Emotional pressure and violence in the milieu of the nobility in the Saxon era of the Polish-Lithuaninan Commonwealth¹

Abstract:

The main goal of the study is to describe the phenomena of violence of emotional nature, both in parallel and subordinate relations, in the Saxon times. Various structures of dependencies affected all areas of social life in the First Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The Saxon times, coming under the reign of two Saxon electors chosen for the kings of Poland – Augustus II (died 1733) and his son Fryderyk August III (died 1763), is an interesting period of decline of baroque customs and culture that began to transform under the influence of the Enlightenment ideas of the mid-18th century.

From the perspective of emotions, analysis of correspondence of this period brings interesting information about social structures, dependencies and forms of psychological violence arising at this level. In the article, the phenomena of emotional violence is put under analysis to find out whether and how the used means of emotional pressure influenced the form of social relations and political life.

Key words: modern personal management – noblewomen as employers – structural violence, hierarchical structures – emotional pressure

his paper attempts to outline the phenomena of violence of an emotional nature, both in parallel and subordinate arrangements in the Saxon era. Various structures of dependencies affected all areas of social life in the First Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. The Saxon era, a period based around the rule of two Saxon electors chosen for the kings of Poland - Augustus II (died 1733) and his son Frederick Augustus III (died 1763), is an interesting period of decline of baroque customs and culture, which began to transform under the influence of Enlightenment currents from the mid-18th

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century onwards. It also represents the apogee of freedom for the nobility, realized in independent, powerful latifundia managed by the increasingly efficient administrative apparatus of the officials. The extensive property management system required attention, determination in enforcing decisions and firm control. Substantial knowledge about the nature of communication between the owner and property administrators is provided by correspondence, referred to as economic correspondence, exchanged more or less regularly, depending on the attitude of the owner and willingness to control issues of the latifundium.² Analyzing correspondence from the perspective of studying emotions can bring interesting results, but due to the organizational structures used in the modern era, as well as complicated clientele systems, this will not be possible from the perspective of the recipient of the correspondence. Therefore, an attempt to analyze the letters of the sender, which provide an idea about the management system and the atmosphere related to it, built by the owners, in this case representatives of the magnates of the 18th century, has been undertaken in this text.

In historical studies, emotions, included in the basic concepts of psychology, have only recently become the subject of a broader analysis, especially in Western European historiography.³ At present, it is believed that the study of emotions represents one of

² Cf. Józef A. GIEROWSKI, Korespondencja urzędników latyfundialnych jako źródło do historii gospodarczej i społecznej, in: Krzystof Broński – Jacek Purchla – Jan Szpak (eds.), Kraków-Małopolska w Europie środka. Studia ku czci profesora Jana M. Małeckiego w siedemdziesiątą rocznicę urodzin, Kraków 1996, pp. 93-98; Jerzy WOJTOWICZ, Ze studiów nad tzw. kręgiem korespondencyjnym. Założenia – badania - postulaty, in: Idem (ed.), Rozprawy z dziejów XVIII wieku. Z dziejów komunikacji socjalnej epoki nowożytnej, Toruń 1993, pp. 23-26; Wojciech JURKIEWICZ, Korespondencja elit stanisławowskich. Zarys problemu, in: J. Wojtowicz (ed.), Rozprawy z dziejów XVIII wieku, p. 41; see also Katarzyna MROCZEK, Tytulatura w korespondencji staropolskiej jako problem stosunku między nadawcą a odbiorcą, Pamiętnik Literacki 49, 1978, no. 2, pp. 127–147; Stefan KRAKOWSKI, List jako źródło historyczne. Uwagi w sprawie definicji i kategoryzacji, Sprawozdania z Czynności i Posiedzeń Naukowych Łódzkiego Towarzystwa Naukowego 1986, no. 8, pp. 1-8; Urszula KICIŃSKA, Codzienne obowiązki zarządcy majątku – na przykładzie korespondencji Piotra Morzyckiego do Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej, in: Piotr Borek - Marceli Olma (eds.), Epistolografia w dawnej Polsce, t. VI: Stulecia XVI-XIX: Nowa perspektywa historyczna i językowa, Kraków 2015, pp. 291–304; EADEM, Relacje patron-sługa w świetle korespondencji ekonomicznej Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej, kasztelanowej krakowskiej, in: Iwona Maciejewska (ed.), Tożsamość kobiet w Polsce: interpretacje. Tom 1, Od czasów najdawniejszych do XIX wieku, Olsztyn 2016, pp. 61–74; EADEM, Korespondencja jako źródło do badań aktywności gospodarczej kobiet w epoce saskiej, in: Bożena Popiołek – Urszula Kicińska – Agnieszka Słaby (eds.), Kobiece kręgi korespondencyjne w XVII–XIX wieku, Warszawa 2016, pp. 45–55.

Christina ANTENHOFER, Letters Across the Borders: Strategies of Communication in Italian-German Renaissance Correspondence, in: Jane Couchman – Ann Crabb (eds.), Women's Letters Across Europe, 1400–1700. Form and Persuasion, Aldershot 2005, pp. 103–22; see also: Jennifer C. WARD, Letter-Writing by English Noblewomen in the Early Fifteenth Century, in: James Daybell (ed.), Early Modern Women's Later Writing 1450–1700, New York 2001, pp. 29–41; Barbara H. ROSENWEIN, Generations of Feeling. A History of Emotions, 600–1700, Chicago 2015; Peter N. STEARNS – Carol Z. STEARNS, Emocjonologia: objaśnianie historii emocji i standardów emocjonalnych, in: Małgorzata Rajtar – Justyna

