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## DEMOGRAPHIC SITUATION OF TYKOCIN IN 1661-1676 BASED ON TAX REGISTERS

Słowa kluczowe: *Tykocin, Podlasie, demografia, potop szwedzki, miasto*

Key words: *Tykocin, Podlasie, demography, the Swedish flood, town*

The purpose of the following article is to present a demographic situation of the city of Tykocin after 1660, i.e. after the war of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth with Sweden and the invasion of this city by the Muscovite troops. During that period, Tykocin experienced a huge crisis caused by destruction and depopulation, which is demonstrated by comparing the city's situation in the second half of the 16th and the second half of the 17th century. The study is based on the tax sources from 1661-1662 and 1673-1676, which are simultaneously the years of a chronological scope of the article. The text is to outline the presented topic and be the basis for further, detailed research on the historical demography of the mentioned city of Podlasie.

Tykocin is a picturesque town in the Podlasie Voivodship, which, despite not being widely known, has played several times an important role in the history of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. One of such significant episodes concerned the time of the war known in the historiography under a name of "deluge", which war took place between the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Sweden.

Tykocin fortress constructed by King Zygmunt August and later expanded by the starosts – Piotr Wiesiołowski and Krzysztof Wiesiołowski – was additionally strengthened by Swedes and, allied with them, the Birżan line of the Radziwiłł family, which made it virtually impossible to be conquered<sup>1</sup>. The troops faithful to King

<sup>1</sup> See: *Tykocin – zamek nad Narwią (XV-XVIII w.). Badania archeologiczne w latach 1961-1963 i 1999-2007*, ed. M. and W. Bis, Warszawa 2015.

Jan Kazimierz took the stronghold only as a result of the third siege. The soldiers of the Great Hetman of Lithuania, Paweł Jan Sapieha, thanks to the assault of 27th January 1657, conquered four fortified points in Tykocin: a hospital for veterans (the so-called Alumnat) and, surrounded with a rampart, granary of the city, a Bernardine convent on the first island on the Narew river and a fortress on the second island<sup>2</sup>. This was not the end of the war struggle as, in July 1657, the fortress was taken over by the Brandenburg troops. They left it after the Treaty of Welawa was signed by the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth and Brandenburg<sup>3</sup>. At the beginning of 1660, the invasion of the Moscow troops of Knyaz Ivan Chowański took place. On November 4 1660, the Muscovite army stopped in Zabłudów, from which place its units were released. One of them reached Tykocin and made a significant damage<sup>4</sup>.

During the war, especially during the sieges and marches of troops, the civil population (exposed to requisitions and lawlessness of soldiers) suffered most. Just in December 1655, Radziwiłł soldiers seized in Tykocin, among others, 53 cows and heifers, 337 pigs and hogs, as well as 168 sheep, 19 horses and 67 oxen. All losses from that month were estimated to the amount of over 13,000 zlotys, and this was only the beginning of the war struggle<sup>5</sup>. The numbers themselves seem large, for a small city. Tykocin lay on an important road connecting The Grand Duchy of Lithuania with the Polish Crown, where the armies very often passed, and each time the townspeople had to make up for the maintenance and forage of these units; besides, the troops in the castle also persisted at the expense of the city's population<sup>6</sup>. As a result, it is hard to imagine the enormity of material losses and impoverishment of the population after 1660<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> *Relacja obrotów wojennych pod Tykocinem r. 1656*, pub. O. Laskowski, "Przegląd Historyczno-Wojskowy" 1938, vol. X, pp. 255-257.

<sup>3</sup> S. Augustowicz, *Działania wojsk brandenburskich na północno-wschodnim Mazowszu i Podlasiu wiosną i latem 1657 r.*, "Studia i Materiały do Historii Wojskowości" 2007, vol. XLIII, pp. 79, 82-85; J. Płoskiński, *Potop szwedzki na Podlasiu*, Zabrze 2006, p. 163.

