost not only cash but also real property, jewellery and even whole fortunes". One could bet a thousand red złoty or even a hundred thousand, so within one night one could become a rich man or a bankrupt. For example "general Rozdrażewski ... beginning with nothing, by cheating in cards made over ten million złoty". J. Kitowicz, *op. cit.*, p. 298.

⁵⁹² The drawings probably came from the book: J. Głuchowski, *Ikones książąt i królów polskich*, Kraków 1605 [see reprint, Wrocław 1979].



71. Balustrade from the Branicki Palace in Białystok as of 1934 (photo by Jan Glinka) [*Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku*, vol. I, part 2, pp. 206–207].

map of Wielkopolska and Małopolska. In the room there were both a fireplace and a tiled stove.

In the study, there was a sofa upholstered with white fabric with Chinese colourful flowers, which used to be in the Chinese suite before. The walls presented a huge collection of old paintings taken from the lower storeys. They included landscapes, still life, and portraits, among others another portrait of Stefan Czarniecki, this time in a black frame⁵⁹³, and of Jan Klemens Branicki's

⁵⁹³ Zygmunt Gloger described the picture this way: "The figure of the great man of war was reproduced in the middle 18th century from an old picture belonging to Czarniecki's daughter who had married Branicki, and was kept in the Białystok residence of the 'Gryphons' (Branickis), included in the register of palace movables under the number 425. When after the death of the "Lady of Cracow" (Izabella Poniatowska), the wife of the late Jan Klemens Branicki, the last representative of the 'Gryphon' family, Grand Hetman of the Crown,



72. Fireplace of the 2nd floor of the palace – photo taken before 1939
[*Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku*, vol. I, part 2, pp. 234–235].

first wife, Katarzyna Radziwiłłówna⁵⁹⁴. In the wardrobe, the walls were covered with yellow flowery canvas. The collection of old paintings and drawings continued there. The room also held theatre equipment, for example a curtain⁵⁹⁵.

The transformations introduced during the life of Jan Klemens Branicki were in the Baroque and Rococo style. He managed to ensure the coherence of the palace and park, and even the nearby game preserve and the town. Many visitors emphasized this harmony. For example Julian Ursyn Niemcewicz thought

holding the palace as life estate, Białystok was sold to the government by the Hetman's successors, a great number of paintings, including this portrait, were taken to the palace garrets. It remained there until the forties, when it was found and saved along with more than a dozen other paintings, by Jan G., the father of the author of these words, then living in Złotorya, two miles from Białystok. In the picture whose copy is attached (currently kept in the author's collection in Jeżewo), the hero is portrayed in a red delia with golden elements, lined with fur". Z. Głogier, *Encyklopedia staropolska*, vol. II, Warszawa 1901, pp. 150–151.

⁵⁹⁴ The strong bond between the spouses is mentioned by A. Sztachelska-Kokoczka, *Magnackie dobra*, p. 17; cf. A. Oleńska, *Jan Klemens Branicki*, p. 161.

⁵⁹⁵ It included some of the items recorded in: *Regestr rzeczy różnych teatralnych masek i innych potrzeb do tego należących*. AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, 122, file cards 571v–579v. Cf.: N. Szczuka, *Białostocka rezydencja Jana Klemensa Branickiego (1689–1771) jako jeden z ośrodków kultury muzycznej Rzeczypospolitej XVIII wieku*, „Białostocczyzna” 10 (1995), 4, pp. 11–13.

the Branicki, *gaining some taste and education in foreign lands, decorated the place splendidly. He erected a grandiose edifice and established lovely gardens, built a beautiful little town and filled it with residents. The grandeur of his manor far exceeded the grandeur of many courts of German sovereigns. He maintained an Italian theatre and was the first to establish a ballet school*⁵⁹⁶.

The palace itself, beside the unquestionable architectural values, exerted influence thanks to the splendid furnishing of the interiors, paintings, frescos and impressive stuccowork. The flourish of ornamentation was characteristic – wavy lines giving the impression of movement, lavishness and at the same time symmetry. Rococo made the decorative elements even more decorative. In conformity to that style, in the palace there were canvases on the walls, wallpapers, wooden panels and gilded slats. There were numerous mirrors in the rooms, not only for decoration (the impression of enlarging) but also for practical purposes (lightening up the rooms). Branicki was especially fond of the works of Juste-Aurèle Meissonnier, a designer of Rococo furniture. The characteristic feature of his work was the use of plant ornaments and the so-called *rocaille* (shell ornamentation)⁵⁹⁷. Branicki also bought furniture designed by Nicolas Pineau, made in Paris workshops by Jacques Dubois⁵⁹⁸. Apart from that, Hetman's interest in the Far East culture was visible, though obviously it was superficial and compliant with the fashion prevailing in Europe then⁵⁹⁹. Guests from Western Europe could be much more impressed by the liking for Middle East Orientalism – Jan Klemens Branicki had a few spectacular items from the Ottoman Porte and Persia. A huge Persian carpet deserves to be mentioned. It covered the table in the representative dining room on the first floor⁶⁰⁰. Guests were also impressed by the janissary infantry, who guarded the residence dressed in their oriental attire and standing by pitched Turkish tents⁶⁰¹.

Regarding iconography, the figure of the Hetman's great grandfather, Stefan Czarniecki, was presented on the walls many times. Other honoured figures were August II and August III, as well as other European royal families, mostly Bourbons and Romanovs. Against that background, the omission of Stanisław

⁵⁹⁶ J.U. Niemcewicz, *Pamiętniki czasów moich*, pp. 149–150.

⁵⁹⁷ Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Rada Białostockiego Instytutu Panien Szlacheckich, ref. no. 2, file card 79v.

⁵⁹⁸ C. Bremer-David et. al., *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum. Decorative Arts*, London 1997, pp. 92–93.

⁵⁹⁹ D.N. Zasławska, *Chinoiserie w Wilanowie. Studium z dziejów nowożytnej recepcji mody chińskiej w Polsce*, Warszawa 2008.

⁶⁰⁰ Cf.: C. Rulhiere, *Histoire de l'Anarchie de Pologne*, „Edinburgh Review” 14 (1809), p. 369.

⁶⁰¹ E.A. von Lehndorff, op. cit., p. 9.

August Poniatowski, the king of Poland and Lithuania of the years 1764–1795 – Hetman's brother-in-law but at the same time his political opponent – was symbolic. It was only after the death of the last male successor of Branicki family, Gryf coat of arms, that Izabela, née Poniatowska, hung the portraits of her brother on the walls.

So it does not come as a surprise that people in the Commonwealth began talking about the value of Białystok, especially that many travelled along the route from Warsaw to Grodno and others visited the Grand Hetman of the Crown for official or private purposes. Therefore, even some individuals from abroad who saw Białystok began to spread the opinion of the exceptional value of the object in Europe. The oldest verified description was of 1755, when a Turkish procession stopped in Białystok of their way to Warsaw where they were going to inform of the appointment of the new ruler Osman III. An anonymous poet highlighted the beautiful palace and garden created by Branicki⁶⁰². Five years later, Anton Fredrich Büsching wrote in a memo that the palace in Białystok was referred to the *Versailles of Poland* due to its beauty⁶⁰³. Real interest in Białystok was related to the visit of a renowned French astronomer Jean-Baptiste Chappe d'Auteroche heading to Tobolsk in Siberia. It was a great scientific project in the contemporary Europe, whose objective was to calculate the distance from the Earth to Venus⁶⁰⁴. The author of the project took advantage of the international interest in the enterprise, publishing records from the journey to Siberia. The work was extremely popular and translated into multiple languages. That is why the elites of Europe could learn of the author's visit to Białystok that took place on 29th January 1761. He underscored that the town was little but beautifully situated and clean. He was very impressed by Jan Klemens Branicki's palace and gardens. He described the entrance gate, the entrance courtyard and the very body of the building. The author mentioned the vestibule, grand suites and those used by the Hetman and his wife, and the unique royal and golden suites on the first floor⁶⁰⁵. Consequently, from the 1760s, Jan Klemens Branicki's residence was becoming known as something extremely valuable in Europe.

As a result, some travellers deliberately chose Białystok as their destination. Others – when travelling from Warsaw to Grodno – felt they had to stop here at

⁶⁰² E. Kowecka, op. cit., p. 33.

⁶⁰³ *Neue Erdbeschreibung*, T. 1, Bd. 2: A.F. Büsching, *Welcher das ganze russische Reich, Preußen, Polen, Hungarn, und die europäische Turkey, mit den dazu gehörigen und einverleibten Ländern, enthält*, Bohn 1760, p. 1014.

⁶⁰⁴ The results of the measurements were published in the book: J.Ch. Auteroche, *Memoire du passage de Venus sur le soleil*, Petersburg 1762.

⁶⁰⁵ J.Ch. Auteroche, *Voyage en Sibirie: fait par ordre du roi en 1761*, vol. I, Paris 1768, pp. 16–17.



73. A corner wardrobe made in the workshop of Jacques Dubois at the request of Jan Klemens Branicki (1744–1753) [C. Bremer-David et. al., op. cit., pp. 92–93].

least for a few hours to see the “Versailles of the North”⁶⁰⁶. For instance in 1776, when prince Ignacy Jakub Massalski, *the Bishop of Vilnius, came to the parish, he walked around the palace, visited a few suites and the garden before his horses were prepared*⁶⁰⁷.

⁶⁰⁶ See I. Kulesza-Woroniecka, *Cudzoziemcy w Białymstoku*, pp. 139–151; I. Szymańska, A. Średzińska, op. cit., pp. 42–43.

⁶⁰⁷ Letter from W. Matuszewicz to I. Branicka, Białystok 2 IX 1776, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Korespondencje, LXV/1, file card 38.



74. A copy of Stefan Czarniecki's portrait kept in the Białystok palace
[Z. Gloger, op. cit., p. 158].

Notwithstanding its splendour, the palace was first of all functional. Except for several common rooms such as the vestibule, dining rooms on the ground floor and on the first floor, a billiards room and a ball room, all the others were part of suites including two or more rooms. Each of them had a residential character: one for Izabela and one for Jan Klemens Branicki, and the others could be used by guests who stayed in Białystok for a shorter or longer period. The suites had their proper names – they were *Gold, Grand, Chinese, Royal, or Bath rooms*. They all had distinctive finishing of the floors, walls and ceilings, as well as furniture and decorations. The efforts put in the issues of hygiene were characteristic. Even in 1737, a bath with running water was installed in the bathrooms. However, this device often failed, so it was replaced by a big, comfortable copper bath filled with water heated in vats. What is interesting is the water closet with running water to flush and an outflow. Almost each suite in the palace had one room allocated for a toilet (sometimes combined with a dressing room).

10. The Białystok Palace under Izabela Branicka's administration

The period of independent rule of Izabela Branicka in Białystok (1771–1808) was important in the context of further history of the palace and garden layout. In literature of the subject we find the opinion that although the period of greatness of the complex was the life of Jan Klemens Branicki, Izabela Branicka maintained the layout in good condition as well. The demise of the palace only occurred after it was purchased by Alexander I of Russia⁶⁰⁸. This thesis is obviously wrong: if it was so good, why does the situation look so dramatic in inventories of the years 1802–1808, especially when we compare the sources with the registers of 1772 and 1775⁶⁰⁹. Below, we try to explain what the situation really looked like.

In the first years of Izabela's independent rule nothing happened to significantly lower the aesthetic value of the palace. In the inventory of 1775, rooms were still in an excellent condition, although the first worrying signals already appeared. The suites of Jan Klemens Branicki and the boudoir were already in a poor state, there were reports of broken windows, mirrors and china⁶¹⁰. This neglect was the result of less supervision over the palace – until the end of the Commonwealth, Izabela Branicka moved to Warsaw for each winter, and sometimes she spent the greater part of a year in the capital⁶¹¹.

⁶⁰⁸ M. Kacperczyk, op. cit., p. 83; J. Maroszek, *Tajemnice białostockiego pałacu*, „Medyk Białostocki” 78–80 (2009), p. 36; A. Dobroński, *Białystok w latach 1795–1864*, p. 220, 236; E. Zeller-Narolewska, *Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku w XIX i XX w. Przemiany i problemy konserwatorskie*, „Biuletyn Konserwatorski Województwa Podlaskiego” 7 (2001), pp. 12 ff.; S. Strzelecki, *Czy Białystok pamięta o Izabeli Branickiej?*, „Bibliotekarz Podlaski” 15–16 (2007–2008), p. 13.

⁶⁰⁹ Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Rada Białostockiego Instytutu Panien Szlacheckich, ref. no. 2, file cards 13–143; *Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku*, vol. I: *Inwentarze z XVII i XVIII stulecia*.