the most promising directions of social history (along with family structure research or social rebellions), enabling an understanding of the contexts of ordinary human life.4 The introduction of a category of emotions has also been postulated in research into contemporary international relations, as proposed by Dominique Moïsi, writing that international relations should be explained not only by means of the divisions of civilization, but also through the emotions dominating within given regions.⁵ In his work Culture of Fear, the British sociologist and journalist Frank Furedi suggested that what shaped the imagination of society at the beginning of the 21st century is emotions, namely fear and the assessment of everything through the prism of safety.⁶ Both theories, although interesting and pointing to new fields of interpretation, in some respects seemed unspecified within the scope of defining emotion and the methodological foundation. Nevertheless, studies on old and modern societies, through the prism of emotions, especially fear, are not losing their popularity.8 The previous neglect of this area of research perhaps resulted from the slow development of historical psychology, initially strongly associated with psychoanalysis. It was believed that "making a diagnosis about a man who lived three hundred years ago, whose life is really a question mark, a diagnosis made on the basis of a very specific interpretation of a few sentences, of which one also does not have absolute certainty

Straczuk (eds.), Emocje w kulturze, Warszawa 2012, pp. 143–180; Bradley J. IRISH, *Emotion in the Tudor Court. Literature, History and Early Modern Feeling*, Evanston 2018; Claire WALKER – Katie BARCLAY – David LEMMINGS, (eds.), *A cultural history of emotions. Volume 4: In the Baroque and Enlightenment age*, London 2019.

- 4 P. N. STEARNS C. Z. STEARNS, Emocjonologia, p. 145.
- Dominique MOÏSI, Zderzenie emocji. Strach, upokorzenie, nadzieja a nowy porządek świata, Res Publica Nowa 23, 2010, no. 9, pp. 199–200; compare IDEM, The Clash of Emotions: Fear, humiliation, hope, and the new world order, Foreign Affairs 86, 2007, no. 1, pp. 8–12; IDEM, Geopolityka emocji. Jak kultury strachu, upokorzenia, nadziei przeobrażają świat, Warszawa 2011; Franciszek CZECH, Strach w epoce późnej nowoczesności, Politeja 1(19), 2012, p. 497. See Martyna WIECZOREK, [rev.], Dominique Moïsi, Geopolityka emocji. Jak kultury strachu, upokorzenia, nadziei przeobrażają świat, Historia i Polityka 2012, no. 8 (15), pp. 153–158.
- 6 Frank FUREDI, *Kultura strachu ponowne odczytanie*, Znak 2011, no. 12, p. 33. This article is a translated version of the introduction to a book by F. Furedi, cf. IDEM, *Culture of Fear. Risk-taking and the Morality of Low Expectation*, London 2002. In Polish version IDEM, *Gdzie się podziali wszyscy intelektualiści?* Warszawa 2008.
- 7 F. CZECH, Strach, p. 497; Małgorzata SZATAN, Koncepcja strachu Franka Furediego, in: Katarzyna Stobińska Franciszek Kampka Wojciech Połeć (eds.), Ryzyko między kulturą strachu a kalkulowaną niepewnością, Warszawa 2011.
- See Jean DELUMEAU, Strach w kulturze Zachodu (XIV-XVIII w.), Warszawa 1986, p. 8; IDEM Skrzydła anioła. Poczucie bezpieczeństwa w duchowości człowieka Zachodu w dawnych czasach , Warszawa 1998. The second part of the trilogy is IDEM, Grzech i strach. Poczucie winy w kulturze Zachodu XIII-XVIII w., Warszawa 1994; K. STOBIŃSKA F. KAMPKA W. POŁEĆ (eds.), Ryzyko między kulturą strachu a kalkulowaną niepewnością; Katarzyna SOBCZAK, Kultura strachu. Dyskurs i retoryka strachu w mediach, Tekst i dyskurs 6, 2013, pp. 263–278.

as to whether they were written by that person specifically - seems at the least extravagant."9 Currently, researchers are willing to separate psychohistory, based on psychoanalysis, from historical psychology, which reaches primarily into social and cognitive psychology and is thus useful in research of social history.¹⁰ Jerzy Topolski wrote: "historical facts stand behind human thoughts, emotions and actions", while Marc Bloch argued that historical facts are psychological facts – they are a consequence of other psychological facts related to human actions. 11 He believed that psychology is not just a sphere of full awareness, writing "upon one's reading of certain historical books, they could presume that people are guided only by logically justified aspirations and that the motives of their actions are always completely clear to them", thus pointing beyond the conscious factors of human activity. 12 Gradually, research on emotions in history has expanded, but attention is still drawn to the research difficulties of this issue in the pre-modern period, in which society tolerated more expressive behaviours due to the lack of "universal emotional control". The most complete catalogue of questions on the study of emotionality from a historical perspective was developed by B. H. Rosenwein. 14 An extensive place in the study of emotionality is occupied by the issue of negative emotions, compiled by Lucien Febvre, who drew attention to the need to study the "dark side" of human emotion. He believes that emotional life has a potential of advantage over intellectual life and the generation of various, also irrational, human behaviours. Finally, he considers emotional control to be the actual where power is practised; I would like to indicate this conclusion as a starting point for research into

⁹ Maciej DYMKOWSKI, Wprowadzenie do psychologii historycznej, Gdańsk 2003, p. 23.

