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The plan of Kamianets-Podilskyi from 1773

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Abstract: *The paper discusses a plan of the Kamianets-Podilskyi fortress from the year 1773, which has not been known until now. The performed analyses of the biographical notes of the Reibnitz family, demonstrated that the most probable author is Ferdinand Friedrich Christoph von Reibnitz, a standard-bearer and later captain of the regiment of royal infantry. The descriptions in the plan and the legend were made in German. The shape of the city and of the castles is represented in a very deformed way, however, the plan includes many details of the city surroundings, such as the locations of windmills or of the Evangelical and Jewish cemeteries. The errors in the representation of both castles, the new one and the old one, suggest that the discussed plan is a copy of the plan kept in Berlin, at the Prussian Privy State Archives.*

Key words: Kamianets-Podilskyi, Kamieniec Podolski, fortress, historical cartography

Introduction

It might seem that the old cartography of the Kamianets-Podilskyi fortress has been well recognized. Admittedly, an element which still has not been published are the color copies of the plans of this fortress remaining at the Russian State Military Historical Archive in Moscow which frequently makes it impossible to perform detailed examinations of the changes occurring especially in the defensive buildings in the years 1795-1812, i.e. from the third partition of Poland to the moment Kamianets-Podilskyi stopped being a fortress and became a regular city under a Russian decree. Nevertheless, it was unexpected that some new cartographic monument would be discovered. Thanks to the pioneer work of Tadeusz Nowak,¹ which was continued by: Zenon Nowak and Andrzej Tomczak,² Dariusz Kołodziejczyk,³ Marek Zgórnjak,⁴ Tadeusz Bertanowicz,⁵ Ulla Ehrensward,⁶ Egon

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¹ Nowak, 1973.

² Nowak & Tomczak, 1971.

³ Kołodziejczyk, 2001.

⁴ Zgórnjak, 1991.

⁵ Bernatowicz, 2003.

⁶ Ehrensward, 2008.

Klemp,⁷ Jarosław Matwijiszyn,⁸ Eugenia and Olga Plamenytska,⁹ as well as Leszek Opyrchał¹⁰ together with Aleksandra Bąk,¹¹ Łukasz Cholewiński,¹² Rusłan Nagnybida¹³ and Urszula Opyrchał,¹⁴ it seemed that all the old plans of Kamianets-Podilskyi present in various libraries and archives of the world have been studied, starting from the National Library of Spain, through French, German, Austrian, Swedish, Polish archives and libraries, and ending with the already mentioned the Russian State Military Historical Archive in Moscow and the National Library of Russia in Saint-Petersburg. The greater was the surprise when the website of the National Library of Poland in Warsaw published a digital copy of a plan which has not been known until now.

The description of the plan

The plan entitled *Plan von der Vestung Kaminic* [Fig. 1] is a multicolor manuscript created on laid paper.¹⁵ It presents the city and the castle in Kamianets-Podilskyi in E orientation. The size of the plan sheet is 29.2×38.1 cm, the frame – 24.1×31.7 cm.¹⁶ Neither the scale nor the compass rose have been indicated. On the left there is a legend which, in the bottom, includes the name of the author or co-author of the plan – “F.F.C.d REIBNITZ”, and the date – “ANNO 1773”. Despite the color, the plan is more like a sketch. Neither the scale nor the proportions, and not even the approximate shapes of the objects presented in the plan have been kept. The author, or authors (because the descriptions in the plan are done in a different handwriting style than the legend) focused more on documenting the surroundings of the fortress than on showing its reinforcements. The details of the plan have been described in two ways: directly in the plan and also using the letters A - F clarified in the legend. The descriptions that are present include the abbreviation sign “:”. Going from the left, the inscriptions in the plan refer to the following localities: “Tartarzic” – Tatarzyska, “Rus[sische] Vorwerk” – Ruskie Folwarki, “Karwasari”

⁷ Klemp, 1976.

⁸ Matviyishyn, 2006.

⁹ Płamienicka, 2012.