⁶¹⁰ The need to replace the windows in palace rooms was raised even in 1781. Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 316, p. 45.

⁶¹¹ It was only “when the king was taken to Petersburg that his sister settled in the country and did not leave the castle any more”, except for the trip to Galicia in 1798. A. Potocka, op. cit., p. 17. Cf.: P.J. Bykowski, *Dwór królewski w Grodnie. Epizod biograficzny (1795–1797)*, Warszawa 1884, 83–86, 116.

On the other hand, Branicka started an important construction investment, the *Winter Suite*. The works were done in the years 1772–1773 and were supervised by architect Jan Sękowski⁶¹². To be precise, however, it must be admitted that the widow was only implementing a construction plan prepared by her deceased husband. The design of the layout had been created in 1770 and it involved the creation of separate rooms following the concept of *maison de plaisance* (house for pleasures) popular at the time⁶¹³. It was to be a pavilion integrated with the palace, connected by a colonnade with a palace wing.

The *Winter Suite* included a dining room, a scullery, a living room, a bedroom, a dressing room and a cellar⁶¹⁴. Its decoration testifies to Izabela's different taste. There are no more Rococo motifs, dados, lavish gilding or stuccowork. The ideological composition of the works of art was also different: Izabela's brother, Stanisław August Poniatowski, was an important figure. Obviously, even before the apartments finished in different periods differed in style depending on the current fashion. For example the boudoir of 1759 was decorated in the style of antiquity-inspired Rococo, and the *Parisian Suite* of 1766 represented early Classicism with strong Rococo elements⁶¹⁵.

These rooms were to be temporarily used by Izabela Branicka. The reason was that in her suite, *it is impossible to heat the rooms well, because the stoves are too cramped in the alcoves and only provide heat on one side, so when countess Branicka spends the winter in Białystok, she resides in a cosy house out of the manor*⁶¹⁶. Due to the fact that Branicka used to spend winters in Warsaw, the suite, just like the others, was to be used by guests staying at the palace. The decoration indicates that it was rather for women. For example, on 12th February 1783, Izabela Branicka informed her officials that Pelagia Marianna Grabowska, née Potocka, would stay in Białystok, *so you will provide her ... with lodging in my winter rooms, and if she has someone with her, give them another small room too*⁶¹⁷.

The floor in the dining room was made of pine wood, and the walls were decorated with flowery murals. Up to 24 people could eat there, for there were

⁶¹² Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 316, p. 62; Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 315, pp. 309–311.

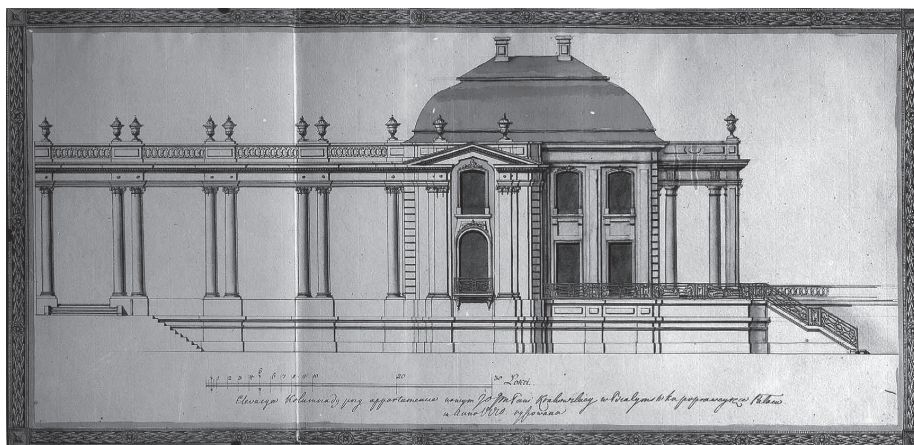
⁶¹³ In the same period, a *Guest House* was being built on the outskirts of the town. J. Nieciecki, *Pałacik Gościnny w Białymstoku*, Białystok 2006, p. 10.

⁶¹⁴ Description based on: Vilnius University Library, ref. no. A-1662, file cards 33v–34v.

⁶¹⁵ J. Nieciecki, *Pałacik Gościnny w Białymstoku – propozycja wystroju wnętrz i zagospodarowania otoczenia*, „Biuletyn Konserwatorski Województwa Podlaskiego” 6 (2000), p. 89.

⁶¹⁶ J. Bernoulli, op. cit., p. 347.

⁶¹⁷ AGAD, Archiwum Branickich z Białegostoku, 59, file cards 18–19.



75. Elewacja Kolumnady przy apartamencie nowym JO JM Pani Krakowskiej w Białymstoku po prawey ręce Palacu in Anno 1770 ryssowana [Gabinet Rycin Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Zbiory Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego, 187, no. 114].

24 leather stools from Gdańsk. A tiled stove provided the heat. The door from this room led to the hall and further to a room leading to the cellar⁶¹⁸.

A door with a rounded top led to the *first room*. The floor was covered with oak wood panels, and the walls, with striped and flowery wallpaper. Two sofas upholstered with green canvas with white elements, and 12 cane stools, were placed there. There was also a desk with five drawers with brass fittings. Three windows with six lead-framed glass panes provided a lot of light. Over them, there were curtain rods with canvas net curtains. Heating was provided by a white tiled stove (which at the same time heated the bedrooms) and a fireplace whose wooden elements were carved and painted so as to look like marble. Over the fireplace, there was a marble top where numerous porcelain decorations were placed, e.g. vases and a figurine of a man-led horse with a Paris clock⁶¹⁹. Over the top, a mirror in a gilded frame with a green ornament was installed, and candlesticks were mounted on both sides (an identical arrangement was used over the desk). Even higher, a portrait in an oval gilded frame was hanging. It was not the only painting in the room. There were also landscapes and other portraits, among others a portrait of countess Maria Teresa Kinsky von Weichnitz und Tettau⁶²⁰.

⁶¹⁸ Next to the dining room, there was a room called a scullery. It had pine wood floor too, the walls were painted white, and a corner fireplace was installed. In the cellar, there were shelves used for storing dishes. Cf.: W. Wróbel, M. Grassmann, op. cit., p. 26.

⁶¹⁹ Cf. Z. Prószyńska, *Zegary Stanisława Augusta*, Warszawa 1994, pp. 30, 36, 83 ff.

⁶²⁰ She was the wife of Andrzej Poniatowski (1734–1773), brother of Stanisław August Poniatowski and Elżbieta Branicka, née Potocka. Andrzej Poniatowski served in the Au-

The bedroom door was single and had an oval top. The floor was covered with oak woodblocks, and walls – with beige canvas. The furniture included a sofa upholstered with green and white checked canvas and six stools with the wooden elements painted red and yellow. The same material was used to make the curtains covering two windows and the bed. At the desk with a white marble top, a chair with crimson upholstery was standing. A mirror in a gilded frame was hanging above the desk. The bedroom was full of paintings, drawings and sketches. They were typically covered with glass and placed in black frames. Among them, there were portraits of Jan Klemens Branicki⁶²¹ and Ignacy Kra-sicki⁶²². The portrait of Izabela's brother, king Stanisław August Poniatowski, was distinguished with gilded frames. Landscapes, sketches and drawings, including those by Urszula Zamoyska⁶²³, were finished in the same way.

Another room was the dressing room, whose door was also rounded at the top. The walls were covered with white canvas with green elements, and in some places, also frescos. It was heated by a stove made of white flowers painted blue and a corner fireplace. Inside there was also a tiny room separated with a small door. The furniture that was hidden there had a strictly practical character. The wardrobes were painted yellow.

It can be assumed that the Białystok palace and garden layout had its prime time in 1773: all the suites were already finished then but they were not yet worn out. Unfortunately, the construction and finishing of the *Winter Suite* virtually ended Izabela Branicka's construction activity connected with the palace. We can only mention minor renovations of the years 1783–1784 and 1789–1790,

strian army since his youth, accomplishing the rank of *feldzugmeister*. E. Rostworowski, *Poniatowski Andrzej*, [in:] *Polski Słownik Biograficzny*, vol. XXVII, Wrocław 1983, p. 412; J. S. Dunin-Borkowski, *Polacy, dygnitarzami Austrii*, vol. I: *Podkomorzowie i paziowie (1750–1890)*, Lwów 1890, p. 12.

⁶²¹ The painting ("A portrait of Branicki, the Castellan of Cracow and Grand Hetman of the Crown behind glass in a black frame") found itself among the movable property of the palace in Boćki in 1796. Thus, after Branicki's death, this work of art was inherited by the Sapieha family. AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Akta majątkowo-rodzinne, 533, nonpaginated cards.

⁶²² This bishop of Warmia was a friend of Jan Klemens and Izabela Branicki. H. Mu-szyńska-Hoffmannowa, op. cit., pp. 21, 100 ff.

⁶²³ Urszula 1 v. Potocka, 2 v. Mnischowa, née Zamoyska (1750–1808), niece of Stanisław August Poniatowski, daughter of Ludwika Zamoyska and Jan Jakub Zamoyski, the voivode of Podolia; wife of Michał Jerzy Wandalin Mnisch, Crown Grand Marshal. A. Chyczewska, *Marceli Bacciarelli: życie, twórczość. Dzieła*, vol. II, Poznań 1970, pp. 112–113. She was famous for embroidering a colourful portrait of Stanisław August Poniatowski with wool, which was immortalized by the Papal nuncio Anioł Maria Durini, who wrote an ode in Latin in tribute to the artist. The ode was later translated into Polish, Italian and French. *Encyklopedia powszechna*, vol. VII, Warszawa 1861, pp. 687–688.



76. An example of stuccowork from the winter suite – photo by Sager of 1941
[*Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku*, vol. I, part 2, pp. 254–255].

but such works were totally insufficient and – just just like in the time of Jan Klemens Branicki – virtually permanent⁶²⁴.

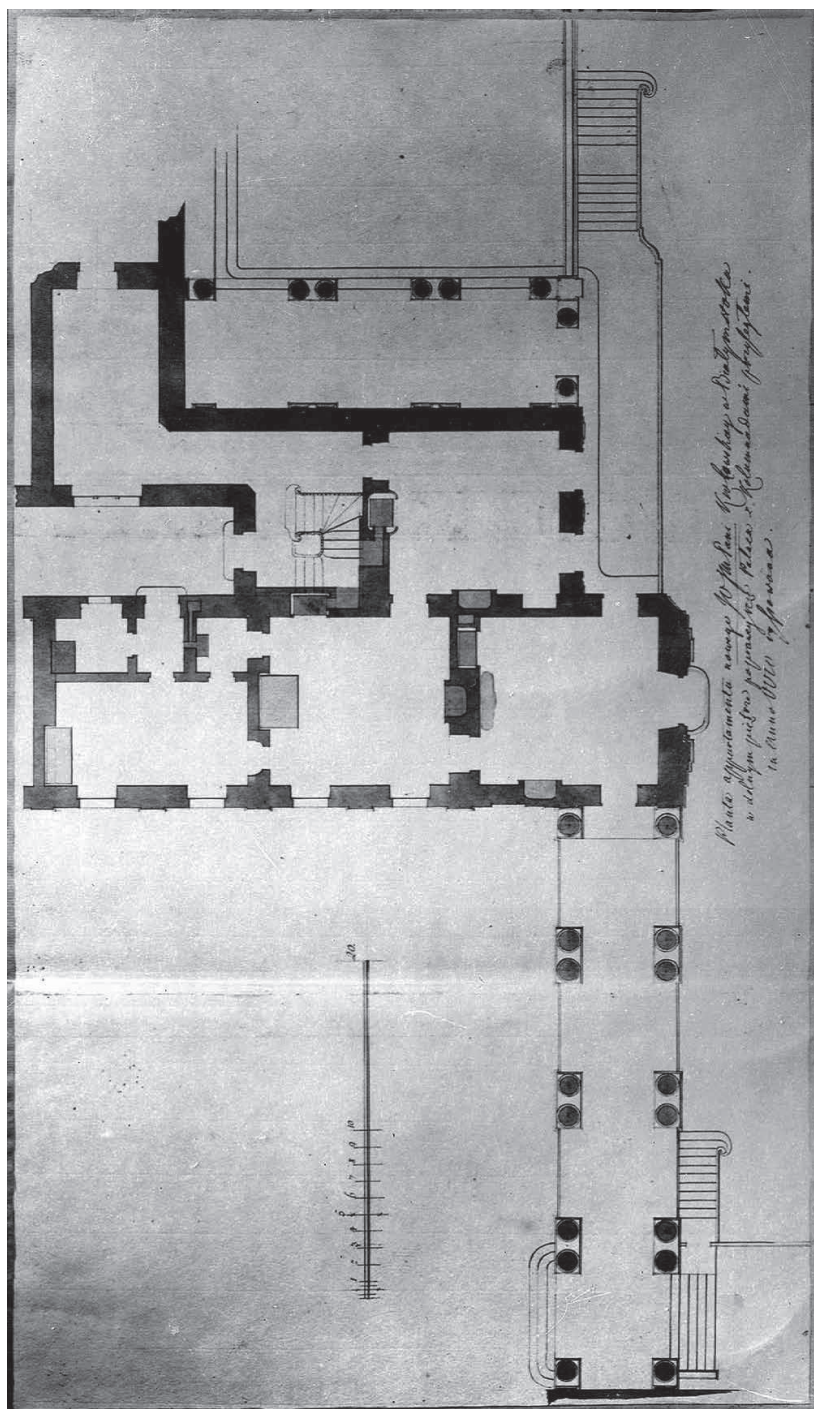
The lack of greater construction investments is surprising, as Izabela Branicka's financial capability, though smaller than her husband's, was still really huge. To understand this phenomenon, we must remember that magnates' material basis was not the hereditary lands but starosties granted by the king for services⁶²⁵. Jan Klemens Branicki was very well aware of that and in 1748 he arranged for life estate rights in wealthy Bielsk, Krosno and Mościsk starosties for his wife⁶²⁶. Most of the estates kept by the Branickis as a pledge also remained with Izabela until the end of her life⁶²⁷. As a result, the death of the Hetman in 1771

⁶²⁴ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 316, pp. 38–39, 81–82.

