

JERZY DYGDAŁA
(*Institute of History, Polish Academy of Sciences*)

THE PALACE OF THE GRAND TREASURER OF THE CROWN
JAN JERZY PRZEBENDOWSKI IN LEŻNO NEAR GDAŃSK
IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 18TH CENTURY*

Key words: Royal Prussia, baroque palaces, magnates, estates

In the 18th century and throughout most of the 19th century Lezienko, now part of the Leżno village near Gdańsk, housed a magnificent baroque palace, compared by its contemporaries to such majestic structures as Teutonic castles. It was dismantled in 1884 and in its place a much smaller Neo-Renaissance palace was built, still in existence and now housing a hotel. Before it was demolished, the length and width of the baroque palace was measured, and an architectural plan of the façade was compiled (as it happened, without observing the proportions between the length and width of the building). Also, several photographs were taken. Thanks to those measures, we now know what the building looked like on the outside. However, apart from a scant mention of the number of rooms and lavish stucco décor, we have no information as to the interiors.¹

Courtesy of Andriej Macuk, PhD, of the Belorussian Historical Institute of the Academy of Sciences in Minsk, I am in the possession of copies of a set of post-Radziwiłł files, part of the Minsk National Historical Archive of Belarus collection, pertaining to the 18th century Leżno estate, including the Lezienko palace inven-

* This article is an English version of the article which appeared in "Zapiski Historyczne", vol. 81, 2016. Translation was part of the task "The publication of 'Zapiski Historyczne' in the English language version, Vol. 81, 2016, books (zeszyt 1–4)" financed as part of the agreement 698/P-DUN/2016 with the resources of the Ministry of Science and Higher Education devoted to the popularization of science.

¹ See more: Jerzy DYGDAŁA, *Nowe pałace dwóch podskarbiów wielkich koronnych z doby saskiej Jana Jerzego Przebendowskiego i Jana Ansgarego Czapskiego jako symbole awansu społecznego*, [in:] Dom, majątek, klient, sługa. *Manifestacja pozycji élit w przestrzeni materialnej i społecznej (XIII–XIX wiek)*, ed. Marcin Rafał PAUK, Monika SACZYŃSKA, Warszawa 2010, pp. 179–192, therein included reproductions of the photos of the Lezienko palace of 1884 taken from the book: Konrad HOENE, *Die Geschichte des Ritterguts Leesen (Leżno) bei Danzig*, [Danzig] 1927 (I would like to thank once again Aleksander Klemp for indicating the work to me).

tory of 1730.² Those documents allow us to not only supplement our knowledge to date about the palace and its construction costs, but also give us an insight into its layout and furnishings. With this aim in mind, in the annex, I include the inventory of the palace, erected by the era's wealthiest magnate in Royal Prussia, The Grand Treasurer of The Crown Jan Jerzy Przebendowski. Thanks to his activity, at the beginning of the 18th century the Przebendowski family worked their way up to the very top of the social strata of Prussian families. Originally, the middle-gentry Protestant village-owning family came from the Lębork district, and it was only Jan Jerzy's father, the Lębork landed judge Piotr Przebendowski, a parliament activist and many times Sejm representative, as well as Radziwiłłs' client, who in the second half of the 17th century made it to the group of Prussia's politically active gentry.³

Jan Jerzy Przebendowski (1639–1729), the son of Piotr and Anna Katarzyna Krokowska (von Krockow), is likely to have converted to Catholicism⁴ when at the Jesuit collegium in Stare Szkoty near Gdańsk. A remarkable soldier in the Turkish Wars of Jan III Sobieski's era, he was promoted to colonel, and was also active in the regional councils, and as of 1668 he was a Sejm representative. On 23 August 1677 he obtained the profit-making Mirachowo starosty,⁵ and on 28 September 1684 he went on to marry Margaret Elisabeth nee Flemming, the daughter of the Prussian-Brandenburg field marshal Heino Heinrich Flemming, and the cousin of Jacob Heinrich Flemming, later to become an influential Saxon minister. In any case, Jan Jerzy Przebendowski ranked among king Jan III Sobieski's opposition, seeking support in Berlin.⁶ In 1687 he bought from the then crown referendary Jan Kazimierz Krasiński, also an opposition activist who he worked with closely,

² National Historical Archive of Belarus in Minsk, fonds 694, collection 4, no. 1324 (further cit. NGAB Minsk, f. 694, 4/1324). An archivist ordering the documents in the 19th century gave them the title: "Fascykuł VIII obejmujący w sobie dokumenta służące do kupna i sprzedaży dóbr Leźno, Lezienko, starostwa mirachowskiego, Burcz, Pempowo, Kąty, Lniska, Dąbrowa, Mniszewo Małe i Duże, Parchowo, Białyberk, Kossowo, Byssewo i Bastenhagen z wyszczególnieniem szacunku dóbr rzeczonych, dożywoców i procesów z tego powodu wynikłych."

³ Marek DZIĘCIELSKI, *Przebendowscy: szkic genealogiczno-historyczny*, Biuletyn Historyczny Lęborskiego Bractwa Historycznego i Muzeum w Lęborku, 2001, no. 1, pp. 4–45; Jerzy DYGDAŁA, *Przebendowscy – osiemnastowieczni magnaci w Prusach Królewskich*, [in:] *Najstarsze dzieje Wejherowa*, ed. Regina OSOWICKA, Wejherowo 1988, pp. 75–76; Stanisław ACHREMCZYK, *Przebendowski Piotr*, [in:] *Słownik biograficzny Pomorza Nadwiślańskiego*, vol. 3, red. Zbigniew NOWAK, Gdańsk 1997, pp. 501–502; idem, *Życie polityczne Prus Królewskich i Warmii w latach 1660–1703*, Olsztyn 1991, pp. 26, 32, 65, 162, 166, 216, 233–237, 248.

⁴ Sławomir KOŚCIELAK, *Jezuici w Gdańsku od drugiej połowy XVI do końca XVIII wieku*, Gdańsk–Kraków 2003, pp. 272–273.

⁵ Paweł CZAPLEWSKI, *Senatorowie świeccy, podskarbiowie i starostowie Prus Królewskich 1454–1772*, Toruń 1921, pp. 140–141.

⁶ Andrzej KAMIEŃSKI, *Polska a Brandenburgia-Prusy w drugiej połowie XVII wieku. Dzieje polityczne*, Poznań 2002, pp. 214, 223, 244–246, 248, 368–369.

the major estate of Leźno situated several kilometres to the west of Gdańsk.⁷ Later, however, he switched sides and became the king's supporter, to be promoted to Chełmno castellany in 1693. His big career, however, took off during the interregnum of 1696–1697, when, working closely with J. H. Flemming, he was instrumental in electing Frederick Augustus II of Saxony to the Polish throne. This secured him the immediate nomination to the post of Malbork voivode in 1697, and then in 1703 to the Grand Treasurer of the Crown. He was then one of the closest associates of king Augustus II the Strong.⁸ The clever administering of his estates, including those in Greater Poland in Ostrów Wielkopolski and Przygodzice, as well as the significant revenue connected with the office of the Grand Treasurer of the Crown made him one of the wealthiest people in the Rzeczpospolita.⁹

Przebendowski's brisk entrance into the Polish-Lithuanian political elite did not mean a wide acceptance into the circle of magnates of the time. In 1700 Elżbieta Sieniawska nee Lubomirska, married to Bełz voivode and later hetman, reproached him, saying that it was king Augustus II who elevated him from his lowly origins to his later posts, a comment which she went on to repeat in 1726. In view of this, it is no surprise that J. J. Przebendowski was determined to continue to strengthen his social position and prestige. In mid-1704 he arranged for his daughter Dorota Henrietta to marry Jan Mikołaj Radziwiłł, who later became Nowogródek voivode, which entailed being connected through marriage to one of the grandest magnate families in the whole of the Rzeczpospolita. A significant factor for J. M. Radziwiłł in deciding to marry was the enormous dowry of 780 000 Polish zlotys in cash and 220 000 zlotys in jewellery and trousseau. It soon turned out that the marriage was not a happy one. The voivode quickly spent the 660 000 zlotys he had received as dowry, seriously mistreated his wife, who bore him two children, and insisted on being paid the rest of the dowry. Finally in 1715 Dorota Henrietta left her husband and later, in 1718 she petitioned for divorce in the nunciature court in Warsaw, obtaining separation in 1726.¹⁰ Less than a year after her first husband's death, she married again, this time a member of crown baronage, Franciszek Bieliński, later to become the grand marshal.¹¹

⁷ Adam PERŁAKOWSKI, *Jan Jerzy Przebendowski podskarbi wielki koronny i dobrodziej ostrowski. Szkic biograficzny*, Kraków–Ostrów Wielkopolski 2014, pp. 23–33, 72–73.

⁸ Compare the biography of J. J. Przebendowski by Mariusz Markiewicz and Andrzej Sowa in: *Polski słownik biograficzny*, vol. 28, Wrocław 1985, pp. 649–658; Adam PERŁAKOWSKI, *Jan Jerzy Przebendowski jako podskarbi wielki koronny (1703–1729)*, Kraków 2004.

⁹ A. PERŁAKOWSKI, *Jan Jerzy Przebendowski podskarbi*, pp. 75–112; idem, *Jan Jerzy Przebendowski jako „człowiek interesu” w Rzeczypospolitej w początkach XVIII wieku*, [in:] *Miedzy barokiem a oświeceniem. Sarmacki konterfekt*, ed. Stanisław ACHREMCZYK, Olsztyn 2002, pp. 186–198.

¹⁰ Cited after: Bożena POPIOŁEK, *Kobiety świat w czasach Augusta II*, Kraków 2003, p. 241.