<sup>4</sup> B. Radziwiłł to J.A. Morsztyn, Królewiec 6 I 1660, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych (The Central Archives of Historical Records in Warsaw) [AGAD], Archiwum Radziwiłłów (Archives of Radziwiłłs), journal no. VI, box 36 i 37/II-82, p. 162; A. Kochański, *526 lat dziejów miasta Tykocina na tle historii Polski*, Białystok 2010, pp. 238-239; K. Kossarzewski, *Kampania roku 1660 na Litwie*, Zabrze 2005, pp. 95-99, 122, 144; W. Murawiec, *Tykocin*, [in:] *Klasztory bernardyńskie w Polsce w jej granicach historycznych*, ed. H. Wyczawski, Kalwaria Zebrzydowska 1985, p. 393. For the exact course of armed conflicts in Tykocin in 1655-1660 see: M. Sierba, *Tykocin podczas "potopu" szwedzkiego*, [in:] *Spes in virtute, salus in victoria*, ed. A. and J. Gładysz, D. Lipska, Lublin-Zabrze 2014, pp. 95-107.

<sup>5</sup> AGAD, Archiwum Roskie (Roskie Archive), Akta Prawno-Majątkowe (Legal and Property Files), ref. no. 368, pp. 19-24. These calculations seem to be overstated.

<sup>6</sup> See, among others: A. Kochański, *526 lat dziejów miasta...*, pp. 50-51.

<sup>7</sup> In 1659, the society of Tykocin delegated a commander of the fortress to the king asking for exemption from taxes due to the poverty of the local population. A. Kochański, *526 lat dziejów miasta...*, p. 106. For more information about situation in Podlasie after the war see: I. Grochowska, *Klęski elementarne na Podlasiu na przełomie XVII-XVIII w.*, "Białostoczczyzna" 1993, No. 2, pp. 9-16; A. Laszuk, *Ludność województwa podlaskiego w drugiej połowie XVII w.*, Warszawa 1999; eadem, *Straty niektórych miast podlaskich po wojnach połowy XVII w.*, "Białostoczczyzna" 1992, No. 2, pp. 1-4;

In 1661, Tykocin and the Tykocin starost passed into private hands of Stefan Czarniecki and after his death it became the property of his daughter Katarzyna Aleksandra Branicka née Czarniecka and her husband Jan Klemens Branicki. After the death of Jan Klemens (d. 1673) the property was managed independently by Katarzyna Aleksandra and then in cooperation with her son, Stefan Mikołaj Branicki.

After this brief introduction, let's discuss information from tax sources from the second half of the 17th century. We are in a possession of six such sources: the register of a roof tax (PL: podymne) from 1661, a poll tax (PL: pogłównne) of 1662, 1673, 1674, 1675 and 1676<sup>8</sup>. The second register is the most accurate of all; therefore, it should call the biggest attention, which does not mean that the remaining ones can be omitted. The number of inhabitants in the case of poll tax registers is calculated according to the method set by Egon Vielrose, i.e. all the persons mentioned in the list are multiplied by 1.66. This multiplier is to evaluate the persons omitted in the register – including old, poor people and children under the age of 11<sup>9</sup>.

The register from 1661 is very brief and says that in Tykocin “52 homes paid. Fealty of 463 houses”<sup>10</sup>. The number 463 is inscribed in the empty houses section<sup>11</sup>. The register from 1662 mentions at least 365 Christians living in the city. If we decide to use Egon Vielrose's method, the total Christian population in Tykocin averaged out at approx. 610 people. The register contains 183 Christians in the category of “*plebei status bourgeois*”<sup>12</sup>, 157 as those who live in a Alumnat – a military shelter for veterans<sup>13</sup>. In addition, a separate register mentions Franciszek Wołczyński – a trustee priest of the Tykocin parish, a bachelor with his wife and trustee priest's

J. Topolski, *Wpływ wojen połowy XVII w. na sytuację ekonomiczną Podlasia*, [in:] *Studia Historica. W 35-lecie pracy naukowej Henryka Łowmiańskiego*, Warszawa 1958, pp. 309-349.