⁶²⁵ This phenomenon is highlighted in T. Zielińska, *passim*. The underestimation of the hereditary property criterion is stressed in S. Ciara, *Senatorowie i dygnitarze koronni w drugiej połowie XVII wieku*, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1990, pp. 5–6.

⁶²⁶ Consequently, after the death of the Hetman, the Crown Treasury Committee ordered to draw up inventories of these starosties and later, in 1771–1772, handed them over to Izabela Branicka. A. Sztachelska-Kokoczka, *Magnackie dobra*, p. 36.

⁶²⁷ For example, Orla and Dojlidy were the Radziwiłł family's estates pledged at the end of the 17th century. Already in 1789, Michał Hieronim Radziwiłł tried to regain the pledged Orla property. His rights were confirmed by the Bielsk district court, but the judgement was not executed in spite of king's written declaration to waive the property in 1794. Orla and Dojlidy were finally bought out in 1808. G. Sosna, F. Doroteusz, *Orla na Podlasiu. Dzieje Cerkwi, miasta i okolic*, Bielsk Podlaski–Ryboły–Białystok 1997, p. 38; E. Kozłowska-Świątkowska, J. Maroszek, *op. cit.*, pp. 75–76.



77. Layout of rooms in the *Winter Suite* [Gabinet Rycin Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Zbiory Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego, 187, no. 114].

did not change much from the material point of view. Only after 1800 the property was limited to the Podlasie estate, but it still covered a huge area of land whose value was estimated at 1,333,333 talars (8 million złoty)⁶²⁸. The only significant difference was that Jan Klemens could draw considerable profits from the office of the Grand Hetman of the Crown⁶²⁹. To sum up, it must be admitted that there was no sign of financial difficulties in Izabela's economic situation.

In the final years of Branicka, the manor's functioning was very modest. In 1787, there were only 24 officials and courtiers plus 53 servants; further considerable reduction occurred in 1795⁶³⁰. From the peak moment of 1787, when 24 officials and courtiers and 153 servants were maintained in the palace, gradual reduction of the staff occurred. After 1795, only 50-60 people worked there. In the late 18th century, the Białystok Master of the Hunt Wojciech Kodyński was obliged to limit the expenditure allocated to the game preserve⁶³¹. Michał Starzeński recorded that at the beginning of the 19th century, Izabella *arranged her household and house administration anew, reducing the expenses to the greatest extent possible. A cup of coffee, a small glass of white wine, a cutlet or a partridge wing were considered as a favour one would need to deserve to receive*⁶³². The progressing selling off of the property is strange, too. In 1797, Izabella sold the *mobilia* from the Warsaw palace⁶³³. What is also characteristic is the transaction carried out at the end of Branicka's life, around 1802, involving the sale of a part of the Antoniuk forest to the Prussian Kamera Wojny i Domen for 13,536 talars (81,216 złoty)⁶³⁴. Two years later, she sold to Józef Niemojewski a palace in Podwale, Warsaw⁶³⁵.

These activities resulted from the expense rationalization policy. The estates received from Jan Klemens Branicki were heavily indebted. As we can conclude from the inheritance proceedings after the death of Izabella Branicka, by 1800 she had paid off her husband's debts in the amount of 556,670 złoty and 15 gro-

⁶²⁸ A.B. Małek, *Kamera Wojny i Domen*, p. 45.

⁶²⁹ It is remarkable that Branicki was very willing to use soldiers to administer the estate. T. Zielińska, *Klientela*, pp. 211–213.

⁶³⁰ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 292 (p. 25), 316 (p. 52).

⁶³¹ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 316, pp. 47–48.

⁶³² Biblioteka Jagiellońska, ms. 6754, vol. III, pp. 17–18. Of course there was still some social life in Izabella Branicka's environment, though much less extensive. See J. Nieciecki, *Opowieści o „Polskim Wersalu”. O tym jak zwiedzano piękności parków i okolic Białegostoku*, „Biuletyn Konserwatorskich Województwa Białostockiego” 4 (1998), p. 33.

⁶³³ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 363 (p. 2), 373 (pp. 26 ff.).

⁶³⁴ The transaction was probably the result of a delay in the payment of Potockis' liabilities established pursuant to the agreement of 1800. Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 178, pp. 1, 7–8, 15.

⁶³⁵ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 284 (p. 5), 285 (pp. 35–38).



78. Portrait of Izabela Branicka – from the collection of the Museum of Podlasie in Białystok [A.Cz. Dobroński, A. Lechowski, op. cit., p. 32; <http://www.poranny.pl/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/20131124/ALBUMB/131129821> accessed 15/09/2014].

szy (92,778 talars and 10 groszy), and in the last eight years of her life, another 93,329 złoty and 15 groszy and 1,100 ducats (23,100 złoty)⁶³⁶. Proportionally, in the 18th century each year she repaid 19,195 złoty of debt, and in the 19th century, a slightly lower amount – 14,565 złoty. But taking into account the fact that after 1800 she only had the Podlasie estate at her disposal, the actual encumbrances in the 19th century were a few times higher⁶³⁷. Notwithstanding these amounts, this could not be the direct reason for investment inactivity.

What is more important is that Branicka was spending money on things other than her husband did (maintenance and decoration of the palace). Hipolit Kownacki so describes her motivation: *Tastes and inclinations differ. Some are beautiful, others practical. Some focus on magnificence, others on virtues. Some prefer reason, others – heart. Some are motivated by pride, others by conscience. Izabella spent more and more on charity: She helped many small fortunes, equipped*

⁶³⁶ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 178, pp. 15–16. Cf.: Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 419, p. 33. See a detailed statement of debts and cash left after the death of Izabella Branicka: AGAD, Archiwum Branickich z Białegostoku, ref. no. 111, pp. 1–8.

⁶³⁷ Since 01/06/1803, each year she received 42,000 złoty from the Prussian authorities for the lease of the town of Białystok, which must have considerably improved her financial standing.

maids, fed or cared for elderly persons of merit till their death, and gave many handouts⁶³⁸. This opinion is shared by Anna Potocka, née Tyszkiewicz: *Izabela spent on charity as much as her husband had spent on all kinds of pleasure*⁶³⁹. This is confirmed by Ignacy Theyls, who stressed at the reception of the palace in favour of the tsar: *and she devoted a great part of her income to helping the poor*⁶⁴⁰.

In spite of enormous property, Hetman's wife had other priorities than he had. Caring about the subjects and the development of Białystok, she did not concentrate on the renovations and repairs in the palace itself⁶⁴¹. This is indirectly confirmed by Hipolit Kownacki, friendly towards the Cracow Lady: *his bereaved wife ... following the plan and taste of her husband, carefully keeps it in good condition, hardly adding any new decorations, but she maintains everything as it is*⁶⁴². This inactivity led to very quick decline of the palace, which occurred within three decades. Even in the 1770s, it was undoubtedly one of the most beautiful European residences, which is proved by the inventories of 1771 and 1775⁶⁴³. A Prussian diplomat Ernest von Lehndorff wrote in 1767: *I am surprised with the omnipresent beauty, grandeur and good taste. The structures, gardens, avenues and colonnades are all like in a royal residence. ... The magnificent equipment [in the palace] is totally arranged in the French style. Looking at sumptuous furniture and decor of the rooms, you can feel you are in Paris*⁶⁴⁴. Descriptions from the end on the 18th century are symptomatic. We have underlined the most significant fragments. In 1793, Fryderyk Szulc wrote: *There is a castle here and a large, well-maintained garden. The structure is in the regular Italian style, without this plenty of columns which have been placed in nearly all new palaces built over the latest ten or fifteen years. The whole of it looks pleasant and free, although according to the more recent construction style it could be called a little bare: the height and dimensions are in such a ratio to the surface area that it is not offensive at all. ... The interior of the palace has been quite empty and neglected since its owner has moved to Warsaw, still there are enough beautiful rooms and halls, hard to see in the countries between Warsaw*

⁶³⁸ H. Kownacki, [Pamiętniki], Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 419, pp. 30–31.

⁶³⁹ A. Potocka-Wąsowiczowa, *Wspomnienia naocznego świadka*, ed. by B. Grochulska, Warszawa 1965, p. 28.

⁶⁴⁰ Letter from I.A. Theyls to A.B. Kurakin, Białystok 31 XII 1808, Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Rada Białostockiego Instytutu Panien Szlacheckich, ref. no. 2, file card 10: „а притом и большую часть своих доходов обращала она на вспоможение многим”.

⁶⁴¹ Renovation of even a small part of the palace was a great organizational, intellectual and financial project. Cf.: A. Oleńska, *Jan Klemens Branicki*, pp. 119–131.

⁶⁴² Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 419, p. 26.

⁶⁴³ See also the description of Białystok made in 1778 by J. Bernoulli, op. cit., pp. 345–346.

⁶⁴⁴ E.A. von Lehndorff, op. cit., p. 9.

and Petersburg⁶⁴⁵. The author noted that the architecture was already a little out of date and the interiors were no longer unique. This opinion is shared by Hipolit Kownacki, who wrote five years later: *The palace is vast, grandiose, and the internal arrangement of rooms is quite good and convenient, but the passage of time is visible on furniture and interior decorations. The garden is vast, also in the old style*⁶⁴⁶. It is worth mentioning the memories of Anna Potocka, née Tyszkiewicz, who referred to the transformations occurring in the palace: *I had the opportunity to see Białystok decorated with rare magnificence. Very expensive French upholsterers brought there furniture, mirrors and wooden panels worth of the Palace of Versailles. ... In my time it was just a memory, so I used to ask centenarian servants to describe its grandeur to me*⁶⁴⁷.

In the early 19th century, the demise of the palace intensified. After Izabela Branicka's death, Ignacy Theyls wrote: *since the palace had been sold to the king [of Prussia in 1802], it remained under life administration [of Izabela Branicka] and hardly anything was renovated, so the wallpapers in her rooms were torn and covered with landscapes and portraits*⁶⁴⁸. Comments in the inventory of 1808 are telling – in many places it was recorded that the heating systems were not working well, smoke was leaking from fireplaces, and carbon monoxide was accumulating in the rooms.

What was particularly noticeable even at first sight was the very poor condition of the palace's equipment. And again, Ignacy Theyls expressed his surprise that such an outstanding figure as Izabela Branicka had so little furniture and it was of so little value⁶⁴⁹. He explains the fact this way: *It was caused by her old age and poor health condition, which made her constantly stay in two or three rooms downstairs. The upper floors were not used, except occasionally putting up relatives there*⁶⁵⁰. The evaluation of the Białystok district governor includes the fact that the Hetman's wife had shared out a considerable part of the furniture and

⁶⁴⁵ F. Schulz, op. cit., pp. 42–43.

⁶⁴⁶ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 419, p. 26.

⁶⁴⁷ A. Potocka, op. cit., pp. 15, 16.