¹¹ Adam PERŁAKOWSKI, *W kręgu skłocnej rodziny. Uwagi o małżeństwie Doroty Henrietty z Przebendowskimi Radziwiłłowej z Janem Mikołajem Radziwiłłem*, [in:] *Staropolski ogląd świata*, ed. Bogdan Rok, Filip WOLAŃSKI (Prace Historyczne – Instytut Historyczny Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, vol. 36), Wrocław 2004, pp. 195–205; Iwona KULESZA-WORONIECKA, *Rozwody w rodzinach magnackich w Polsce XVI–XVIII wieku*, Poznań–Wrocław 2002, pp. 23–24.

A major factor in magnates' prestige in the Rzeczpospolita at the time was the possession of a suitably imposing grandiose stately home.¹² Such was the need of J. J. Przebendowski. As early as the last phase of the northern war he started a significant investment that would confirm his standing as a minister and a top magnate of the Prussian province. In the late summer of 1717, when Royal Prussia, which had not yet recovered from damage caused by the northern war, had to additionally bear the cost of the marches of the Russian troops through the territory, construction work started on a stately house in Przebendowski's estate of Lezienko, or Małe Leźno, near Gdańsk.¹³ The Leźno estate, which encompassed the villages of Leźno Wielkie, Leźno Małe (Lezienko), and Strzelenko (later Lniska), and the Glasberg (Glaseberg) settlement, in Teutonic times counted among knightly estates under the Chełmno law, and in the mid-16th century were part of the royal domain, used as a pledge by the Gdańsk residents of Loitz and Hoppe families.¹⁴ By the end of the 16th century they were treated as heritable landed estates and they changed hands often. Among the owners we can count Jerzy Pniewski (Sniewski?, Przewoski?), Justyna Reyterówna Rabina (Rubińska?), the Pląskowskis, the Balińskis, the Berghans and the Schoneks (the Schonigs). At the end of 1600 the estates were purchased for 12 000 zlotys by "Gizina" (Urszula nee Heidenstein, married to Borzechowo starost Michał Giese), but between 1628–1635 they were in the hands of one the Sapiehas, most likely Andrzej Stanisław, later to become the castellan of Vilnius and in 1622 married to Ann nee Heidenstein, the daughter of the renown historian Reinhold and the granddaughter of Urszula.¹⁵

In 1631, possibly as a result of family divisions, the estate became the property of Urszula's daughter, Anna Giese, married to Adrian Rembowski, who on 7 June 1645 sold them for 45 000 zlotys to a Gdańsk resident Abraham Jacob von Gehema, an indigenized Polish nobleman and Nowy Dwór (Tygenhof) starost.¹⁶

¹² See: Adam KERSTEN, *Warstwa magnacka – kryterium przynależności*, [in:] *Magnateria polska jako warstwa społeczna*, ed. Władysław CZAPLIŃSKI, Adam KERSTEN, Toruń 1974, pp. 11–12; Magdalena UJMA, *Siedziba magnacka a styl życia magnaterii na przykładzie russkich rezydencji rodzin Sobięskich w drugiej połowie XVII wieku*, [in:] *Trudne siedziby. Studia z dziejów stosunków polsko-rosyjsko-ukraińskich w XVI–XX wieku*, ed. Andrzej SZCZEPANIK, Toruń 2007, pp. 70–87.

¹³ It has hitherto been assumed that the construction commenced in 1720, and the palace was completed in 1722. The information about the earlier commencement of the construction works is included in a letter by the voivode of Malbork Piotr Ernest Kczewski to J. J. Przebendowski (Helzberg (Heilsberg) – Lidzbark Warmiński, 4 September 1717): Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych w Warszawie, Archiwum Radziwiłłów [The Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw, Radziwiłł Family Archive] (further cit. AGAD, AR), fonds V, no. 6589, p. 158.

¹⁴ Marian BISKUP, Andrzej TOMCZAK, *Mapy województwa pomorskiego w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, Toruń 1955, p. 89.

¹⁵ Biblioteka Ossolineum we Wrocławiu [The Ossolineum Library in Wrocław] (further cit. BOssol.), rkp. [manuscript] 4207/III, "Summariusz papierów do dóbr tak ziemskich jako i królewczyzn w województwie pomorskim, powiecie gdańskim będących [...]" Wejherowo, 23 April 1767, pp. 2–5: "Documenta ad bona Lezno, Lezenko [...], 1593–1635;" Bronisław Kocowski, *Heidensteinowie*, [in:] *Księga pamiątkowa ku czci Prof. Stanisława Zakrzewskiego*, Lwów 1935, pp. 363–364.

¹⁶ P. CZAPLEWSKI, op. cit., pp. 147–148; K. HOENE, op. cit., pp. 8–9.

He died before 26 September 1663, orphaning underage children. The value of the Leźno estate was then estimated at 40 000 zlotys. On 22 July 1670 his son Jan Abraham exchanged the Leźno and Lezienko estates for different ones belonging to count Jan Teodor von Schlieben, later to become Livonian voivode, who on 25 August 1676 sold the estate for 40 000 zlotys¹⁷ (in reality 25 000 zlotys) to the before mentioned crown referendary Jan Kazimierz Krasiński.¹⁸ It was from him and his wife Jadwiga nee Jabłonowska that J. J. Przebendowski bought the estate on 20 October 1687 for the reasonable sum of 26 000 zlotys.¹⁹ The location of the villages near Gdańsk must have influenced the decision, as well as their proximity to Przebendowski's other estates in Pępowo and Miszewo, and other small royal domain estates in his possession since 1681 in Bysowo and Basztenhagen (Firogi) very close to Gdańsk.

The palace was erected in Małe Leźno, or Lezienko, which just before 1938 became part of the village of Leźno.²⁰ The imposing design of the palace, one of a kind in Royal Prussia, greatly impressed the residents of the area in the 18th century. Johann Gotfried Borck, the learned parish priest from Borzyszkowy in the Człuchów county, and the author of esteemed manuscripts on church history and culture in Royal Prussia, described the palace of Lezienko in 1765 as a structure not remembered or seen in Prussia since the erection of Teutonic castles.²¹ The priest knew the building first-hand as between 1744–1751 he was the curate in the nearby Żuków, and a chaplain and preacher in the Norbertine monastery there too.²²

The palace in Lezienko, or the present-day village of Leźno, did not survive until now as it was demolished at the beginning of 1884. Before the demolition, however, it was seen and described by the 19th-century church historian and priest Romuald Frydrychowicz, and the then heritage conservator and art historian Johannes Heise. Several photographs of the façade and palace interiors were tak-

¹⁷ NGAB Minsk, f. 694, 4/1324, fol. 2–4: indicating guardians of the children of Anraham Gehem and the survey of the Lezno estates, Starogard, 22 October 1663.

¹⁸ BOssol., rkp. 4207/III, pp. 7–8: "Documenta ad bona Lezno, Lezenko [...] [of the years 1670–1676];" Krasiński paid 25 000 zlotys in cash, the remaining 15,000 being part of the dowry of three sisters of Johann Abraham Gehem. Probably other amounts of money were bequeathed in the Leźno estate, see: NGAB Minsk, f. 694, 4/1324, fol. 9–10v: the entry of 20 000 Polish zlotys invested in the Lezno estates by J. A. Gehem, Gdańsk, 1 July 1705.

¹⁹ NGAB Minsk, f. 694, 4/1324, fol. 7–8: the contract for the sale of the Lezno estates, Skarszewy, 20 October 1687.

²⁰ In *Skorowidz miejscowości Rzeczypospolitej Polskiej*, vol. 11: *Województwo pomorskie*, Warszawa 1926, p. 80, there were two separate settlements of Leźno (Wielkie Leźno) and Lezienko (Małe Leźno). In the next similar study (Franciszek Wyczyński, *Skorowidz miejscowości województwa pomorskiego*, Toruń 1938, p. 60) there is recorded only a village of Leźno, in the parish of Żukowo, in the country of Kartuzy.

²¹ "Opus et structura, qualem Prussia nec meminit, nec vidit, exceptis arcibus Crucigerorum" (Jan Gotfrid BORCK, "Echo sepulchralis sive epitaphia, inscriptions ac monumentes varia Prussiae," [1765], manuscript in: Diocesan Archive in Pelplin, signature V 8).

²² Jacek KOWALKOWSKI, *Ksiądz Jan Gotfryd Bork (1717–1772) – nowe fakty z życia i twórczości*, Studia Pelplińskie, vol. 30: 2000, pp. 69–101, about the work "Echo sepulchralis" on pp. 83–91.

en by a Gdańsk photographer Rudolf Teodor Kuhn.²³ Two of those photographs were much later published in a book by a subsequent owner of the estate, Konrad Hoene.²⁴

Romuald Frydrychowicz, in the fifth volume of *The Geographical Dictionary of the Kingdom of Poland*, published in 1884, when describing the palace in detail, states the following: "Well worth seeing is this palace, over 150 years old, spreading like a castle and soaring three floors up, witness to riches and glory of former Polish nobility; at present [shortly before 1884 – J. D.] seriously run down because unoccupied [Karol Hoene being the owner at the time]. [...] Construction of the palace started in 1720 in J. J. Przebendowski's favourite Lezienko, with neither the cost nor splendour spared. As for parlours and other great rooms, you will easily count over 30, each differently ornamented, and furnished with windows, floors and hearthstones. Two basements down it goes and three bricked storeys up it soars. Contemporary writers will not stop marvelling at it as nowhere in Prussia anything like that has been seen, and it can only be likened to famous Teutonic castles. Not quite completed yet in 1729, it had already consumed millions."²⁵ When mentioning "contemporary writers," R. Frydrychowicz likely meant J. G. Borck, the priest, whose manuscript "Echo sepulchralis" he was well familiar with.²⁶