<sup>8</sup> AGAD, Archiwum Skarbu Koronnego (Archive of the Crown Treasury) [ASK], records no. I – tax registers, ref. no. 65, p. 859v; ref. no. 70, pp. 379-380, 681v, 684-686, 695, 744v-745v, 788-788v, 807, 845-848v, 902, 905v, 939-942; Zbiór Ignacego Kapicy Milewskiego “Kapicjana” (Collection of Ignacy Kapicy Milewski “Kapicjana”) [Kapicjana], ref. no. 42, p. 466; Biblioteka Czartoryskich (The Czartoryski Library) [BCz], ref. no. 1099, pp. 717-718, 741, 748.

<sup>9</sup> E. Vielrose, *Ludność Polski od X do XVIII w.*, “Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej” 1957, vol. V, No. 1, pp. 19-20. Marek Mrówczyński also used Vielrose method for Tykocin research but he didn't include among others the Jewish register in 1662. M.T. Mrówczyński, *Ludność i gospodarka Tykocina w XVI-XVIII w.*, [in:] *Spółeczeństwo staropolskie*, vol. III, ed. A. Wyczański, Warszawa 1983, p. 162. There are also other propositions of multipliers. Irena Gieysztorowa and after her Cezary Kuklo suggest that the multiplier could be 2 or higher. I. Gieysztorowa, *Wstęp do demografii staropolskiej*, Warszawa 1976, pp. 192-196; eadem, *Źródła i szacunki w badaniach osadnictwa i demografii Polski XVI i XVII w.*, “Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej” 1962, No. 3-4, vol. X, pp. 575-593; C. Kuklo, *Demografia Rzeczypospolitej przedrozbiorowej*, Warszawa 2009, p. 88. In opinion of Zenon Guldon 40% of people didn't pay that tax. Z. Guldon, K. Wajda, *Źródła statystyczne do dziejów Pomorza Wschodniego i Kujaw od XVI do początków XX w.*, Toruń 1970, p. 46. Anna Laszuk claim that 50% of people in Podlasie didn't pay tax in 1662. A. Laszuk, *Ludność województwa...*, p. 41.

<sup>10</sup> Original Polish version: “Zapłacono z domów 52. Jurament na domów 463”.

<sup>11</sup> AGAD, ASK, records no. I – tax registers, ref. 65, p. 859v.

<sup>12</sup> Originally: “*mieszczanie plebei status*”.

<sup>13</sup> For more about Alumnat in the 17th century, see: M. Sierba, *Tykociński przytułek wojskowy w XVII w. – funkcje społeczne i militarne*, “Acta Universitatis Lodziensis. Folia Historica” 2015, No. 95, pp. 89-98.

servants: a hostess and a journeyman. These five people lived in an ecclesiastical property outlawed on the basis of church immunity. It seems puzzling that in the military hospital, according to the register, 157 people were to live, since it was originally intended for 12 noblemen. Most likely, the writers made a mistake and oversight because under the heading “in a military hospital”<sup>14</sup> on the card no. 685 there are 12 names but the other side of the card was not started with any heading, which creates the wrong impression that the people listed on the card no. 685v also lived in Alumnat. It is also difficult to imagine that people listed as “plague stricken”<sup>15</sup>, i.e. infected with some epidemic disease, lived in one building with such a big number of people and were not removed from it for fear of the pest. Four such people have been listed on the card no. 685v. If the course of this reasoning is correct, among the above-mentioned 157 people listed in the register, 45 lived in Alumnat and 112 lived outside its limits<sup>16</sup>. In addition, they were plebeians and so in my opinion at least 12 veterans of noblemen living in Alumnat and not listed in the register must be added. In total, there were 66 Christian houses in the city<sup>17</sup>. This source does not give us any information regarding the number of monks in the Bernardine monastery<sup>18</sup>. Under the heading “register of brewers, winemakers and Jewish women”<sup>19</sup> there are 31 people. It can be expected that all eight of the girls mentioned there were Christians. The rest concern vintners and Jewish brewers.