¹⁰ Opyrchał, 2015a; 2015b.

¹¹ Opyrchał & Bąk, 2016.

¹² Opyrchał & Cholewiński, 2020.

¹³ Opyrchał & Nagnybida, 2018.

¹⁴ Opyrchał *et. al.*, 2020; 2021.

¹⁵ BN, ZZK 52 374 A.

¹⁶ Data according to the catalogue of the National Library of Poland, however, the catalogue mentions 11.5×15.0 cm, (sheet), 9.5×12.5 cm (frame), i.e. the plan would be of the size of a typical post card. But then the inscriptions would be so small that they would be almost impossible to read. Probably a mistake referring to units was made in the description of the plan and the dimensions were provided in inches instead of centimeters. Adopting this correction, that the dimensions were indicated in inches, resulted in the actual dimensions of the plan. They have been mentioned in the text, after the calculation: 1 inch = 2.54 cm.

– Karwasary,¹⁷ “Pol[nische] Vorwerk” – Polskie Folwarki, “Pod Zamce” – Podzamcze, “Zinkowce” – Zinkowce. Taking into consideration the incorrect mapping of the area, the marking of these localities in the plan is correct. Near the top edge of the plan, a cross has been marked, which suggests that this was supposed to be Góra Krzyżowa (Cross Mountain). Actually, Góra Krzyżowa is located on the other side, i.e. near the bottom edge of the map. In the lower right corner there is a drawing of a gallows. This way Góra Szubienicza (Gallows Mountain) which is present there, was marked. Four mills have been marked in the river valley, two mills have been marked under the Turkish Bridge and two windmills – on the hills. The mills present in the bend of the Smotrycz river surrounding the city, are marked in the majority of 18th century plans, however, the presentation of two windmills in the hills is a novelty. They are not present in any other plan.

The fortifications of Kamianets-Podilskyi are marked in a sketch way and this does not reflect their actual shape. Stone-built buildings have been marked in red and the ground bastions of the New Castle – in black. The city has been drawn in a shape similar to a circle while, actually, it is oval. As for the defensive buildings of the city, it is possible to notice the Polish and Ruthenian Gate Complexes, Mury Głowerowskie (Glover’s Walls) and the Báthory Gate. Sixteen churches have been marked in the area of the city, which is compliant with the number of Christian temples present in the detailed plan by Jan Schüller from 1773.¹⁸ In the old, stone castle, six towers have been presented, all from the northern side; in reality they were located around the castle and there were ten of them.

From the left side of the plan, a legend has been included which refers to seven points in the plan that are marked with the letters “A”-“G”. At the top, there is the title of the plan: *Plan von der Vestung Kaminic* (‘A Plan of the Kamianets fortress’).

The particular letters have the following meanings:

- A – Schlos Thor (‘the Castle Gate’);
- B – Pohlische Thor (‘the Polish Gate’);
- C – Russische Thor (‘the Ruthenian Gate’);
- D – Evangelischer Kirchhof (‘the Evangelical cemetery’);
- E – Wein Logis (‘wine cellars’);
- F – Juden Kirchhof (‘the Jewish cemetery’);
- G – Commend: Haus zur Zeit der Pest (‘the commanding officer’s house for the time of plague’).

¹⁷ The name comes from the Turkish word: ‘kervansaray’ – a defensive location which was also a place where travelers (caravanners) could rest.

¹⁸ RSMHA ф. 349, оп. 17, д. 598, also Opyrchał, 2019: 107.

The location of the Polish Gate, the Ruthenian Gate and the castle gate is correct although their shape is rather only schematic.

In the upper part of the plan, i.e. towards the west from the complex of the castles, the letter “D” marks the Evangelical cemetery and the letter “F” – the Jewish cemetery. The existence of these cemeteries is confirmed by maps from the years 1842,¹⁹ 1915²⁰ and 1930²¹ [Fig. 2]. Single Jewish tombstones exist until today.²² The letter “E” marks the wine storages (wine cellars?) located near the eastern slope of the city. In this location, the already mentioned plan by Jan Schüller from 1773 presents gardens, perhaps these were vineyards.

