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Lodgings of Deputies at the Tribunal Crown in Lublin During Stanislaw August Period

*Stancje deputatów na Trybunał Koronny w Lublinie
w czasach stanisławowskich*

ABSTRACT

Positioning of the Tribunal Crown in Lublin for the nobility from Lesser Poland province had a number of consequences for the city and its inhabitants. One of the most important aspects related to this role was the need to provide accommodation for judges settling disputes in a noble supreme court. The term of office of the Tribunal Crown, lasting for several months each year, required the creation of conditions enabling a comfortable stay in the city. The Stanislaw August's period brought a number of changes in this matter, mainly due to the introduction of payment for renting accommodation to deputies, which made this deal an opportunity to obtain financial benefits for people who own real estate in Lublin. In this text, I analyze legal provisions regulating issues related to the renting of rooms for deputies, shares in the market of representatives of burghers, nobility and clergy.

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I pay attention to their location in the city space, equipment, condition of the infrastructure and other factors determining the attractiveness of the offered apartments.

Key words: the Tribunal Crown, deputies, Lublin, burghers, nobility, tenements

The problem of lodgings of the Crown Tribunal deputies in tribunal towns during the Lesser Poland and Greater Poland term has not been of interest to historians so far. Research on the noble supreme court was usually carried out with the adoption of a legal and historical perspective¹. Works on the organization of life in Piotrków and Lublin during the Supreme Court sessions, the authors of which left the issues of deputies' lodgings on the margins of the accepted area of interest, are few, based on a narrow source base². So far, only Ryszard Kabaciński has dealt with the problem of accommodation for Crown Tribunal judges³. However, his

¹ O. Balzer, *Geneza Trybunału Koronnego. Studium z dziejów sądownictwa polskiego XVI wieku*, Warszawa 2009; W. Bednaruk, *Trybunał Koronny. Szlachecki sąd najwyższy w latach 1578–1794*, Lublin 2008; idem, *Dochody sędziów Trybunału Koronnego*, 'Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne' 2008, 60, 1, pp. 9–22; M. Goyski, *Reformy Trybunału Koronnego. Studium z dziejów sądownictwa w Polsce*, 'Przegląd Prawa i Administracji' 1909, 34; H. Karbownik, *Deputaci na Trybunałach Koronnym i Litewskim*, in: *Kościół i prawo*, vol. 10, eds. J. Krukowski, F. Lemp, F. J. Mazurek, Lublin 1992, pp. 185–202; A. Lityński, *Prawnokarna ochrona Trybunału Koronnego*, 'Studia i Materiały do Dziejów Wielkopolski i Pomorza' 1979, 13, pp. 101–113; idem, *Zabezpieczenie Trybunału Koronnego w polskim prawie karnym na tle prawnokarnej ochrony innych sądów prawa polskiego*, in: *400-lecie utworzenia Trybunału Koronnego w Lublinie. Materiały z sesji naukowej z dnia 20 XI 1978 r.*, ed. H. Groszyk, Lublin 1982, pp. 7–24; W. Maisel, *Trybunał Koronny w świetle laudów sejmikowych i konstytucji sejmowych*, 'Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne' 1982, 34, 2, pp. 73–109; Z. Szcząska, *Instygatorzy w Trybunale Koronnym i innych sądach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, 'Problemy Praworządności. Organ Prokuratury Polskiej Rzeczypospolitej Ludowej' 1978, 29, 6, pp. 55–63; W. Zarzycki, *Trybunał Koronny dawnej Rzeczypospolitej*, Piotrków Trybunalski 1993.

² B. Baranowski, *Piotrków w końcu XVIII wieku*, 'Rocznik Łódzki' 1979, 25 (28), pp. 87–105; K. Gombin, *Trybunał Koronny. Ceremoniał i sztuka*, Lublin 2013; R. Jaworski, *Pismo prezydium Trybunału Koronnego do władz miasta Piotrkowa z 1778 r.*, 'Piotrkowskie Zeszyty Historyczne' 2004, 6, pp. 325–328; M. Lipska, *Wpływ Trybunału Koronnego na rozwój Lublina*, in: *Trybunał Koronny w kulturze prawnej Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej*, eds. A. Dębiński, W. Bednaruk, M. Lipska, Lublin 2008, pp. 139–148; Z. Mayer, *Wizerunek Trybunału Koronnego. Studium prawnobyczajowe*, Lwów 1929; H. Rutkowski, *Piotrków Trybunalski w XVI i pierwszej połowie XVII wieku jako miejsce zjazdów szlacheckich*, in: *750 lat Piotrkowa Trybunalskiego*, ed. M. Augustyniak, Piotrków Trybunalski 1967, pp. 43–74; A.M. Stasiak, *Czy Trybunał Koronny był potrzebny Lublinowi. Kontrfaktyczna interpretacja historii miasta w okresie nowożytnym*, in: *Trybunał Koronny w kulturze prawnej Rzeczypospolitej szlacheckiej*, eds. A. Dębiński, W. Bednaruk, M. Lipska, Lublin 2008, pp. 149–162. W. Witkowski, *Trybunał Koronny w Lublinie*, in: *Spojrzenia w przeszłość Lubelszczyzny*, eds. K. Myśliński, A. Witusik, Lublin 1974, pp. 79–96.

³ R. Kabaciński, *Rezydencje uczestników sesji Trybunału Koronnego w Bydgoszczy w 1766 r.*, 'Kronika Bydgoska' 1995, 17, pp. 219–224.

findings were based on the example of Bydgoszcz, where only two Greater Poland terms of court took place: in 1766 and in 1768, the latter of which was not completed due to the activities of the Bar Confederation. However, the article by Iwona Wierzchowiecka on the lodgings of deputies of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania's Main Court in Hrodna and Vilnius offers some comparative possibilities⁴.

In this situation, it seems interesting to undertake a study of the problem of accommodation of Crown Tribunal judges on the example of Lublin during the reign of Stanisław August. The terms held here for the nobility of Lesser Poland, as a result of the reforms carried out during the Convocation Sejm, lasted through the years 1765–1768, from the first Monday after 4 October to Palm Sunday. Over the following years, during the period of the Bar Confederation and the Partition Sejm, the Crown Tribunal remained suspended. From 1775 to 1791, the nobility's highest court in Lublin convened on the Monday following Divine Mercy Sunday and considered cases until 20 December⁵. At that time, it consisted of 21 lay judges (20 more in 1774/1775) and 9 ecclesiastical, which shows the need for deputies' quarters⁶.

The purpose of this article is to determine the legal and practical aspects of the designation/allocation and use of the lodgings by the judges of the Crown Tribunal during the Lublin term of office. It seems particularly interesting to determine the owners and location in urban space of the most frequently rented properties. The service of the noble supreme court influenced the organization of life in Lublin and the urban layout of the city, which in turn made it one of the capital centers⁷. Research on the accommodation of deputies in the times of Stanisław August allows for making conclusions in the context of assessing the scope of preparations undertaken by the townspeople before the term of office in Lublin, and shows the prospects of material benefits that the most enterprising residents of the city could have enjoyed at that time. These findings are also of some importance in the context of assessing the prestige of particular areas of Lublin at that time.

⁴ I. Wierzchowiecka, *Z dziejów Trybunału Litewskiego (1581–1795). Gdzie sąd sądził i sędziowie mieszkali*, in: *Księga jubileuszowa z okazji 15-lecia Wydziału Prawa i Administracji Uniwersytetu Szczecińskiego*, ed. Z. Ofiarski, Szczecin 2004, pp. 639–659.

⁵ *Deputaci Trybunału Koronnego 1578–1794. Spis*, part 5, 1751–1794, ed. J. Ternes, Warszawa 2017, p. 16.

⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 16, 18; W. Bednaruk, *Trybunał*, pp. 264–265.

⁷ A. Wyrobisz, *Typy funkcjonalne miast polskich w XVI–XVIII w.*, 'Przegląd Historyczny' 1981, 72, 1, p. 40.

LEGAL REGULATIONS

The Constitution of March 1578, which established the Crown Tribunal did not regulate issues related to deputies' accommodation⁸. Probably already in the first years of the operation of the institution it was assumed that the provisions adopted at the Sejm in 1565 would apply. It was then agreed that in court locations, the allocation of accommodations would be decided by starosts in order to avoid possible misunderstandings between residents⁹. They had a *habita ratione dignitatis personarum*, which perhaps guaranteed the Marshal's and the President's lodgings in the most convenient and advantageous location in the city. However, these matters must have raised some doubts. The deputies undoubtedly competed with each other for the occupation of certain properties that they liked for various reasons. Conflicts against this background began to arise very quickly, as the Sejm's constitution of 1598 reminded them of the regulations in force and forbade deputies and Marshals to interfere with the powers of starosts in allocating locations for lodgings¹⁰. However, the tribunal judges had to resist the legal provisions and in 1601 it became necessary to reiterate the notion that the deputies and the Marshal could not 'hand out taverns'¹¹.