The castle was inhabited by the subprefect Gorzejewski, who had at his disposal 5 members of servants: 2 noblemen and 3 plebeians. In addition, the castle was resided by Samuel Gorzkowski, the commandant of the fortress, and “people from free trustee regiments, together with gunsmiths”<sup>20</sup>. We do not know how many of them there were all together<sup>21</sup>.

For Jewish people, we have a separate “register of the Jews of Tykocin and the village of Dolistowo, Złotoria”<sup>22</sup>. The source mentions 187 Jews, that is, according to the conversion factor of E. Vielrose, ca. 310 people. In total, they lived in 67 houses; however, nine times the situation occurred when in one house two families lived together<sup>23</sup>.

According to the poll tax register from 1662, 547 taxpayers plus 12 veterans are listed jointly in the city and in the castle<sup>24</sup>, which gives us, with the conversion of

<sup>14</sup> Original Polish version: “W szpitalu żołnierskim”.

<sup>15</sup> Original Polish version: “zapowietrzone”.

<sup>16</sup> AGAD, ASK, records no. I – tax registers, ref. no. 70, pp. 681v, 684-686.

<sup>17</sup> This summary does not include a seminary, church estates, as well as brewers, winemakers and women serving Jews.

<sup>18</sup> For more information about Bernardines of Tykocin see: W. Murawiec, *Tykocin...*, pp. 392-396.

<sup>19</sup> Original Polish version: “Rejestr piwowarów, winników i dziewczek żydowskich”.

<sup>20</sup> Original Polish version: “z ludźmi z wolnych regimentów komenderowanemi, również z puszkami”.

<sup>21</sup> AGAD, ASK, records no. I – tax registers, ref. no. 70, p. 684.

<sup>22</sup> Original Polish version: “Rejestr Żydów Tykocina i wsi Dolistowo, Złotoria”.

<sup>23</sup> AGAD, ASK, records no. I – tax registers, ref. no. 70, pp. 744v-745v.

<sup>24</sup> This does not include the castle’s crew, the number of which we do not know; only Commandant Samuel Gorzkowski was added.

E. Vielrose<sup>25</sup>, approx. 920 people. It is not even half of the population comparing to the city population itself in 1571 because approx. 2,280 people lived in Tykocin at that time<sup>26</sup>. The number of people in 1662 amounted to only 40% of the state from 1571. An even greater contrast arises when we assume that in the quiet, for Tykocin, first half of the 17th century, population was systematically growing<sup>27</sup>. The number of 515 empty and paying tax houses in the register of 1661 may be an indication of the number of people before the war with Sweden, which, with the conversion rate of 6 people per house, would give almost 3,100 people<sup>28</sup>. In 1664, the number of residents was to be reduced again due to prevailing plague<sup>29</sup>.

Let's move to the review of the next poll tax register, this time from 1673. It is less detailed than the one from 1662. It is generally stated that the mayor of Tykocin, Tomasz Pokrasa, paid the poll tax for 705 people. According to the source, there was a castle house in the city, in which 7 people of a plebeian origin lived and who were not included in these 705. Most probably, it was the house of a treasurer (PL: ekonom), which was not exactly in the city but in the territory of the fortress. In the total of 705 people, 8 Bernardine monks and 17 plebeian inhabitants of Alumnat were not included either. At least 12 ex-soldiers, for whom there was a statutory place in the hospital for veterans, should be added to these 17 burghers. This gives a total of 742 taxpayers living in the city<sup>30</sup>. Using a conversion factor of 1.66, it gives about 1,220 people<sup>31</sup>. The number of people would be probably higher, if not

<sup>25</sup> This conversion does not include the veterans from Alumnat but they were added to the final sum.

