

The Paris Plan of Kamieniec Podolski from 1772

In the Vincennes Castle in the Paris suburb, where the Service Historique la Défense, the archives of the French Ministry of Defense and the French Armed Forces are situated, there is a plan of Kamieniec Podolski, unknown so far to Polish researchers¹, under reference number: SHD 1 HM 158. The plan is entitled: Plan von Kaminiek. The signed author is: C. S. Ransst. Corpa. It contains a date of execution: June 6, 1772. The card on which the plan was made has dimensions 396 × 524, and the drawing itself is 370 × 490. There is a linear scale on the plan drawn in the south orientation (150 units = 7.1 cm); however, no denomination has been provided, which renders it impossible to calculate the scale of the drawing.

The plan is prepared very carefully. Masonry structures are marked with a red line, and earth structures with a black one. In the legend of the plan, made in German, there is a date of construction placed next to some buildings. The legend is written in German and the text is as follows:

Plan von Kaminiek - plan of Kamieniec

Explication - An explanation

- A. Das Hornwerk oder so genante neu Erdne Schloß – hornwerk or the so-called fortress with strong earthen mounds
- B. Das alte gemauerte Schloß – old brick

castle

C. Der Brunnen in Felsen gehauen – a well forged in the rocks

D. Thurm St. Anna von den gemauerten Brücke – Bell tower of St. Anne's Church in front of the brick bridge

E. Die gemauerte Brücke von denen Türcken erbaut – A brick bridge built by the Turks

F. Batterie St. Martini nebst einer Casemate – Battery of St Martin near the casemates

G. Batterie St. Johannes – Battery of St John

H. Gießerey von denen Türcken erbaut – bell foundry built by the Turks

J. Batterie St. Teresae von dem abgebrochenen Carmelitten Closter von den Türcken gebaut – Battery of St Theresa built by the Turks from the demolished Carmelite church

K. Neuer Cavalier u: Batterie St. Joseph 1744 – new retrenchment, Battery of St Joseph, 1744

L. Das Zeug Haus – armory, arsenal

M. Dominicanen Nonnen Kloster – Dominican Monastery

N. Franciscaner Closter – Franciscan Friary

O. Hospital Kirche - a church turned into a hospital

P. P. farr Kirche – parish church

Q. P.P. Societ: Jesu – Jesuit church

R. P.P Carmeliter – Carmelite Church

S. Batterie St: Trinis – Battery of St Trinity

T. Neue Batterie St: Mariae 1749 erbaut – new battery of the Virgin Mary built in 1749

V. Thurm u: Thor von Koenig Stephan Bathori

¹ Salt N., et al., *Quatre siècles d'architecture militaire le depot des fortifications et ses archives (1660-1940)*, 2011:www.servicehistorique.sga.defense.gouv.fr/sites/default/files/SHDGR_REP_1_V_DEPOT-FORTIFICATIONS.pdf, (accessed: 31.10.2017) p. 286 Kaminiek (1772).

erbaut – tower and gate built by King Stefan Batory

W. Das Magazin – warehouse

X. Rusßische Kirchen – Orthodox church

Y. Armenische Kirchen – Armenian church

Z. P.P. St Trinit Closter – Trinitarian Monastery

A.1. P.P. Dominicaner Closter – Dominican Monastery

B.2. Das Rathhaus – town hall

C.3. Der Brunnen go. Ellen liegt in Felsen gehauen – a well forged in the rock

D.4. Das Pohnische Thor – Polish Gate

E.5. das Rusßische Thor – Russian Gate

F.6. Alte Mauern Königs Stephans Bathori – Old walls of King Stefan Batory

G.7. Neue Mauern 1714 erbaut – new walls built in 1714

H.8. Batterie St: Gregorij – Battery of St George

J.9. Der Fleischer Thurm – Butchers' Tower

H.10. Unbenahmte Stadt Thürme – unnamed city towers.