Other psychological traditions mainly include cognitive psychology, psychology of making individual and group decisions, models of functioning of the human mind, social psychology, see: Tadeusz TYSZKA, Analiza decyzyjna i psychologia decyzji, Seria: Psychologia Stosowana, Warszawa 1986; Czesław S. NOSAL, Psychologiczne modele umysłu, Warszawa 1990; Robert J. STERNBERG, Thinking styles, New York 1997; Albert BANDURA, Social cognitive theory: An agentic perspective, Annual Review of Psychology 52, 2001, p. 1–26; Tomasz PAWELEC, Psychohistoria a psychoanaliza (z problematyki wzajemnych relacji), in: Jan Pomorski (ed.), Historia, metodologia, współczesność, Lublin 1998, pp. 117–133; IDEM, Psyche i Klio. Historia w oczach psychohistoryków, Lublin 2002; IDEM, State of the Art in Psychohistory and Related Fields in Selected Countries of Central and Eastern Europe, Interstitio. East European Review of Historical Anthropology 2, 2009, no. 1, pp. 35–46. The history of emotions can help historians (to some extent) overcome the weakness of historical psychological studies, mainly in the aspect of studying groups in the past, expanding social history to emotional and rational aspects of mentality in past centuries. See P. N. STEARNS – C. Z. STEARNS, Emocjonologia, p. 146 – 147; M. DYMKOWSKI, Wprowadzenie, p. 11.

¹¹ M. DYMKOWSKI, Wprowadzenie, p. 11.

¹² Ibid., p. 19; Marc BLOCH, Pochwała historii, Warszawa 1960, p. 221.

¹³ P. N. STEARNS - C. Z. STEARNS, Emocjonologia, p. 145.

¹⁴ Barbara H. ROSENWEIN, Problems and Methods in the History of Emotions, Passions in Context I, 2010, no. 1, pp. 1–32.

the use of emotional pressure.¹⁵ Emotional violence and directness were regarded as a medium used to manipulate, express and understand power. The category of power is partially referred to by the definition of the Polish Language Dictionary, in which violence is understood as "unlawful power, dominion". Its extension is the definition of Irena Pospiszyl, who included all non-accidental acts that harm the personal freedom of the individual or contribute to the physical and psychological injury of the person, going beyond the social rules of mutual relations, as violence. 17 Such a linkage of techniques of violence with the implementation of power allows us therefore to refer not only to the relations of political power, but also to move to lower levels of governance, where inequalities and dependencies exist, despite belonging to the same social group. The historical context of the topic of violence in the area of power was analyzed primarily through the prism of political power at the state level. 18 In the proposed topic I would like to focus on the lower levels of power and management, namely on relations and phenomena of a violent nature within the area of the magnate latifundium. I will mainly focus on the existence of all inequalities and forms of pressure which are the reason for the occurrence of phenomena defined by modern psychology as violent, but in relation to the sphere of human emotionality. The aristocratic environment of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth to which I refer in the title, is, as is known, a thoroughly diverse social layer. This notion included both the impoverished masses of noblemen and representatives significant at local levels to nobleborn magnates and benefactors. In the current rhetoric, everyone enjoyed the same type of belonging, freedom and self-determination, but the extent to which they realized these prerogatives in reality remains a separate issue. And the extent to which they were aware of involuntary participation in the competitions imposed by the powerful opens up an interesting field of research for issues related to various forms of pressure, and finally to emotional or psychological violence. Within the context of the above definition, we may talk of a situation in which there were actions leading to the objectification of the other person, all actions whose nature or purpose were unknown to a part of the people

¹⁵ Lucien FEBVRE, *La sensibilité et l'histoire: comment reconstituer la vie affective d'autrefois?*, Annales d'histoire sociale 1941 no. 3, p. 16; see also Barbara H. ROSENWEIN, *Obawy o emocje w historii*, Teksty Drugie 2015, p. 361.

¹⁶ *Przemoc* [translated as violence], in: Hipolit Szkiłądź – Stanisław Bik – Barbara Pakosz – Celina Szkiłądź (eds.), Słownik Języka Polskiego, vol. II, Warszawa 1979, p. 986.

¹⁷ Irena POSPISZYL, Przemoc w rodzinie, Warszawa 1994, p. 16.

¹⁸ See Julius R. RUFF, Violence in Early Modern Europe 1500–1800, Cambridge 2001; Cynthia B. HERRUP, The Common Peace. Participation and the Criminal Law in Seventeenth-Century England, Cambridge 1987, pp. 193–206; Robert MUCHEMBLED, Anthropologie de la violence dans la France moderne (XVe-XVIIIe siecle), Revue de synthèse 108, 1987, no. 1, pp. 31–55; Norbert ELIAS, O procesie cywilizacji. Analizy socjo- i psychogenetyczne, Warszawa 2011, p. 355; see also Barbara H. ROSENWEIN, Obawy o emocje w historii, Teksty Drugie 2015, p. 1.

involved. Progressive techniques developed in this period and aimed at making noblemen's supporters more or less aware of this, upon the basis of which a network of connections, support and political strategies were built, should be regarded as such. The organization of masses voting in regional councils, the work of brokers in the field, led to the involvement of the nobility in specific tasks whose purpose and intention was not always clear to them.¹⁹ This majority were satisfied with temporary promises, a current salary, food and drink, no chance to appear outside the local environment, and sometimes even existing without support and dependence on the so-called "benefactor's mercy", and thus independent inclusion in various activities.