<sup>26</sup> AGAD, ASK, records no. LVI, ref. no. 292, pp. 6-37; Archiwum Narodowe w Krakowie (National Archives in Kraków), Zbiór Zygmunta Glogera (Collection of Zygmunt Gloger), ref. no. 527, pp. 11-47. This number was obtained by multiplying by 6 the number of 380 plots with a seated area. P. Guzowski, R. Poniat, *Przeliczniki demograficzne w szacunkach zaludnienia miast w Królestwie Polskim w drugiej połowie XVI w.*, "Przeszłość Demograficzna Polski" 2015, vol. XXXVII, No. 2, p. 90. It should be noted that in the second half of the 16th century there was no Alumnat, in which in 1662 at least 57 people lived; additionally, in the inventory from 1571, there were no people who lived in the castle and on the Church land, which further increased the contrast between the number of population in 1571 and 1662.

<sup>27</sup> In 1634 Tykocin paid a double roof tax of 176 zlotys, 47 zlotys of the property tax (PL: szos) were paid from empty and settled lands, and 56 zlotys from craftsmen and peddlers. It was more than in Brańsk, Suraż, Narew, Rajgród, and Augustów. In Bielsk Land at that time more was paid from Bielsk, Kleszczele, Knyszyn and Goniądz. However, some of them probably also included villages in their suburbs. The triple roof tax was preserved from 1635. There, Tykocin paid 314 zlotys, 23 zlotys of the property tax were paid from empty and settled lands, and 28 zlotys from craftsmen and peddlers. It was less than Bielsk, Kleszczele and Goniądz only in Bielsk Land. Archiwum Państwowe w Białymstoku (State Archive in Białystok), *Księgi grodzkie i ziemskie podlaskie* (Books of Podlasie courts), *Księga grodzka brańska 1640-1641*, pp. 25-25v, 41v-42.

<sup>28</sup> AGAD, ASK, records no. I – tax registers, ref. no. 65, p. 859v. It seems, however, an overstated number.

<sup>29</sup> S. Jamiołkowski, *Tykocin*, "Przegląd Katolicki" 1879, No. 43, p. 699.

<sup>30</sup> AGAD, ASK, records no. I – tax registers, ref. no. 70, pp. 807-807v.

<sup>31</sup> This conversion does not include the veterans from Alumnat and Bernardine monks but they were added to the final sum.

for a fire. On April 20 1672, the victims of fire containing 25 houses and farms, as well as a Uniate Church, were listed in the municipal court register of Brańsk<sup>32</sup>.

The register from 1673 gives us much more information about the inhabitants of the fortress and its crew. A property governor, Maciej Pniewski, lived with his wife in a treasurer house. There were 17 people living in the fortress, apart from soldiers and their wives. The crew of Tykocin commanded by Ensign (PL: chorąży) Adam Jurowski consisted of 20 people, 11 of whom had wives with them. It is a total of 50 people, which with a conversion factor of 1.66 gives approx. 80 people<sup>33</sup>.

In total, 792 taxpayers were calculated to live in the city and in the castle, which gives approx. 1300 people<sup>34</sup>. Jerzy Topolski suggests a higher conversion rate than 1.66 for the registers from 1673-1674. He states, on the basis of a comparison of the registers from 1662 and 1673-1674 in the Suraż district, that the population of this area, according to the records of the 1670s, fell by approx. 10%. J. Topolski proposes that the obtained result of multiplying the number of people by 1.66 should be increased by at least 10%<sup>35</sup>. As we can see from the above numbers in Tykocin, the situation looked a bit different because there is a slight increase in population. It is not large, which, despite some objections, may lead to the use of the solutions proposed by J. Topolski<sup>36</sup>. Then, the number of inhabitants would amount to approx. 1430 people. The safest option will be to use the scope of a possible number of inhabitants, ranging from 1300 to 1430 people.

The register from 1674 is similarly constructed, but it is even more prudent in transmitting information. It is available in three versions. There were 492 Christians of both sexes paying tax in the city. This sum does not include the inhabitants of Alumnat and the presbytery. In the soldiers' hospital, there lived "except for the soldiers of the injured plebeians"<sup>37</sup> 14 of them. As in the case of 1673, we should add at least 12 veterans here. In addition, we also need to take into account Trustee Priest Franciszek Wołczyński and those living on the Church land (at that time, 9 people). 225 Jews lived in the city. In addition, there were 92 people called "loose people"<sup>38</sup>, who may have been servants of Jews and Christians<sup>39</sup>. In addition, the register states that the Jews of Tykocin paid for 30 poor people, which was included in a separate

<sup>32</sup> Narodowe Archiwum Historyczne Białorusi w Mińsku (National Historical Archives of Belarus in Minsk), f. 1708, op. 1, ref. no. 49, pp. 158v-159.