Specifying the construction dates at some of the buildings makes this plan highly valuable for researchers of the history of Kamieniec fortifications, but at the same time some entries in the legend cast doubt:

1. The brick bridge connecting the city with the castle was built by the Turks (item E.). Unfortunately, such a false thesis is also confirmed² by Józef Rolle, a well-known researcher of the history of Kamieniec, who wrote under a penname of Dr. Antoni J. The Turkish occupation of Kamieniec Podolski lasted in the years 1672-1699. Meanwhile, the brick bridge is much older. Eugenia and Olga Płamienicka speculate³ that

the bridge may even originate from the 2nd-3rd century AD, although this attractive hypothesis would require more satisfying evidence. The arcade bridge was built before 1633. It is visible on the plan⁴ of the Battle of Kamieniec from 1633, a fragment of which was reproduced by Aleksander Prusiewicz.⁵ However, the bridge was substantially rebuilt by the Turks in 1685-1686⁶, who used material from the demolished Carmelite Monastery for this purpose.⁷

2. The Ludwisarnia was built by the Turks (item H.). Tadeusz Nowak attributes the construction of the bell foundry to Archibald Andrzej Glowier⁸, claiming that it was erected in 1708. However, the fragments of archival documents presented by Tadeusz Nowak imply that the same year marked the construction of a bell foundry and the start of work on the production of cannons. Although it is not entirely clear that a building was also erected. This could indicate that the bell foundry itself was built by the Turks.

3. The Glowier Walls, located on the slope above the Russian Gate, date back to 1714 (item G.7.). In the academic literature, the creation of the Glowier Walls dates back to 1721-1725.⁹

4. The construction of a retrenchment, the Battery of St Joseph, is dated to 1744 (item K.), while the Sigismundt Corporal¹⁰ plan of

⁴ Biblioteka Czartoryskich ref. 2307 III BCZK, a digital copy is available at: www.cyfrowe.mnk.pl/dlibra/publication/21018/edition/20734/content?ref=desc, (accessed 24.02.2020).

⁵ Prusiewicz A., *Kamieniec Podolski – szkic historyczny*, Kijów 1915, p. 8.

⁶ D. Kołodziejczyk, *Podole pod panowaniem tureckim. Ejalet Kamieniecki 1672-1699*, Warszawa 1994, p. 113.

⁷ Op. cit., p. 198; Dr Antoni J, op. cit., p. 292.

⁸ T. Nowak, *Fortyfikacje i artyleria Kamieńca Podolskiego w XVIII*, „Studia i materiały do historii wojskowości”, V. 19, 1973, pp.178-179.

⁹ Op. cit., p.159, J. Janczykowski probably repeats this date after him, *Kamieniec Podolski – fortyfikacje twierdzy*, in: F. Kiryk, *Kamieniec Podolski, Studia z dziejów miasta i regionu*, V. II, Kraków 2005, p. 427.

¹⁰ <https://polona.pl/item/plan-von-kamieniec-in-podolien,MzQ0MjI1OTU/0/> (accessed 13.12.2018), the plan is

² Dr Antoni J (in fact J.A. Rolle), *Zameczki podolskie na kresach multańskich*, Tom II, *Kamieniec nad Smotryczem*, Warszawa 1880, pp. 20, 27-28.

³ O. Płamienicka, E.M. Płamienicka, *Most zamkowy w Kamieńcu Podolskim. Na marginesie badań kolumny Trajana w Rzymie*, „Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki”, V. 43, no. 3, 1998, p. 192.

July 11, 1761 bears the date 1746.

5. The construction date of the Battery of the Blessed Virgin Mary is dated at 1749 (item T.) and on the plan of Sigismundt Corporal - 1751, although it mentions "total completion". Perhaps the core construction works were carried out in 1749, and minor construction finishing lasted until 1751.

6. Of particular interest is the fact that the Sigismundt Corporal plan shows the Dahlke Walls, connecting the Battery of St Ursula with the New Castle and described in the legend as "new walls built in 1761", while on the discussed plan, there is an earth embankment shown in the place of the Dahlke Walls, as if no walls had ever been built there. On successive plans: the so-called Big Plan¹¹, located in the Princes Czartoryski Museum in Krakow or on the plans of the Russian State Military Archive¹² in Moscow - the plan of Jan Schüller from 1773¹³ and Bakałowicz's plans from 1782¹⁴ and 1790¹⁵. Dahlke's walls are explicitly indicated. They were not a very impressive structure, although they stretched from the Battery of Saint Ursula to the Tower of Saint Michael¹⁶, however, the shooting windows were so low that they could be easily accessed from the outside.¹⁷ It is likely that the author of the discussed plan believed that such an insignificant structure should not be marked on it. Currently, the Dahlke Wall either does not exist or is covered with earth and overgrown with grass.