⁶⁴⁸ Letter from I.A. Theyls to A.B. Kurakin, Białystok 31 XII 1808, Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Rada Białostockiego Instytutu Panien Szlacheckich, ref. no. 2, file card 10: „Когда же имение продано было королю, хотя и оставалась она пожизненной оного владельницею, то почти ничего не было употребляемо на поправление, так что даже в гостиной ее комнате обои были все изорваны и закрывались ландкартами и картинами”.

⁶⁴⁹ Letter from I.A. Theyls to A.B. Kurakin, Białystok 31 XII 1808, Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Rada Białostockiego Instytutu Panien Szlacheckich, ref. no. 2, file card 10.

⁶⁵⁰ Letter from I.A. Theyls to A.B. Kurakin, Białystok 31 XII 1808, Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Rada Białostockiego Instytutu Panien Szlacheckich, ref. no. 2, file card 10: „Причиною тому была ее старость и нездоровье, принуждавшие ее почти всегда



79. Portrait of Izabela Branicka by Antoni Tallmann
[A.Cz. Dobroński, A. Lechowski, op. cit., p. 37].

furnishings in her testament⁶⁵¹. This led to dramatic changes in the appearance of the palace, nearly all items from which had been shared out⁶⁵².

сидеть в своих двух или трех комнатах внизу, так что верх всегда оставался без призора пустой, кроме иногда помещения там приезжих ее родственников”.

⁶⁵¹ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 419, p. 33; J. Nieciecki, *Testament*, pp. 10, 17.

⁶⁵² Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, Oddział I: Zamek Królewski na Wawelu, Zbiór Zygmunta Glogera, ref. no. 91.

But the Russians bought the most beautiful furniture from the palace, and for an extremely low price (1,360 talars / 8,160 złoty), which price testifies to its poor state⁶⁵³. We can only guess what the condition of the furniture was: wallpapers and stuccowork after the utilization/ of the palace by Jan Klemens, and later Izabela, for 40, 50 or 60 years⁶⁵⁴. Other decorative elements, such as paintings, wallpapers, gold leaves and net curtains, were not well preserved, either. For example most paintings were moved to the attic because of their poor condition, where they further deteriorated for another 40 years⁶⁵⁵.

To sum up, it may be surprising that within less than four decades, without any unusual events like wars, fires or floods, its value dropped so much. Ignacy Theyls found the explanation for that, too. He argued that the palaces built during his lifetime could stand about 180 years without complete refurbishment. brick elements might even survive three centuries, but wooden and metal objects had shorter durability. On the basis of his experience in the assessment of the Białystok palace, he pointed out that the estimated lifetime of such a structure should be even shortened to 150 years, because finishings are even more susceptible to damage. Sadly, this model is unreliable too, because *paintings, dados, gildings and other room ornamentations, despite relatively high prices, deteriorate much faster, and consequently their durability is the lowest and impossible to determine, since they can quickly deteriorate even because of improper room ventilation*. Unfortunately this is what happened in Białystok⁶⁵⁶.

⁶⁵³ Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Rada Białostockiego Instytutu Panien Szlacheckich, ref. no. 2, file cards 11–12v.

⁶⁵⁴ Elżbieta Kowecka's book *Dwór „Najrzędniejszego w Polsce magnata”* (Warszawa 1991) very well shows that maintaining the palace in great condition required of Jan Klemens Branicki some constant works at the palace and gardens. The Hetman all the time bought some new furniture, canvas, ordered sculptures or paintings. In comparison to such intensive works, in the years 1795–1808 there was almost complete stagnation in the construction or renovation of the palace.

⁶⁵⁵ Z. Gloger, op. cit., p. 158.

⁶⁵⁶ Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Rada Białostockiego Instytutu Panien Szlacheckich, ref. no. 2, file cards 103v–104: „Что принадлежит до живописи, окрашения, позолоты и прочих комнатных украшений, на кои воздух действует, а особливо относительно высокой цены, то оныя гораздо скорейшей порче подвержены, почему продолжительность сих последних вещей тем с меньшею надежностью определить можно, что часто чрез упущение только проветривания комнат в самое короткое время подвергаются оне порче”.

11. The Białystok estate under the sole administration of Izabela Branicka (1771–1808)

Izabela Branicka administered the Białystok estate individually in the years 1771–1808. Although this period of the estate history was relatively short, it was extremely tempestuous. In 1772, the first partition of the Commonwealth occurred, as a result of which a substantial part of the Galician estate of the late Hetman was suddenly under Austrian rule. The years 1793–1795 brought the 2nd and 3rd partition, ultimately liquidating the Polish-Lithuanian state. Białystok was incorporated into the Kingdom of Prussia as a part of New East Prussia, and then, as a result of the Treaties of Tilsit (1807), it was handed over to Russia. These dynamic political and systemic transformations were accompanied by equally rapid events concerning ownership issues.

The childless death of Jan Klemens Branicki, which occurred in 1771, did not mean a revolution in the administration of the Białystok estate. True, the land law did not allow a wife to inherit real estate from her husband, but it provided for the life estate right (*advitalitium*) for the spouse⁶⁵⁷. This was what Grand Hetman of the Crown did, writing his testament on 20th August 1768⁶⁵⁸. Of course after the death of Izabela Branicka, the estate would be inherited by the successors in accordance with general legal principles⁶⁵⁹.

Izabela Branicka influenced further development of Białystok in several ways. First of all, she prevented serious damage of the town and its surroundings during the wars and turmoil connected with the partitions of the Commonwealth. Those events, for example, led to the collapse of estates as extensive as the ones belonging to the *Lady of Siemiatycze and Kock*, Anna Jabłonowska, née Sapieha⁶⁶⁰. The credit for this goes not really to the personal abilities of

⁶⁵⁷ J.W. Bandtkie, *Prawo prywatne polskie*, Warszawa 1851, pp. 350–351.

⁶⁵⁸ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 195, p. 7; J. Nieciecki, *Testament*, pp. 9–11, 24; A. Sztachelska-Kokoczek, *Magnackie dobra*, pp. 18, 22.

⁶⁵⁹ A. Sztachelska-Kokoczek, *Białystok*, p. 27, table 1; Lwowska Naukowa Biblioteka im. W. Stefanyka, Oddział rękopisów, f. 141, op. 2, no. 77, file cards 14–16, 27v–28.

⁶⁶⁰ A. Chorobińska-Misztal, *Z dziejów Siemiatycz drugiej połowy XVIII wieku. Działalność reformatorka Anny Jabłonowskiej*, Białystok 1978, pp. 40–41.



80. Monument of the heart of Jan Klemens Branicki, placed in the Białystok church in 1778 [The monument was made by Andrzej Le Brun, the court sculptor of Stanisław August Poniatowski].

Izabela Branicka but rather to the fact that she was a sister of the king, Stanisław August Poniatowski⁶⁶¹. The Russian army under the command of Levin August von Bennigsen were explicitly ordered to preserve the estate, so *it was completely peaceful*, and the town became the place where wives and children from grand Lithuanian families were sent to stay⁶⁶². At the turn of 1795, Bennigsen accommodated his troops in Białystok for the winter, and then retreated with the Russian army to the areas occupied by Russia. For a large part of the year 1795, the area of Białystok was free from any soldiers. Only on 26th January

⁶⁶¹ See the information on military encumbrances of Izabella Branicka's estate of 1792–1807: AGAD, Archiwum Branickich z Białegostoku, ref. no. 57.

⁶⁶² Biblioteka Jagiellońska, ms. 6754, vol. II, pp. 149–150. The year 1792 is also mentioned by D. Rolnik, *Szlachta koronna wobec konfederacji targowickiej (maj 1792 – styczeń 1793)*, Katowice 2000, pp. 29, 34.

1796 did Prussian troops enter the town⁶⁶³. The shift of the border resulting from the Peace of Tilsit in 1807 did not ensue any damage or losses, either⁶⁶⁴.

Definitely it was thanks to Izabela's initiative and abilities that from 1773 Crown troops were brought to station if the town under very beneficial contracts⁶⁶⁵. It was necessary because just after Jan Klemens Branicki's death, Białystok emptied. Soldiers left the town: the infantry regiment went to Lviv, the dragoons were sent to Warsaw, and the representative janissary and Hayduk units, to Luboml. Officers left the town together with their troops, *only leaving behind invalids incapable of active service and those who had their families and houses here*. The school of engineering was liquidated, as well as *the orchestra, the Italian theatre and ballet*. *The only people who remained were those who were unable to leave*⁶⁶⁶.

Thanks to the army, economic development of Białystok was ensured until 1795. Then, pursuant to the division treaty of 24th October 1795, the part of Podlasie north of the Bug river went to the Kingdom of Prussia⁶⁶⁷. The troops of that country entered Białystok on 26th January 1796, and the oath of allegiance of Podlasie representatives was received on 6th August 1796 in Warsaw, but the actual (permanent) activity of Kamera of the New East Prussia Department began in the middle of 1797⁶⁶⁸.

In that decisive time, Izabela Branicka manifested great political maturity and took the initiative to establish the capital of New East Prussia in Białystok. She realized that she was a sister of the last king of the Commonwealth, who had abdicated but was alive and resided in Petersburg (ob. 12th February 1798)⁶⁶⁹. Moreover, Branicka tempted the new authorities with comfortable facilities in the case of establishing permanent Prussian offices in Białystok⁶⁷⁰. In the Commonwealth, there was no complicated administration, so towns were

⁶⁶³ J. Łukasiewicz, op. cit., pp. 59–60; A. Sztachelska-Kokoczka, *Białystok*, pp. 45–46.

⁶⁶⁴ Biblioteka Jagiellońska, ms. 6754, vol. III, pp. 47–48: "Upon learning of the concern of the Hetmaness, emperor Alexander authorized Benningsen to send the best cavalry regiment to Białystok to ensure security".

⁶⁶⁵ More information about this can be found in the chapter "Białystok as a garrison town".

⁶⁶⁶ M. Starzeński, op. cit., pp. 30–31.

⁶⁶⁷ A. Cz. Dobroński, *Białystok w latach 1795–1864*, p. 215; A. Małek, *Białystok pod zaborem*, p. 19.

⁶⁶⁸ J. Łukasiewicz, op. cit., pp. 59–60; A. Sztachelska-Kokoczka, *Białystok*, pp. 45–46.

⁶⁶⁹ The Prussian administrative bodies indeed highlighted the importance of Izabela Branicka as a sister of Stanisław August Poniatowski, thus legitimizing the Białystok Department of New East Prussia (*Neu Ost-Preussen*). A. K. Holsche, op. cit., p. 449; cf. A. Małek, *Kamera Wojny i Domen*, pp. 103–156.

⁶⁷⁰ AGAD, Archiwum Branickich z Białegostoku, 114, pp. 112–113, 119.

totally unprepared to receive a crowd of officials. Branicka had attractive accommodation capabilities, originating from the times when large numbers of officials and servants lived at the manor; besides, the town could boast housing traditionally capable of holding 500–600 soldiers from the garrison.

At Izabela Branicka's request, an inventory titled *Stancje w oficynie pałacowej od sadzawek* was drawn up. It was made by Michał Lubowicki on 1st June 1796, and its aim was to determine the accommodation capacity within the palace and garden layout⁶⁷¹. Franciszek Biłgorajski recorded: *As authorities, kamera and Białystok regional bodies were established in Białystok along with other authorities, there were not enough buildings to host them all. Lady Branicka made available a spacious outhouse for the kamera, and a house in front of the canals, where schools had functioned in the time of the Commonwealth, was occupied by the regional authorities; in another place he wrote that after the liquidation of Jesuits, Branicka only let free of charge the outhouses by the canals opposite the palace*⁶⁷². Some officials were accommodated in flats in the town, and others in the premises of the palace layout Izabela Branicka let them for use free of charge⁶⁷³. In 1797, Branicka gave her consent to allot the manor yards for the construction of buildings for Kamera Wojny i Domen, with the exception of palace surroundings so as to preserve the existing architectural layout⁶⁷⁴.

*Consequently, a department of New East Prussia was established, and thanks to Lady Branicka's effort Białystok became the capital of the department, although the town was a hereditary one. It would be more fitting to arrange it in Łomża, Augustów or another starosty borough. But the authorities made the concession because she was the king's sister.*⁶⁷⁵ This caused a great inflow of people and cap-

⁶⁷¹ Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, 2322, file cards 132–149; AGAD, Archiwum Branickich z Białegostoku, 114, pp. 18–50.