For the residents of Lublin, the establishment of free of charge, or *ex officio* lodgings was unfavorable. It meant that the deputy and his companions had to be admitted to one's own household and accommodated without any financial remuneration. Taking into account that in the middle of the 17th century, out of 125 tenement houses in the area of the so-called 'town within the walls', as many as 44 belonged to the nobility and clergy, and that there were about 120 manors owned by the nobility in the suburbs¹², the problem of free accommodation of deputies must have affected not only the townspeople but also 'high-born' people. Thus, they took care of

⁸ The unrealised project was the idea of Andrzej Frycz Modrzewski, who proposed the construction of houses for deputies and their families in the tribunal towns (he saw Piotrków and Krakow in this role). In the square in the centre of such a deputy settlement, there was to be a church and a building intended for court sessions, see: O. Balzer, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

⁹ *Rozdawanie gospód*, in: *Volumina Constitutionum* [hereinafter: VC], vol. 2, 1550–1609, book 1, 1550–1585, eds. S. Grodziski, I. Dwornicka, W. Uruszczak, Warszawa 2005, p. 163.

¹⁰ *O gospodach na sejmikach i sądziech*, in: VC, vol. 2, 1550–1609, book 2, 1587–1609, ed. S. Grodziski, Warszawa 2008, p. 250.

¹¹ 'gospód rozdawać'. *Władza sędziów i marszałka trybunalskiego*, in: VC, vol. 2, book 2, p. 292.

¹² H. Gmiterek, *Lublin w stuleciach XVII–XVIII*, in: R. Szczygieł, H. Gmiterek, P. Dymmel, *Lublin. Dzieje miasta*, vol 1., *Od VI do końca XVIII wieku*, Lublin 2008, p. 98.

their own interests and, during the Sejm in 1654, led to the exclusion of noble and clerical estates located in the area of Lublin from the obligation to provide accommodations to deputies¹³. The privileged position of both these groups was confirmed by the exemptions granted in subsequent years to owners of noble properties located in Lublin¹⁴. The Lublin townspeople achieved some success in this field only in 1685, when all one-storey tenement houses, regardless of the owner's state affiliation, were exempted from accommodation of the Tribunal judges¹⁵.

The state of the infrastructure offered to the deputies was also a constant problem. Regular rental of rooms led to damage and made it difficult to carry out repairs for both financial and time reasons¹⁶. An attempt to solve this situation was made in 1685. Starting at the beginning of the next term of the Tribunal, the owners of tenement houses designated for deputies by the starost were to give them rooms together with an inventory of equipment. The deputies, in turn, should leave their occupied lodgings before leaving Lublin after completing their judicial functions, leaving them in a condition consistent with the contents of the inventory written down at the start of their stay¹⁷. This meant that the townsmen, at least in the light of legal regulations¹⁸, were given the basis to indicate any

¹³ *Deklaracja płacenia podatków*, in: VC, vol. 4, 1641–1658, book 1, eds. S. Grodziski, M. Kwiecień, K. Fokt, Warszawa 2015, pp. 325–326; The starost and his officials were to be held criminally responsible before the Tribunal for designating a noble or clergyman's estate as a deputy's lodgings. These provisions concerned both Lublin and Piotrków.

¹⁴ Special exemptions from the burden of providing *ex officio* lodging for deputies were obtained by: in 1667, Paweł Tetera, starost of Braclaw, who had a manor house in Podzamcze, cf. *Libertacja dworku z pałacem w Lublinie*, in: VC, vol. 4, 1641–1658, book 2, eds. S. Grodziski, M. Kwiecień, K. Fokt, Warszawa 2017, p. 292; in 1678, Kacper Szczęśny Arciechowski the Livonian *podśędek* [sub-judge] and his wife Anna Reydówna, owners of the tenement house at Olejna street, see: *Uwolnienie kamienicy w Lublinie Ur. Arciechowskich małżonków od stawiania gości*, in: *Volumina Legum* [hereinafter: VL], vol. 5, Petersburg 1860, p. 291; In the same year, owners of other tenement houses in Lublin have also been granted an exemption: Franciszek Stoiński and Andrzej Olędzki Łuków district judges, Jan Czyż Vilnius *podstoli* and Aleksander Humenicki, see: *Libertacja kamienic pewnych w Lublinie*, in: VL, vol. 5, p. 292.

¹⁵ *Indemnitias miasta Lublina*, in: VL, vol. 5, p. 350.

¹⁶ The reason for the tenement houses and manor houses falling into ruin was indicated as making them available to tribunal deputies, so in 1677, as part of some compensation for the damage, Lublin was released from paying winter dues for the upkeep of the army, see: *Miasto Lublin y Przemysł*, in: VL, vol. 5, p. 233. This problem also affected properties belonging to the nobility. The exemption of Kacper Szczęśny Arciechowski's tenement house indicated that one of the prerequisites for the exemption was to enable the building to be repaired. *Uwolnienie*, p. 291.

¹⁷ *Indemnitias*, p. 350.

¹⁸ It is unknown what the procedure of inventory taking looked like in the times of Stanisław August and whether drawing up such a document was common practice.

damage they might have suffered both to their movable property and to the condition of the tenement houses they rented. Importantly, the Crown Tribunal was appointed as the competent forum to deal with disputes about the damage done to the lodgings, where they were to be judged within the framework of a criminal register.

The legislation introduced was unlikely to have had the desired effect, as the procedures for the allocation of the lodgings were again regulated in 1726. Evidently, the neglect of lodgings rented by deputies was still common. The judges themselves also had to have reservations about the condition of the of the tenement houses the townsmen made available to them, because the Lublin starost¹⁹ was ordered to appoint permanent lodgings, which from the term beginning in 1727 were to be forever assigned to certain voivodeships, lands and chapters²⁰. It was assumed that this would provide comfort for the deputies and the city would stop falling into ruin. The assignment of accommodations in accordance with the territorial area represented by a given judge was supposed to make not only the landlord responsible for the condition of the tenement house's infrastructure, but also the deputy would be responsible for maintaining it in the best possible order.

According to the decisions made during the Sejm of 1726, each tribunal judge was to have a lodgings on the second floor in a tenement house in the city itself and another one in an inn in the suburbs, for accompanying people and horses²¹. Due to the privileged position of the Marshal and the President, two tenement houses in the city and two inns in the suburbs were planned for them each. The 1685 decision imposing on the owners of tenement houses the obligation to make an inventory of the inventory of the equipment of the state was also repeated. However, the scope of liability was extended so that punishment would be levied not only

Contracts concluded by Lublin Dominicans in the 1750s show that this provision was applied to some extent. When renting the Majerowska tenement house on a regular basis, it was stipulated that 'rzeczy i wszelkie sprzęty statki jakie będą oddane według inwentarza tak przy expiracji oddane być mają' ['the things and all the furnishings that will be returned according to the inventory are to be returned in such condition upon the expiration'], e.g. Wojewódzka Biblioteka Publiczna im. Hieronima Łopacińskiego w Lublinie [hereinafter: BŁ], rkps 1757/1, sheets 49, 109.

¹⁹ Once again, it was categorically forbidden for the Marshal and the deputies to interfere in the allocation of accommodations, which indicates that there must have been regular misunderstandings about this and the occupation of tenement houses not included in the list drawn up by the Starost, cf. *Trybunał Główny Koronny*, in: VL, vol. 6, Petersburg 1860, p. 219.

²⁰ *Ibidem*; In the Grand Duchy of Lithuania such a solution was introduced already in 1690, see: I. Wierzchowicka, *op. cit.*, p. 653.

²¹ *Trybunał*, p. 219.

against the deputy who caused damage to the accommodation, but also against the townsman owner if he made it available to the judge in bad condition²².

The authorities of Lublin tried to take advantage of the burden of providing free lodgings and to obtain tax reliefs as a kind of compensation. Such a postulate was prepared in 1750, when a decrease of the head tax was sought²³. Any further changes in this respect during the reign of August III became impossible due to the broken sejms²⁴. It was not until the beginning of the Stanisław August period that the final issues related to the deputies' lodgings were settled. During the Convocation Sejm in 1764, the most burdensome – from the point of view of Lublin's bourgeoisie – obligation to provide *ex officio* lodgings was abolished, which in practice was to be enforced from the following year²⁵. From then on, the deputies were obliged to pay for the rental of premises for the period of the Court's term of office in Lublin, which opened up the possibility for city residents to derive income from it.

OWNERS OF THE LODGINGS

The legal basis ultimately established at the dawn of the reign of Stanisław August, regulating the issues related to the deputies' accommodation in Lublin, influenced the participation of individual states in granting the status. In view of the introduction of a fee for the use of accommodation, the 1654 provision exempting the noble and clerical property owners from the obligation to provide lodgings most likely ceased to function. Control over the designation of tenement houses, manors and palaces to be used by the deputies continued to be exercised by the starost with the help of his subordinate officials, and in the 1780s, probably with the participation of the Good Order Commission²⁶. The provision of 1793, when it was

²² *Ibidem*.

²³ *Suplika miasta Lublina na sejm w Warszawie [1750]*, in: *Lublin w dokumencie 1317–1967*, eds. F. Cieślak, H. Gawarecki, M. Stankowa, Lublin 1976, p. 84.