<sup>33</sup> AGAD, ASK, records no. I – tax registers, ref. no. 70, p. 788-788v.

<sup>34</sup> This conversion does not include the veterans from Alumnat and Bernardine monks but they were added to the final sum.

<sup>35</sup> J. Topolski, *Gospodarka polska a europejska w XVI-XVII w.*, Poznań 1977, p. 138.

<sup>36</sup> For a critique of calculations and conversion factors in calculating population based on the records from the 1670s in comparison with a more accurate inventory of goods, see Orla estates in Podlasie: M. Sierba, *Radziwiłłowskie dobra Orla (1585-1695)*, Białystok 2017, pp. 117-128.

<sup>37</sup> Original Polish version: "Oprócz żołnierzy pokaleczonych plebejów".

<sup>38</sup> Original Polish version: "ludzie luźni".

<sup>39</sup> One of the versions of the register provides information of 92 tramps, which coincides with the register from 1675, mentioned below. AGAD, ASK, records no. I – tax registers, ref. no. 70, pp. 902, 905v. The other two say that 92 people concerned the Christian and Jewish servants of both sexes. AGAD, ASK, records no. I – tax registers, ref. no. 70, pp. 845, 847v, 939, 941v-942.

document<sup>40</sup>. This gives a total of 875 taxpayers, that is, according to the conversion rate of 1.66, approx. 1440 people and, according to J. Topolski's proposal, approx. 1590 people<sup>41</sup>.

The castle was inhabited by Krzysztof Stanisław Mokrzycki – the court servant of Bielsk Land, who had 3 noblemen at his disposal. Apart from him, property governor – Maciej Pniewski and his wife lived in the fortress. Among his servants he had 4 noblemen and 35 plebeians. We do not know the number of the fortress's crew but it can be suspected that its number has not changed since 1673 and that some wives still lived with a part of the soldiers. Therefore, I suggest rewriting the number from the previous year, i.e. 20 soldiers and 11 women. This gives 76 taxpayers in the fortress.

In total, ca. 950 taxpayers were in the fortress and the city, which, according to the multiplier of 1.66, amounts to approx. 1570 people and, with the addition of 10%, gives approx. 1730<sup>42</sup>. Therefore, just like in 1673, it will be safer to use the population range of approx. 1570-1730 people.

The copy of Ignacy Kapica Milewski from the municipal court register of Goniądz states that in 1675 there were 772 people in total in Tykocin, 455 of whom were Christians, 225 Jews and 92 tramps<sup>43</sup>. With a multiplier of 1.66 it gives approx. 1280 people and, if we apply J. Topolski's proposal, approx. 1410. It seems, however, that the number is too small. It is possible that one of the categories was omitted while writing the register or that one of them was not included. Probably, only the number of people living in the city was included here, excluding at the same time the inhabitants of the fortress and Alumnat, which is why such a low number came out. If we add data concerning Alumnat and the fortress from the previous year to the number 772, it appears that in Tykocin in 1675, altogether, there could be approx. 860 taxpayers. With a multiplier of 1.66 it gives ca. 1420 people and, according to J. Topolski's assumptions, approx. 1560<sup>44</sup>. The decline of population in 1674 may have been caused by two factors. The first could be the carelessness of the writer. The second could be connected with an invasion of the Lithuanian army in Tykocin in April 1674 and, before 21 January 1675, the army from Wołyń causing further damages<sup>45</sup>. This register was written in February 1675.

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<sup>40</sup> AGAD, ASK, records no. I – tax registers, ref. no. 70, p. 857. This register, most probably, does not exist any longer as it is not among the written files.