According to Johannes Heise, the palace was erected on the site of an older far smaller building (a manor house? a residence of the estate administrator?). The design and size of the new residence, according to the Prussian heritage conservator, were impressive. It was built on a horseshoe plan, and at the front the courtyard was flanked by two small detached side one-storey outhouses, with attics covered with mansard roofs. Those outhouses were destined for servants but served as utility buildings as well (we now know that they housed the palace kitchen too). The palace proper, built on an elongated rectangle plan, was covered by a mansard roof as well. The main two-storey building with an attic measured approximately 56 meters by 16 meters. In the middle of the 11-axis façade a faintly marked avant-corps was placed, crested with a triangular top. From the garden side, there were two side multi-storeyed bowers ("Eckpavillons"). On all elevations a great order was observed. They were disjoint by flat pilasters in the composite order (a combination of the Ionic and Corinthian orders). Those pilasters supported a three-offset crowning cornice. All around the palace ran a low pedestal. The window framings, set in between the pilasters, were decorated with browbands: in turn semi-circular and rhombic ones downstairs, and triangular and semi-circular ones upstairs. The triangular browbands on the side elevation were broken (open). The

²³ *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego i innych krajów słowiańskich*, ed. Filip SULIMIRSKI, Bronisław CHLEBOWSKI, Władysław WALEWSKI, vol. 5, Warszawa 1884, pp. 196–197; *Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler der Provinz Westpreussen*, Bd. 1: Pomerellen, bearb. v. Johannes HEISE, Danzig 1884–1887, here: H. 4, p. 89.

²⁴ K. HOENE, op. cit., photographs after pp. 16 and 24.

²⁵ *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego*, vol. 5, p. 196.

²⁶ J. KOWALKOWSKI, op. cit., p. 87.

whole structure, built of brick, was plastered, with the exception of the cornices, window framings and the face of pedestal, which were made of sandstone. The date "1722" placed above the portal must have marked the end of the construction work on the palace.²⁷ Higher still, in the gable, a big clock was installed, possibly as late as in the 19th century. Similarly, the interiors of the palace in Lezienko, especially the lavish stucco mouldings decorating the vaults, greatly impressed J. Heise and earned his praise. Johannes Heise, who, despite following the trend among most art historians of the time did not esteem the baroque style, still found the somewhat austere and unpretentious architecture of the palace to his taste.²⁸

Romuald Frydrychowicz goes on to add that above the palace entrance, on the garden side, the inscription "Post exanflatos pro Republica labores hic locus quietis" was to be found, which in his opinion means that "the palace was intended by Przebendowski as a place of pleasurable leisure after the long labours" for the Rzeczpospolita. Also, he notices that at the back of the palace there is a carefully tended "extensive old-Polish park set out in the French fashion."²⁹

The above descriptions of the palace, especially the one by J. Heise, and the analysis of photographs published in Konrad Hoene's book, could point to the fact that J. J. Przebendowski's residence in Lezienko was built in the austere neo-classical baroque style, more Dutch-English than French perhaps, which was gaining popularity in Prussia at the time.³⁰ It is to be put down to the Hohenzollerns' family connections to the House of Orange. It is worth mentioning that similar-style residences were being built in the nearby East Prussia. Two significant examples are the monumental palaces of the Doenhoff family: in Friedrichstein near Królewiec (Königsberg), built according to the design of the famous architect Jean de Bodt between 1709–1714, and another one in Drogosze (Doenhoffstadt), built approximately at the same time, presumably according to the design of the Lorraine architect and engineer John von Collas, who in fact adapted Bodt's design.³¹ It is

²⁷ *Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler*, Bd. 1, H. 4, p. 89.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 89: "Die Zeichnung der einfachen Architektur in Putzbau mit Sandsteingesimsen war verhältnismässig streng und gut."

²⁹ *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego*, vol. 5, pp. 196–197, in the inscription cited by priest Frydrychowicz there should have appeared the word "exanclatos" (exhaustive), not "exanflatos;" still, in the attached annex of the inventory of the palace of 1730 the word "exanclatos" was written in such a way that it may be read as "exanflatos;" possibly a stonemason, who did not know Latin, carved the letter "f" instead of "c"?

³⁰ I put forward such a thesis in the article *Nowe pałace*, p. 184.

³¹ Carl VON LORCK, *Landschlösser und Gutshäuser in Ost- und Westpreussen*, Frankfurt 1965, pp. 38–57; Anton ULRICH, *Kunstgeschichte Ostpreussens*, Frankfurt 1976, pp. 173–178; Andrzej RZEMPOŁUCH, *Architektura dworska w Prusach Książęcych i na Warmii*, Roczniki Humanistyczne, vol. 50: 2002, no. 4, pp. 210–220; Guido HINTERKUSER, *Zwischen Politik, Ökonomie und Repräsentation – Berlin und die grossen Schlösser des preussischen Adels* (Dohna, Dönhoff, Finckenstein), [in:] *Landgüter in den Regionen des gemeinsamen Kulturerbes von Deutschen und Polen – Entstehung, Verfall und Bewahrung*, hrsg. v. Birte PUSBACK, Jan SKURATOWICZ, Warszawa 2007, pp. 31–58; Piotr KORDUBA, *Wielkie rezydencje dawnych Prus Wschodnich*, Spotkania z Zabytkami, 2007, no. 11, pp. 4–7; Hans-Joachim KUKE, *Jean de Bodt 1670–1745. Architekt und Ingenieur im Zeitalter des Barok*,

also worth remembering that J. J. Przebendowski would stay in Berlin on several occasions and over extended periods of time during the northern war,³² during which visits he might have become familiar with the new then trends in Prussian neo-classical palace architecture, and even acquaint Bodt himself, since the palace in Lezienko appears to be a simplified version of both of the Doenhoff residences, especially the one in Friedrichstein.

Based on sources unknown to us, likely of church origin, R. Frydrychowicz dated the beginning of construction work on the palace back to 1720.³³ Hence the date "1722" placed above the main entrance would suggest the year when major construction work ended. Undoubtedly, the work on the interiors and their furnishing took much longer, therefore it comes as no surprise that according to R. Frydrychowicz, in 1729 at the moment of J. J. Przebendowski's death, the palace was still unfinished.³⁴ It is worth adding at this point that between 1724–1727 J. J. Przebendowski built another stately residence, in Warsaw this time, in Kapucyńska Street (nowadays W-Z route), but this palace was erected in a markedly different late baroque style, the Czech-Austrian one.³⁵

Sources from the National Historical Archive of Belarus in Minsk allow us to precisely state the date of construction of the palace in Lezienko, and costs of this investment borne by J. J. Przebendowski. What is more, they give us an insight into the interior layout of the residence, no longer in existence now. Those sources were created thanks to the activity of a subsequent owner of the Leźno estate – Franciszek Bieliński, the Chełmno voivode at the time, the Court Marshal as of 1732, and the Grand Crown Marshal as of 1742. With J. J. Przebendowski's death on 24 February 1729, his only heir was his daughter Dorota Henrietta, Nowogródek voivode J. M. Radziwiłł's widow (he died on 20 January 1729; as early as 1715 Dorota Henrietta was seeking invalidation of the marriage). She re-married on 1 January 1730, her husband being Chełmno voivode Franciszek Bieliński. They were married by the nuncio Camillo Paulucci himself in the Przebendowskis' palace in Kapucyńska Street. The ceremony was witnessed by the castellan of Vilnius Kazimierz Czartoryski and his wife Izabella nee Morsztyn, their son August, the Regimentary General of the Crown Army Stanisław Poniatowski, and the Russian envoy Michał

Worms 2002, pp. 170–177; Andrzej RZEMPOŁUCH, *John von Collas wybitny architekt czy wykonawca cudzych projektów?*, Spotkania z Zabytkami, 2007, no. 11, pp. 8–11.

³² A. PERŁAKOWSKI, *Jan Jerzy Przebendowski jako podskarbi wielki koronny*, pp. 29–38; Kazimierz JAROCHOWSKI, *Polityka brandenburska w pierwszych latach wojny Karola XII i misja Przebendowskiego do Berlina w 1704 roku*, [in:] idem, *Nowe opowiadania i studia historyczne*, Warszawa 1882, pp. 251–317; "Interes WM Pana wspomniałem Królowi Jmci..." Listy Jana Jerzego Przebendowskiego podskarbiego wielkiego koronnego do Adama Mikołaja Sieniawskiego wojewody bieńskiego i hetmana wielkiego koronnego z lat 1704–1725, prep. Adam PERŁAKOWSKI, Kraków 2007, pp. 47–49.

³³ In fact, the first works started in the summer of 1717, comp. footnote 11.

³⁴ *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego*, vol. 5, p. 196.

³⁵ Anna SARATOWICZ, *Pałac Przebendowskich*, Warszawa 1990, pp. 18–52; J. DYGDAŁA, *Nowe pałace*, pp. 187–188.