²⁴ Out of 18 Sejms in 1733–1762, 14 were dissolved without any decisions being made, of which 8 were broken and 6 were not assembled, cf. A. Sucheni-Grabowska, *Uwagi o sejmach 'niedoszłych'*, in: *Parlament, prawo, ludzie. Studia ofiarowane profesorowi Juliuszowi Bardachowi w sześćdziesięciolecie pracy twórczej*, eds. S. Russocki, W. Sudnik, Warszawa 1996, p. 294.

²⁵ *Ubezpieczenie miast*, in: VL, vol. 7, Petersburg 1860, p. 44; Abolition of *ex officio* was confirmed in the 1786 constitution, see: *Złączenie Trybunału Koronnego*, in: VL, vol. 7, p. 326.

²⁶ The author found two official lists of lodgings for deputies. The list of proposed lodgings for the Lublin term of office in 1775 was signed by Kasper Borawski, a municipal

established that a list of the lodgings should be drawn up by the order commission four weeks before the reopening of the Court with the help of representatives of the Lublin magistrate, was of no practical importance²⁷.

Two of the surviving official lists of the state, dating back to the time of Stanisław August, contain a total of 50 proposed lodgings to be rented by the Tribunal's judges. The officials preparing the summary probably took into account the will of the owners of the indicated properties. The provisions of the Constitutions of 1764 and 1768 made renting a flat an opportunity to earn some money. This is probably the reason why 40% of the accommodations included in the official lists were estates belonging to the nobility, who had previously been seeking exemption from the obligation to make their premises available to deputies²⁸. Meanwhile, for the first term in Lublin, after the final confirmation of the abolition of *ex officio* and restoration of the Tribunal to Lublin in the form from before 1764, among the noble owners of properties located in the city and its suburbs, accommodation was offered in palaces of: the Potockis²⁹, the

podśedeł of Lublin, Archiwum Państwowe w Lublinie [hereinafter: APL], Księgi grodzkie lubelskie [hereinafter: KGL], Relacje manifestacje oblaty [hereinafter: RMO], ref. no. 419, sheet 710v; Whereas the list of the lodgings for the 1786 term of office was prepared by Marcján Grotkowski, municipal judge of Krasnostaw, commissioner of the Lublin Good Order Commission, 'together with the Lublin Starost Office', APL, KGL, RMO, ref. no. 493, p. 44; H. Karbownik erroneously claimed that the municipal office was responsible for appointing the quarters, H. Karbownik, *op. cit.*, p. 200; Such a situation occurred only in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, where the quarters for deputies in the seats of the Tribunal were appointed by the *stalowniczy* [steelmaker], a representative of the local municipal office, cf. I. Wierzchowiecka, *op. cit.*, p. 652; In the territory of the Crown, in 1766, for the first term of office after the establishment of the Tribunal in Bydgoszcz, the local municipal officials prepared a list of all the residential buildings that would provide adequate living conditions for the deputies, cf. R. Kabaciński, *op. cit.*, p. 219.

²⁷ *Trybunał Koronny koła świeckiego*, in: VL, vol. 10, *Konstytucje Sejmu Grodzkiego z 1793 roku*, eds. Z. Kaczmarczyk et al., Poznań 1952, p. 250.

²⁸ The lists from 1775 and 1786 included the names of property owners, and occasionally the names of tenement houses, sometimes originating from previous estate owners. In the case of the 11 properties on both lists, they confirm that they were held by the same people between 1775 and 1786. The others probably changed owners between 1775 and 1792, when deputies had to pay rent. As a result, they could have passed from the nobility into the possession of the townspeople or vice versa (which in the times of Stanisław August was much less common in Lublin), see: T. Zielińska, *Szlacheccy właściciele nieruchomości w miastach w XVIII w.*, Warszawa 1987, p. 28; In this situation, the statistics presented for the whole period of the Tribunal's operation without *ex officio* are of a contractual nature. The research conducted in the city books in several cases allowed to determine the changes of owners, which was successively noted in the footnotes, as well as the co-ownership arrangements, which most often occurred between spouses.

²⁹ In 1768, after Eustachy Potocki's death, the palace became the property of Jan Potocki, who in 1789 transferred the property to the treasury of the Commonwealth, K. Gombin,

Lubomirskis, Rokosowska; in the tenement houses of: the Poznań voivodes, the Kuczyńskis³⁰, Aniela Bielska, the Rojewskis, Libicki, Jabłoński³¹, the tenement house called Nossadynich, which belonged to the Koźmian family³², and in two tenement houses of Jan Wojakowski³³. In addition, in 1786, the list of lodgings included the palaces of M. Grotkowski³⁴, the Miączyńskis, Tomasz Dłuski, Ignacy Duszeni³⁵ and tenement houses of: Marcin Trembiński³⁶, Marcin Gruszecki, Bogusław Katyński and Zofia Zgliczyńska née Wybranowska³⁷.

The second group residing in Lublin whose representatives took part in the procedure of offering lodgings for deputies were townsmen. The real estate in their possession accounted for 44% of the total number of the two lists. In 1775, accommodation was offered in the tenement houses

Pałac Potockich w Lublinie w świetle osiemnastowiecznych źródeł, 'Roczniki Humanistyczne' 2006, 54, 4, p. 303.

³⁰ In 1777, Leon Szaguna, a townsman from Lublin, APL, Księgi miasta Lublina [hereinafter: KML], Consularia [hereinafter: Consul.], ref. no. 177, sheet 66v; The tenement house was the permanent property of the Kuczyński family. In 1786, Feliks Kuczyński, *podstoli* of Drohiczyn, was mentioned as the heir of the tenement house, while L. Szaguna was his proxy and probably permanently leased the tenement house, BŁ, rkps 1276, sheets 99–99v.

³¹ APL, KGL RMO, ref. no. 419, sheets 710–710v.

³² APL, KML, Plany miasta Lublina [hereinafter: PML], ref. no. 3, n7, Mapa całego miasta Lublina z wszystkimi ulicami, przedmieściami, jurydykami oraz wszelkimi koło tegoż miasta przyległościami delinowana; T. Zielińska, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

³³ One of them, located in the town square in 1792, was still in the hands of the Wojakowski family, and its hereditary owner was Jan Wojakowski, standard bearer of Lviv. APL, KML, Consul., ref. no. 180, sheet 134; The tenement house on Rybna Street was already owned by Aleksander Węgliński, *podstoli* of Novgorod, in 1788; however, due to the owner's debts, it was put up for public auction in September, cf. APL, KML, Consul., ref. no. 188, sheets 346, 349v.

³⁴ In 1785, the palace was leased by a nobleman, Dominik Strzelecki. APL, KGL, RMO, ref. no. 483, sheet 1271; T. Zielińska makes the erroneous claim that M. Grotkowski sold the palace to the Lublin merchant T. Mutowski in 1781. T. Zielińska, *op. cit.*, p. 96; In fact, for 1,000 zloty he sold T. Mutowski an empty square in the vicinity of the palace and this took place in June 1782. APL, KML, Advocatia [hereinafter: Advoc.], ref. no. 58, sheet 73; This square was sold in 1788 by T. Mutowski to Tomasz Dederka, *podstoli* of Vitebsk. APL, KML, Advoc., ref. no. 59, sheets 389v–391.

³⁵ In 1785, a Jew from Lublin, Icek Leyzerowicz, was the host of the palace, APL, KGL RMO, ref. no. 483, sheet 153.

³⁶ He was its owner as early as 1779, APL, Księgi ziemskie lubelskie [hereinafter: KZL], ref. no. 164, sheet 24v.

³⁷ APL, KGL, RMO, ref. no. 493, pp. 43–44; Since she offered a tenement house in 1786, the 1784 contract for its sale to L. Szaguna, a merchant from Lublin, was probably not completed. APL, KML, luzy, ref. no. 82, sheets 49–51v; Confirms the sale of the building by Z. Zgliczyńska to Michał Saboński, a Warsaw merchant and his wife Zofia in June 1787. APL, KML, Advoc., ref. no. 59, sheet 193.

of: Franciszek Duszewski, Hieronim Pieniążek³⁸, Michał Lamprecht, Erasmus Święcki, Paweł Zdziarski³⁹, Franciszek Makarowicz, Andrzej Burzyński⁴⁰, Rozalia Dachnowska⁴¹, the Szymański family, Mrs. Babicka, a tenement house called Stara Poczta⁴² and Glemak. In 1786, Katarzyna Wiwalowa, Karol Krebs, Jan Dawid Heyzler, Krystyna Sielnicka, Paweł Różański, Franciszek Reynbergier, Adam Laskarzewski, Paweł and Barbara Skowroński and the Makarowicz family – who continued to receive deputies in a tenement house already owned in 1775, and was also to rent rooms in two other recently purchased properties – also offered their tenement houses⁴³.

The Lublin clergy had a smaller share in this area (16%). In 1775, the deputies were able to use the lodgings in the tenement houses of the Dominicans, priests from the Church of St Michael the Archangel, the Theological Seminary and Rev. Tomasz Jurkowski⁴⁴. In 1786, a palace and a tenement house of the Piarist priests were proposed, a tenement house belonging to the parish of the Church of the Holy Spirit, and the tenement house of the congregation of the Sisters of Charity⁴⁵.