<sup>41</sup> This conversion does not include the veterans from Alumnat but they were added to the final sum.

<sup>42</sup> This conversion does not include the veterans from Alumnat but they were added to the final sum.

<sup>43</sup> AGAD, Kopicjana, ref. no. 42, p. 466.

<sup>44</sup> This conversion does not include the veterans from Alumnat but they were added to the final sum.

<sup>45</sup> AGAD, Kopicjana, ref. no. 42, pp. 333, 461, 465, 472.

Table 1

## Population of Tykocin in the years 1662-1675

Year	The number of taxpayers			Number of people (multiplier 1.66)	Number of people (according to J. Topolski's assumptions)
	In the castle	In the city	In total		
1662	7*	552**	559	920***	–
1673	50	742**	792	1300***	1430
1674	76	875**	950	1570***	1730
1675	76	784**	860	1420***	1560

Based on: AGAD, ASK, record I – tax registers, ref. no. 70, pp. 379, 681v, 684-686, 695, 744v-745v, 788-788v, 807, 845, 847v, 939, 941v-942; Kapićjana, ref. no. 42, p. 466

\* Not counting the castle crew, which number we do not know

\*\* This number includes 12 veterans from alumnat

\*\*\* This conversion does not include the veterans from alumnat but they were added to the final sum

According to the register of 1676, there were 606 taxpayers in Tykocin, including 356 Christian, 203 Jewish and 47 Christian servants of Jews. Trustee Priest Michał Wołczyński and 42 people lived on the land of the parish and the Church grange of Popowlany. The fortress was inhabited by a “castle burgrave”<sup>46</sup> Wawrzyniec Boryński and his wife, 11 plebeian servants and 34 soldiers<sup>47</sup>. We do not know the reasons of such a drastic reduction in population. Perhaps, the register is incomplete, as suggested by Anatol Leszczyński, comparing the records from 1674 and 1676, where the number of taxpayers in Boćki and Orla of Bielsk Land fell almost by half during these two years<sup>48</sup>. Therefore, the data contained in this register are not reliable.

Comparing the number of inhabitants in the second half of the 16th century and in the years 1662-1675, it can be noticed that in the second half of the 17th century, there were fewer of them, which is understandable in the face of the bloody war struggles that had just ended. The largest decrease in population is indicated in the register of 1662, which presents a drop in the number of population by 60% comparing to 1571<sup>49</sup>. Subsequent registers show a population increase, which is not synon-

<sup>46</sup> Original Polish version: “burgrabia zamkowy”.

<sup>47</sup> BCz, ref. no. 1099, pp. 717-718, 741, 748.

<sup>48</sup> A. Leszczyński, *Żydzi ziemi bielskiej od połowy XVII w. do 1795 r.*, Wrocław 1980, p. 31.

<sup>49</sup> To compare effects of war between Poland and Sweden in Podlasie and other territories of Poland see: I. Gieyszotowa, *Zniszczenia i straty wojenne oraz ich skutki na Mazowszu*, [in:] *Polska w okresie drugiej wojny północnej*, vol. II, ed. K. Lepszy, Warszawa 1957, pp. 307-343; A. Haratym, K. Kossarzewski, M. Nagielski, Ł. Przybyłek, *Zniszczenia szwedzkie na terenie Korony w okresie potopu 1655-1660*, Warszawa 2015; S. Hoszowski, *Zniszczenia w czasie wojny*

ymous with the increase in the number of the citizens. In this case, the representatives of a so-called loose population are essential, who were calculated in 1674 and 1675 for 92 people. These were people deprived of city rights and living only temporarily there<sup>50</sup>. In addition, the number of residents slowly increased, which is associated not only with the birth rate, but also the return of families who fled from Tykocin during wars and epidemics.