Fiedorowicz Bestużew-Riumin. After the ceremony the bride treated her guests to supper.³⁶

In the late spring of 1730 F. Bieliński decided to personally inspect the estate which his wife inherited from her father to find out the state of affairs. Before 21 May he left Warsaw for Przygodzice and Ostrów Wielkopolski.³⁷ From there, he must have set off directly for Royal Prussia. He visited his Brodnickie Starosty, and from Brodnica, where he left his wife Dorota Henrietta, possibly pregnant at the time, he left, via Gdańsk, for Lezienko and Mirachowo Starosty, both of which belonged to him and his wife as joint property after her father's death.³⁸ In the wake of the trip, he wrote "A Memorial for P. Chmieliński, administrator of Lezienko estate *cum attinentiis* left on 8 August 1730."³⁹ Known for his orderliness, the future Grand Crown Marshal stated that he found the estate "in great disorder," "with carelessness in the keeping of the buildings, as well as *perplexitates* of the bills." For this reason he put the estate under "the supervision and administration" of a certain Mr Chmieliński,⁴⁰ who kept the post until 1 July 1730. The memorial, or instruction manual for the administrator, contained 20 clauses, in which F. Bieliński put down in detail the fashion in which he wanted the Leźno estate to be administered. He particularly insisted on punctuality when it came to bills; repairing the utility buildings; taking care of the subjects while demanding that they paid their dues; dismissing the chief gardener who could be replaced by the apprentice, already in the possession of some experience; reducing the number of sheep, for which there was not enough forage. He expressly forbade to "give away any feed, hay, hens, geese *et omnium victualium* without a direct order." The comprehensive clause 18 referred to the palace. It is worth citing in its entirety, as it is an accurate

³⁶ Archiwum Państwowe w Toruniu [The State Archive in Toruń], Katalog [catalogue] II, I 4789, fol. 2v–3: Written paper from Warsaw, 5 January 1730 – it was explicitly stated that the wedding took place "the previous Saturday" – on 1 January 1730; Dorota Henrietta bequeathed Franciszek Bieliński 600 000 zlotys in her estates and half of her silver and gold cutlery and crockery along with jewels; the married couple provided each other with the annuity agreement and the right of conjugal joint property in the starosties; Kuryer Polski, no. 2, p. 5, Warsaw, 4 January 1730, reports that the wedding took place on 3 January 1730; the wrong date might have resulted from the printing error.

³⁷ Kuryer Polski, no 26, p. 100, from Warsaw, 21 May 1730.

³⁸ Ibid., no. 33, pp. 129, from Gdańsk, 5 August 1730: "JMP w-da chełmiński [Franciszek Bieliński] zostawiwszy JejMć swoją [Dorotę Henriettę] w Brodnicy, tedy do Lezienka, dóbr swoich i starostwa mirachowskiego pojechał, przyszłego tygodnia tu redditurus."

³⁹ NGAB Minsk, f. 694, 4/1324, fol. 26–27v.

⁴⁰ The Chmielińskis of their own coat of arms belonged to the Kashubian gentry settled in the country of Lębork. Near Kartuzy there lived the Chmielińskis of the Leszczyc coat of arms from Masovia; among them Jan Chmieliński from at least 1733 to 1739, the court official of Puck and advocate of Augustus III in 1733; Jakub Chmieliński owned Duże Miszewo from 1752; the adjacent Małe Miszewo belonged to J. J. Przebendowski, and from 1729 to his daughter Dorota Henrietta Bielińska, see: Max BÄR, *Der Adel und der adelige Grundbesitz in Polnisch-Preussen zur Zeit der preussischen Besitzergreifung*, Leipzig 1911, no. 1409, 1415, 1416, 1433, 1462, 1481; Urzędniccy Prus Królewskich XV–XVIII wieku. Spisy, prep. Krzysztof MIKULSKI, Wrocław–Warszawa–Kraków 1990, p. 148, nr 1065.

illustration of both the palace's state of repair, and Franciszek Bieliński's sedulity, if not stinginess: “[k. 27] 18. Pałac w pilnym mieć dozorze, tak w oknach, dachach et in genere zamknęciach. Dla konserwacji którego ugodzi P Chmieliński [z]ręcznego mularza na salarium i mieszkanie mu da. Który gdy roboty koło pałacu nie będzie może sobie i gdzie indziej zarobić. Dlatego tylko salarium i mieszkanie mu naznaczyć, a jeżeli by się mularz bar[d]zo drożył, za same pieniądze, to dla mniejszego kosztu możemy zboża postąpić. Który mularz przynajmniej raz w miesiącu dachy na pałacu, oficynach, oborach, stajni i stodołach powinien rewidować i gdzie potrzeba tego będzie wapnem podrzukać, dachówki stłuczone wyrzucać, a natychmiast nowe zasadzać. Do tego mu P Chmieliński wapna, dachówek, gąsiorów i cegły dodać powinien i dojrzeć sam, aby wszędzie należycie naprawował. A ponieważ przy bytności tu mojej, zastałem tak w pałacu pod dachem, jako i we wszystkich folwarkach nieczyste trzymanie izbów i góra pałacowa gołębiami zapaskudzona, przykazuję P Chmielińskiemu, żeby go dojrzał, aby wszędzie ochędstwo obserwowane było, naznaczywszy i przystawiwszy chlewy po folwarkach dla drobiazgów, na pałacu zaś aby żadnych nie cierpał gołębi, gdyż stąd nie tylko okien tłuczenie, ale szczury i myszy mnożą się. Że zaś w tym pałacu wiele okien jest potłuczonych, pewnie per incuriam, więc przykazuję, aby i te były naprawne i okiennice, które już są gotowe, osobliwie na dole, aby były poprzybijane [k. 27v], wszak i zawiasy są do tych okiennic. Ślosarz co będzie kosztował od przybicia, P Chmieliński rachunek mi per copiam przyszele [przyśle].”

W pałacu nikomu bez wyraźnej woli mojej mieszkać nie dozwalam, ani też podwieczorków i kolacji sprawować, prócz jeżeli by JM Pan wojewoda malborski,⁴¹ albo JMP Jackowski podkomorzy pomorski,⁴² kiedy na nocleg lub popas trafili się, jako koligatom naszym, wolna będzie rezydencja w samym tylko pałacu, bez dania obroków i siana.”⁴³

⁴¹ Piotr Jerzy Przebendowski (about 1674–1755), from 1722 the voivode of Malbork, J. J. Przebendowski's cousin.

⁴² Jerzy Wojciech Jackowski (died in 1732), in the years 1702–1727 the starost of Tuchola, and from 1728 the sub-chamberlain of Pomerania, married to Anna Konstancja Przebendowska, J. J. Przebendowski's younger sister.

⁴³ “[fol. 27] The palace is to be under strict supervision, both windows, roofs et in genere interiors. To carry out the maintenance work, Mr Chmieliński is to employ a handy mason for a salary and lodgings. If not occupied at the palace, the mason will be free to look for wages elsewhere. He is to get a salary and lodgings only, but if he was to become more demanding as to money, to lower expenses he is to be offered grain. He will at least once monthly inspect the roofs of the palace, out-houses, cowsheds, stables and barns, and if need be they are to be limed, broken roof tiles dispensed with and with new ones replaced. Mr Chmieliński will provide him with lime, roof tiles, ridge tiles and bricks, and will himself supervise the work to make sure it is carried out properly. And when visiting the estate, I found both under the palace roof and in all the farms that rooms are not washed, and the upstairs of the palace is dirtied by pigeons. I therefore command Mr Chmieliński to ensure that cleanliness is observed everywhere, to plan and build pens on the farms for the little ones, and to tolerate no pigeons in the palace, as windows are broken and rats and mice multiply in their presence. And as many windows are indeed broken in this palace, likely per incuriam, I thus demand that they be repaired and shutters, which are already in readiness, especially downstairs, be installed together

Arguably, as a result of F. Bieliński's recommendations, a collective statement of the construction costs of the Lezienko palace was prepared at that time. It can be assumed that the task was completed by Chmieliński, the administrator. Since such data rarely appears in sources, I consider it advisable to quote the statement *in extenso*.⁴⁴

"Expensa on the palace in Lezienko

1717	fl 8504 gr 11
1718	fl 7747 gr 10½
1719	fl 8971 gr 9
1720	fl 9930 gr 19
1721	fl 20 026 gr 27½
Suma	fl 55 180 gr 17
1722 in 1723	fl 21 509 gr 17
1723 in 1724	fl 10 865 gr 1
1724 in 1725	fl 3325 gr 19
1725 in 1726	fl 432
1726 in 1727	fl 650 gr 9
In summa	fl 91 963 gr 3

As for previous *expensa* on this palace, there are no records to be had, nor *vestigium extat* as the cost of the marbles brought to Lezienko, and used for window and door framing."

We now know that there were no previous expenses connected with the construction of the palace since the work started only in 1717. This was expressly stated by Malbork voivode Piotr Ernest Kczewski, who happened to be related to J. J. Przebendowski:⁴⁵ "Ta fabryka tego pałacu w Lezenku pewnie będzie perennis memoris Imienia WMM Pana [J. J. Przebendowskiego], ale trzeba sine intermissione, da Bóg za powrotem WMM Pana, nie tylko z JejMość Dobrodziejką⁴⁶ się kombinować, z Jej z X[ię]ciem JMcią wojewodą nowogrodzkim⁴⁷ koniec rze- czy uczynić,⁴⁸ aby intencje WMM Pana in solido et securō subsistat fundamento,

with their hinges. I am to be sent the bill per copiam for the locksmith's expenses for the installation of the above.

No one is to reside in the palace without my expressly stated will, nor are high teas or suppers to be served, except in the case of his lordship voivode of Malbork or his lordship Jackowski, the Pomeranian chamberlain, should they be in need of an overnight stay or rest, who as our relatives will be allowed the use of the palace only, without feed or hay."

⁴⁴ NGAB Minsk, f. 694, 4/1324, fol. 22.

⁴⁵ See footnote 13.

⁴⁶ Dorota Henrietta Radziwiłłowa (later Bielińska), Jan Jerzy Przebendowski's daughter.

⁴⁷ Jan Mikołaj Radziwiłł, the voivode of Nowogródek, Dorota Henrietta Przebendowska's husband.

⁴⁸ Dorota Henrietta at that point intended to commence her divorce trial with her husband, whom she had left in 1715.

do czego i postanowienie JM Pana krajczego kronnego⁴⁹ siła pomoże. Wiem ja bardzo dobrze, że haec operosa moles wystawienia Domu WMM Pana, przy drugich niezliczonych ekspensach, musi WMM Panu ciężko incumbere, daj Pan Bóg tylko zdrowie i długie życie WMM Panu [...].”