In the locality Tatarzyska, the letter “G” marks the commanding officer’s house for the time of plague. From the year 1768, the commanding officer of Kamianets-Podilskyi and of the frontier fortresses was Jan de Witte (1709-1785). In July 1770, in the beginning of the epidemic of the plague which took place in the years 1770-1771, as part of the action of the decentralization of the fortress crew he moved his quarters to a village located near Kamianets-Podilskyi – Tatarzyska.²³ The confirmation of this location of the house is present in the plan by Jan Bakałowicz from the year 1782.²⁴ In that plan it was described as “dom płk. Witta” (house of colonel de Witte).

The authorship of the plan

In spite of appearances, it is not easy to determine the author because the Reibnitz family,²⁵ which has origins in Silesia, was connected with Poland and with the infantry formations of the Crown army. Biographical information about the members of that family is included in Paul von Reibnitz’s monograph.²⁶ If we assume that in the moment of the creation of the plan of Kamianets-Podilskyi from 1773 the author was an adult and served in the Crown army, then over a dozen candidates are possible. Unfortunately, the names of any of them do not match the abbreviation included in the plan: “F.F.C.”. An element which is an additional difficulty is the first letter “F” because this may be both, an abbreviation for the name as well as for the German word “freiherr” – baron, however, in Paul von Reibnitz’s monograph which has already been mentioned, the title “freiherr” is present after the names, before the last name “von Reibnitz”. If we limit the group of candidates to

¹⁹ BN, ZZK 1 329.

²⁰ BN, ZZK S-31 568.

²¹ BN, ZZK S-21 306 A.

²² See: <https://sztetl.org.pl/pl/miejscowosci/k/1832-kamieniec-podolski/114-cmentarze/183590-cmentarz-zydowski-w-kamiencu-podolskim-zinkowce-wul-kirhizowa-46> [accessed December 18, 2021].

²³ Srogoź, 1997: 47.

²⁴ RSMHA ф. 349, оп. 17, д. 599, also Opyrchał, 2019: 111.

²⁵ The name probably comes from the name of the city: Rybnik.

²⁶ Reibnitz, 1901.

those in case of which at least one name starts with the letter “F”, and if we supplement this group with persons who have merits for the Lithuanian army, then we have three possible authors of the plan:

- Ferdinand Alerander Leopold von Reibnitz from Lauterbach (b. 1702, d. 1793). In 1729 he joined the Crown army and in 1747 he achieved the rank of colonel.²⁷ Tomasz Ciesielski²⁸ in turn, mentions that Ferdinand Reibnitz was a general and thanks to military service he raised his social status. The Sejm from the years 1767-68 granted him with *indygenat* (ennoblement).²⁹
- Christoph Albrecht von Reibnitz from Chrzanów³⁰ (b. ca. 1713, d. 1782/84), from 1762 – major general of the Lithuanian army, from 1773 the owner of Chrzanów.
- Ferdinand von Reibnitz³¹ (b. ca. 1749, d. 1783), in the years 1772-1774 he was a standard-bearer of the regiment of royal infantry, in 1777 he was promoted to the rank of captain. Machynia and Srzednicki also mention the following names: Francis, Friedrich and Ferdinand.³²

Due to the fact that there is a lack of compliance of the abbreviations of names with those present in the plan, it is necessary to use additional data. At the time the plan was drawn, i.e. in 1773, Ferdinand Alerander Leopold von Reibnitz would be seventy-one years old, and Christoph Albrecht von Reibnitz would be sixty. It seems of little likelihood that persons of such an advanced age, and especially generals, would be drawing up a map. The third possible author, Ferdinand von Reibnitz, would be about twenty-four years old in the year 1773, which is an appropriate age for drawing up a plan. This is because the majority of the plans of Kamianets-Podilskyi were drawn up by young people. Jan de Witte – 25-26 years old, Jan Schüller – 25-27 years old, Jan Bakałowicz – 41 years old.³³ If the author of the plan is Ferdinand von Reibnitz, then the first two letters, F. F., would mean: Ferdinand, Friedrich. Francis should rather be excluded because the name Francis³⁴ was not present in the Reibnitz family. And what is the meaning of the letter “C”? Perhaps, in honor of one of his ancestors, he was given the third name Christoph. Thus, the author of the plan would be the twenty-four year old Ferdinand, Friedrich, Christoph von Reibnitz, the standard-bearer and later captain of the regiment of royal infantry.