⁶⁷² [F. Biłgorajski], *Pamiętnik szlachcica podlaskiego*, „Czas” 1876, no. 269, p. 2. Other changes introduced in Białystok included: “the house in front of the canals, where schools had functioned in the time of the Commonwealth, was occupied by the regional authorities. The school was moved to the big building where in the great period of Branicki's rule there had been a theatre. Rooms were converted into classrooms, and the theatre itself was handed over to the multiple officials of the Augsburg confession to arrange a church there”. Ibidem. These data are confirmed by other sources, vide AGAD, Archiwum Branickich z Białegostoku, 114, file cards 129–135.

⁶⁷³ AGAD, Archiwum Branickich z Białegostoku, 114, pp. 3–4, 7–8, 113–114, 119, 133; *Spis mieszkańców Białegostoku z 1799 r.*, [in:] A. Małek, *Mieszkańcy Białegostoku*, pp. 68–102; A. Sztachelska, *Źródła do dziejów miasta*, p. 311; Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, 2322, file cards 87v–92, 182v–187.

⁶⁷⁴ AGAD, Archiwum Branickich z Białegostoku, 114, p. 119. Izabela Branicka had a court architect (information as of 05/08/1797), Tscherning von Czernik. AGAD, Archiwum Branickich z Białegostoku, 114, pp. 144–145.

⁶⁷⁵ [F. Biłgorajski], *Pamiętnik szlachcica podlaskiego*, „Czas” 1876, no. 269, p. 2.



81. Portrait of Izabela Branicka by Per Krafft the Elder
[See http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Izabela_Branicka.JPG].

ital. There were 561 soldiers only in the military garrison protecting the new capital, and their families inclusive, the number of people reached 1,019. Adding at least 200 government officials to it, we get over 1,200 people with average or high, regular, income⁶⁷⁶.

Based on this analysis, we can evaluate Izabella Branicka at least good for the management of the town of Białystok. Hipolit Kownacki presents a very interesting comparison of economic skills of Anna Jabłonowska, née Sapieha (two years older), and Izabela Branicka, née Poniatowska. The former was recognized by the contemporaries as an extremely good economist; she even wrote two books on the subject⁶⁷⁷. But Kownacki evaluates Izabela much high-

⁶⁷⁶ *Pruskie opisy miast polskich*, pp. 52–53; W. Kusiński, op. cit., p. 273; J. Łukasiewicz, op. cit., p. 62; A. Małek, *Białystok pod zaborem*, s. 23.

⁶⁷⁷ A. Jabłonowska, *Ustawy powszechne dla dóbr moich rządców*, vols I–VII, Siemiatycze 1783–1785 (edition one) and vols I–VIII, Warszawa 1786 (edition two). Eadem, *Porządek*



82. Development of Białystok – juxtaposition of a map of 1799 (lower right-hand corner) with plans made nine years later.

er, even mocking duchess Anna Jabłonowska as *an economist better known for her books than for her own household*. He observed this in 1798, preceded by the period of enormous damage to the Siemiatycze estate connected with the collapse of the Commonwealth, which Białystok had managed to avoid⁶⁷⁸. He mentioned *great mess in the overall business, loads of debts. Many court proceedings, disorder and common dissatisfaction at home and oppression of the subjects. How different this is from the administration and management of the Lady of Cracow! She does not write any books, not trying to teach anyone how to manage a household, but she administers wonderfully, manages the business reasonably, treats people with kindness, generously rewards those who serve her loyally and cares about each of them, she is loved and respected by her domestics, and each of them does their tasks with zeal and pleasure. As a result, the lower servants take great care to manage the lady's property, higher officials fulfil their responsibilities honestly and honourably, and the lady controls everything from behind the scene and makes it tick*⁶⁷⁹.

robót miesięcznych ogrodnika na cały rok wypisany i na miesiące podzielony, Siemiatycze 1786 (subsequent editions: Warszawa 1787, 1792).

⁶⁷⁸ A. Chorobińska-Misztal, op. cit., pp. 40–41.

⁶⁷⁹ H. Kownacki, [Pamiętniki], Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 419, pp. 29–30.



Another issue is the legal problems related to Izabela Branicka keeping the property inherited from the Grand Hetman of the Crown⁶⁸⁰. In 1771, she was only 41 (she was born on 1st July 1730 in Wołczyn⁶⁸¹), so it could be expected that the management of the estates would not change for many years. In that situation, successor of Jan Klemens Branicki attempted to undermine the testamentary provisions⁶⁸². First of all, the issues of movable property and the life estate needed to be resolved. For that purpose, a special committee was appointed in 1774 in Warsaw to resolve disputes *concerning certain items of the said testament* (this referred to movable property: real estate was a subject of statutory inheritance)⁶⁸³. The life estate provision was then confirmed and particular items of the will were endorsed⁶⁸⁴.

Issues connected with amounts invested in real estate were much more complicated from the legal point of view⁶⁸⁵. They were a result of different liabilities, very often inveterate ones, for example the payment of 300,000 złoty of dowry for the successors of Jan Klemens' first wife, Katarzyna Barbara Radziwiłłówna⁶⁸⁶. Moreover, the position of Izabela Branicka was unclear, as she was formally not the owner of the property of her husband but only had the right to administer the estate and draw profits from it. The Potocki family were *de iure*

⁶⁸⁰ The fragment below is a modified version of the article: K. Łopatecki, *Sprzedaż dóbr białostockich przez spadkobierców Jana Klemensa Branickiego*, „Studia Podlaskie”, in press.

⁶⁸¹ A.Cz. Dobroński, A. Lechowski, op. cit., p. 5.

⁶⁸² More about the legal actions of Jan Klemens Branicki's successors against Izabella Branicka: K. Łopatecki, *Sprzedaż dóbr białostockich*, (in press).

⁶⁸³ AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Akta majątkowo-rodzinne, ref. no. 115; *Volumnia legum*, vol. VIII, ed. by J. Ohryzko, Petersburg 1860, p. 209; I. Szymańska, A. Średzińska, op. cit., p. 41; A. Sztachelska-Kokoczka, *Magnackie dobra*, p. 22.

⁶⁸⁴ Consequently, some of the items previously found in the Białystok palace were handed over to owners other than Izabella Branicka. This is supported by a list of items purchased in 1782 by Stanisław August Poniatowski from the niece of the deceased Hetman, Maria Radziwiłłówna. AGAD, Archiwum ks. J. Poniatowskiego, 238, pp. 1–16, which mentions e.g. fabric decorated with “coat of arms gryphons”, and “a silver gold-plated horsetail knob with a gryphon on one side and an eagle on the other”. “Duchess Miecznikowa gave a voucher to Białystok for the goblet bequeathed by Czarniecki, which is not included in this account”. Ibidem, pp. 3, 7, 12.

⁶⁸⁵ Some of the financial liabilities towards Catholic churches and clergy were confirmed in a sejm constitution. *Volumina legum*, vol. IX, Kraków 1889, pp. 400–401.

⁶⁸⁶ A lawsuit concerning this issue was filed to the Bielsk district court by Anna Jabłonowska, née Sapieha. AGAD, Archiwum Radziwiłłów, V, no. 1344, file cards 15–16; I. Szymańska, A. Średzińska, op. cit., p. 41. This dispute was ultimately resolved in 1779. Letter from W. Matuszewicz to I. Branicka, Białystok 8 II 1779, AGAD, Archiwum Roskie, Korespondencja, LXV/1, file card 99v.

the owners, but they, for a change, could not dispose of the estate and had no profits from it until the death of the Hetmaness⁶⁸⁷.

The most time-consuming legal dispute was the one between the successors of Jan Klemens Branicki and Izabela Branicka⁶⁸⁸. The proceeding was even more complicated because Białystok was successively part of three states: the Polish–Lithuanian Commonwealth (Podlaskie Voivodeship), the Kingdom of Prussia (Białystok Department) and the Russian Empire (Białystok District). The changing judiciary, law, and different citizenship of the stakeholders made it difficult to ultimately settle the dispute in court. Decade after decade, the number of people with inheritance right was also changing dynamically.

However, the division of the Commonwealth between three occupants finally motivated the feuding parties to make an agreement. Particular countries required their residents, especially the owners of land, to swear oaths of allegiance, and in the long run it was not allowed to keep real estates in more than one country⁶⁸⁹. What motivated Branicka to make the agreement was also her poor health, mainly the serious illness she developed at the end of 1797⁶⁹⁰. After the treatment, the Hetmaness wanted to get rid of the mental burden connected with court proceedings. She set off to the hereditary estate of her late husband located in Galicia⁶⁹¹. She had not visited it for more than 30 years, so the visit may have meant that she had some further plans connected with it. Izabella Branicka *intended either to return the Podlasie estate to the successors and keep the Galicia one, or do otherwise*⁶⁹². The offer was not accepted by the

⁶⁸⁷ It should be emphasized that these proceedings were the result of Izabela Branicka's ill will, since in the testament her husband had clearly ordered his wife to repay all the debts "confirmed by my signature or another authentic proofs", in particular the 300,000 złoty deposited in the estate as the dowry for Katarzyna Radziwiłówna. The Hetmaness managed to upturn this provision before the committee debating in 1774. J. Nieciecki, *Testament*, p. 24.

⁶⁸⁸ See Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, Oddział I: Zamek Królewski na Wawelu, Zbiór Zygmunta Glogera, ref. no. 90, pp. 1–28.

⁶⁸⁹ *Projekt prawa prowincjonalnego Obwodu Białostockiego z 1811 roku*, ed. by K. Łopatecki, M. Piłaszewicz-Łopatecka, Białystok–Oświęcim 2015, § 24, p. 41, provided for a maximum of three years for ultimate resolution of property issues in other countries. The actions of Prussian authorities in this subject were very resolute. On 14/06/1797, Kamera Wojny i Domen refused to continue the lease of the Pelisze estate to Aleksander Bobon. The refusal was based on the fact that he had his main estate in Russia. Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, ref. no. 106, file cards 30.

⁶⁹⁰ H. Kownacki, [Pamiętniki], Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 419, p. 25: "before Christmas began to spit blood and was very weak, so that the domestics despaired for her life, the successors already sent a plenipotentiary to collect the Galicia estate, who arrived in Tarnów". Luckily, after several minor recurrences, Branicka got better.

⁶⁹¹ A. Sztachelska-Kokoczka, *Magnackie dobra*, pp. 33, 37–38, 44, 82.

⁶⁹² H. Kownacki, [Pamiętniki], Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 419, p. 26.

Potockis but became the basis for further detailed finalization activities. But probably it was then that Branicka decided to keep the Podlasie estate.

As a result, an agreement was concluded in 1800 between the Potockis and Izabella Branicka. Both parties could see some benefits in legal settlement. On the one hand, Izabella Branicka would prematurely relinquish her husband's estate. On the other hand, managing such a vast estate was too much for her and triggered some political complications. From the successors she should receive full dowry amounts, plus payments (*deporta*) related to amounts of cash encumbering the real estate, determined voluntarily or by court. The amounts were so high that the collateral was Białystok, Tykocin and Choroszcz estates, with possible extension with the Galicia estate⁶⁹³. So in fact the parties divided the properties according to political borders (Prussian and Austrian estates)⁶⁹⁴.

After establishing the capital of New East Prussia in Białystok, it was obvious that state authorities would strive to purchase the town. In the beginning, the Prussian officials determined the heirs – brothers Jan and Feliks Potocki and the Starostess of Kaniów, Joanna Potocka, all of whom made preliminary declarations of the will to sell Białystok⁶⁹⁵. The works, however, were rather slow. First, the activity of Kamera of the New East Prussia Department had to commence, which occurred in 1797⁶⁹⁶. Second, in November 1797 Frederick William II died. It was only in the 2nd half of 1798 that the newly crowned ruler Frederick William III applied to the director of Białystok regional authorities August Karl Holsche to *begin negotiations in this issue*⁶⁹⁷. An enquiry concerning the conditions of selling the town of Białystok (without any other land in New East Prussia) was addressed and sent to the successors⁶⁹⁸. Holsche requested then to

⁶⁹³ Centralne Archiwum Historyczne w Kijowie, f. 241, op. 1, no. 7, file cards 1–3v; I. Szymańska, A. Średzińska, op. cit., pp. 40–41.

⁶⁹⁴ Cf.: J. Łukasiewicz, op. cit., pp. 59–60; A. Sztachelska-Kokoczka, *Białystok*, pp. 45–46.

⁶⁹⁵ Letter from J. Potocka to A.C. Holsche, Warszawa 28 XI 1798, Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, ref. no. 2318, file card 20.

⁶⁹⁶ J. Łukasiewicz, op. cit., pp. 59–60; A. Sztachelska-Kokoczka, *Białystok*, pp. 45–46.