The mention of marble in the above statement of the construction costs of the palace in Lezienko, is in fact more likely to refer to sandstone, which was used to frame the windows, and Johannes Heise as an experienced Prussian heritage conservator can be trusted on the matter.

The construction costs of the whole palace, based on the statement, totalled at least 91 963 florins and 3 groszes. Florin was used to mean zloty at the time. The fact that the author of the statement did not specify the monetary unit as Polish or Prussian florin, poses some difficulty. By order of a resolution of the general regional diet of Royal Prussia on 11 February 1669, Prussian florin (zloty) was introduced as a financial unit in the Prussian province, and it equalled two zlotys. From then on it was widely understood in the region that quoting an item's value in florins (zlotys) meant Prussian florin (zlotys). Otherwise, the term Polish florin (zloty) was consistently used. It can be, therefore, safely assumed that the construction costs of the Lezienko palace were quoted in Prussian zloty. Considering the above, it is possible that J. J. Przebendowski spent 183 926 zlotys and 6 groszes on the construction work. Also, it is comparable with the value of similar palace-style residences. Jan Ansgary Czapski, the next Chełmno voivode and then the Grand Treasurer of the Crown, in 1736 bought a slightly smaller palace in Warsaw – the former Sieniawskis' palace – in Krakowskie Przedmieście Street for 168 000 zlotys,⁵⁰ while the construction work, including bricklaying, installing the roof and building stoves, on the Lithuanian Chancellor Jan Fryderyk Sapieha's Warsaw palace came up to 157 320 zlotys between 1727–1737.⁵¹

A closer analysis of the above data allows us to draw a conclusion that it was between 1717 and the end of 1721 that the major construction work on the palace in Lezienko was carried out, and it is highly likely that by 1722 the body of the building was ready, though not the roof, hence the date “1722” above the portal should not be a surprise. The bricklaying totalled 110 361 zlotys and 4 groszes, which accounts for 60% of all costs. Finishing work on the building followed, outside and more importantly inside the palace, which cost at least further 73 566 zlotys. Based on the statement, 1721–1722 saw the biggest intensification of construction work, with the annual spending of over 40 000 zlotys. Then, between 1725–1727 the expenses dropped to 1000 zlotys per year, which points to the fact that only some small-scale work was carried out then. This could be attributed to construction work and furnishing having been finished, but in the light of the in-

⁴⁹ Jan Przebendowski (died in 1729) Jan Jerzy's son, from 1711 the incisor regni.

⁵⁰ Jadwiga MIELESZKO, *Pałac Czapskich*, Warszawa 1971, p. 26.

⁵¹ Sławomira PEŁESZOWA, *Materiały źródłowe do dziejów pałacu Sapiehów w Warszawie*, Rocznik Warszawski, vol. 15: 1979, pp. 497–498.

ventory of 1730, included at the end of this article, it seems much more likely that because of J. J. Przebendowski's virtually constant residence in his estate in Greater Poland, the final finishing work on the interiors was suspended.

The inventory of the Lezienko palace, which will give us a closer picture of the condition of the building, was prepared on 10 August 1730, just two days after issuing the above-cited instruction to the administrator of the estate, Mr Chmieliński (look: annex). The work on the exterior of the palace must have been completed, with only the fencing missing. A look inside the building must have been less satisfying though. Upon entering the hallway, whose ceiling was unfinished and not decorated with moulding yet, one faced three flights of stone stairs leading upstairs. On both sides of the hallway, there were rows of rooms laid out enfilade-style. On the right, there were three rooms, including a corner study, walk-in closet and small hallway. On the left one found five rooms, including a corner study, and a porch, or corridor, which contained a second staircase with wooden stairs this time. Two rooms on the right were heated by tiled stoves, operated from the hallway, and one of them as well as the study were fitted with fireplaces with stone or perhaps even marble mantelpieces. The floors were covered with stone slabs. The rooms on the left were still unfinished, with stoves, fireplaces – with the exception of the corner study – and stone floors missing.

In the middle of the second storey, one found a huge hall with two fireplaces but it was not fitted with a ceiling or floor yet. On the right, there were five rooms, including a corner study. The rooms were to be heated with fireplaces, and the floors were covered with oak floorboards, or flooring strips, with ceilings already in place. On the left there were four rooms, including a corner study and an alcove. Two rooms were already fitted with fireplaces, and were to be equipped with stoves. The floors were made of oak wood.

The third storey was in fact a mansard, with a corner study, without a floor or finished ceiling yet, and a room above the big hall, where work on the ceiling was in progress. This attic was lit by twelve oval windows placed in the lucarnes of the mansard roof.

The outhouse on the right housed the palace kitchen, already partly equipped, three hallways and five chambers not fit to serve as living quarters yet. The work on the outhouse on the left was more advanced. It housed five chambers, including one big one and four living chambers, all fitted with floors, and three of them heated with tiled stoves, as well as a small kitchen, two pantries, three other small chambers and three hallways. Tables were found in three of the chambers.

The inventory contains terms such as "door (window) – empty," which in fact means that the said door or window was not there, only the frames were fixed, whereas the term "door (window) and all" indicates that they were fitted with door handles, locks and bolts. It is also typical for the inventory to mention broken or cracked window panes, which could be found in almost all the rooms in the palace. The total number of rooms was 18, three of which were corner studies, with

the huge hall upstairs not included in that number. The information quoted by R. Frydrychowicz about there being 30 rooms in the palace is inaccurate, unless the living chambers in both outhouses are included in that number.

In the light of the inventory of 1730, it is certain that work on some of the rooms in the Lezienko palace was not finished at the time. Even in the rooms that were ready to be used there was no furniture, tapestries, paintings or carpets. It can be attributed to the fact that towards the end of his life, J. J. Przebendowski preferred to stay in his estates in Greater Poland, especially in Przygodzice near Ostrów, instead of the estates in Royal Prussia. In fact, he held the important office of the Greater Poland Starost General.

In stark contrast to the above, were the interiors of Przebendowskis' Warsaw palace in Kapucyńska Street. A month into his marriage to Dorota Henrietta he had an inventory of this palace drawn. There were at least nine rooms downstairs, and 12 upstairs, including a chapel. The walls were tapestried and decorated with 48 paintings, mirrors and candle holders, and windows had curtains and blinds draped over them. Furthermore, the inventory mentions 18 wardrobes, eight tables and 32 small tables, four beds, 16 sofas, 125 chairs and 69 stools, and at least two clocks. The lavish tableware was silver, porcelain, notably Meissen, and delftware. The number of silver candle holders came up to 50.⁵²

In the case of Lezienko, the state of neglect most likely continued after treasurer J. J. Przebendowski's death. Franciszek and Dorota Henrietta Bieliński resided chiefly either in Warsaw, in the palace in Królewska Street – they let Piotr Jerzy Przebendowski, Malbork voivode, have the use of their other palace in Kapucyńska Street, or might have even sold it to him some time before 1733 – or in their estate in Stary Otwock⁵³ near Warsaw, so the huge building in Lezienko remained in fact uninhabited. However, it is worth adding that in keeping with a tradition still alive in the second half of the 19th century, one of princes Poniatowskis was born there, and it was only later that he was baptized in Gdańsk.⁵⁴ It might refer exclusively to Andrzej Poniatowski, king Stanisław August's younger brother, born on 28 September 1734. The Poniatowskis, like the Bielińskis, remained at king Stanisław Leszczyński's side in Gdańsk, besieged at the time by the Russians. After the city's surrender, Mrs Bieliński might have invited Konstancja Poniatowska, the future king's mother, to stay in her palace in Lezienko. That would lead to the conclusion that the Bielińskis had at least some of rooms in palace made fit to live in, an as-

⁵² AGAD, AR, dz. X, Papiery Przebendowskich, signature 1 (temporary entry number): "Opisanie pałacu na Kapucyńskiej ulicy [...]," included in "Inwentarzu ruchomości [...] Doroty Henrietty Przebendowskiej [...] Franciszka Bielińskiego [...] małżonki," 3 February 1730. See also a detailed description of the interior of the palace in: J. DYDAŁA, *Nowe palace*, pp. 187–191.

⁵³ Jolanta PUTKOWSKA, *Warszawski zespół rezydencjalny Franciszka Bielińskiego marszalka wielkiego koronnego*, Kwartalnik Architektury i Urbanistyki, vol. 41: 1996, no. 1, pp. 17–46.

⁵⁴ *Słownik geograficzny Królestwa Polskiego*, vol. 5, pp. 196–197.

sumption which is further confirmed by an inspection carried out in the Lezienko estate in 1740.⁵⁵

The sources from the Minsk Archive allow us to determine the amount of income obtained from the Lezienko estate, including the villages of Pempowo, Lnińska, Byszewo and Firoga, at the moment when they were taken over by Franciszek Bieliński.⁵⁶ In the fiscal year of 1731/1732 the total income from those estates came up to 13 157 fl (zlotys?), of which 8402 fl (64%) came from the sale of agricultural products and 2920 fl (22%) from rent, while the sale of beer and vodka in the local inns yielded 1611 fl and just 224 fl respectively (the total of 14%). The expenses over the same period amounted to 13 451 fl, which does not, however, mean that the estates were bringing losses. It was down to the fact that the administrator, Mr Chmieliński in all probability, at the estate owner's order, paid 10 700 fl to several merchants from Gdańsk for previous deliveries of various goods for the recently nominated Royal Crown Marshal Franciszek Bieliński. Therefore the actual administration and investment costs in the estate amounted to just 2751 fl, which means a net profit of 10 406 fl (20 812 Polish zlotys).