²⁷ *Volumina Legum*, 1782: 800; Reibnitz, 1901: 68.

²⁸ Ciesielski, 2009: 343.

²⁹ *Volumina Legum*, 1782: 800; Reibnitz, 1901: 670; Niesiecki, 1844: 377.

³⁰ Reibnitz, 1901: 110, 324; Stavenhagen, 1939: 173-174.

³¹ Reibnitz, 1901: 61, 111, 324; Machynia & Srzednicki, 1998: 78, 338.

³² Machynia & Srzednicki, 1998: 351.

³³ Opyrchał, 2019: 71-74, 107-110, 111-113.

³⁴ Reibnitz, 1901.

The purpose of the creation of the plan

The purpose of the creation of the plan is not clear. In 1771 there was a construction disaster, during which a fragment of the tower and of the wall from the western side collapsed. Most likely, the Military Department of the Permanent Council sent military engineers to Kamianets-Podilskyi, the task of whom was to elaborate a concept of the repair of the Kamianets-Podilskyi fortifications. This assumption is confirmed by the fact of the creation of very detailed plans of the fortress.³⁵ Therefore, the author of the plan was not among the team of military engineers and could not prepare the plan in an overt way because already in the end of the 18th century, significant attention was paid to military secrecy which protected the fortifications of Kamianets-Podilskyi.³⁶ Numerous inconsistencies with reality make the discussed plan similar to those created at the turn of the 17th and the 18th century when Kamianets-Podilskyi remained under Turkish rule and the persons drawing up plans did not have access to it. There is particularly strong similarity to the German anonymous plan, *Plan von der Festung Caminiek Podolski*³⁷ [Fig. 3]. One cannot exclude that the present plan is a copy of that one, only slightly updated, e.g. with the house of Jan de Witte in Tatarzyska. One also cannot exclude the hypothesis that, perhaps, the author of the plan never was at Kamianets-Podilskyi, but only created a copy of the mentioned plan, *Plan von der Festung Caminiek Podolski*, which was only briefly updated by a person who had visited the fortress.

The origin of the plan

The discussed plan was present in the collection: ‘Archives Chasseloup Laubat’, which is proven by the stamp impression on the right side of the plan. The archive was owned by general François de Chasseloup-Laubat (1754-1833) who was a commander of the corps of engineers during several Napoleonic campaigns. He created many plans of reinforcements in Italy, Germany and also in Polish territories. He took part in the Russian Campaign in the year 1812.³⁸ In the year 2003, the heir of the general, Murat de Chasseloup-Laubat, put on auction about 250 plans of fortresses and elevations of defensive buildings. The sale was opposed by the Ministry of Defense which argued that a part of the archives belong to the state. The court proceedings were continued for fifteen years, until 2018,³⁹ when the Supreme Court of France ruled that general de Chasseloup-Laubat’s archives are public archives and

³⁵ These are: the working version present at the Princes Czartoryski Library, known as *The Big Plan of Kamianets-Podilskyi* (B. Czart. inv. no. 122-76 folio), the already mentioned plan by Jan Schüller from 1773 and the plan by Józef Ekert (RSMHA ф. 349, оп. 17, д. 597), also Opyrchał, 2019: 116.

³⁶ Cholewiński, 2018: 225

³⁷ GStA, inv. no. XI, HA, FPK, G 71097, also Opyrchał, 2019: 42.