⁶⁹⁷ Letter from A.C. Holsche o Markowski, Białystok 14 XI 1798, Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, ref. no. 2318, file card 8. See R. Straubel, *Biographisches Handbuch Der Preubischen Verwaltungs- und Justizbeamten 1740–1806/15*, München 2009, pp. 435–436. The person responsible for this issue at the governmental level was the governor of New East Prussia, Friedrich Leopold von Schrötter. Letter from A.K. Holsche to I. Branicka, Białystok b.d., Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, ref. no. 2318, file card 12. See the biographical entry of the governor edited by Janusz Daniełuk: *500 lat województwa podlaskiego. Historia w dokumentach*, Białystok 2013, p. 177, and Gottlieb Krause: *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, Bd. XXXII, Leipzig 1891, pp. 579–582.

⁶⁹⁸ Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, ref. no. 2318, file cards 12–15. After the third partition, however, their location was unknown. A plenipotentiary, Mr Markowski, was appointed to deliver the correspondence. Letter from A.C. Hol-

hurry because *the permanent location for these state bodies will be determined next year* [i.e. in 1799]⁶⁹⁹. He suggested in the letter to meet in Białystok or Warsaw in person or through a proxy so as to discuss the matter in detail⁷⁰⁰.

Having examined the material status, the successors added three ponds, three forests, treasury buildings, a palace with accompanying buildings and a garden to the value of the town. The whole property was estimated at 450,000 talars, or 2.7 million złoty. In the substantiation, they wrote that they had computed the cost of movable property found in the palace, *which they could not remove without damaging the walls*; in fact they included not only the cost of upholstery, floors, doors, trims, windows, stoves and fireplaces, but also of chairs, sofas, tables etc.⁷⁰¹

The Prussian authorities worked two ways. Apart from negotiations concerning the purchase of the town, the kamera aimed at really taking the town over from Izabela Branicka. For that purpose, Holsche sent an inquiry about the general conditions on which she would agree to relinquish the life estate. At the same time, the director of the kamera stressed that he did not think the Prussian authorities would intend to take the palace, gardens and villages belonging to the sister of the last king of the Commonwealth; the only thing in question was the town of Białystok⁷⁰².

First of all, *Summariusz intraty miasta Białegostoku i wsiów do niego należących* was drawn up on 8th May 1799⁷⁰³. Averaging the income from the three previous years, Branicka's officials estimated the annual profit to be 9,150 talars (54,900 złoty)⁷⁰⁴. This amount was then verified by the kamera officials, who

sche to Markowski, Białystok 14 XI 1798, Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, ref. no. 2318, file card 8.

⁶⁹⁹ Letter from A.C. Holsche to J. Potocka, [Białystok XI 1798], Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, ref. no. 2318, file card 13v.

⁷⁰⁰ Joanna Potocka agreed to meet in Białystok through an authorized representative. Letter from J. Potocka to A.C. Holsche, Warszawa 20 XI 1798, Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, ref. no. 2318, file cards 20v–21.

⁷⁰¹ Information provided by Jan Potocki, Białystok 9 V 1799, Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, ref. no. 2318, file card 44v.

⁷⁰² Letter from A.C. Holsche to I. Branicka, [Białystok XI 1798], Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, ref. no. 2318, file cards 12–13.

⁷⁰³ Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, ref. no. 2318, file cards 32–37. But the Potockis highlighted in the cover letter: "Because the successors have never possessed Białystok due to the obstacle of life estate right, and have never been able to make such a thorough concerning the questions now asked", they authorized "Mr Łazowski, the manager of the estate belonging to the Lady as life estate, who committed himself, upon the clear consent of Lady Branicka, to answer all the questions". Ibidem, file card 41.

⁷⁰⁴ The town produced 63,655 złoty of revenue, and villages, another 10,355 złoty, which in total meant 12,335 talars of annual revenue. The liabilities of Izabela Branicka



83. Portrait of Izabela Branicka of 1757 by Marcello Bacciarelli

[See A.Cz. Dobroński, A. Lechowski, op. cit., p. 27;

<http://www.pinterest.com/pin/321937073336982228/> accessed 11/06/2014].

pointed out to Hetmaness' liabilities, much higher than disclosed, e.g. for the maintenance of town courts and various funds. Thus, it was calculated that the annual net profit was 43,928 złoty (7,321 talars)⁷⁰⁵. The full revenue without the deduction of the liabilities was also verified and found to amount to 72,467 złoty and 29 groszy; interestingly, Kamera Wojny i Domen itself paid 14,577 złoty for the lease of 18 buildings⁷⁰⁶.

These data were used to prepare both the draft contract of purchase of the Białystok estate from Potocki family and the draft contract of lease of the town from Branicka. As for the latter contract, the lease was considered

and the future owners mostly resulted from the necessity to pay state taxes and remunerations for the clergy, nuns, beggars and the organist (3,184 talars). See Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, ref. no. 2318, file cards 104–107.

⁷⁰⁵ It was accepted by Izabela Branicka and "certified by the manager, Łazowski". Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, ref. no. 2318, file card 128.

⁷⁰⁶ Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, ref. no. 2318, file card 221.

to cover three years with the annual rent equal to 100% of the actual profit, i.e. 43,927 złoty 29 groszy⁷⁰⁷. Drawing up the proper contract, however, was not easy, because the Hetmaness tried to specify the rights of the lessee in great detail. The key concern was the protection of town residents, therefore, the Prussian authorities could not change any contracts concluded with the townspeople (e.g. raise rents) or establish any new liabilities, neither could they violate the rights and grants announced by the previous lords⁷⁰⁸. The lessee was obliged to pay the interest gained on deposited amounts, the determined funds, taxes etc. Regarding the treasury buildings, all the renovation costs would be borne by the kamera. The lessee was not allowed to convert developed plots of land or erect any new structures without the consent of Izabela Branicka granted each time individually⁷⁰⁹. Item 9 included the commitment that nothing would occur in the town *that might cause trouble to the Lady of Cracow, infringe her rights or income in the adjacent and bordering plots of land*. In particular, keeping goats in the town, grazing cattle or swine without supervision, catching fish in water reservoirs or letting dogs in the game preserve were forbidden. Later it was also specified that inns or blacksmith's shops should not be established in town, as well as other shops whose noise or smell would reach the palace. Single, clearly listed objects in the town would be excluded from the lease. Besides, Izabella Branicka kept the right of patronage⁷¹⁰.

The letter of 9th May 1799 was the first in the long correspondence between the Prussian authorities and Izabela Branicka's officials. First, the general conditions of the lease were translated into German and supplemented with questions and doubts. Then the Hetman's wife explained the objectives of each provision, e.g. the protection of the subjects, her own welfare, principles of fair play etc. An important thing was Branicka's demand that the area of the lease was determined not only in words but also on a map⁷¹¹. That demand made

⁷⁰⁷ Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, ref. no. 2318, file cards 115–122v.

⁷⁰⁸ The authorities of the kamera first of all addressed the issues connected with guilds, which in many cases violated the previous guild privileges. Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, ref. nos 2258–2259.

⁷⁰⁹ As a result, Izabella Branicka was presented with designs of buildings which were to be used by the town officials. Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, ref. nos 2211–2213.

⁷¹⁰ *Punkta do kontraktu względem dzierżawy miasta Białegostoku*, Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, ref. no. 2318, file cards 115–116v. Izabella Branicka explained all the proposed provisions: *ibidem*, file cards 181–182.

⁷¹¹ Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, ref. no. 2318, file card 181v.

the Prussian authorities have a very detailed map of the town made by Georg Becker⁷¹².

Long-term negotiations led to the preparation of a few draft contracts before the final version was drawn up. The contract was to come into force as of 1st June 1803⁷¹³. The kamera would cover Branicka's annual liabilities of 26,207 złoty and all the costs connected with enforcement and court investigation. In accordance with item 14, the annual cost of lease would be 42,000 złoty (7,000 talars) and should be paid in two equal instalments on the 1st June and 1st December⁷¹⁴. Minor lease contracts, e.g. concerning the village of Wysoki Stoczek, concluded in the 1804–1807 period, were a kind of supplement to the main lease⁷¹⁵.

Simultaneously, Kamera Wojny i Domen negotiated the purchase of the town with Potocki family. The successors of Jan Klemens Branicki emphasized the great potential of the town⁷¹⁶. But the Prussian officials rather believed figures and meticulously calculated the real value of the property. Unlike in the lease contract, this time the transaction concerned not only the town itself but also the farms of Wysokistok and Białystok, as well as villages: Białystoczek, Usowicze, Ogrodniki, Słoboda, Starosielce, Szelachówka, Zawady, and lands called Kaskada and Nowa. The transaction covered all the buildings, meadows, forests, wastelands, ponds, and all the people inhabiting the areas⁷¹⁷. Consequently, a map was prepared to specify the area being the object of purchase⁷¹⁸.

On 22nd September 1802, the contract of sale of the real estate for 217,970 talars (1,307,820 złoty) was finally signed⁷¹⁹. Of course the contract would only

⁷¹² Photocopy: Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 20, p. 1; H. Muszyńska-Hoffmannowa, op. cit., p. 18.

⁷¹³ Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, ref. no. 2318, file cards 207–218v, 220–220v, 234–242, 271.

⁷¹⁴ Cf. A.Cz. Dobroński, A. Lechowski, op. cit., p. 18; A. Dobroński, *Białystok w latach 1796–1864*, p. 220, who estimate the annual lease at 412 thousand złoty.

⁷¹⁵ Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, ref. no. 2204.

⁷¹⁶ Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, ref. no. 2318, file card 45.

⁷¹⁷ Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, ref. no. 2318, file card 297v; A. Dobroński, *Białystok w latach 1795–1864*, pp. 220–221.

⁷¹⁸ Below we present a Russian map from 1825, which is a copy of a plan from 1808, made for the needs of purchase of the Białystok estate. The Prussian map must have been similar.

⁷¹⁹ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 178, p. 3; Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Kamera Wojny i Domen, 2494, file cards 71–78v; J. Łukasiewicz, op. cit., p. 62. This price of the real estate was then included in statistical studies. See L. Krug, *Betrachtungen über den Nationalreichtum des preußischen Staats und über den Wohlstand seiner Bewohner*, Bd. I, Berlin 1805, p. 414.



84. Plan of the town of Białystok made in 1799 by G. Becker [Statsbibliothek Berlin, Kartographische Abteilung, ref. no. S.X. 48585].

be concluded after the death of Izabela Branicka, so that the new owner could freely acquire the right to administer and use the purchased estate. At the financial settlement, it turned out that the estate was encumbered with considerable liabilities. It had 50,000 złoty of liabilities due for the educational fund deposited on it; the disclosed debts amounted to 37,185 talars, the liabilities due to monasteries and churches, another 46,435 talars, and the whole amount had to be reduced by the value of previously sold Antoniuk forest – 13,536 talars. Finally, in March 1809, the Białystok estate was sold to Alexander I. The price included the full amount but the successors received only 97,321 roubles in hard cash, which was equivalent to 633,750 złoty⁷²⁰.

As mentioned before, the final resolution of the Białystok ownership issue was only possible after the death of Izabela Branicka⁷²¹. Her chronic and advanced health problems became evident in 1805, when Izabela wrote a testament⁷²². In the meantime, the defeat of the Prussian army in the war with

⁷²⁰ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 178, p. 11; I. Szymańska, A. Średzińska, op. cit., p. 46. Under the Russian occupation, a rouble was equivalent to 6.5 Polish złoty. G. Wójtowicz, A. Wójtowicz, *Historia monetarna Polski*, Warszawa 2003, p. 125.

⁷²¹ Of course the thesis that “Branicka finally consented to the sale of the town and the residence to the Prussian king” is erroneous. The will of the heirs of Jan Klemens Branicki’s successors sufficed to do so. I. Szymańska, A. Średzińska, op. cit., p. 46.

⁷²² Biblioteka Jagiellońska, ms. 6754, vol. III, pp. 17–18. Branicka, “who was visibly fading away in 1805 and even prepared a testament, used to begin her evening at six, read



85. Białystok estate – as of 1808 [AGAD, Zbiór kartograficzny, ref. no. 26-2].

France and the skilful actions of Napoleon resulted in the fact that Białystok, contrary to expectations, was not incorporated into the Duchy of Warsaw but was handed over to the Russian Empire as the Białystok District⁷²³. For the Hetmaness it was another blow. It is noteworthy that she did not let the governor

until eight, then drink tea with a small circle of companions, converse with visitors coming for the supper, or eat and play lomberd at a small table in the company of Tyszkiewicz niece, a doctor and another guest”.