A similar organizational nature can be attributed to forays, in which masses of noblemen, townspeople and peasants²⁰ were engaged, most often appointed ad hoc.²¹ Forays were the legal way for the nobles to enforce property-related judgments if the previous methods failed, and they took place in the presence of the 'starosta', in others words the official. However, with time, from the second half of the 17th century, the nobility began to abuse this solution, omitting other legal methods and organizing arbitrary forays without the participation of the 'starosta'. The most famous Polish literary description of the foray is the eighth book of the epos by Adam Mickiewicz "Pan Tadeusz, or, The last foray in Lithuania: a story of the gentry from 1811 and 1812: comprising twelve books in verse", which described the relations in the court of Soplicowo and finally the foray itself.²² Thanks to literary fiction, the foray began to function in the general consciousness as an impulsive way of resolving neighbourly conflicts in former Poland. Meanwhile, forays functioned both on the level of legal and illegal activities, and were violent in their essence, emphasizing physical violence and robbery of the property, but they did not stop there. Some researchers distinguished

On the role of brokers in local aristocratic environments, see Agnieszka SŁABY, "Rządzicha oleszycka" – dwór Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej jako przykład patronatu kobiecego w czasach saskich, Kraków 2014.

I. Pugacewicz writes that "if we view a foray as a validation of lawlessness, the peasants, the surest force of this customary law, were perhaps the unconscious guarantors of neighbourhood security." However, neither the peasants and the bourgeoisie fitted into the noble apparatus of the group's communal notions, therefore they will not be taken into account, although undoubtedly they may fit the strongest in the defined phenomenon, cf. Iwona H. PUGACEWICZ, Porządek sąsiedzki przemocą regulowany. O organizacji i funkcjach zajazdu w II poł. XVII i w XVIII wieku, Białostockie Teki Historyczne 4, 2006, p. 287.

²¹ Ibid.

²² See Adam MICKIEWICZ, Sir Thaddeus, or the Last Lithuanian Foray: A Nobleman's Tale from the Years of 1811 and 1812 in Twelve Books of Verse, translations e.g. full text of the 1917, transl. George R. Noyes, available at URL: https://archive.org/details/pantadeuszorlast00mick/page/n6 [accessed 10. 06. 2019], orginal Polish title Pan Tadeusz czyli ostatni zajazd na Litwie. Historia szlachecka z roku 1811 i 1812 we dwunastu księgach wierszem, available at URL: https://pl.wikisource.org/wiki/Pan_Tadeusz_(wyd._1921)/Księga_ósma:_Zajazd [accessed 20. 01. 2019].

the phenomenon of the foray in relation to a person such as Dominik Golec, who, referring to the functioning of announcements of the foray, indicates the extension of the foray in time and space.²³ Marcin Kamler did not agree with such a wording; he considers that the semantics of the foray do not allow a definition of assault.²⁴ Dominik Golec concludes that the noble community exerted psychological pressure that would enslave the victims to make: concessions for the legalization of unlawful actions",25 where he also indicates that activities in the field of psychological pressure were also applied after the foray itself. He refers to the description of the foray, in which it was clearly stated that after the foray, robberies and suppression, attacks did not cease, but "verbal assaults, threats continued".26 It is crucial that researchers analyzing forays in various provinces have drawn attention to a series of activities preceding this act, and even taking place as a consequence thereof, distinguishing various threats, announcements, intimidation, imprecation as indispensable elements preceding the foray, and sometimes including them in subsequent stages (D. Golec).²⁷ Therefore, this leads us to the conclusion that the organization of a foray was semantically and structurally not associated with the innermost of the person; however, the activities surrounding the very act were primarily targeted at a certain person (the owner) and his psyche. As the threat of a foray alone bears the characteristics of emotional violence, and considering the fact that the threat and announcement of a foray were a common part of the rhetoric of the epoch, it would be necessary to place forays within the realm of emotional violence, what is more extremely effective, as researchers of this phenomenon show. Intimidation through announcement or response was sufficient to cause panic, fear and affect the functioning of the entire home. The importance of the "appropriate" letter has already been emphasized by Adolf Pawiński,²⁸ who showed that sending a letter expressing

²³ Domink GOLEC, Zajazdy na Kujawach w XVII i XVIII wieku, Przegląd Historyczny 4, 1982, pp. 283–294; Natalya STARCHENKO, Honour, Blood, and Rhetoric: Conflicts in the Volhynian Gentry Milieu Second Half of the 16th through the Early 17th Century, Kiev 2014, pp. 27–28.

²⁴ Marcin KAMLER, Przemoc między szlachtą sieradzką w XVII wieku. Opis zjawiska, Warszawa 2011, p. 131; IDEM, Przemoc między szlachtą w Polsce w XVII w. – zjawisko masowe, Kwartalnik Historyczny 121, 2014, no. 3, pp. 541–569.

²⁵ D. GOLEC, Zajazdy na Kujawach, p. 290.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 289.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 293.

Adolf Pawiński analyzed the institution of the "response"/responsive letter as a legal form noted in the constitution "O odpowiedzi" (transl. "On the response") of 1588 – "a response shall be understood as an announcement from one party of such an attitude that constitutes preparation for revenge for the harm done, revenge not through common law, the solemnity of the royal court, but 'privata authoritate'." As the author has shown, over time, especially in the seventeenth century, the response came to function as a termination of friendship, also due to its lesser wickedness than murder, and so he included the reasons leading to the dispute as causing the lameness of a borrowed horse and lack of compensation for this harm, theft of e.g. fish, horses or other similar losses. Cf. Adolf PAWIŃSKI, Odpowiedź według obyczaju rycerskiego w prawie polskim, Ateneum 1886, pp. 396–397.

friendship sometimes contained a list of friends and handmaids supporting the announcer, thus the active persons in this situation were not only participants of the dispute, but also their supporters. Social relations and affinity obliged this, and so the dispute defined the position within the current social system, which should be emphasized in a period in which it was always necessary to seek public support and the importance of honour and dignity of the home. The home was understood at that time as a larger group of related and socially connected people, who were the subject of social relations.²⁹ Intimidation and inducing social stigma were particularly severe in pre-modern times, when it was more difficult to verify or correct information, and thus had a much greater impact.