It was only in 1748 that Franciszek and Dorota Henrietta Bieliński sold the debt-laden Leżno estate – burdened with a debt since J. J. Przebendowski's time – and the adjacent royal domains of Byszewo and Firoga, as well as the Mirachowo starosty, which they let in 1745, for the considerable sum of 600 000 zlotys. The buyer was Malbork voivode Piotr Jerzy Przebendowski, Mrs Bieliński's close relative and the Treasurer's cousin, who since 1720 had already been the owner of the nearby extensive Wejherowo–Rzucewo estate.⁵⁷ In 1755, after the voivode's death, the estate was inherited by his only heir, Mirachowo starost Ignacy Przebendowski, the mightiest magnate in Royal Prussia at the time and later a Pomeranian voivode. He and his wife Felicyta nee Wielopolska used the palace in Lezienko, as well as their smaller seaside residence in Rzucewo and one in Wejherowo, mainly as summer houses, where they entertained guests, while they treated their tenement house in 3 Długi Targ Street in Gdańsk, inherited by the way from Jan Jerzy Przebendowski, as their permanent quarters. The use they were able to make of the Lezienko palace would prove that all work on the interiors had already been completed and it was fit to live in.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ NGAB Mińsk, f. 694, 4/1324, fol. 33: "Rewizja dóbr lezenkowskich d. 17 Decembris 1740."

⁵⁶ Ibid., fol. 28–32v: "Rejestru pieniędzy z karczem i innych perceptów i expens dóbr lezienkowskich od św. Jana a. 1731 do św. Jana a. 1732."

⁵⁷ Archiwum Państwowe w Gdańsk [The State Archive in Gdańsk], entry no. 506/4, k. 92: a contract between D.H. – F. Bieliński and J. J. Przebendowski, Warsaw, 1 Oct 1748. Piotr Jerzy Przebendowski possessed at that point more significant financial resources, for in 1746 he tried to acquire the starosty of Koscierzyna from August Czartoryski; in February 1748 he offered Michał Kazimierz Radziwiłł 100 000 thalers (800 000 zlotys) for the rentable starosty of Człuchów, see: J. DYGAŁA, *Przebendowscy*, pp. 80–82.

⁵⁸ Jerzy DYGAŁA, *Z życia towarzyskiego polskich elit szlachecko-magnackich w Gdańsk w połowie 1757 roku (Przebendowscy, Adam Kazimierz Czartoryski i wielu innych)*, [in:] *Przyjemność w kuluarze epoki rozumu*, red. Teresa KOSTKIEWICZOWA, Warszawa 2011, pp. 211–212, 214–216.

Ignacy Przebendowski, faced with financial difficulties stemming from the fact that the estate he had obtained from the Bielińskis was still heavily indebted, in 1767 sold the whole of the Leźno landed estate, including the palace, for 240 000 zlotys to the castellan of Elbląg Jan Michał Grabowski, from a family aspiring to baronage status. After the castellan J. M. Grabowski's death in 1770, the estate was taken over by his sons Adam Andrzej and Ignacy in 1772, but it was only in 1783 that they divided the inheritance. The Leźno estate fell to Adam,⁵⁹ who in the end settled in the Greater Poland, and in 1787 sold the debt-laden Leźno estate, having paid off distant family members and creditors. The buyer was a banker from Wrocław (Breslau), Georg Marcus Helffstein, who settled in Lezienko with his family, having paid 50 000 Prussian thalers (approximately 285 000 zlotys) for it.⁶⁰ The new owner invested heavily in the estate, but upon his death in 1812 the estate fell to his oldest son Heinrich Wilhelm, who decided to sell Lezienko together with the other villages after the deaths of his mother Philippine Elisabeth in 1829 and his brother Carl in 1831. At the beginning of 1832, the estate was purchased by counsellor Friedrich August Theodor Hoene (1776–1867), a resident of Gdańsk, who happened to be the son of Lębork mayor Johann Christian.⁶¹ The members of the Hoene family were the subsequent owners of Lezienko: Richard from 1867 to 1875, his nephew Karl from 1875 to 1909, although in fact his brother Georg managed the estate from 1882, and it was him who decided to dismantle the old palace and build a new, smaller one, using the building materials obtained from the demolition. He took over Lezienko after his brother's death, and the estate was later inherited by his son, Konrad Hoene. Only a year later, Leźno and Lezienko were found within the borders of the revived Republic of Poland, with the border of the Free City of Gdańsk running very close-by.

Undoubtedly, the function of the old palace in Leźno (Lezienko) was to satisfy the need for prestige on the part of the treasurer Jan Jerzy Przebendowski, one of the wealthiest crown magnates. The majority of subsequent owners, in possession of several or a dozen or so villages, were not able to maintain the huge structure in a good state of repair. That is why the palace had to give way to a much more modest manor house.

(transl. by Agnieszka Chabros)

⁵⁹ BOSSOL, rkp. 4251, fol. 66: a contract between the castellan of Elbląg Adam Grabowski and Ignacy Przebendowski, Wejherowo, 23 April 1767; K. HOENE, op. cit., p. 14; Jerzy DYGDAŁA, *Grabowscy w Prusach Królewskich i w Wielkopolsce w XVIII w. jako przykład kariery rodziny szlacheckiej*, Miscelanea historico-archivistica, vol. 11: 2000, p. 129.

⁶⁰ K. HOENE, op. cit., pp. 23–27.

⁶¹ Ibid., pp. 29–47.

APPENDIX

The Lezienko palace inventory of 1730, 10th August 1730

Or.: *Нацыянальны гістарычны архіў Беларусі (Мінск)*, f. 694, inw. 4, nr 1324, k. 22v–25, 28v.

Copy: *ibid.*, f. 694, inw. 1, Nr 68, p. 92–93v.

[k. 22v] Inwentarz pałacu lezienskiego A. 1730 Augusti 10-ma spisanego

[k. 23] Opisanie pałacu lezienskiego

Dziedziniec pałacu tego dotychczas bez żadnego ogrodzenia. Sam pałac o dwóch kontygnacjach [kondygacjach]. Dach na nim podwójny, nad który cztery kominy wywiedzione. Na obydwu rogach dachu wyższego gałki pozłociste kamienne. Do którego pałacu wchodząc drzwi między dwiema filarami kamiennymi. Nad drzwiami marmur wmurowany, na którym wyryta inscriptia

Me dulcis saturet quiei
obscuro persilus loco
leni perfruar otio⁶².

Nad temi filarami gałek kamiennych dwie. Wyżej cefra [cyfra] wyryta na kamieniu złotemi literami: J.W.Pana Przebendowskiego Pod. W.K. Wyżej nad obiema kondygacjami galeria kamienna, w której jest okien 3. Wokoło tej galerii ryn[n]y ołowiane. Na wierzchu herb JWW Ichm PP. Przebendowskich⁶³: w polu kamiennym złocistym, nad hełmem korona kamienna, z obudwu stron herbu stoją statuy kamienne.

Wchodząc do pałacu wschody kamienne o trzech gradusach w ramach kamiennych. Drzwi dębowe podwójne na czterech hakach żelaznych wielkich. Zamka wielki, dobry ze wszystkim. U tychże drzwi rękojeści pobielanego dwie. W sieni posadzka kamienna dobra, sufit jeszcze nieskończony, okien cztery, w których szyb stłuczonych jedynaste.

Z sieni idąc po prawej ręce do pierwszego pokoju, w ramach marmurowych drzwi podwójne ze wszystkim. W tym pokoju posadzka kamienna, piec z białych kafli na sześciu nogach kamiennych, z którego trąba blaszana od dymu, przez mur wywiedziona. Sufit cały, okien dwie, w których dwie szyby stłuczone.

Z tego pokoju idąc po lewej ręce drzwi także ze wszystkim w ramach dębowych. Za drzwiami ganek ciemny, w którym po prawej ręce drzwi do pieców dwoje, z tych jedna żelazne. Nad tymi drzwiami dwie dziury od dymu, u których

⁶² It is a somewhat distorted quotation from Act 2 of the tragedy by Lucius Seneca; in fact, it reads: "Me dulcis saturet quies. Obscuro positus loco leni perfruar otio" – in English: "May the sweet peace fill me up. Lying in a shadow, I would delight in the subtle rest." I thank Anna Appel for identifying this quotation and her help in translating it into Polish.

⁶³ The coats of arms of the Przebendowski family show a marten standing on its two legs and holding an apple in its front paws, with the royal crown above it, see: M. Dziercielski, op. cit. pp. 5–7.

drzwiczki żelazne. Po lewej ręce także drzwi od pieca żelazne jedne. Pod schodami z ganku idąc do garderoby drzwi puste w ramach dębowych, posadzka kamienna, sufitu nie masz, tylko sklepienie, okno jedno ze wszystkim, szyb stłuczonych dwie.

Z garderoby wyszed[ł]szy przez ganek i pokój pierwszy, drzwi ze wszystkim, w ramach dębowych, do pokoju drugiego, w którym posadzka kamienna cała, sufit cały, okien cztery ze wszystkim, szyb stłuczonych cztery. Piec z kafli białych na nogach sześciu kamiennych, przy piecu komin w ramach marmurowych.

Z tego pokoju idąc do gabinetu narożnego drzwi takież ze wszystkim w ramach dębowych, posadzka kamienna cała, w której dziura do sklepów [piwnic] bez wschodów i bez drzwi, sufit w niektórych miejscach nadpadany, okien trzy ze wszystkim, szyb spadanych sześć, jedna całe [zupełnie] stłuczona. Komin w ramach marmurowych.

[k. 23v] Powróciwszy z tych pokojów, po prawej ręce drugie drzwi z sieni ze wszystkim, w ramach marmurowych. Sień mała, w której posadzka kamienna, szyja do piwnicy z schodami dębowymi, u których drzwi nie masz, okno jedno, szyb stłuczonych dwie.