⁷²³ R. Żurkova, *Z dziejów organizacji Departamentu Białostockiego w 1807 r.*, „Rocznik Białostocki” 2 (1961), pp. 309–328; Z.B Romaniuk, *Źródła do początków obwodu białostockiego w zbiorach Biblioteki Narodowej PAU i PAN w Krakowie*, „Białostoczczyzna” 16 (2001), 1–2, pp. 28–31; H. Mościcki, *Białystok*, pp. 89–90.



86. Plan of the town of Białystok made in 1808 [Российский государственный военно-исторический архив, ф. 846, оп. 16, д. 21756].

of the Białystok District, Ignacy Theyls, into her palace. She did not change her view until she died on the 2nd/14th February 1808⁷²⁴.

Immediately after her death, the inheritance proceedings began, including activities aimed at the conclusion of the contract of sale of the town. This went on almost for a year. In the meantime, the owners of the town were brothers Jan and Feliks Potocki and their cousin-niece Marianna, although pursuant to the contract the future buyer had the full right to dispose of the estate. It was not until 28th January / 9th February 1809 that Alexander I ordered Ignacy Theyls to finalize the process of taking over the Białystok estate, *the right to which the Emperor receives pursuant to the same contract that gives him the right to purchase the whole Białystok District by virtue of the peace treaty made with France in Tilsit on 20th June and 9th July 1807*⁷²⁵. The person who lived in Białystok

⁷²⁴ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 176, p. 13; A. Potocka, op. cit., pp. 148–149; A.Cz. Dobroński, A. Lechowski, op. cit., pp. 18–20, 58–61. About two weeks before the death of the Hetmaness, rumours about her critical health condition were spreading in Warsaw. Notified about the situation, Anna Potocka, née Tyszkiewicz, came to Białystok on 09/02/1808. A. Potocka, op. cit., p. 144.

⁷²⁵ Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 178, p. 12; cf. Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 179, pp. 1–2.

and took care of the interests of all the successors was Jan Potocki. The executor of the testament was Franciszek Wilczewski, serving as Izabella Branicka's lawyer for many years. As part of his responsibilities, Ignacy Theyls examined the condition of the town and the palace once again in order to adjust the potential financial liabilities determined in 1802⁷²⁶. Then a Russian version of the map of the town of Białystok was also made, modelled on the one prepared by Becker, as it was necessary for the transaction⁷²⁷. Finally, the contract was signed by Ignacy Theyls, Franciszek Wilczewski and Jan Potocki on 20th February 1809 and came into force immediately after being entered into the records of the second department of the Main Court of the Białystok District.

Due to the dispersion of the movable property, the mere purchase of the palace and town was not enough. In the years 1808–1809, the Russian authorities tried to regain both the furniture and the garden plants⁷²⁸. For example, exotic trees and bushes belonging to the orangery were bought for 18,000 roubles (117,000 złoty), because the Potockis wanted to sell them at an auction. The furniture formerly standing in the palace was also bought from the successors⁷²⁹.

⁷²⁶ Thanks to inventories published there, the Russian side showed that in the palace there was "shortage and wastage of different things estimated at 4,499 talars 87 Prussian groszy and eight denars, and in the town seven houses were missing, worth 402 talars, 22 groszy and nine denars". Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 178, p. 10.

⁷²⁷ *Plan von der Stadt Białystok* (План города Бялостока), Российский государственный военно-исторический архив, f. 846, op. 16, no. 21756; Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki, 178, p. 2; see also the reproduction: „Biuletyn Konserwatorski Województwa Białostockiego” 2 (1996), insert.

⁷²⁸ Cf.: E. Zeller-Narolewska, *Pałac Branickich*, p. 12.

⁷²⁹ Letter from I.A. Theyls to A.B. Kurakin, Białystok 31 XII 1808, Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Rada Białostockiego Instytutu Panien Szlacheckich, ref. no. 2, file cards 9–10; Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku, Rada Białostockiego Instytutu Panien Szlacheckich, ref. no. 2, file cards 11–12v.

Conclusion

The book presents the development of Białystok as a settlement – and subsequently town – from the historical perspective, along with the palace and garden layout existing at least since the 16th century. In the beginning, the ownership of so-called Białystok estate, being a complex of villages, farms and forests, was analyzed. The estate was established as a separate entity not later than in the early 16th century: the first piece of information appeared in sources in 1514. After the separation, the property belonged to the Raczkowicz family, and then to the Wiesiołowski clan. The last male representative, Krzysztof Wiesiołowski, at his death bequeathed the Białystok estate as to the hospital for veterans, being built in Tykocin at the time. The action was illegal, since real estate could not be disposed of by means of testament. After the death of his wife, Aleksandra Wiesiołowska, the estate was included for 16 years (1645–1661) in the Tykocin starosty belonging to the state. Afterwards, a Swedish deluge hero, Stefan Czarniecki, received the starosty (again illegally) as hereditary property by virtue of a sejm constitution. Thanks to the marriage of Katarzyna Aleksandra Czarniecka and Jan Klemens Branicki, the Białystok estate became part of the legacy of Branicki family. The owners were: first, Stefan Mikołaj Branicki, and then, Jan Klemens Branicki. After the death of the Grand Hetman of the Crown in 1771, the estate was administered for 38 years by Izabela Branicka, née Poniatowska, on the basis of the life estate right. After her death in 1808, the legal heirs – Jan Potocki, Feliks Potocki and Joanna Szymanowska, née Potocka – began the execution of a contract of sale of the estate. It was preliminarily agreed upon and signed in 1802 with Prussian authorities, and finally performed in 1809 with the Russian government, as pursuant to the Treaties of Tilsit of 1807 the Białystok region was incorporated to the Romanovs' empire. Since then, the estate has never been private property again.

These complicated ownership transformations were associated with the phenomenon of political borderland. From 1569, Białystok was situated at the Polish–Lithuanian border. It was the decision of the owners whether the estate would belong to the Crown or the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. This happened first in 1569, when Piotr Wiesiołowski (the elder) swore an oath of allegiance to Zygmunt II August after the incorporation of Podlasie into the Crown. The owners of other nearby estates – Choroszcz, Zabłudów and Dojlidy – did not do

that, and their estates remained in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. Białystok was again incorporated to Lithuania in the late 16th century. The situation of uncertainty finished when in 1637 Krzysztof Wiesiołowski handed over the estate to the Tykocin starosty. Finally, the legal status was confirmed by the decision of the sejm court of 1646. What is interesting is the geographic awareness of the contemporaries: neither foreigners nor residents of the Commonwealth, including cartographers, knew exactly on which side of the border Białystok was lying.

A manor in the Białystok estate must have existed as early as in the beginning of the 16th century. We suppose it was in the area of the former Białystok farm, which functioned within the future town of Białystok. We do not know when the members of Wiesiołowski family decided to build a brick palace. Probably the works began at the end of the 16th century, and they were definitely completed in the 1620s. An Italian style garden was created then, and a nearby game preserve was established. Both the palace and the numerous outbuildings were surrounded by a palisade. In 1691, Stefan Mikołaj Branicki began to convert the palace, entrusting this task to a famous architect, Tylman von Gameren. The architect designed a new building, which was then constructed within six years. The palace and garden assumed their proper form thanks to the investments by Jan Klemens Branicki. The basic construction works finished in the 1750s, but in the following decades Jan Klemens Branicki aimed at beautifying the palace with furniture, paintings and other decorations. It was then that among the nobility, and later (since 1760) among foreigners, the palace was given the proper name: “Polish Versailles” or “Versailles of Podlasie”. The most prosperous moment for the palace was the year 1773. Granted, the hetman had already been dead for two years, and thus the layout was devoid of the richness and splendour connected with the soldiers stationed by the palace, particularly the janissaries. But the last important room complex – the so-called *Winter Suite* – was created then, and the other suites had not yet been ruined.

The decline of the grandiose layout occurred very quickly, during Izabela Branicka’s administration (1771–1808). Over the 38 years, the widow did not invest in the maintenance of the palace, did not buy new furniture and did not aim at updating the palace in accordance with the changing fashion. Even in the late 18th century, the equipment and architecture of the palace was considered to be obsolete. Records from the period after Izabela Branicka’s death (1808) indicate that the building was already very squalid, and the decorations needed immediate replacement or at least renovation. The governor of the Białystok District, Ignacy Theyls, tried to explain the phenomenon to Alexander I Romanov, who thought on the basis of information coming with a delay that he had purchased one of the most beautiful European palaces. It must be emphasized, however, that the garden layout still represented a very high level.

The situation in Białystok was extraordinary. Until 1771, the owner had been spending a fortune to beautify the palace, and after this date any investments in the building were totally given up. Hence we know that at the turn of the 19th century, three decades without investing in the equipment and decoration of the palace was enough for the palace considered as the most beautiful in Europe to become an attractive but rather average residence. Four decades of stagnation resulted in a condition that called for complete refurbishment.

The research has allowed to verify the study hypothesis of the impact of the magnate palace on the development of the nearby town. The example of Białystok illustrates at least several factors affecting the development of the town. Obviously, the *sine qua non* was the good geographical location by important commercial routes. The Białystok estate happened to be at the border of Podlasie and the Trakai Voivodeship, and since 1569 it was the borderland between the Crown and the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. An important route connecting Warsaw with Grodno, and further Vilnius, ran through the area. Thus it can be assumed that the location was good, but by no means unique. The second factor was the demographic element. In the Commonwealth, peasants were attached to their land and only exceptionally could they leave the home villages to move to the town. So it was generally fugitives who settled in towns⁷³⁰. It was a very important factor limiting the development of towns, which actually had a negative rate of increase over all the modern period⁷³¹. The strong position of the magnate owning the town and high population density in the surrounding areas he also owned had a positive influence on the opportunities of development. Until the middle 17th century, the Białystok estate had good demographic rates, indicating high potential for the establishment of a town or market settlement. The rates slightly decreased in the 2nd half of the 17th century, and especially at the beginning of the 18th century, which was related to the Great Northern War. It should be noted that only Stefan Branicki's decision of bringing Jews to the town at the late 17th century led to considerable intensification of settlement in the town, which resulted in gradual percentage increase in the number of Jewish population.

Taking into consideration these two significant factors, it is worth concentrating on the reasons for the dynamic development of the town, occurring since the 1740s until the end of the discussed period (1809). We are of the

⁷³⁰ A. Wyczański, *Wież polskiego odrodzenia*, Warszawa 1969, pp. 133, 171–173. The nobility not only opposed to peasants leaving the villages but to any non-agricultural activity on their part. J. Śmiałowski, *Zarobkowanie pozarolnicze ludności rolniczej w Królestwie Polskim w latach przeduwłaszczeniowych (1815–1864)*, Łódź 1973, pp. 173–174.

⁷³¹ J. Baszanowski, *Przemiany demograficzne w Gdańsku w latach 1601–1846*, Gdańsk 1995, pp. 288–290.

opinion that it was the people employed at the palace and the garden, officials of the Branickis' latifundium and courtiers who contributed to the economic boom and development of the town, mainly during the life of Jan Klemens Branicki (until 1771), and especially during great construction investments at the palace. Yet, it could not have been the decisive factor in the long run, first of all in the situation of constant development of Białystok (the establishment of Nowe Miasto on the right bank of the Biała river, which took place after the fire of 1753).

Even Jan Klemens Branicki understood this. As the Crown Field Hetman, in the late 1730s he decided to bring to Białystok some troops separated from the infantry regiment under his command. Then he gradually increased the number of the troops and brought more and more units, as a result of which the Białystok garrison was the largest during his office of the Grand Hetman of the Crown. At the end of his life, in had there a janissary unit, a Hayduk one, a part of infantry regiment and dragoons, as well as private army – a total of approximately 500–600 people. This gave urban property owners high and stable income, and craftsmen, merchants and innkeepers – unending market. The proper level of discipline led to fact that these troops only brought profits. Additionally, Podlasie was one of the safest regions of the Commonwealth, and as a result, quartering the troops here had no rational military grounds. The decisive factors were economy and prestige.

A dangerous moment for the development of the town was the death of Jan Klemens Branicki, when the soldiers left the residence and the town emptied⁷³². However, the widow, Izabela Branicka, brought the troops back to Białystok, first for the winter stay and then permanently. Knowing of the danger resulting from soldiers' lawlessness, she took advantage of the fact that she was the sister of the currently ruling king Stanisław August Poniatowski and she negotiated very beneficial contracts concerning the rules of troop stationing. She concentrated on two issues: first, military discipline, or rather limiting soldiers' lawless behaviours towards the townspeople, and second, drawing maximum benefit of the troops from the economic point of view.