³⁸ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. 5, 1911: 957.

³⁹ The course of the court proceedings and the raised arguments of the parties in Fonck & Pénicaut, 2018.

constitute the property of the state.⁴⁰ It is reasonable to suspect that the French Ministry of Defense did not claim rights to the plan of Kamianets-Podilskyi as a fortress that is not connected with the history of France. Therefore, the plan could be sold, and later it arrived at the 'Lamus' Auction House in Warsaw. On 15 June 2020 it was put on auction no. 50 item. 168 and purchased for PLN 1320⁴¹ by the National Library of Poland in Warsaw.

Conclusions

The plan of Kamianets-Podilskyi from 1773 purchased by the National Library of Poland two years ago does not provide significantly new information referring to the construction of Kamianets-Podilskyi and the surrounding localities from the end of the 18th century. The plan provides a better view on the surroundings of the fortress than on the fortress itself. The marking of the cemeteries, the Evangelical and the Jewish one, and of the wine storages, is a new aspect. Until now, in other plans, such details were omitted, probably considered as insignificant. It is not known why the author of the plan considered them important.

The plan also underlines the fact of the international importance of this fortress and the high interest of foreign countries in its location. Taking into consideration the plan discussed here, a total of 50 manuscript and 25 printed plans of this fortress were created in the period of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth.⁴²

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⁴⁰ Cédolin, 2018.

⁴¹ Information written with a pencil, on the back side of the plan BN, ZZK 52 374 A.

⁴² Opyrchał, 2016; 2019.