In comparison with the second half of the 16th century, the percentage ratio of the number of Jews in the city to the entire population of the city changes. In 1571 they constituted approx. 16%. In 1662, it was at least 33%, in 1674, it was about 30%. This was the result not only of the decline in the number of Christian residents of the city, but also the Jewish poor who settled in Tykocin. The Jews of Tykocin, after the wars with Sweden and Moscow, had a problem with Jewish vagrants and immigrants because they could not cope with their inflow. In 1667, the qahal of Tykocin sent a complaint in this matter to the Sejm of Jews of the Polish Crown. It was complained that the Jews of the Tykocin qahal had problems with getting food because of the settlement of many Jewish arrivals from the outside. We do not know whether they settled in Tykocin or only within the limits of the qahal, although the data from the records may suggest that some of the poor lived in the city. In about 1669 The Sejm of the Polish Crown Jews allowed the Tykocin community "to pay attention to people inhabited in all the villages of Podlasie and the unpleasant ones could be pursued and removed"<sup>51</sup>. The inflow of Jewish emigrants to Bielsk Land was to be stopped only during the Third Northern War<sup>52</sup>.

According to the register from 1662, in Tykocin, we had 73 Christian hosts (in 9 cases 2 hosts were in 1 house), 1 widow housekeeper and 1 position where the Christian peasant were listed and thus – probably 66 houses<sup>53</sup>. Among the Jewish population there were 68 hosts (including 7 cases where 2 lived in one estate) and 6 housewives, which means that Jews lived in 67 houses<sup>54</sup>. In total, there were 133 houses, excluding Alumnat, church estates and the fortress. It was not even half of Tykocin buildings from 1571. This indicates that there was a big damage to the town's wooden buildings and the inability to reconstruct them quickly.

The second half of the 17th century, and especially the years 1655-1660, is a very difficult time in the history of Tykocin. As a result of the wars, the city and the castle

*szwedzkiej na terenie Prus Królewskich*, [in:] *Polska w okresie drugiej wojny północnej...*, pp. 383-427; A. Kamiński, *Zniszczenia wojenne w Małopolsce i ich skutki w okresie najazdu szwedzkiego 1655-1660*, [in:] *Polska w okresie drugiej wojny północnej...*, pp. 345-381; A. Laszuk, *Straty niektórych miast...*, pp. 1-5; Z. Romaniuk, *Straty na Podlasiu w czasie potopu na przykładzie starostwa brańskiego*, "Białostoczczyzna" 1997, No. 1, pp. 46-63; W. Rusiński, *Straty i zniszczenia w czasie wojny szwedzkiej oraz jej skutki na obszarze Wielkopolski*, [in:] *Polska w okresie drugiej wojny północnej...*, pp. 261-306; J. Topolski, *Wpływ wojen...*, pp. 309-349.

<sup>50</sup> For more on this subject see: B. Baranowski, *Ludzie gościńca w XVII-XVIII w.*, Łódź 1986.

<sup>51</sup> Original Polish version: "by uważała, na ludzi zamieszkałych we wszystkich wsiach Podlasia, a niemitych im mogą ścigać i usuwać".

<sup>52</sup> A. Leszczyński, *Żydzi ziemi bielskiej...*, pp. 29-30, 33.

<sup>53</sup> AGAD, ASK, records no. I – tax registers, ref. no. 70, pp. 681v, 684-685v.

<sup>54</sup> Ibidem, pp. 744v-745.

were destroyed but, first and foremost, the number of inhabitants decreased considerably, which was connected with the economic decline of the city. Despite serious losses, comparing the tax records from 1661-1662 and 1673-1675, it can be noticed that the city was slowly rising from the rubble. This process was stopped with another armed conflict with Sweden – the Third Northern War.

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### Summary

#### **Demographic situation of Tykocin in 1661-1676 based on tax registers**

The text discusses the demographic situation of the Podlasie city of Tykocin after the war called the "deluge" in 1655-1660. The analysis was carried out on the basis of tax registers from 1661-1662 and 1673-1676. It shows that at the mentioned times the number of inhabitants decreased significantly comparing to the second half of the 16th century – by more than half comparing to 1571. This was affected not only by the aforementioned war, but also by subsequent passages of troops and epidemics. It also pointed to the increasing percentage of the Jewish population in relation to Christianity.