The third factor stimulating urban development was the location of state administration bodies in Białystok. In the time of the Commonwealth, Białystok did not play any public role, except for individuals who tried to present their business to the Grand Hetman of the Crown living there. The poviats towns of

⁷³² It is noteworthy that in 1773 some craftsmen wanted to move to Siemiatycze (persuaded by Anna Jabłonowska). This evoked a strong reaction of Izabela Branicka, who tried to prevent the outflow of qualified workers from Białystok, e.g. by sending them to work at the Warsaw palace. *Narodowy Instytut Dziedzictwa, Teki Glinki*, 315 (p. 208), 316 (p. 56–58), 317 (p. 32), 375 (pp. 4, 7).

Podlasie were Brańsk (Bielsk) – Drahichyn and Mielnik, where sejmiks were organized, starosts had their offices and town courts functioned⁷³³. After the demise of the Polish–Lithuanian state in 1795, Izabela Branicka persuaded the Prussian authorities to choose Białystok as the capital of the new province, New East Prussia. An important argument for accepting the invitation could have been that Białystok was prepared for the influx of a large number of officials and soldiers both to the town and to the palace. As a result, more than a thousand soldiers came to Białystok along with their families, as well as over 200 officials. A natural consequence of the Treaties of Tilsit of 1807, when Napoleon gave a part of the Białystok department to Russia, was the fact that Białystok became the capital city of the newly established Białystok District⁷³⁴.

Further development of the town was connected with industrialization, which this publication does not cover. The impulse for the origin and development of industry was the repression of the Kingdom of Poland after the November Uprising (1831). A customs frontier between Poland and Russia was determined in 1834 (abolished in 1851)⁷³⁵. Then, Białystok became an ideal place to move or establish manufacturing companies, thus evading Russian customs duties. The Saint Petersburg–Warsaw railway was launched in 1862, which gave another impulse for industrialization⁷³⁶. All this, however, was a natural consequence of decisions taken after 1795.

To summarize, the development of Białystok was basically influenced by three factors which made it unique among other Podlasie towns: the magnate manor, the military garrison, and the administrative centre. The combination of these elements made Białystok the greatest town in Podlasie within a century of its establishment. According to very reliable data prepared by the Prussian administration in 1800,⁷³⁷ Białystok had 459 households (*dymy*) and 3,370 inhabitants. True, these data do not seem impressive, but in comparison with other towns with the origin in the 15th or 16th century, they command respect. Out of the total of 132 towns in the whole New East Prussia province, only

⁷³³ J. Maroszek, *Dzieje województwa podlaskiego*, pp. 372–384, 388–389; Ł. Gołaszewski, A.B. Zakrzewski, *Ustrój województwa podlaskiego XVI–XVIII wiek. Wybrane problemy*, [in:] *Podlasie nadbużańskie*, s. 209.

⁷³⁴ A.Cz. Dobroński, *Białystok Izabeli Branickiej, pruski i rosyjski*, [in:] *Izabela z Poniatowskich Branicka*, s. 120–121.

⁷³⁵ M. Rutkowski, *Uwarunkowania oraz bilans handlu zagranicznego Królestwa Polskiego wczesnej epoki paskiewiczowskiej*, „*Wschodni Rocznik Humanistyczny*” 5 (2008), pp. 129–140; R. Kołodziejczyk, *Kształtowanie się burżuazji w Królestwie Polskim (1815–1850)*, Warszawa 1957, pp. 11 ff.

⁷³⁶ S. Koziański, *Sieć kolejowa Polski w latach 1842–1918*, Opole 1993, pp. 115 ff.

⁷³⁷ A.C. Holsche, *Geographie und Statistik von West- Süd- und Neuostpreussen*, Bd. I, Berlin 1800, pp. 144–149.

six had a population exceeding 2 thousand. Apart from Białystok, these were Tykocin (2,783), Siemiatycze (2,734), Kalwaria (2,705), Ciechanowiec (2,651) and Neustadt (2,320). In relation to Białystok, Tykocin had only 81% of buildings and 82.6% of residents. The declassification is even greater provided that the town was not ultimately organized until the 1740s, when (in 1745) Jan Klemens Branicki published *Instruktarz*, and four years later, August III repeated the town charter.

The development of Białystok is worth comparing with that of Siemiatycze (founded in 1542), where in a nearby palace lived another owner of a huge fortune, Anna Paulina Jabłonowska, née Sapieha. Without the support of a military garrison and state administration, Siemiatycze was losing in the competition with Białystok despite intensive efforts of Jabłonowska herself. At the turn of the 19th century, 3,556 people lived in Białystok, compared to 2,634 in Siemiatycze, in spite of the evident similar production potential (a similar number of craftsmen)⁷³⁸.

To sum up, the origin and development of Białystok is connected with three persons. The first was Stefan Branicki, who achieved the granting of the town charter in 1692 and at the same time brought Jews to the poorly developing town. The second person is Jan Klemens Branicki, who created a grandiose palace, gardens and a game preserve, considered by the contemporaries (since the 1750s) as one of the most beautiful palace and garden layouts in Europe and referred to as the "Versailles of Poland". The Grand Hetman of the Crown also took care of the harmonious development of the town, which was to be integrated with the palace in terms of urban planning. And finally, Izabela Branicka, who admittedly did not care very much about the maintenance of the palace but tried to protect the townspeople and ensure them wealth and development opportunities. Disregarding her other activities, bringing Prussian officials to Białystok was definitely a great achievement on the part of the Hetman's wife.

Paradoxically, there are no streets in Białystok to commemorate Stefan Branicki or Izabela Branicka, née Poniatowska⁷³⁹. The lack of the second of these names is especially surprising, for she gave the town the development potential which was fully used. This issue, however, is related to historical awareness and goes beyond the subject of this monograph.

⁷³⁸ J. Maroszek, *Siemiatycze jako ośrodek dóbr ziemskich w XV–XVIII w. (do 1801 r.)*, [in:] *Studia i materiały do dziejów Siemiatycz*, ed. H. Majecki, Warszawa 1989, pp. 31–32.

⁷³⁹ T. Fiedorowicz, M. Kietliński, J. Maciejczuk, *Białostockie ulice i ich patroni*, Białystok 2012.

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53. Plan and elevation of the fountain in the Branicki Palace in Białystok. Rusticated cuboid fountain with a mask of a satyr by the fountain jet [*Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku*, vol. I: *Inwentarze z XVII i XVIII stulecia*, part 2, ed. by K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak, Białystok 2012, pp. 224–227] – p. 139.
54. Pierre Ricaud de Tirregaille, Vue de la Cascade et du Pavillon Chinois de Białystok prise du grand pont, (view of the cascade and Chinese pavilion in the garden of Branicki Palace in Białystok) – p. 140.
55. Hall and staircase before and after WWII, and at present [M. Kacperczyk, *Założenie pałacowo-ogrodowe branickich w Białymstoku w XIX i XX w. – przemiany, zniszczenia, praktyka konserwatorska*, [in:] *Zeszyty dziedzictwa kulturowego*, eds K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak, Białystok 2007, p. 111] – p. 142.
56. Medallion with a representation of August III Wettin (photo by Sager in 1941) [*Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku*, vol. I: *Inwentarze z XVII i XVIII stulecia*, part 2, ed. by K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak, Białystok 2012, pp. 256–257] – p. 143.
57. Two preserved 18th century fireplace tiles with Gryf and Ciołek coats of arms [I. Szymańska, A. Średzińska, *Pałac Branickich historia i wnętrza*, Białystok 2011, p. 71] – p. 144.

58. Bedroom with an alcove in Grand Suite [*Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku*, vol. I: *Inwentarze z XVII i XVIII stulecia*, part 2, ed. by K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak, Białystok 2012, pp. 238–239] – p. 146.
59. Interior of Izabela Branicka's bedroom – photo by Jan Glinka of 1933 [T. Szyburska, *Białystok. Zespół pałacowy d. Branickich. Dokumentacja historyczno-architektoniczna*, Warszawa 1972 (typescript), photo 122] – p. 147.
60. Fragments of stuccowork occurring in the Palace in Białystok [*Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku*, vol. I: *Inwentarze z XVII i XVIII stulecia*, part 2, ed. by K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak, Białystok 2012, pp. 242–245, 252–253] – p. 150.
61. Fireplace with a mirror and stuccowork – photo by Jan Glinka in 1933 [*Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku*, vol. I: *Inwentarze z XVII i XVIII stulecia*, part 2, ed. by K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak, Białystok 2012, pp. 248–249] – p. 152.
62. Boudoir – before 1915 [I. Szymańska, A. Średzińska, *Pałac Branickich historia i wnętrza*, Białystok 2011, p. 26] – p. 158.
63. Fireplace in the boudoir, 1933 [T. Szyburska, *Białystok. Zespół pałacowy d. Branickich. Dokumentacja historyczno-architektoniczna*, Warszawa 1972 (typescript), photo 130] – p. 160.
64. Boudoir – photo taken by Sager in 1941 [*Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku*, vol. I: *Inwentarze z XVII i XVIII stulecia*, part 2, ed. by K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak, Białystok 2012, pp. 250–251] – p. 161.
65. An example of fireplace complex over which a mirror and candlesticks were placed on the wall [I. Szymańska, A. Średzińska, *Pałac Branickich historia i wnętrza*, Białystok 2011, p. 66] – p. 164.
66. Plan of the first floor of the main body of the palace in Białystok [K. Nowicki, *Plan du premier Etage de Białystok*, [1771–1778], *Gabinete Rycin Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego*, Zb. król. P. 187, no. 106] – p. 165.
67. Section of the room in the Białystok Branicki Palace – the wall with a stove [*Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku*, vol. I: *Inwentarze z XVII i XVIII stulecia*, part 2, ed. by K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak, Białystok 2012, pp. 232–233] – p. 167.
68. Study in the Royal Suite – fragment of stuccowork decoration surviving WWII [The photo was taken in 1946 by W. Paszkowski. See T. Szyburska, *Białystok. Zespół pałacowy d. Branickich. Dokumentacja historyczno-architektoniczna*, Warszawa 1972 (typescript), photo 246] – p. 169.
69. Fragment of the altar in the chapel – after WWII [M. Kacperczyk, *Założenie pałacowo-ogrodowe Branickich w Białymstoku w XIX i XX w. – przemiany, zniszczenia, praktyka konserwatorska*, [in:] *Zeszyty dziedzictwa kulturowego*, eds K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak, Białystok 2007, p. 112] – p. 172.
70. Fragment of ceiling stuccowork with a dome and frescos in the chapel [T. Szyburska, *Białystok. Zespół pałacowy d. Branickich. Dokumentacja historyczno-architektoniczna*, Warszawa 1972 (typescript), photo 146; *Pałac Branickich*

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71. Balustrade from the Branicki Palace in Białystok as of 1934 (photo by Jan Glinka) [*Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku*, vol. I: *Inwentarze z XVII i XVIII stulecia*, part 2, ed. by K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak, Białystok 2012, pp. 206–207] – p. 175.
72. Fireplace of the 2nd floor of the palace – photo taken before 1939 [*Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku*, vol. I: *Inwentarze z XVII i XVIII stulecia*, part 2, ed. by K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak, Białystok 2012, pp. 234–235] – p. 176.
73. A corner wardrobe made in the workshop of Jacques Dubois at the request of Jan Klemens Branicki (1744–1753) [C. Bremer-David et. al., *Masterpieces of the J. Paul Getty Museum. Decorative Arts*, London 1997, pp. 92–93] – p. 179.
74. A copy of Stefan Czarniecki's portrait kept in the Białystok palace [Z. Gloger, *Encyklopedia staropolska*, vol. II, Warszawa 1901, p. 158] – p. 180.
75. Elewacja Kolumnady przy apartamencie nowym JO JM Pani Krakowskiej w Białymstoku po prawey ręce Pałacu in Anno 1770 ryssowana [Gabinet Rycin Biblioteki Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, Zbiory Stanisława Augusta Poniatowskiego, 187, no. 114] – p. 185.
76. An example of stuccowork from the winter suite – photo by Sager of 1941 [*Pałac Branickich w Białymstoku*, vol. I: *Inwentarze z XVII i XVIII stulecia*, part 2, ed. by K. Łopatecki, W. Walczak, Białystok 2012, pp. 254–255] – p. 187.
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78. Portrait of Izabela Branicka – from the collection of the Museum of Podlasie in Białystok [A.Cz. Dobroński, A. Lechowski, *Izabela Branicka w 200-lecie śmierci*, Białystok 2008, p. 32] – p. 190.
79. Portrait of Izabela Branicka by Antoni Tallmann [A.Cz. Dobroński, A. Lechowski, *Izabela Branicka w 200-lecie śmierci*, Białystok 2008, p. 37] – p. 194.
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