Drugi appartment dolny.

Idąc do dziedzińca z sieni, po lewej ręce do pierwszego pokoju drzwi puste w ramach marmurowych, sufit cały, okien dwie ze wszystkim, szyb wybitnych i stłuczonych dwie. Pieca, posadzki, komina nie masz.

Idąc do drugiego pokoju drzwi puste w ramach dębowych. W tym pokoju sufit skończony, komin w ramach marmurowych, okien cztery ze wszystkim, szyb wybitnych jedna, nadtluczonych cztery, pieca, posadzki nie masz.

Idąc do trzeciego pokoju drzwi puste w ramach dębowych, sufit cały, komin w ramach marmurowych, okien cztery ze wszystkim, szyb stłuczonych siedym, posadzki i pieca nie masz.

Z tego pokoju drzwi do gabinetu narożnego, w ramach dębowych, bez zamku. W tym gabinecie sufit miejscami poresowany [porysowany]. Okien trzy ze wszystkim, szyb wybitnych piętnaście, komin w ramach marmurowych, posadzki nie masz, tylko tarcicami [gabinet] wysłany.

Powracając z gabinetu przez pokój nazwany trzeci drzwi puste w ramach dębowych do pokoju czwartego, w którym sufit cały, okien dwie, szyb stłuczonych cztery, trzech kwatery całe nie masz, pieca, posadzki także nie masz.

Z tego pokoju wychodząc drzwi puste w ramach marmurowych, przy tych drzwiach drzwiczki puste małe, tylko haki żelazne, do ganku ciemnego, z którego schody drewniane idą na góre.

Wyższa contygnacya [kondygncja].

Idąc z sieni na góre wschody kamienne, w troje łamane całe, z poręczami, słupami, balasami kamiennymi. Sufit nad schodami cały, okno jedno, szyb wybitnych sześć, małych okien pobocznych trzy, te jeszcze puste, tylko ramy dębowe wmurowane.

Idąc do sali drzwi dębowe ze wszystkim, w ramach marmurowych. Tamże w sali kominów dwa w ramach marmurowych, okien wielkich sześć pustych, ramy tylko dębowe wmurowane, sufitu i posadzki nie masz.

Idąc od sali prosto od wschodów do pierwszego pokoju drzwi puste w ramach marmurowych, sufit cały, posadzka dębową, okien dwie ze wszystkim, szyb wybitnych dwanaście, spadanych sześć.

Do drugiego pokoju idąc drzwi ze wszystkim dębowe, w ramach dębowych. W tym pokoju sufit cały, posadzka dębową, komin w ramach dębowych, nad którym sztukateria, okien cztery, szyb wybitnych cztery, stłuczonych siedem.

Z tego pokoju drzwi do gabinetu narożnego, ze wszystkim, w ramach dębowych, sufit cały, posadzka dębową, komin w ramach marmurowych, nad nim sztukateria, okien trzy, szyb wybitnych osiem, spadanych cztery.

Z tego gabinetu idąc przez pokój napisany drugi do trzeciego [k. 24] pokoju drzwi dębowe ze wszystkim w ramach dębowych. W tym pokoju sufit cały, posadzka dębową, komin w ramach marmurowych, nad nim sztukateria, okien cztery, szyb wybitnych dwie, spadanych cztery.

Z tego pokoju idąc do czwartego drzwi dębowe bez zamku, w ramach dębowych. W tym pokoju sufit cały, posadzka dębową, okien dwie całych, komin nieskończony. Drzwi wielkie, ale puste, bo i ram nie masz, do ganku, z którego idą schody drewniane na dół do sieni. Na salę wychodząc drzwi puste w ramach marmurowych.

Drugi appartment górnny.

Z sali idąc od wschodów po lewej ręce do pokoju pierwszego drzwi ze wszystkim w ramach marmurowych, sufit cały, posadzka dębową, okien dwie całych. Po lewej ręce drzwi ze wszystkim w ramach dębowych do ganku, w którym jest drzwi żelaznych, małych cztery, od pieców. Od tego ganku są taki[e]ż drzwi ze wszystkim do ganku wąskiego, który idzie do schodów kamiennych. Ten ganek jeszcze nieskończony, bez poręczy. W tymże pokoju jest dziura od pieca z żelaznemi drzwiczkami.

Stąd idąc do drugiego pokoju drzwi ze wszystkim, w ramach dębowych. W tym pokoju sufit cały, posadzka dębową, okien całych cztery, komin w ramach marmurowych, nad nim sztukateria.

Idąc do trzeciego pokoju drzwi ze wszystkim w ramach dębowych. W tym pokoju jest alkowa z osobliwszym sufitem i posadzką dębową, jako i w pokoju. Okien wszystkich pięć, szyb napadanych sześć.

Z którego pokoju idąc do gabinetu narożnego drzwi ze wszystkim w ramach dębowych, sufit cały, posadzka dębową, okien trzy, szyb napadanych pięć, komin w ramach marmurowych, nad nim sztukateria.

Z tego apartamentu powracając przez salę do schodów kamiennych, na prawej ręce są drzwi ze wszystkim w ramach dębowych do schodów drewnianych, które idą pod dach. Wokoło tych schodów poręcze i balasy dębowe, dobre. Wszedłszy pod dach, po prawej ręce do gabinetu narożnego drzwi puste, w ramach dębo-

wych. W tym gabinecie sufit nieskończony, posadzki nie masz, okien trzy, [szyb] stłuczonych jedynaście.

Wychodząc z tego gabinetu, po lewej ręce idą okna ovalne, pierwsze ze wszystkim dobre, w drugim sześć szyb stłuczonych, trzecie ze wszystkim dobre, czwartego połowa wybita, w piątym dwie szyby stłuczone, w szóstym jedna szyba stłuczona, w siódmym siedem szyb stłuczonych, ósme, przy gabinecie narożnym, całe. Do tego gabinetu drzwi puste w ramach dębowych, sufit nieskończony, posadzki nie masz, okien trzy, szyb wybitych osiemnaście.

Wyszed[ł]szy z gabinetu, po lewej ręce dziewczęte okno ovalne, szyb stłuczonych cztery i rama u okna złamana. Dziesiąte okno puste, deskami zabite. Przyszed[ł]szy nad salę jest okien sześć ze wszystkim, w nich szyb stłuczonych czternaste. Nad tą salą sufit [k. 24v] nieskończony, tarhicami obity wokoło tego sufitu. Drzwi pustych cztery w ramach dębowych. Stąd wyszed[ł]szy jedynaste okno ovalne, puste, deskami zabite. Dwunaste całe ze wszystkim. Te okna wszystkie pod daszkami osobliwemi.

Dach nad pałacem cały, tylko podlepie miejscami poodpadał.

Na dół powróciwszy do sieni, drzwi także ze wszystkim jak pierwsze. Od dziedzińca nad drzwiami na marmurze inskrypcja:

Post exanclatos pro Republica labores hic locus quietis⁶⁴

Nad tą inskrypcją galeryjka mała z kratą żelazną. Wyżej rok złotą kościołową [rzymską] liczbą wyrażony. Wyżej jeszcze galeria kamienna, między dwiema koszami kamiennymi.

Piwnice pod pałacem dwie, jedna pod drugą, do których drzwi dębowe z zamkami i kluczami. Wokoło tych piwnic okna wszystkie z kratami żelaznymi.

TNT Oficina pierwsza

Z pałacu wyszed[ł]szy, po prawej ręce oficina pod dachem podwójnym, nad który cztery kominy wywiedzione. Dachówka nad gzymsem potłuczona i zwierchniej dachówka, alias gąsiorów, większej połowy nie masz. Dokąd wchodząc od pałacu najpierwsze drzwi w ramach dębowych, ze wszystkim. Okno nad drzwiami puste, krata nad nim żelazna, inszych [okien] cztery pustych. Połap [pułap?] do połowy nie skończony. Podłoga gliniana. Drzwi do kuchni ze wszystkim. Sama kuchnia sklepiona, przez którą pręty dwa żelazne na hakach żelaznych. We środku dziura, w niej krata żelazna od dymu. Okien sześć ze wszystkim, szyb wybitych trzy, ogniska małe dwie, magiel ze wszystkim, stołów trzy. Z tej kuchni piec piekarski z drzwiczками żelaznymi. Wychodząc do sieni drugiej drzwi ze wszystkim. Inszych drzwi różnych, ze wszystkim, troje, jedne bez zamków. Z tej sieni idą cztery izby całe puste, w oknach tylko ramy. W trzeciej sieni pustej jest troje drzwi. Z której wychodzi izba narożna, okien w niej cztery bez zawias i antabek, szyb wybitych dwie, połap miejscami wypadły. Z średniej sieni są wschody drewniane na

⁶⁴ Transl. comp. footnote 28.

góre pod dach, który jeszcze niezupełnie podlepiony. NB. w tej oficynie we wszystkich oknach kraty żelazne.