LOCATION OF THE LODGINGS

When preparing the list of positions proposed to the deputies, the starosts probably took into account their location in the urban space. In this respect, it was most convenient to get an accommodation in the immediate vicinity of the Town Hall building, where the tribunal

³⁸ After 1775, and before 1782, the tenement house was purchased by Kajetan Konopka. APL, KML, Advoc., ref. no. 58, sheet 115v.

³⁹ In 1783, after P. Zdziarski's death, it became the property of his wife Marianna Zdziarska née Wiklinska. APL, KML, Consul., ref. no. 178, sheet 158v.

⁴⁰ APL, KML, Advoc., ref. no. 56, sheet 147v.

⁴¹ APL, KML, Advoc., ref. no. 58, sheet 289v.

⁴² In 1789, Michał Gieźowski was its owner. It is not known when he purchased it. APL, KML, Consul., ref. no. 245, sheet 12; The tenement house in Korce, owned by M. Gieźowski, is also mentioned. K. Koźmian, *Pamiętniki*, vol. 1, ed. J. Willaume, Wrocław 1972, p. 69.

⁴³ In 1775, after J. Makarowicz's death, the tenement house on Grodzka Street became the property of his son Jan Kanty Makarowicz, while the tenement house on the Market Square became the property of his second son, Franciszek Ksawery Makarowicz. APL, KML, Consul., ref. no. 176, sheet 428v; Later on, the Makarowicz family owned a property in Korce (this had to happen before 1786, when three Makarowicz tenement houses were included in the list of lodgings proposed to the deputies). APL, KML, luzy, ref. no. 118, p. 185.

⁴⁴ APL, KGL, RMO, ref. no. 419, sheets 710–710v.

⁴⁵ APL, KGL, RMO, ref. no. 493, pp. 43–44.

sessions were held. Therefore, the tenement houses located directly in the Market Square comprised a relatively large part (24%) of the lodgings. There were located the accommodations in the properties belonging to M. Lamprecht⁴⁶, H. Pieniążek⁴⁷, Święcki⁴⁸, R. Dachnowska⁴⁹, Zdziarski⁵⁰, Wojakowski⁵¹, Makarowicz⁵², J. D. Heysler⁵³, Poznań⁵⁴ voivodes, in a tenement house called Nossadynich⁵⁵, in a seminar house⁵⁶ and in a property occupied by Glemak⁵⁷.

In the area of the so-called 'city within the walls', numerous accommodations were also offered at the Grodzka Street (16%), which exits the northern frontage of the Market Square to the east. These were the quarters in the tenement houses belonging to Babicka⁵⁸, Libicki⁵⁹, Jabłoński⁶⁰,

⁴⁶ 'Ex opposito ratusza' ['Ex opposito town hall']. APL, KGL, RMO, ref. no. 419, sheet 710, item 5; 'w Rynku miasta stojąca' ['standing the Market Square'], KGL, RMO, ref. no. 493, p. 43, item 11.

⁴⁷ Known as 'Muratowiczowska', located in the corner of the Market Square, facing the direction of the Krakow Gate. APL, KML, Advoc., ref. no. 58, sheet 115v.

⁴⁸ 'kamienicy pana Święckiego stancja ex opposito ratusza' ['of the tenement house of Mr. Święcki lodging ex opposito town hall']. APL, KGL, RMO, ref. no. 419, sheet 710, item 6.

⁴⁹ 'w Rynku na rogu ulicy Olejnej' ['in the Market Square at the corner of Olejna Street']. APL, KML, Advoc., ref. no. 56, sheet 5v.

⁵⁰ APL, KML, PML, ref. no. 3, 17; KML, Consul., ref. no. 181, sheet 175.

⁵¹ At the junction of the Market Square with Złota Street. APL, KML, PML, ref. no. 3, 07; KML, Consul., ref. no. 253, sheet 21.

⁵² APL, KML, Consul., ref. no. 176, sheet 428.

⁵³ It was located in the northern frontage of the Market Square. It consisted of two tenement houses bought by J.D. Heysler in 1785 and rebuilt into one imposing property, cf. K. Koźmian, *op. cit.*, p. 84; The makeover was probably still in progress at the beginning of 1786, because the census noted that the tenement house was new 'jeszcze nieskończona' ['still not finished']. APL, KGL, RMO, ref. no. 493, p. 44.

⁵⁴ In the 1775 list of the lodgings, it was stated that it was located 'ex opposito ratusza' ['ex opposito town hall']. APL, KGL, RMO, ref. no. 419, sheet 710, item 7; This is confirmed by APL, KML, Advoc., ref. no. 56, sheet 84; It probably belonged to the next Poznań province governors. In municipal books it is listed as 'lapidea illustris M[agnifici]cie [...] palatinus posnaniensis', e.g. APL, KML, Consul., ref. no. 156, sheet 362v.

⁵⁵ APL, KML, PML, ref. no. 3, n7.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, n9.

⁵⁷ 'w rogu będącej od miasta [...] ex opposito ku ratuszowi' ['in the corner from the city [...] ex opposito town hall']. APL, KGL, RMO, ref. no. 419, sheet 710, item 4.

⁵⁸ In the section between the parish church and the Market Square. APL, KML, PML, ref. no. 3, b9; KML, Advoc., ref. no. 58, sheet 496.

⁵⁹ APL, KML, PML, ref. no. 3, h9.

⁶⁰ In the section between the Grodzka Gate and the Church of St. Michael, on the side opposite to the collegiate church. *Ibidem*, q9.

Makarowicz⁶¹, Burzyński⁶², P. Różański⁶³, F. Reynbergier⁶⁴ and the Lublin Collegiate Church⁶⁵. At Bramowa Street, which is an extension of Grodzka Street from the Market Square towards the Krakow Gate, there was a tenement house of K. Krebs⁶⁶ and the property of the parish of the Holy Spirit (4%)⁶⁷. The deputies were also offered accommodations in Rybna Street, where they could rent lodgings in the tenement house of K. Sielnicka⁶⁸, P. Szymanski⁶⁹ and the second tenement house of J. Wojakowski (6%)⁷⁰. Among the properties on the official list in Złota Street there was a tenement house of the merciful⁷¹ ladies and a tenement house of Bielska⁷² (4%), and on Dominikańska Street there stood a tenement house of the Rojewski⁷³ family and a property belonging to the Dominican monastery (4%)⁷⁴, while on Jezuicka Street there was a house of Father T. Jurkowski (2%)⁷⁵.

Among the properties offered to the deputies as accommodations, many were located in the suburbs to the west of the city *intra muros*, by the road leading towards Warsaw. In the functional and spatial structure of Lublin at that time, they functioned as residential and service areas, which made them a convenient place to accommodate tribunal judges⁷⁶. In Korce, located directly by the city walls from the south-western side, deputies could use accommodation in a tenement house called the Old Post

⁶¹ APL, KML, Consul., ref. no. 176, sheet 428.

⁶² In the section between the Grodzka Gate and the Church of St. Michael on the collegiate side. APL, KML, PML, ref. no. 3, m4.

⁶³ On the side of the Burzański tenement house, separated by an empty square. *Ibidem*, n4.

⁶⁴ In the section between the Market Square and the Church of St. Michael, in a corner house on the collegiate's side. *Ibidem*, f9.

⁶⁵ A tenement house called Ambrożkiewiczowska. *Ibidem*, t4.

⁶⁶ 'leżąca przy Bramie Krakowskiej' ['situated at Krakow Gate']. APL, KGL, RMO, ref. no. 493, p. 44, item 20.

⁶⁷ Corner tenement house at Bramowa and Olejna Street. APL, KML, PML, ref. no. 3, m8; KML, Consul., ref. no. 188, sheet 285v.

⁶⁸ APL, KML, Advoc., ref. no. 56, sheet 167.

⁶⁹ APL, KML, PML, ref. no. 3, m8.

⁷⁰ APL, KGL, RMO, ref. no. 419, sheet 710v, item 21, where it was referred to as 'by the Trinitarians', who had their seat at Fish Market Square.

⁷¹ Corner house at the junction of Złota Street with Dominikańska Street. APL, KML, PML, ref. no. 3, q7.

⁷² On the right-hand side, walking from the church of St. Stanislaus towards the Market Square. *Ibidem*, v7.

⁷³ *Ibidem*, t7.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, r7.

⁷⁵ 'przy furcie kollegium przeszłych Jezuitów' ['at the gate of the college of past Jesuits']. APL, KGL, RMO, ref. no. 419, sheet 710, item 12.

⁷⁶ D. Kociuba, *Lublin. Rozwój przestrzenny i funkcjonalny od średniowiecza do współczesności*, Toruń 2011, pp. 173–174.

Office⁷⁷ and in the tenement houses of the Kuczyński⁷⁸, F. K. Makarowicz⁷⁹, Laskarzewski⁸⁰, Skowroński⁸¹ families, as well as in the palaces belonging to Miączyński⁸² and T. Dłuski (14%)⁸³.