In such circumstances, the mere promise/threat aroused fear, and the spectre of a foray terrified, because the foray functioned in the social consciousness as one of the most tragic disasters, as documented by I. Pugacewicz, who showed that the local population fled farms and hid in the neighbourhood upon receiving such news.³⁰ Moreover, manipulation of the announcement of foray as a tool on the borderline of emotional violence is evidenced by I. Pugacewicz. She shows that place of announcement of a forey was important because it increased the significance of the threat.³¹

So again, it was not only the content of the announcement that counted, but its very form and place of publicity, as it allowed public defamation, and thus represented a type of assault within the repertoire of psychological tools of emotional pressure. If we consider joining forays, often willingly, and at the same time not always with clear premises, this reveals the issue of pursuing specific interests by other, often more affluent people who did not know exactly what they were doing.

In his research, Pugacewicz shows the lackeying of unaware peasant masses on the occasion of forays, recognizing that "peasants, the most certain force of this customary law [of the Inn – A. S.], are perhaps the unconscious guarantors of neighbourhood security". This perfectly demonstrates the masses' state of unconsciousness, which guarantees certain values without awareness to another group, and thus enters into a manipulative situation. Referring to the statement from Epictetus, who proclaimed that "the master over every man is the one who has the power to lend what someone wants, and take what he does not want", 33 depicts how firmly support for power is connected with the mechanism of

²⁹ A. PAWIŃSKI, *Odpowiedź*, pp. 392–393; about term "home" in early modern Commonwealth Polish see Urszula AUGUSTYNIAK, "Stary sługa" jako przedmiot badań nad klientelizmem magnackim na Litwie w XVII wieku, Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej 58, 2010, no. 1, pp. 71–85.

³⁰ I. H. PUGACEWICZ, Porządek sąsiedzki, p. 113.

³¹ Ibid., p. 109.

³² Ibid.

³³ EPIKTET, Encheiridion, trasn. by Leon Joachimowicz, available at URL: http://sady.up.krakow.pl/antfil.epiktet.encheiridion.htm [accessed 20. 01. 2019].

control, including emotional control. A similar way of exercising power using emotions as political arguments and strategies in communication models of Italian princely families was documented by Christina Antenhofer.³⁴

The informality of the mechanisms that constituted the then policy on which the patronage network was built needed to push through the plans of various coteries, somehow created the conditions for the development of minor or major abuses, and above all the implementation of various official and less official goals, of which people dependent on "the benefactor's mercy" were not fully aware. At the same time, it should be emphasized once again that everyone was a member of the same noble state, based and strongly focused on ideals of freedom. The realistically poorer nobility, but also those trying to maintain relative financial stability, gradually found themselves in a position of "captivity" in a situation (as described by psychologists) in which various favours were demanded, but often it was a permanent state of "deserving" from the Benefactor or One and Only Benefactress, still not sufficient enough in view of the undertaken commitment, as the latter could not always be fully realized. The network of such dependencies developed from the highest levels to the administration of latifundia, from which the careers of local noblemen often began. The informality of these systems, based on the exchange of favours and loyalty, created numerous opportunities for various forms of pressure. Pugacewicz, who considers colleges a form of regulation of neighbourly relations, also draws attention to these inequalities. The inequality system was fundamentally a plane on which violence could occur, and very often it was also used for emotional manipulation. Traces of these situations can also be found in the language used in letters from that time, in a specific convention that was in force, but often expanded to colourful descriptions of threats and scares. Correspondence reveals the diversity of relationships and dependencies in which the noble family, its members, friends, service and finally the employees of the latifundium administration remained. Good comparative material can be provided by a combination of messages from the correspondence of people who are on a similar economic plane, and therefore have similar opportunities.

Barbara H. Rosenwein, pointing to the ways of capturing emotions in her sources, indicated that every community builds its communication system based on tradition and adaptation of obsolete words to one's own needs or the creation of new ones, thanks to which it is possible to distinguish emotional communities on the basis of language.³⁵ Hence

³⁴ See Christina ANTENHOFER, *Emotions in the Correspondence of Bianca Maria* Sforza, in: Heinz Noflatscher – Michael A. Chisholm – Bertrand Schnerb (eds.), Maximilian I. (1459 – 1519): Wahrnehmung, Übersetzungen, Gender (=Innsbrucker Historische Studien 27), Innsbruck 2011, pp. 267–286.

³⁵ Barbara H. ROSENWEIN, Generations of Feeling. A History of Emotions, 600–1700, Chicago 2015.

I would like to quote the list of messages contained in the letters of Elżbieta Sieniawska and compare them with letters on similar topics, directed by another magnate, voivode of Lublin Teresa Michowska née Zamoyski, to read them from the perspective of emotions and the pressures embedded therein, and conduct a comparison due to the similar scope of matters arranged. The analysis of the commands used will reveal various ways of communicating and supervising the administration, made up of people from the small nobility – it should be emphasized that they formally belong to the same social group of free citizens. The correspondence of Teresa Zamoyska née Michowska, the second wife of Tomasz Antoni, were letters to the officials regarding the factories organized upon the construction of the Klemens' palace.