Oficyna druga

Z pałacu idąc, po lewej ręce, do pierwszej sieni drzwi ze wszystkim, nad którymi okno także ze wszystkim. W tej sieni posadzka kamienna i połap [pułap] dobry. Z tej sieni dwoje drzwi sosnowych, ze wszystkim, do izb. I najprzód, po lewej ręce, w izbie posadzka kamienna, połap dobry, piec z białych kafli dobry, komin dobry, okna cztery ze wszystkim. Za piecem drzwi sosnowe bez zamku. Stołów dwa. Z tejże sieni, po prawej ręce, izba, w której posadzka dębową, połap cały, [k. 25] okien dwie ze wszystkim, stołów dwa, piec biały na fundamencie murowanym, dobry. Przy nim komin z drzwiczками żelaznymi, bez zawias. Z tej izby drzwi, bez zamku, do drugiej izby, w której okno jedno dobre, ze wszystkim, posadzka drewniana, połap dobry. Z tej izby idą dwie komory, w których okna dobre i drzwi z klamkami. Do drugiej sieni wychodząc są drzwi ze wszystkim, nad którymi okno jedno dobre, posadzka kamienna, pułap [!] dobry. Na drugą stronę drzwi także z takim że oknem. Po lewej drzwi zabite, drugie z zamkiem, do kuchni. Z kuchni do izdebskiej [drzwi] bez zamku. W tej izdebcie okno jedno dobre. Po prawej ręce drzwi do izdebskiej, z zamkiem złym, okno jedno dobre, piec zielony dobry. Stąd idąc drzwi, po lewej ręce, do izdebskiej, z klamką. Po prawej ręce drzwi do izby wielkiej, także z klamką. W tej izbie okien cztery całych, posadzka kamienna, pułap w kącie odpadły, pieca nie masz, stołów dwa, drzwi wszystkich z klamkami cztery. W trzeciej sieni drzwi z zamkiem, dobre, nad którym [!] okno jedno dobre, posadzka kamienna. Po prawej ręce drzwi z zamkiem do izby narożnej, w której posadzka do połowy kamienna, okien cztery ze wszystkim, szyba jedna stłuczona, pułap w jednym miejscu wypadł, piec zielony dobry.

NB. Z średniej sieni idą wschody drewniane na góre pod dach. Tam jest drzwi troje bez zamków. Dach cały podlepow potrzebuje.

NB. Także i w tej oficynie okna generalnie wszystkie z kratami żelaznymi.

U JM Pana Chmielińskiego znajduje się:

Zamków ze wszystkim	N[umer]o	10
Zawias do drzwi	[No]	32
Zasuwanego drzwi u góry	No	16
Zawias do okiennic	[No]	92

[Zabudowania gospodarcze]

Za oficynami jest stodoła murowana pod dachem trzciną dekowanym, a na samym wierzchu dachówką pokrytym. Do tej stodoły z każdej strony jest wrót czworo, na hakach żelaznych i zawiasach, które się kłódkami zamykają. Z obu stron tej stodoły są stajnie pod dachówką. A najprzód idąc ze stodoły, po prawej ręce stajnia, do której drzwi wielkie. W tej stajni żłoby i drabiny dobre, podłoga miejscami

zła, po jednej stronie przegrody na konie. Dalej idąc są także drzwi do wozowni. Nad tąż stajnią i wozownią jest szpichlerz z dachem podlepiany i podłogą dobrze ułożoną. Okna z dachu wypuszczone drzewiane, na zawiasach. Z drugiej strony także stajni pod jednym dachem pięć, do których osobnych drzwi także pięć. W tych stajniach podłogi złe, w drugichcale nie masz, żłoby na ziemi leżą. Na górze szpichlerz, ze wszystkim podobny pierwszemu.

[k. 28v] Drzewa się znajduje.

Słupów dębowych przy stajni	No 57
Podwalin dębowych pod wozownią	12
Tamże tarci dębowych	16
Tamże sztuka drzewa, alias obladra	1
Murłatów, alias okapów do parkanu	30
Tarcic sosnowych	9
Pod folwarkiem drzewa obrobionego sosnowego	121
Tamże drzewo sosnowe nie obrobione	1
Kamieni ciosanych na dziedzińcu	4

Received 24th January 2016

Received in revised form 15th March 2016

Accepted 26th March 2016

Prof. dr hab. Jerzy Dygdała
Institute of History
Polish Academy of Sciences
e-mail: jdygdala@ihpan.edu.pl

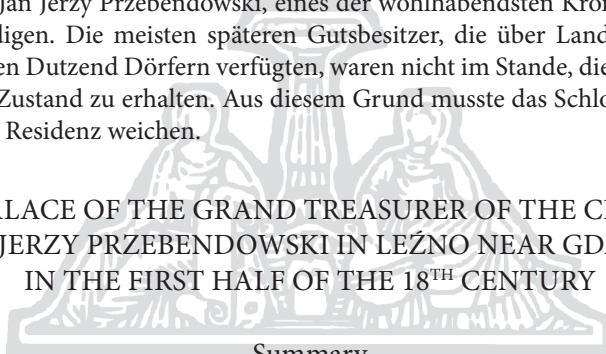
SCHLOSS DES GROSSKRONNSCHATZMEISTERS JAN JERZY PRZEBENDOWSKI IN LEESEN BEI DANZIG IN DER ERSTEN HÄLFTE DES 18. JH.

Zusammenfassung

Schlüsselwörter: Königliches Preußen, Barockschlösser, Magnaten, Landgüter

Im 18. und 19. Jh. erhab sich in Kl. Lessen (poln. Lezienko), heute ein Teil des Dorfes Leesen (poln. Leźno) bei Danzig (poln. Gdańsk), ein herrliches Barockschlöss und zugleich das größte Schloss im Königlichen Preußen. Es wurde 1884 errichtet. Später wurde an seiner Stelle ein deutlich kleineres Schloss im Stil der Neorenaissance erbaut, das bis heute erhalten geblieben ist und aktuell ein Hotel beherbergt. Das Schloss war für den Großkronschatzmeister Jan Jerzy Przebendowski, den damals wohlhabendsten Magnaten im Königlichen Preußen vorgesehen. Im Nationalen Historischen Archiv Weißrusslands in Minsk befinden sich unter den Akten aus der Zeit nach Radziwill Materialien aus dem 18. Jh. über die Güter in Leesen, u.a. ein Inventar des Schlosses aus dem Jahre 1730 und

eine Aufstellung seiner Baukosten. Die beiden Quellen wurden im vorliegenden Beitrag veröffentlicht. Man kann ihnen entnehmen, dass die Bauarbeiten am Schloss 1717 aufgenommen und 1726 praktisch eingestellt wurden. Insgesamt verschlangen sie 183 926 polnische Zloty und 6 Groschen (23 000 damalige Taler). Im Lichte des Inventars aus dem Jahre 1730 unterliegt es keinem Zweifel, dass damals ein Teil der Schlossräume in Leesen gar nicht fertig gestellt war. Sogar in den bezugsfertigen Zimmern gab es praktisch keine Möbelstücke, Gemälde, Teppiche oder Polster. Dies ist darauf zurückzuführen, dass sich Jan Jerzy Przebendowski (gest. 1729) am Ende seines Lebens statt im Königlichen Preußen viel lieber auf seinen Landgütern in Großpolen und Warschau aufhielt, wo er auch einen großen, hervorragend ausgestatteten Palast besaß. Erst die späteren Eigentümer von Kl. Lessen – Dorota Henrietta Bielińska, geb. Przebendowska (die Tochter des Schatzmeisters) sowie Ignacy Przebendowski und Felicita Przebendowska, geb. Wielkopolska – nahmen die Fertigungsarbeiten in den Schlossinnenräumen auf, so dass sie dann auch beziehbar waren. In der zweiten Hälfte des 18. und im 19. Jh. gehörte der Palast der Familie Grabowski, Helffenstein und Höne. Zweifelsohne sollte der alte Palast in Leesen den Wunsch des Schatzmeisters Jan Jerzy Przebendowski, eines der wohlhabendsten Kronmagnaten, nach Prestige befriedigen. Die meisten späteren Gutsbesitzer, die über Landgüter in einigen oder einem guten Dutzend Dörfern verfügten, waren nicht im Stande, dieses enorme Bauwerk in gutem Zustand zu erhalten. Aus diesem Grund musste das Schloss einer deutlich bescheideneren Residenz weichen.



THE PALACE OF THE GRAND TREASURER OF THE CROWN – JAN JERZY PRZEBENDOWSKI IN LEŽNO NEAR GDAŃSK IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 18TH CENTURY

Summary

Key words: Royal Prussia, baroque palaces, magnates, estates

In the 18th century and throughout most of the 19th century an awe-inspiring Baroque palace – the biggest in Royal Prussia – was erected in Lezienko, now part of the village of Leźno near Gdańsk. It was dismantled in 1884, and in its place a new, much smaller Neo-Renaissance palace was built; it has survived until now and functions as a hotel. The palace was built for the richest magnate in Royal Prussia, the Grand Treasurer of the Crown Jan Jerzy Przebendowski. In the National Historical Archive of Belarus in Minsk, in the complex of the post-Radziwiłł files, there are materials from the 18th century concerning the estates in Leźno – for example, the inventory of the palace made in 1730 and the register of the construction costs. Both sources are published in this article. According to the sources, the construction work on the palace commenced in 1717 and was suspended in 1726. It cost 183 926 Polish zlotys and 6 cents (23 000 of thalers). In the light of the inventory of 1730 there is no doubt that some rooms in the Lezno palace had not been finished yet. Even in the rooms which were prepared for use, there was no furniture, tapestry or carpets. The reason for this was the fact that at the end of his life, Jan Jerzy Przebendowski (who died in 1729) spent more time in his estates in Greater Poland and Warsaw, where he had a large, fabulously equipped palace. It was not until the subsequent owners of Lezienko,

Dorota Henrietta Bielińska nee Przebendowska (the treasurer's daughter) and Ignacy Przebendowski with his wife Felicyta Przebendowska nee Wielkopolska undertook to finish the work on the palace to make it suitable to reside. Later, in the second half of the 18th century and in the 19th century the palace belonged to the families of the Grabowskis, Helffensteins and Hoenes. It is beyond doubt that the old palace in Lezienko was to satisfy the lust for prestige of one of the most affluent magnates of the crown – Jan Jerzy Przebendowski. The majority of subsequent owners, who owned several villages, were not in a position to maintain the huge building. Thus, the palace had to give way to a more modest mansion.