A significant part of the properties where accommodations were offered were located in the area of Krakowskie Przedmieście. In the times of Stanisław August it covered the area from the Krakow Gate to the north to the Czechówka River, to the west around the Warsaw route as far as Wieniawa, and to the south to Panna Maria Street and Korce Area⁸⁴. Deputies for the period of Lublin's term of office could stay there in the palaces of: Potocki⁸⁵ and M. Grotkowski⁸⁶; in the tenement houses of: F. Duszewski⁸⁷, Trembiński⁸⁸, Z. Zgliczyńska⁸⁹ or Katyński (12%)⁹⁰. In the

⁷⁷ APL, KGL, RMO, ref. no. 419, sheet 710, item 9.

⁷⁸ 'stancje na Korcach' ['lodgings in Korce']. APL, KGL, RMO, ref. no. 419, p. 710, item 10; KGL, RMO, ref. no. 493, p. 44, item 29; It was situated on a plot adjacent to the buildings of the Bernardine monastery. This is confirmed by a dispute that took place in 1786 between the Bernardines and the Kuczyński family over a glass pane broken in their tenement house, which fell on the land belonging to the monastery. BŁ, rkps 1276, p. 99.

⁷⁹ APL, KML, luzy, 118, sheet 186.

⁸⁰ APL, KML, PML, ref. no. 3, f5; 'na Korach stojąca' ['standing on Korce']. APL, KGL, RMO, ref. no. 493, p. 44, item 28.

⁸¹ Described as the 'dom na Korcach' ['house in Korce']. APL, KML, Consul., ref. no. 245, sheets 3, 5v; sometimes as 'manor house'. *Ibidem*, sheets 6, 11, 15v, 109; In the 1786 list of the lodgings, it was identified as 'domostwo drewniane' ['a wooden house']. APL, KGL, RMO, ref. no. 493, p. 44, item 31; It was located next to Marcin Klemens' tenement house. APL, KML, Advoc., ref. no. 134, sheet 6; From the other side, it was adjacent to the street leading from Korce towards the Bernardine monastery. APL, KML, Advoc., ref. no. 70, sheet 121v.

⁸² 'na Korcach leżący' ['situated in Korce']. APL, KGL, RMO, ref. no. 493, p. 43, item 5.

⁸³ Opposite the Jesuit College buildings. APL, KML, PML, ref. no. 3, w3.

⁸⁴ D. Kociuba, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

⁸⁵ The 1786 list of states stated that it was situated 'on Krakowskie Przedmieście'. APL, KGL, RMO, ref. no. 419, p. 43, item 1; Its location at Litewski Square is confirmed. APL, KML, PML, ref. no. 3, a1; It was located on the western side of the Sanguszko Palace, in line with the Czartoryski Palace, see: J. Dybała, *Plac Litewski w Lublinie. Dzieje zabudowy i założenia urbanistycznego*, 'Roczniki Humanistyczne' 1972, 20, 5, p. 80.

⁸⁶ APL, KML, PML, ref. no. 3, k2; Previously the palace called 'Parisian'. APL, KML, Advoc., ref. no. 57, sheet 251v; It was located in an alley leading from Krakowska Street in the direction of the Bernardine Fathers' Church. APL, KML, Advoc., ref. no. 59, sheet 193v.

⁸⁷ APL, KML, Advoc., ref. no. 56, sheet 312.

⁸⁸ 'na Krakowskim Przedmieściu leżąca' ['on Krakowskie Przedmieście situated']. APL, KGL, RMO, ref. no. 493, p. 43, item 8.

⁸⁹ APL, KML, PML, ref. no. 3, l3.

⁹⁰ Adjacent to the Z tenement house. Zgliczyńska. APL, KML, Advoc., ref. no. 59, sheet 193v; Both were located near the Świętoduska Gate. APL, KML, Advoc., ref. no. 57, sheet 251v; APL, KZL, ref. no. 204, sheet 49.

direct vicinity there were also quarters in the Lubomirski Palace⁹¹, the palace and the Piarist tenement house on Panna Maria Street (6%)⁹², and on Podwale in the outbuilding of I. Duszeni (2%)⁹³.

After the abolition of the *ex-officio* lodgings, the provisions of the 1726 constitution had to cease to apply as regards the need to assign individual quarters to the provinces and lands represented by the deputies. This is evidenced by the rotation of real estate in the official lists of lodgings, which contain only 11 items both in 1775 and 1786. Moreover, they don't indicate the allocation of particular premises to particular deputies, which would probably be taken into account if the properties were to be occupied for more than one term. The introduction of a fee for renting deputy lodgings had to create conditions for the development of competition on the Lublin market for people aspiring to offer such services. The attractiveness of individual accommodation units was probably influenced by their interior design, amenities in the form of catering facilities, utility rooms, the infrastructural condition of the building, location and prices associated with these factors.

CONDITIONS OF ACCOMMODATION AND PRICING

It seems that due to the above-mentioned changes during Stanislaw August period, the second floors of the tenement houses were no longer referred to as 'deputies'. In the case of most tenement houses, the rooms offered for lodgings were usually located at the first floor, regardless of the building's location in the city⁹⁴. Some of the accommodations were

⁹¹ In the list of quarters from 1775, its location was described as 'idąc ku konwikтови przeszlemu jezuitskiemu' ['going towards the direction of former Jesuit school']. APL, KGL, RMO, ref. no. 419, sheet 710, item 11; It should be identified as the palace which at that time belonged to Antoni Lubomirski, Lublin Voivode and his wife Zofia née Krasińska, and which was taken over from Kazimierz Tarło, the Skala-Podilska starost in 1754, see: W. Bondyra, *Pałace i dwory szlacheckie w Lublinie w czasach saskich*, 'Pogranicze. Polska-Ukraina' 2012, 4, p. 179; Besides, Antoni Lubomirski also owned a second palace located at today's Lithuanian Square, which was bought in 1782 by the Lublin burgher K. Korn with his wife Teresa née Weber. APL, KML, Advoc., ref. no. 58, sheets 9–10.

⁹² APL, KML, PML, ref. no. 3, S [pałac]; *Ibidem*, l2 [kamienica].

⁹³ *Ibidem*, item 84; The location of the Rokossowska Palace and the tenement houses of K. Wiwalowa and M. Gruszecki, listed in the official lists of the state, could not be determined.

⁹⁴ This was the case in the tenement houses belonging to the parish of the Holy Spirit, the Lublin collegiate church, the monastery of the Sisters of Charity, the Dominican Order, M. Lamprecht, Zdziarski family, J. Wojakowski, K. Wiwalowa, K. Krebs, M. Gruszecki, K. Sielnicka, Jabłoński, P. Różański, Katynski and Z. Zgliczynska, see: APL, KGL, RMO, ref. no. 493, pp. 43–44.

more luxurious and included all the rooms in a given tenement house, which probably increased the sense of comfort for the tribunal judge and the people accompanying him⁹⁵. This was the case with property of F. Makarowicz's in Korce, probably built with the intention of being rented to the deputies⁹⁶. Apart from 4 to 6 rooms, the vast majority of tenement house owners offered also a set of rooms consisting of kitchens, cellars, pantry and, in some cases, stables⁹⁷.

The owners of properties referred to as palaces usually proposed most of the rooms in them. At Potocki's, it was possible to rent all rooms on the first floor, a kitchen, a stable and a cellar⁹⁸. An additional advantage of this property was the location next to the garden, one of the few recreational places in Lublin at the time, equipped with benches, carousels, swings, bowling alley, and a beer hall⁹⁹. The accommodations offered in the Piarists' palaces, Międzyński family palace and I. Duszeni property also looked attractive. Another outstanding lodging was offered in M. Grotkowski's palace located between Krakowska Street and Panna Maria Street. The deputy who would decide to rent it, had at his disposal six rooms on the first floor, a grand hall, two kitchens, a small room next to one of them, and also a pantry, cellars, woodshed and a stable¹⁰⁰.

As far as the offered rooms are concerned, with few exceptions, all the proposed lodgings looked relatively similar. However, the building conditions had to be different. Lublin was heavily affected by the war turmoil in the middle of the 17th and then in the early 18th century. The weak position of the townspeople in the legal and political system of the Commonwealth did not facilitate the reconstruction of the destroyed urban centers, even those used as tribunal seats¹⁰¹. The authorities of Lublin in

⁹⁵ One of the Lublin burghers offering lodgings wrote about his property: 'wspaniałość domu tego uważana łatwo być może stąd, że był zawsze mieszkalny przez JWW Deputatów' ['the grandeur of this house is easily noticed, perhaps because it was always inhabited by Deputies']. Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych [hereinafter: AGAD], Archiwum Królestwa Polskiego [hereinafter: AKP], ref. no. 235, sheet 259.

⁹⁶ APL, KGL, RMO, ref. no. 493, p. 44, item 16.

⁹⁷ The stables were located by the tenement house of the parish of the Holy Spirit, at Laskarzewski (item 28), in the tenement house of Kuczyński (item 29), Katyński (item 32), Duszewski (item 30), Zgliczyńska (item 33) and Skowrońska's house (item 31), see: *Ibidem*, pp. 43–44.

⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 42, item 1.

⁹⁹ J. Rulikowski, *Urywek wspomnień wydany z obszerniejszego rękopisu (1731–92 r.)*, ed. J. Bartoszewicz, Warszawa 1862, pp. 203–204; K. Koźmian, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

¹⁰⁰ APL, KGL, RMO, ref. no. 493, p. 43, item 4.