The small collection of correspondence is dominated by letters to Piotr Blumberg, the Ostrzeszowski carpenter,³⁸ who supervises the construction of the Klemens' palace. Messages contained therein are firm, but not devoid of trust, showing that the official has some freedom – "I entrust everything to Your Honour's mercy as the guardian of this factory, if I should forget anything, please make the decision"39 or "Your Honour, act as you wish at your best discretion."40 Despite considerable interest in the construction of the palace in honour of her son, the voivode of Lublin submitted part of the affairs to the construction supervisor, assured by many that he was doing his job well: "I have read from the letter of Mr. Cwikliński which you, Your Honour, have written, that you are putting great effort into my factory, I am very much obliged, Your Honour, and I request a further continuation of this effort in order to avoid any failure. I cannot argue for everything alone, my health does not allow for that. I think about it all the time, as I would like everything to be as good as possible, but if you, Your Honour, invest your effort in it, I will always be very content". Another time she wrote, paying less attention to her health: "remember the factory, please do not omit anything, I am weak, I do not wish not to think, and I would like it to be as good as possible and without any omissions, completed as soon as possible. Please continue the work, do not

³⁶ Tomasz Antoni Zamoyski (1707–1752), son of Michał Zdzisław and Anna née Działyńska. the 7th ordinate of Zamość. He took the office voivode of the Lublin in 1744. He was married twice, first to Marianna née Łubieński, and then to Anieś Teresa Michowska, with whom he had a son, Klemens Jerzy.

³⁷ T. Zamoyska to P. Blumberg, Archiwum Główne Akt Dawnych Warszawa (hereafter AGAD), Archiwum Zamoyskich 622, mf. A-93626.

³⁸ Piotr Blumberg, marshal of the court in Zamość, see URL: https://genealodzy.pl/PNphpBB2-printview-t-69584-start-0.phtml [accessed 20. 01. 2019]; Edward OPALIŃSKI – Hanka ŻEREK-KLESZCZ (eds.), Urzędnicy województw łęczyckiego i sieradzkiego XVI–XVIII wieku. Spisy, Kórnik 1993, p. 278.

³⁹ T. Zamoyska to P. Blumberg, AGAD, Archiwum Zamoyskich 622, mf. A-93626, k. 2.

⁴⁰ T. Zamoyska to P. Blumberg, 3. 5. 1745, ibid., k. 43.

⁴¹ T. Zamoyska to P. Blumberg, 7. 5. 1735, ibid., k. 37.

These examples show not only trust in Blumberg's management skills, but also a lack of fear about revealing weaknesses, which could create a feeling of greater freedom and lack of control over the works in Klemensów, and thus give cause for insubordination. Zamoyska also often expressed thanks in her letters for "all diligence and efforts [...] with the factory", ⁴³ "for all your courtesy, I will do my best to help you with all my grace". ⁴⁴ She did not spare her praise also on another occasion: "whatever Your Honour has decided, whatever I have read in his letters, thank you, please continue". ⁴⁵ "I am very content about everything Your Honour has done and I praise everything [...] please continue as you wish, you may always do as you please and I will be much obliged". ⁴⁶ If she urged the acceleration of the work, this was done rather subtly: "My valuable assistant, please hurry so that the carpenter avoids any delay, so that all work does not go badly or slowly if possible, and find helpers that are punctual, do as you know best so that all is well, I ask you kindly" or another time "My valuable assistant, please have mercy, do not fail on the works, please argue constantly". ⁴⁸

When commissioning a job to a certain Jamiński, she advised Blumberg: "I am sending for His Honour P. Jamiński, whom I ask you to please advise about what to do at the Klemens factory, what to do and how to perform, please set a time with His Honour, travel with him there, give him instructions and show him around". ⁴⁹ She wrote to another of Zamość's officials in an urgent, albeit very balanced tone: "Please send whatever I have wished for, I will look out for it, it is very urgent, very urgent, very urgent". ⁵⁰ These are basically the only more definite formulations that we find in Zamoyska's letters.

Elżbieta Sieniawska's correspondence, consisting of several thousand letters and largely recognized,⁵¹ is conducted in a completely different tone. The castellan above all appreciated

⁴² T. Zamoyska to P. Blumberg, 13. 1. 1745, ibid., k. 49.

⁴³ T. Zamoyska to P. Blumberg, Warszawa, 13. 6. 1744, ibid., k. 12.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ T. Zamoyska to P. Blumberg, Stróża, 24. 5. 1744, ibid., k. 22.

⁴⁶ T. Zamoyska to P. Blumberg, 23. 5. 1745, ibid., k. 26.

⁴⁷ T. Zamoyska to P. Blumberg, 3. 8. 1746, ibid., k. 61.

⁴⁸ T. Zamoyska to P. Blumberg, Wiłkołazy, 9. 8. 1746, ibid., k. 64.

⁴⁹ T. Zamoyska to P. Blumberg, 25. 6. 1745, ibid., k. 70.

⁵⁰ T. Zamoyska to general administration of the ordinance, 12. 7. 1747, ibid., k. 66.

⁵¹ Cf. Bożena POPIOŁEK – Urszula KICIŃSKA – Agnieszka SŁABY (eds.), Korespondencja Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej, kasztelanowej krakowskiej, t. I. Z serca kochająca żona i uniżona sługa. Listy Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej do męża Adama Mikołaja Sieniawskiego z lat 1688–1726, Warszawa – Bellerive-sur-Allier 2016; EADEM (eds.) Korespondencja Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej, kasztelanowej krakowskiej, t. II. Jaśnie Oświecona Mościa Księżno Dobrodziejko. Informatorzy i urzędnicy, Warszawa – Bellerive-sur-Allier 2016; EADEM (eds.), Korespondencja Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej, kasztelanowej krakowskiej, t. III. Jaśnie Oświecona Mościa Księżno Dobrodziejko. Rodzina, przyjaciele i klienci (wybór), Warszawa – Bellerive-sur-Allier 2016.

information and maintained a wide circle of correspondence with family and friends, but also with the service including administrators and artists, which allowed her to develop mechanisms for precise management over the latifundium.⁵² Management by meticulously supervising every decision of the officials was not a rule at the beginning of the 18th century. Individual methods of managing and supervising were applied, more interesting is the fact that such a style of management was adopted by a woman. At the time, a woman acquiring the management of assets was not a rare occurrence in the absence of men. Upon this background, Sieniawska was distinguished by the range of her activities in her possessions, as well as their territorial area. Maintaining profitable assets required constant supervision of one's affairs, demonstrating knowledge and orientation within current needs related to the organization of trade, work of people etc. Such management was also based on an unequal relationship of dependence, since the officials came from the small nobility, so analyzing selected commands applied to them allows us to reveal various ways of communicating and supervising the administration, made up of people of a lower status, but, as should be emphasized once again, who formally belonged to the same social group of nobly born.