7. The battery of Saint Teresa was built by the Turks from the demolished Carmelite

monastery (item J.). Józef Rolle reports that the Discalced Carmelite Church once stood here¹⁸, and after it was dismantled, the Turks built a battery for cannons in this place, using material from the demolished monastery.¹⁹

When examining the changes taking place in the fortifications of the Kamieniec fortress, attention should be given to one very important particularity. There is a double water passage under the Turecki Bridge, and there are buildings near both of them, probably mills. The second line of the culvert was made around 1715 in order to reduce the flow of water in the loop of the Smotrych river during flood dynamics.²⁰ The second water passage first appears on the plan from²¹ 1721 by J. Bonnlevay.²² Reducing the flow of the river was aimed at protecting the buildings of the Polish and Russian Gates complex, which were water damming structures. However, the owner of one of the mills extended the culvert²³, so that more water would flow to his mill, which caused the Smorycz loop to drain, and consequently considerably reduced the fortress's defenses. Therefore, at the end of 1772 or the beginning of 1773 this line of the culvert was walled up. The plan of Jan Schüller from 1773 shows only one thread. Confirmation of bricking up of the second culvert can be found in the letter of Jan de Witte²⁴ of September 3, 1778, where in a statement it is said that "at the expense of the King of Gentlemen, this gap was recently walled up".

The purpose of this plan is unclear. The German authorship of the plan, suggested by the legend, and the date of its creation in

signed: Sigismundt Corporal v. O. b. Hillers C.

¹¹ reference: 2399_folio_BCZK.

¹² Российский государственный военно-исторический архив.

¹³ reference: ф. 349, оп. 17, д. 598. The plan is reproduced in: R. Król-Mazur, *Miasto trzech nacji. Studia z dziejów Kamieńca Podolskiego w XVIII w.*, Kraków 2008, pp. 128-129.

¹⁴ reference: ф. 349, оп. 17, д. 599.

¹⁵ reference: ф. 349, оп. 17, д. 648.

¹⁶ Legenda Planu Schüllera, item. hh.

¹⁷ Ibidem, item. ii.

¹⁸ Dr Antoni J., op. cit., p. 28.

¹⁹ Op. cit., p. 292.

²⁰ T. Nowak, op. cit., p. 157.

²¹ www.bdh-rd.bne.es/viewer.vm?id=0000070709,(accessed 24.02.2020).

²² Jean (John) or Jacques (Jacob).

²³ *Listy Jana de Witte, generała majora wojsk koronnych, pułkownika artylerii koronnej, komendanta fortecy kamienieckiej, kawalera orderu Św. Stanisława. (1777-1779). Wydał Stanisław Krzyżanowski*, Kraków 1868, p. 210.

²⁴ Ibidem.

1772, which marked the first partition of Poland, would indicate that the plan was commissioned by the Austrian Emperor Joseph II²⁵ wanting to take over the Kamieniec fortress.²⁶ At the time of the creation of the plan, General Jan de Witte was the commander of the Kamieniec fortress²⁷, commander of Kamieniec Podolski in 1768-1785, also a builder and architect. He was regarded as a good commandant who took great care of the fortress's defense.²⁸ Would a commander meticulously caring about the safety of the post entrusted to him allow a representative of a foreign army to carry out fortification plans? After all, without his consent, it would be impossible to prepare such detailed drawings. Only a draft, unscrupulous plan by Karsten Nirebuhr could have been created this way²⁹. What is even more interesting from the years 1771-1772, in addition to the discussed Paris plan,