¹⁰¹ Piotrków also struggled with problems in this area, see: B. Baranowski, *op. cit.*, p. 88; K. Głowacki, *Zabudowa Rynku w Piotrkowie Trybunalskim w świetle źródeł archiwalnych*, 'Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki' 1978, 23, 4, p. 308; The situation was similar in the

their 1750 request to the Sejm participants informed that 'only the ruins of tenement houses'¹⁰² remained in the city, which 'present a horrible image of the town to the entire Kingdom'¹⁰³. The situation has further deteriorated after the military action during the period of Bar Confederation. In 1768, Lublin was captured by the Cossacks who set the city on fire. As a result of the fire, 60 houses and tenement houses, 6 palaces, a church and a Bernardine monastery burned down¹⁰⁴.

The consequences of these events had to be noticed by the deputies who, after a 7-year break came to Lublin in April 1775 for the term of the Tribunal. Most certainly, the state of lodgings most of them rented did not provide ideal conditions for existence during performance of judicial functions¹⁰⁵. One of the tenement houses on Olejna Street was on the verge of collapse at that time and posed a threat to all people passing by¹⁰⁶. In D. Szymanski's tenement house offered at that time for rent by Rybna Street, the back entrance door was torn off, the floor on the ground floor was destroyed and the vault in the deputy rooms was leaking due to the damaged roof. The chimney was collapsed, and there was rubbish in the yard which clogged the cloaca¹⁰⁷. The state of F. Duszewski's tenement house was only slightly better, where the walls in all the deputy rooms were heavily cracked and the plaster fell off the ceilings¹⁰⁸. The situation was similar in several other properties used by the Tribunal judges¹⁰⁹.

In the following years, this situation gradually improved. The Muratowiczowska tenement house, belonging to the Pieniążek family, was renovated already in 1777. In its six rooms rented to the deputies, the owners replaced doors, floors, window panes, added new stoves, purchased

cities which are were the seats of the Main Tribunal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, cf. I. Wierzchowiecka, *op. cit.*, pp. 642–643.

¹⁰² 'tylko obaliny kamienic'.

¹⁰³ 'okropną miasta reprezentuje całemu Królestwu scenę'. *Suplika miasta Lublina na sejm w Warszawie...* [1750], in: *Lublin w dokumencie*, p. 83.

¹⁰⁴ H. Gawarecki, S. Paulowa, M. Stankowa, *Kłęski pożarów w Lublinie*, 'Rocznik Lubelski' 1973, 16, p. 216.

¹⁰⁵ The fact that deputies attached great importance to the conditions of lodgings is evidenced by situations from earlier periods when Tribunal judges arbitrarily occupied other lodgings from those assigned to them, which during the period of *ex officio* law caused a great deal of confusion, cf. I. Wierzchowiecka, *op. cit.*, p. 652.

¹⁰⁶ APL, KML, Advoc., ref. no. 55, sheet 314v. Its examination was carried out in May 1775, i.e. at the beginning of the Lublin term.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibidem*, sheet 306.

¹⁰⁸ APL, KML, Advoc., ref. no. 56, sheets 312–313v.

¹⁰⁹ E.g. F. Reynbergier. APL, KML, Advoc., ref. no. 58, sheet 279; or in the tenement house of the parish of the Holy Spirit. *Ibidem*, sheets 349v–354v.

wardrobes and whitened the ceilings¹¹⁰. In 1783 extensive cleaning works were carried out in the Zdziarski family tenement house¹¹¹. Investments in this direction were also made by B. Katyński¹¹² and Z. Zgliczyńska¹¹³. These works were planned deliberately, expecting a profit from the rented lodgings, as the ones located in well-kept tenement houses had to be more popular among tenants¹¹⁴.

The location, infrastructure, as well as the furnishing of rooms, kitchens, and stables with movable property¹¹⁵, had to be the criteria deciding on the price to be paid for renting the lodgings. It seems that the fees increased with the progress of cleaning works carried out in the town and the replacement of 'battered' tenement houses with new or recently renovated ones. Therefore, while in 1775 the average price for renting rooms and other premises for the entire term of the Tribunal was 52.34 red zlotys, in 1786 this value increased to 63.3¹¹⁶.

¹¹⁰ APL, KML, Advoc., ref. no. 56, sheets 276–276v.

¹¹¹ APL, KML, Consul., ref. no. 178, sheet 185v.

¹¹² *Ibidem*, sheet 285.

¹¹³ APL, KML, Advoc., ref. no. 59, sheet 195.

¹¹⁴ In 1778, the authorities of Lublin issued a certificate supporting the actions of K. Sielnicka, who travelled to Warsaw on business, and commented that this owner 'kamienic już upadłych spodziewając się od stancji przez najmujących J.W.W. na zjazd J.O. Trybunału Koronnego przyjeżdżających zyskiwać, a z tegoż zyskiwania reparacją kamienic dobrze konserwować' ['of tenement houses that are already dilapidated, expects to make profit from the deputies coming to the Crown Tribunal assembly, and this profit spend well on the maintenance of the tenement houses']. APL, KML, Consul., ref. no. 177, sheet 210v.

¹¹⁵ The details of the furnishings are difficult to determine. It is known that the Potocki Palace in 1783 was furnished with red chairs with armrests and horsehair-woven seats, a sofa without armrests, a table with a drawer, a blue table, two square tables with drawers, a bench with a handrail and a red cover, three mirrors, 14 different paintings, see: BŁ, rkps 121, sheets 4–5v; Ignacy Krasicki was critical of the furnishings of the deputy lodgings, writing that: 'pokoju wąskiego sypialnego mury były obnażone; przy łóżku parawanik, zamiast płotku kilimek wytarty, łóżko szczupłe, a nad nim lśnił się makat złotogłowy' ['the walls of the narrow sleeping room were exposed; a screen by the bed, a shabby rug instead of a carpet, a narrow bed, and golden-thread fabric glittering above it']. I. Krasicki, *Mikołaja Doświadczyrńskiego przypadki*, vol. 3, ed. E. Bartoszewicz, Kraków 1883, p. 40.

¹¹⁶ The information on prices for renting rooms and other premises in individual properties are contained in both lists. APL, KGL, RMO, ref. no. 419, sheets 710–710v; KGL, RMO, ref. no. 493, pp. 43–44; However, it is not known what amounts were actually paid by the deputies who used these lodgings. The prices were given for the entire term, but perhaps in practice they were adjusted according to the duration of stay of the Tribunal judge in given premises. They should legally stay for at least six months throughout the Tribunal's term of office, see: *O pisarzach trybunalskich*, in: VL, vol. 8, Petersburg 1860, p. 108; Usually there were 10 to 17 deputies in town, see: APL, Trybunał Koronny Lubelski, ref. no. 17, p. 1–15; Biblioteka Książąt Czartoryskich w Krakowie [hereinafter: BCz], rkps 803, sheets 162v, 165, 205v, 207v, 209v, 235v; rkps 804, pp. 256, 562, 565, 570, 602, 630,

The fact that the condition of the infrastructure constituted an important criterion in setting prices is also indicated by the case of F. Duszewski's tenement house. While in 1775, the cost of renting the rooms at the middle floor of this building was still 160 red zlotys, in 1786 the price for the same range of rooms dropped to 60 red zlotys. This assumption is also confirmed by the stability of prices in other lodgings listed in both documents¹¹⁷. The prices for accommodations with extensive facilities have differed from the standard amounts. These included the already mentioned rooms in the in M. Grotkowski's palace (150 red zlotys), in Potocki's palace (100 red zlotys), in Piarist palace (180 red zlotys), in Trembiński's tenement house (180 red zlotys) and in F. Makarowicz's two tenement houses (in the renovated one 90 red zlotys, while in the new 100, with the amount of 50 red zlotys for rooms in his 'old' property)¹¹⁸.

The location of the rented property also played a certain role in the price rates of the lodgings. The most expensive were the accommodations located in the Krakowskie Przedmieście area¹¹⁹. Apart from the already mentioned factors, this had to also be caused by the fact that the buildings in this area were mainly palaces which provided more comfort in daily lives than the tenement houses in the densely built up area of 'town within the walls'. Prices of the accommodations in the Krakowskie Przedmieście area oscillated between 60 and 180 red zlotys and were considerably stable in the period from 1775 to 1786.

The location that allowed to earn considerable income from the property rent was Korce. The amounts that had to be paid for occupying

634, 638, 809; Apparent deviations from these numbers are visible primarily in the period just after the resumption of the Lublin term. For example, around 20 April, less than two weeks after the ceremonial opening of the courts in Lublin, 22 deputies were present. *Ibidem*, p. 523; It seems that the only exception was a situation that occurred between 15 and 26 July 1790, when the functioning of the Tribunal was paralysed due to the lack of all required judges. BCz, rkps 805, pp. 359, 369; The decrease in turnout was also visible in early October 1788, when only 7–8 deputies stayed in Lublin for two weeks, perhaps in connection with the Sejm that began at that time. BCz, rkps 804, pp. 614, 617; A rather shameful situation occurred during the Piotrków term in 1787–1788. From Christmas to 6 February 1788, all scheduled court sessions were cancelled due to lack of full complement. *Ibidem*, pp. 151–171.