Below I refer to the most unambiguous examples that can be classified as verbal harassment, which, as we can presume, induced a constant state of fear and stress in the recipient. No information can be found about this in the recipient's replies, apart from a series of humble words of apology, otherwise further service would be dubious. For this reason I focus on the emotions and atmosphere invoked by the sender, which undoubtedly did not affect the emotional state of the recipient, as evidenced by numerous explanations and translations.

These letters are thematically related to Zamoyska's correspondence as some of them were directed to Piotr Morzycki, administrator of the Zakrakow goods, concerning the building of factories. The orders of Elżbieta Sieniawska were usually much more decisive, and it is no different in this case. She consistently appraised his actions, reminded him of the orders he had failed to carry out, and one could have the impression that the insubordinate official was always reluctant to carry out his tasks, hence he should have been deprived of his position at least several times as happened in the case of repeated abuses. Meanwhile, Morzycki worked for Sieniawska for over ten years, while remaining, as it

⁵² See B. POPIOŁEK – U. KICIŃSKA – A. SŁABY (eds.), Korespondencja Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej, kasztelanowej krakowskiej, t. II; Dariusz BĄKOWSKI-KOIS, Zarządcy dóbr Elżbiety Sieniawskiej. Studium z historii mentalności 1704–1726, Kraków 2005; Józef BURSZTA, Handel magnacki i kupiecki między Sieniawą nad Sanem a Gdańskiem od końca XVII do połowy XVIII wieku, Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych XVI, 1954, pp. 174–223; U. KICIŃSKA, Codzienne obowiązki; EADEM, Relacje patron-sługa; EADEM, Korespondencja jako źródło do badań.

seems, in a constant situation of verbal harassment, being threatened or even intimidated with smaller and larger threats from his Benefactor. Morzycki was reprimanded for the lack of letters, for responding rarely, for reports prepared in insufficient detail, for erroneous execution of orders, for his faults and for other offences, for the faults that had occurred and those that could potentially exist.

Constant orders to provide information about the current situation on the farm belonged to the conventions of the castellan's letters, where she ordered the officials to maintain proper supervision over the farm and announce everything urgently and accurately, namely "so much about household business as well as everything that happens on the grounds". The owner of the estates urged Morzycki in this regard: "I inform you once more to write to me by post and report on the household", and I shall repeat this command once more". If the messages turned out to be insufficient, she accused the administrator of writing "very briefly in a Czekier manner" — "You have learned to write to me in a Czekier manner, just general information, with no comments about the household". Another official was also accused of writing in Circassian — Andrzej Zabagłowicz, in the belief that he only wanted to get past his duty of mail. She demanded more accurate reports: "Your Honour should have written to me about the completely omitted transaction and described a precise diary, which I recommend His Honour does next time".

Verbal threats created a sense of uncertainty and constant fear for one's own situation or property, which is why they reflected the horizontal relationships within the group of administrators. Through Morzycki, Sieniawska's instructions were directed to other officials of administrators and tenants who avoided their commitments: "I do not need excuses from Mr. Podczaski, please tell him that if he does not return the money immediately, I will command other goods to be taken from him. I am waiting to be informed, as he knows

⁵³ E. Sieniawska to P. Morzycki, Lviv, 23. 11. 1715, Biblioteka Czartoryskich w Krakowie [the Princes Czartoryski Library in Cracow] (hereafter BCz), manuscript (MS) 5944 III, no. 37496, all quotes from Elżbieta Sieniawska come from the edition of letters which the author co-wrote. See B. POPIOŁEK – U. KICIŃSKA – A. SŁABY (eds.), Korespondencja Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej, kasztelanowej krakowskiej, t. II.

⁵⁴ E. Sieniawska to P. Morzycki, BCz, MS 5944 III, no. 37519.

⁵⁵ E. Sieniawska to P. Morzycki, Puławy, 5. 8. 1715, BCz, MS 5944 III, no. 37485; E. Sieniawska to P. Morzycki, Lublin, 14. 11. 1717, BCz, MS 5944 III, no. 37562; E. Sieniawska to A. Zabagłowicz, Lviv, 17. 7. 1726, BCz, MS 5946 III, no. 38012.

⁵⁶ E. Sieniawska to P. Morzycki, Lviv, 26. 1. 1718, BCz, MS 5944 III, no. 37571.

⁵⁷ E. Sieniawska to P. Morzycki, Lublin, 14. 11. 1717, BCz, MS 5944 III, no. 37562; E. Sieniawska to A. Zabagłowicz, Lviv, 17. 7. 1726, BCz, MS 5946 III, no. 38012.