is that three other plans with a German-language legend have survived and are kept in Vienna. These are: Oreshkovic's plan³⁰, Szpilowski's plan³¹ and an anonymous *plan der Pohnischen Festung Kaminiac*.³² The Viennese plans, unlike the discussed Paris plans, do not have a rich legend; they do not show the dates of construction of individual buildings. However, all three show the garden of major Józef de Witte³³, which is absent on the Paris plan. Perhaps the anonymous author of the Paris plan did not consider the gardens an important facility of the fortress. The number of four plans of Kamieniec Podolski, with a legend in German, raises the natural question of whether the plans of the Kamieniec fortress, drawn up by Austrian officers, were made with the consent of King Stanisław August Poniatowski. Or perhaps it was commander Jan de Witte himself who served foreign monarchs? A certain trace of the Commandant's unclear activity is preserved in a duplicate of military documents, probably made by himself³⁴, from 1734, where on the front page we find a dedication to the French ambassador residing in Istanbul, to whom this copy was probably to be transferred. The case of the transfer of intelligence information to foreign powers in the 18th century is yet to be investigated by historians.

²⁵ Joseph II, born on March 13, 1741, died on February 20, 1790. He ruled the empire in 1780-1790. In 1769 he ordered the conquest of Spiš towns, which practically began the first partition of Poland.

²⁶ Lukowski J., *The Partition of Poland. 1772, 1793, 1795*, London, New York 2014, p. 79.

²⁷ Jan de Witte – born in 1709, died on December 24, 1785 in Kamieniec Podolski. He was buried in the Kamieniec cathedral. A military engineer of Dutch origin, architect, representative of the Baroque, from 1767 a major general, and from 1781 a general-lieutenant of the Crown troops, father of Joseph. He served in the troops of the foreign authority of the royal army. After the completion of engineering studies, he joined the Corps of Royal Engineers. He was given Polish nobility (pol. indygenat) in 1764, and in 1772 he was awarded the Order of Saint Stanislaus. Commander of Kamieniec Podolski and border fortresses in 1768-1785. He was the designer of numerous defensive structures in Kamieniec Podolski, as well as the fortifications of the Berdyczów Carmelite Monastery, the Lubomirski Palace and the Corpus Christi Church in Lviv: Z. Hronung Z., Jan de Witte, Warszawa 1955, pp. 24-31; S. Łoza, *Architekci i budowniczy w Polsce*, Warszawa 1954 r. p. 331; M. Machynia, C. Srzednicki, *Oficerowie Rzeczypospolitej Obojga Narodów 1777-1794, spisy. Wojsko koronne, artyleria i wojska inżynieryjne*, Kraków 1999, p. 64.

²⁸ Dr Antoni J., op. cit., pp. 68-103.

²⁹ L. Opyrchał, *Osiemnastowieczne plany Kamieńca Podolskiego z diariusza podróżnika Karstena Niebuhra (1773-1815)*, „Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki”, v. 60, 2015, z. 3, pp. 69-74. Two plans by Carsten Niebuhr, a sketch and a fair copy prepared for a copperplate, are available at <https://www.deutsche-digitale-bibliothek.de> (accessed on 25.02.2020). Further search is available under the slogan “Kamieniec”.

³⁰ Kriegsarchiv w Wiedniu, ref. G I k 42-03, <http://www.archivinformationssystem.at/detail.aspx?ID=1424987> (accessed 24.02.2010).

³¹ Kriegsarchiv w Wiedniu, ref. G I k 42, <https://www.archivinformationssystem.at/detail.aspx?ID=1424986> (accessed 24.02.2010).

³² Österreichische Nationalbibliothek w Wiedniu, ref. FKB AA.29.9 Kar, discussed in: L. Opyrchał, *Rękopiśmienne plany Kamieńca Podolskiego w zbiorach austriackiej Biblioteki Narodowej w Wiedniu*, „Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy”, XVI (LVII), 2015, no. 4 (254), pp. 139-140, a digital copy of the plan is available at: http://digital.onb.ac.at/RepViewer/viewer.faces?doc=DTL_4864010&order=1&view=SINGLE (accessed 24.02.2010).

³³ The future site of the house and gardens was purchased by Józef de Witte in 1771. (Z. Bania, M. Wiraszka, *Kamieniec Podolski, miasto – legenda*, Warszawa 2001, p. 158).

³⁴ Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie, Oddział I na Wawelu, ref. Podh II 362.

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