¹¹⁷ For 11 properties included in both lists, 5 of them have two different rent prices. The lodgings in the tenement house of the Lublin collegiate church cost 30 red zlotys all the time, while in the Kuczyński tenement house the price was maintained at the stable level of 40 red zlotys. In M. Lamprecht's tenement house, on the other hand, they decreased from 60 red zlotys to 50, and in the Dominican Order house from 40 to 30.

¹¹⁸ APL, KGL, RMO, ref. no. 493, p. 43.

¹¹⁹ J. Rulikowski believed that it was the most beautiful area of Lublin at that time. J. Rulikowski, *op. cit.*, p. 214.

the quarters here were between 40 and 100 red zlotys. The low average price in 1775 was caused by the fact that only two properties in this area were offered for rent at that time. The cost of using the rooms available there was probably influenced by the fact that they were located in poorly equipped tenements. It was only in the following years that deputies began to receive offers of accommodation in palaces, which constituted a significant part of the buildings in Korce¹²⁰.

Similar price relations were applied to the tenement houses located at the Market Square. This area has traditionally been inhabited by the most influential bourgeois families, enjoyed a considerable prestige¹²¹ and, above all, in its center stood the town hall which served as the seat of the Tribunal. It certainly guaranteed a sense of comfort and convenience for the deputies who rented their quarters there. The prices of the numerous accommodations offered in the tenement houses on the Market Square, similarly to the properties in Krakowskie Przedmieście, showed great stability in the surveyed period of time.

The tenement houses in Grodzka Street and Złota, Dominikańska, Rybna, Jezuicka and Bramowa Streets were ranked lower in the hierarchy. Although they were located directly in the back of the tribunal building, similarly to the tenement houses in the Lublin Market Square, they did not have representative function and were in a worse state¹²². It seems that the cleaning works carried out in this area since the beginning of the 1880s could be associated with a relatively significant increase in prices for accommodation on the streets mentioned above in 1786. Sanitary conditions, hustle and bustle of urban life and higher population density in the town 'within the walls' could also have had some impact on the value of these properties, which probably discouraged the deputies from renting. It is also unclear what role in setting the prices indicated on the

¹²⁰ In the 19th and 20th centuries, a significant number of the palaces in Korce was transformed into tenement houses. J. Riabinin, J. Dutkiewicz, *Dawne pałace na Korcach w Lublinie*, 'Pamiętnik Lubelski' 1938, 3, p. 367.

¹²¹ The Market was meant to show the magnitude of a town and invoke aesthetic impressions, adequate to its importance. However, in the case of the major urban centres of the Commonwealth, these functions were usually limited in comparison with Western European cities, cf. M. Bogucka, H. Samsonowicz, *Dzieje miasta i mieszczaństwa w Polsce przedrozbiorowej*, Wrocław 1986, p. 492.

¹²² J. Rulikowski, *op. cit.*, pp. 214–215; The prestigious location of the properties in the Market Square also influenced their prices. The properties on all the remaining streets in the area of the so-called town 'within the walls', similar in size and infrastructural condition, have always been even several times cheaper than those in the Market Square. G. Jakimińska, *Elita władzy lubelskiej gminy miejskiej w latach 1555–1651*, Lublin 2012, pp. 115–118.

official lists was played by district governor officials and to what extent they were influenced by the property owners themselves. The fact that several lodgings were rented still in 1775, before the price rates were published, suggests the possibility of the latter option. The official lists do not provide prices for these lodgings, which suggests that they were agreed on directly between the deputies and the property owners. Therefore, it cannot be ruled out that the increased competition among the owners of accommodation units located in the town 'within the walls' which forced them to lower prices, was also an important factor.

DEPUTIES AS OWNERS OF PROPERTIES IN LUBLIN

The official lists were meant to make it possible for each deputy to rent a lodging. The list of 1775 contained 29 offered quarters, while in 1786 it consisted of 33 items. Taking into account that since 1774 the judicial college consisted of 29 persons, and in 1776 this number was increased to 30¹²³, the demand for the Lublin's accommodations in 1775–1776 amounted to 31 quarters, and in 1777–1792, this number was set at 32 lodgings. It is possible that the deputies actually used fewer properties, as sometimes two judges stayed in one property¹²⁴. The above estimates take into account the Marshal's and President's privilege to use premises in two different properties, although it is not known how this right was implemented after the abolition of *ex officio* in 1764¹²⁵. After receiving the salaries in 1768, the rent of lodgings was a marginal cost from their point of view¹²⁶. Perhaps they didn't always need two independent quarters. It was established that in 1775 Marshal Stanisław Małachowski, then the starost of Nowy

¹²³ *Deputaci*, pp. 16–18.

¹²⁴ For example, in 1789, Ignacy Rulikowski, a deputy from the Chełm Land, and Ignacy Trypolski, a Kiev deputy, together rented rooms on the first floor in the Potocki Palace. On the ground floor two rooms were occupied by their children, cf. J. Rulikowski, *op. cit.*, p. 176; In 1791, on the other hand, rooms in the same property were occupied by Maciej Skrzypiński, a deputy of Poznań, and Antoni Mierzewski, performing the function of a deputy of Kalisz, cf. J.D. Ochocki, *Pamiętniki*, vol. 3, Warszawa 1852, p. 40.

¹²⁵ What is interesting is that in Piotrków, the Presidents of the Tribunal had at their disposal a property purchased by the Archbishop of Gniezno to facilitate their work. H. Karbownik, *op. cit.*, p. 200.

¹²⁶ Salaries for the Marshal and the President were 20,000 zloty per term. Moreover, they were entitled to 10 thousand zlotys of the regular salary received by all deputies. Thus, the income of the Marshal and the President from performing the function of a judge in 1774–1776 amounted to 30 thousand zloty, and from 1777, 30 thousand zloty and 20 thousand zloty, respectively. *Złączenie*, p. 322; *Tabella expensy Koronney*, in: VL, vol. 8, Petersburg 1860, pp. 550–551.

Sącz, occupied rooms in the Bielska tenement house on Złota Street and in the property belonging to J. Wojakowski situated in the Market Square. By the way, it was an exception to the custom of the tribunal Marshals using the rooms in the Piarist Palace¹²⁷. This is confirmed by the fact that Antoni Sierakowski, a canon from Gniezno and the Great Crown Notary, acting as President of the Tribunal in 1775, stayed in the Potocki Palace in Krakowskie Przedmieście, and it was probably his only accommodation¹²⁸.

It is impossible to determine how many of the deputies actually chose the quarters placed on the official lists¹²⁹. When the principle of *ex officio* was still in force, the Tribunal judges occupying lodgings other than the ones assigned to them must have caused discontent and controversy among the residents of the property which the deputy wanted to enter¹³⁰. After the introduction of the payment, the judges could be more creative in their search for a place that would better accommodate their preference, since they had to pay for it anyway. However, attempts were made to block this type of practice from the top down with a constitutional provision stipulating that deputies should be able to obtain official lists of lodgings prepared by municipal officials 'should necessarily *parere sub poena centum marcarum*'¹³¹.

During the 1775 term of office in Lublin, some of the judges chose accommodation according to the list. Franciszek Biedrzycki from the Braclaw Voivodeship stayed in a tenement house of the Zdziarski family, Feniks Piniński, a deputy of the Lublin, rented a lodging in a tenement house of the Rojewski family, Stanisław Pruszyński, a deputy of the Kiev Voivodeship, stayed in a tenement house of the Makarowicz family, and Stanisław Radwański, a deputy of the Volhynian Voivodeship, used the rooms in the property belonging to the Seminary. The Marshal and the President of the Tribunal have also chosen properties from the list

¹²⁷ The fact that the Marshals usually stayed at the Piarist's Palace was reported by: K. Koźmian, *op. cit.*, p. 87; J.D. Ochocki, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

¹²⁸ APL, KGL, RMO, ref. no. 419, sheets 710–710v, item 15, 1; The Potocki Palace was to be regularly rented as the lodging by the Presidents of the Tribunals. K. Koźmian, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

¹²⁹ Due to the destruction of the Crown Tribunal's books, it is also unclear whether the deputies from Małopolska and Wielkopolska were obliged to provide the Tribunal's office with information about the address of the occupied quarters, as was the case in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, cf. I. Wierzychowiecka, *op. cit.*, p. 658.

¹³⁰ Deputies of the General Tribunal of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania rarely respected their allocations. One of the factors that influenced this was supposed to be the fear of revenge of the nobility dissatisfied with the judgment, see: *Ibidem*, p. 654.

¹³¹ '*parere koniecznie sub poena centum marcarum powinni*'. *Złączenie*, p. 326.

of lodgings¹³². However, at the same time, the accommodations in the D. Szymanski's house on Rybna Street were occupied by Sokolowski and Skaryszewski, who came to Lublin for Tribunal cases, but did not perform deputy functions¹³³. Similarly, a tenement house in the Market Square inhabited by Glemak and included in the official list of the lodgings was rented by Father Suski, who was not a tribunal judge at the time¹³⁴. Therefore, if all of the deputies would wish to choose accommodation from the official list, there would probably be a lack of formally proposed properties for at least three of them¹³⁵.