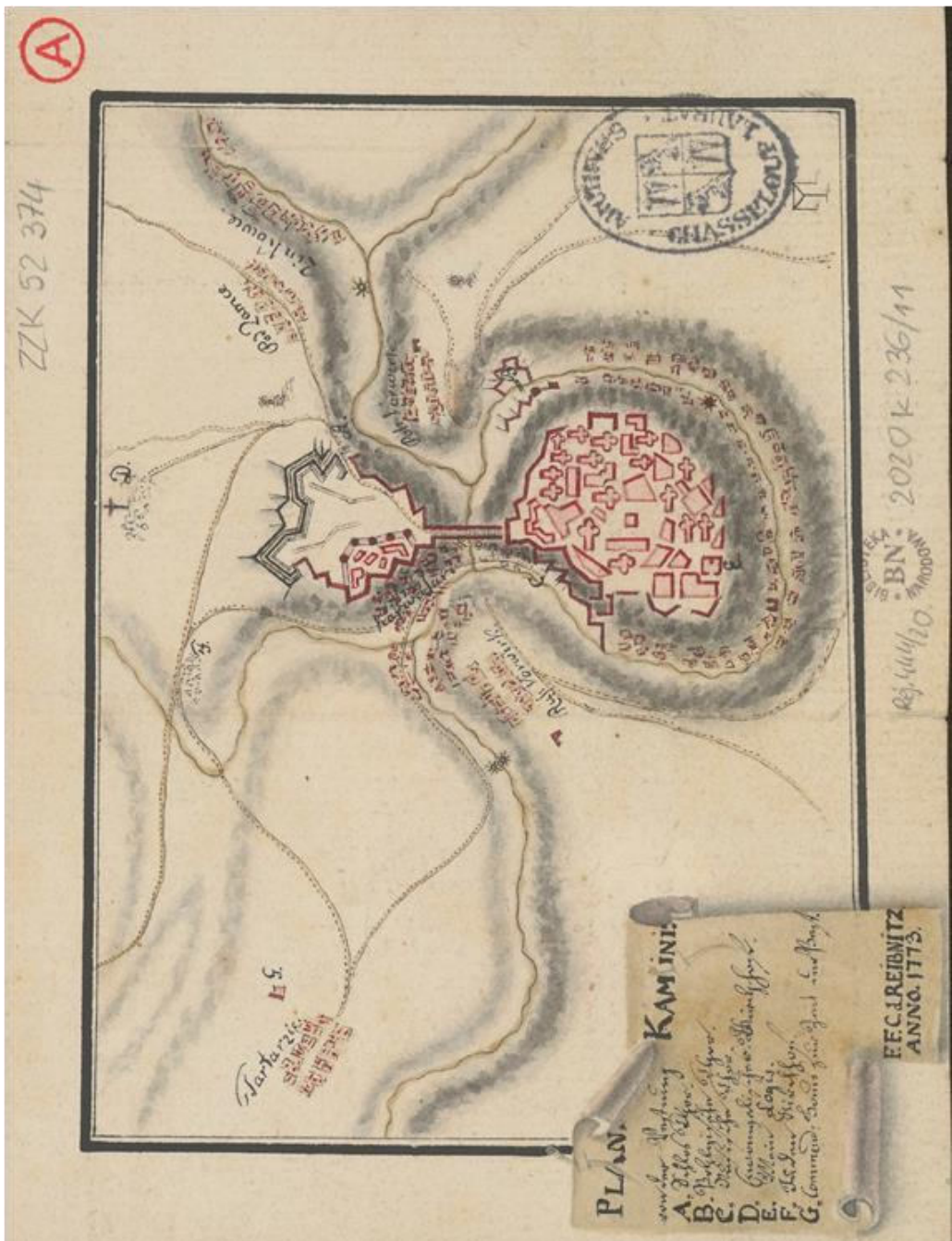


Fig. 1. The plan of Kamianets-Podilskyi from 1773 [BN, ZVK 52 374 A]



Fig. 2. Cemeteries marked in a map from the year 1930; they were marked in the discussed plan from the year 1773 [BN, ZZK S-21 306 A – a fragment]



Fig. 3. The New Castle and the Old Castle in Kamianets-Podilskyi in different plans. On the left - a fragment of the discussed plan [BN, ZZK 52 374 A]; on the right – a fragment of the plan kept in Berlin [GStA XI, HA, FPK, G 71097; after Opyrchał, 2019: 42, fig. 14]. Both representations of the Old Castle are very similar to one another and very different from reality.

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ZZK 52 374 A – Plan von der Vestung Kaminic; source: Public Domain [<https://polona.pl/item/plan-kaminis,MTI4Njc5NTcz/0/#info:metadata>]; the back side of the plan: Public Domain [<https://polona.pl/item/plan-kaminis,MTI4Njc5NTcz/1/#info:metadata>; accessed December 8, 2021]

ZZK 1 329 – Geometričeskii plan” gubernskago goroda Kamenca c” prinadležašimi k” onimu vygonnymi zemlami [...]; source: Public Domain [<https://polona.pl/item/geometriceskii-plan-gubernskago-goroda-kamenca-c-prinadlezasimi-k-onimu-vygonnymi,MjAyMjQ2MTQ/0/#info:meta-data>; accessed December 8, 2021]

ZZK S-31 568 – Kamieniec Podolski, Zone 11 Kol. XXXV; source: Public Domain [<https://polona.pl/item/kamieniec-podolski-zone-11-kol-xxxv,MjkwODEwOTk/0/#info:metadata>; accessed December 8, 2021]

ZZK S-21 306 A – U 49 Kamieniec Podolski; source: Public Domain [<https://polona.pl/item/u-49-kamieniec-podolski,MTI4NjgxMTkw/0/#info:metadata>; accessed December 8, 2021]

GStA – Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preußischer Kulturbesitz; inv. no. XI, HA, FPK, G 71097

RSMHA – the Russian State Military Historical Archive in Moscow; ф. 349, оп. 17, д. 597; ф. 349, оп. 17, д. 598; ф. 349, оп. 17, д. 599

Volumina Legum. Prawa, konstytucje y przywileje krolestwa polskiego y wielkiego xięstwa litewskiego y wszystkich prowincyi należących na walnych seymach koronnych od seymu wislickiego roku pańskiego 1347 aż do ostatniego seymu uchwalone. T. 7. Warszawa: Drukarnia Pijarów, 1782.

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