However, it is possible that these tenement houses listed in the official documents were occupied by persons other than deputies because some of the Tribunal judges were not interested in them. It is known that some deputies had their own property in Lublin at the time of their election and probably did not use the rented accommodation¹³⁶. This was the case for Jakub Rzewuski, a district judge from Chełm and a deputy during the Lublin term of office in 1777, who owned a tenement house on Dominikańska Street¹³⁷. The property in Krakowskie Przedmieście on Panna Maria¹³⁸ Street was owned by the Lublin *miecznik* [sword-bearer], Józef Raszowski, who came to Lublin in 1777 and 1778 as a tribunal judge¹³⁹. The village of Rury near Lublin and a tenement house at the Market Square were owned by Antoni Suchodolski, the Lublin deputy starost in 1780¹⁴⁰. In 1789, Feliks Kuczyński, a Drohiczyn *podstoli* who was a judge of the Tribunal as a representative of the Podlasie Voivodeship, also owned a tenement house in Lublin¹⁴¹. In a similar situation was J. Wojakowski, the Lviv standard-bearer, who served as a deputy in 1792, had a hereditary

¹³² The information about the renting of these stations is given after. APL, KGL, RMO, ref. no. 419, sheets 710–710v; These are the items 13, 16, 18, 24, respectively. Moreover, the list noted that rooms in the Dachnowski family tenement house were rented by two deputies (item 19). It is known that one of them used the upper rooms in this property as early as October 1775. APL, KML, luzy, ref. no. 91, p. 75; *Deputaci*, pp. 206–207; In the years 1775–1785, the deputies also regularly rented rooms in the Lamprecht tenement house. APL, KGL, RMO, ref. no. 483, sheet 200v.

¹³³ APL, KML, Advoc., ref. no. 56, sheet 22.

¹³⁴ APL, KGL, RMO, ref. no. 419, sheet 710, item 4; *Deputaci*, pp. 206–207.

¹³⁵ Taking into account the tenants from P. Szymański's tenement house and Glemak's property, as well as the fact that two lodgings were occupied by the Marshal of the Tribunal, as mentioned earlier.

¹³⁶ It was already noticed by K. Koźmian, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

¹³⁷ APL, KZL, ref. no. 164, k. 560; *Deputaci*, p. 215.

¹³⁸ APL, KML, Advoc., ref. no. 58, sheet 45.

¹³⁹ APL, KML, Advoc., ref. no. 56, sheet 447v; *Deputaci*, pp. 215, 220.

¹⁴⁰ APL, KML, Consul., ref. no. 178, sheet 13v; *Deputaci*, p. 232.

¹⁴¹ BŁ, rkps 1276, p. 99; *Deputaci*, p. 291.

tenement house located in the Market Square¹⁴², and Andrzej Koźmian, the owner of a property called Nossadynich¹⁴³, a Tribunal judge for the 1784/1785¹⁴⁴ term.

Some of the deputies probably used the lodgings rented on their own initiative, in properties not included in the official lists. Those lists have never included Czartoryski Palace, located by the Lithuanian Square, although it was highly popular among the deputies and was often occupied by them¹⁴⁵. Moreover, it is known that in May 1790, in the tenement house of Lublin townsman, K. Korn, lived Antoni Sierakowski, Zawkrze standard-bearer, deputy from the Płock Voivodeship¹⁴⁶. And in the tenement house belonging to Lublin vintner, L. Szaguna stayed Józef Piniński, Włodzimierz district judge, representing the Czernichów Voivodeship during the 1788/1789 term¹⁴⁷. Another place that was popular among deputies was the tenement house of Michał Gieżowski in Korce, which accommodated Wincenty Chwalibóg¹⁴⁸, a judge elected from the Krakow Voivodeship, and Franciszek Grabowski, sword-bearer of Przasnysz, a deputy starost of Krasnystaw and a deputy from Lublin¹⁴⁹. The merchant Michał Gautier invested in the construction of a new property with the intention of renting it to the judges of the Tribunal. The house 'in the suburban area with comfortable and wonderful furniture'¹⁵⁰ cost 70 thousand zloty and has been rented to deputies at least since 1790 for 200 zloty a year. It is known that in 1792 one of the deputies of Krakow¹⁵¹ used this house as their accommodation.

Tribunal judges from provinces in the eastern part of the Commonwealth sometimes stopped in Lublin on their way to Piotrków, where they drove for the commencement of the next term of the Tribunal. Perhaps, by the way, they were making preparations for their planned arrival in the capital of the Lublin Voivodeship a few months later and were looking for suitable positions. This was the case for one of the deputies elected for the 1790/1791 term of office, F. N. Olizar, *podczaszy* [deputy cup-bearer] of the

¹⁴² APL, KML, Consul., ref. no. 180, sheet 134; *Deputaci*, p. 303.

¹⁴³ T. Zielińska, *op. cit.*, p. 99.

¹⁴⁴ *Deputaci*, p. 261.

¹⁴⁵ K. Koźmian, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

¹⁴⁶ APL, KML, Consul., ref. no. 245, sheet 58.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, sheet 55v.

¹⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, sheets 109, 112v.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, sheet 109v.

¹⁵⁰ 'na przedmieściu z meblami wygodny i wspaniały'.

¹⁵¹ AGAD, AKP, ref. no. 235, sheets 258–258v; For the term of office in 1792, the Krakow Voivodeship was represented two lay deputies: Jan Nepomucen Grodzicki, former Grand Carver the Crown, and Antoni Zieliński. Benedykt Trzebiński, Custodian of Krakow was elected from the diocese of Krakow. *Deputaci*, pp. 301, 304.

Grand Duchy of Lithuania, elected as the judge by the Kiev Voivodeship nobility, who arrived in Lublin and stayed in the tenement house belonging to a Lublin burgher, Wilhelm Kouhlauz in Krakowskie Przedmieście¹⁵². Similarly, Antoni Pruszyński from Volhynia travelling to Piotrków, spent some time in Lublin, staying in L. Gozdowski's tenement house¹⁵³.

CONCLUSIONS

The positioning of the Crown Tribunal in Lublin meant that one of the tasks facing the city's residents was to provide accommodation for the deputies of the noble supreme court. Undoubtedly this contributed to a rapid increase in the number of *jurydykas* and properties belonging to the nobility and the clergy after 1578. In the times of Stanislaw August, this phenomenon ceased to exist, together with the obligation – burdensome for the bourgeoisie for almost the entire period of the Tribunal's existence – to make the accommodations available free of charge to deputies of the noble supreme court. Therefore, it seems that the arrival of the nobility for the tribunal's term of office was an opportunity for a group of the most entrepreneurial townsmen to benefit from renting premises for deputies. Profits were also gained by clergy and nobility owning real estate in the area of Lublin, who had previously, effectively, sought an exemption from the obligation to provide apartments to court judges. The possibility of gaining material benefits from renting rooms resulted in some residents of Lublin starting to invest in the construction of new tenement houses or renovation of their existing properties in hope of obtaining a new source of income or higher amounts from renting the existing ones. The infrastructure condition was one of the most important criteria determining the attractiveness of a given accommodation unit. Moreover, in the times of Stanislaw August, there was a noticeable tendency for deputies to look for accommodation in the area of the so-called town within the walls, especially at the Market Square and Grodzka Street. In relation to other rented properties, they were more expensive, but at the same time better equipped and, like the palace residences in Krakowskie Przedmieście and Korce, they were located in the most prestigious locations.

(translated by LINGUA LAB)

¹⁵² AGAD, AKP, ref. no. 235, sheet 83; F.N. Olizar was elected Marshal of the Tribunal after his arrival in Piotrków, and then held this function during the Lublin term. *Deputaci*, p. 294.

¹⁵³ APL, KML, Consul., ref. no. 245, sheet 85.

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STRESZCZENIE

Wybór Lublina na miejsce posiedzeń Trybunału Koronnego prowincji małopolskiej niósł za sobą szereg konsekwencji dla miasta i jego mieszkańców. Jednym z najważniejszych aspektów związanych z tą rolą była konieczność zapewnienia zakwaterowania sędziom rozstrzygającym spory w szlacheckim sądzie najwyższym. Kadencje Trybunału Koronnego, trwające każdego roku przez kilka miesięcy, wymagały stworzenia warunków pozwalających na komfortowe przebywanie w mieście. Czasy stanisławowskie w tej kwestii przyniosły szereg zmian, przede wszystkim za sprawą wprowadzenia odpłatności za wynajem stacji deputatom, co sprawiło, że proceder ten stał się okazją do uzyskania korzyści finansowych przez osoby posiadające nieruchomości w Lublinie. W niniejszym tekście dokonuję analizy przepisów prawnych regulujących kwestie związane z wynajmowaniem pomieszczeń dla deputatów, udziałów w badanym rynku przedstawicieli mieszczań, szlachty i duchowieństwa. Zwracam uwagę na ich usytuowanie w przestrzeni miasta, wyposażenie, stan infrastruktury oraz pozostałe czynniki decydujące o atrakcyjności oferowanych mieszkań.

Słowa kluczowe: Trybunał Koronny, deputaci, Lublin, mieszczenie, szlachta, kamienice

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