⁵⁸ In this letter, E. Sieniawska also informed Morzycki that she would come to Łubnice in March, so they were supposed to meet at the turn of March and April, urging him to come with all economic papers and return to Łubnice. E. Sieniawska to P. Morzycki, Brzeżany, 7. 3. 1718, BCz, MS 5944 III, no. 37577.

best that he should return the money"⁵⁹ and in the next letter he repeats his warning, if Mr. Podczaski "'in quantum' does not return this money immediately, tell him, he will be forced to return other goods".⁶⁰ Another administrator, Andrzej Zabagłowicz, was equally severely criticized for the lack of information provided, guaranteeing at the same time, "that he would not evade trouble and would be held responsible for everything one day anyway".⁶¹

The pressurizing techniques used by Sieniawska concerned not only property managers, but she also maintained relations with artists who were employed on temporary contracts in a similar vein. An example is the cooperation of a powerful protector with the head of its main construction factory in Łubnice – Giovanni Spazzio. At the end of his life he was severely ill, to which he had not admitted for a long time because of fear of his employer and, as Rafał Nestorow writes, this situation led Spazzi to live under constant stress, and as Sieniawska concludes, she could not perceive her behaviour in terms of the contemporary definition of mobbing. This is interesting because when we look at a different fragment of her correspondence it can be presumed that she was aware of the forms and overtones she used, hence the condition of conscious application of certain techniques is fulfilled in this respect.

It emerges from one of the letters, when she reprimands not only Morzycki: "you fail to do diligent work, as if it were not for me, but somebody else [lease - A. S.]", but also his manner of communication with the lessee: "and yet you write to him, so briskly and sharply, more than I do myself. I warn you, that you behave more modestly and treat him differently, after all you know who is".63 Morzycki heard threats for others' failures, when he was to pick up four kegs of wine from Chrysty, "choose only the best, see to it and choose, put stamps, send me the samples, and if they are bad, you will surely be held responsible". The wine case eventually turned out to be truly problematic, as what occurred was "falsification of the wine given to Mr. Horgellin [Horquelin]" – some of the kegs contained water instead of wine, which Sieniawska took as dishonour of her name. She did not want to hear of any transfer of responsibility, she wrote vigorously and announced that the official would receive a real punishment: "I will not judge him, but you", "I do not want to listen, I will not accept, I order severe and necessary punishment, you are well aware of the Częstochowa manner, he who cannot pay in wax will pay in body and you shall expect that, as I will not forgive such great confusion of mine, and this is what I command if you wish to avoid great shame and

⁵⁹ E. Sieniawska to P. Morzycki, Puławy, 1. 11. 1717, BCz, MS 5944 III, no. 37559.

⁶⁰ E. Sieniawska to P. Morzycki, Puławy, 6. 11. 1717, BCz, MS 5944 III, no. 37561.

⁶¹ E. Sieniawska to P. Morzycki, Lviv, 3. 11. 1725, BCz, MS 5946 III, no. 37962.

⁶² Rafał NESTOROW, Tajemnicze okoliczności śmierci Giovanniego Spazzia, nadwornego architekta Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej. Przyczynek do biografii, Biuletyn Historii Sztuki 2016, no. 3, p. 509.

⁶³ E. Sieniawska to P. Morzycki, Warszawa, 9. 6. 1718, BCz, MS 5944, no. 37586.

trouble".⁶⁴ In further correspondence she announced that together with Chrysty they had come to an agreement and taken care of the goods "as I would have sought revenge upon you for this dishonour and you would have not evaded great trouble".⁶⁵

As I have mentioned, there were also forms of warning against potential offences or delays, such as for the preparation of trees and lime for the Warsaw Palace: "please see to send this without any delay, as you surely will not evade great trouble and reprimand" or "you will surely not evade great trouble if you have not boiled the wood for calamine and have not flushed [...] and should there be no wood, you will be held responsible." Such a form of promising or warning of future punishments or for the sins of others is very frequent, formulated as follows: "You would be surely held responsible", "you would surely not evade great trouble," for such clear sleight of hand [...] you will not evade great trouble, "you would surely be greatly confused" etc."

Another, slightly lighter form of pressure was the owner's announcement of her visit, although in the end it did not take place or took place at a later date, and during the whole time it gave her the opportunity to reprimand: "I would be very content to actually see this order and diligence around the household that you write to me of, and I shall see it quickly, as I will make my presence known, and bad things would happen if I were to see emptiness. Be ready for any calculations which I will govern before my arrival", she wrote at the end of 1717, while her visit to the Zakrakowski estate took place in April 1718, i. e. half a year later. The meeting with the magnate also could not be a source of peace, since she announced: "I seriously command that you make haste will all the money, as you will surely not evade trouble. I repeat my command".

As can be seen from the above brief statement, Piotr Morzycki arranged a number of issues for the Cracow castellan, ranging from supervision of the lease, sowing, harvesting of hay, organization of calamine extraction, arranging materials, care of the forest, purchase of calash or Eger water.⁷⁴ In all of these orders, Sieniawska expected him to have equal

⁶⁴ E. Sieniawska to P. Morzycki, Warszawa, 18. 1. 1719, BCz, MS 5945 III, no. 37612; B. POPIOŁEK – U. KICIŃSKA – A. SŁABY (eds.), Korespondencja Elżbiety z Lubomirskich Sieniawskiej, kasztelanowej krakowskiej, t. II, p. 316.

⁶⁵ E. Sieniawska to P. Morzycki, Warszawa, 8. 2. 1719, BCz, MS 5945III, no. 37614.

⁶⁶ E. Sieniawska to P. Morzycki, Warszawa, 18. 4. 1716, BCz, MS 5944 III, no. 37508.

⁶⁷ E. Sieniawska to P. Morzycki, Laszki, 5. 4. 1719, BCz, MS 5945 III, no. 37623.

⁶⁸ E. Sieniawska to P. Morzycki, Puławy, 30. 6. 1718, BCz, MS 5944 III, no. 37589.

⁶⁹ E. Sieniawska to P. Morzycki, Lublin, 4. 9. 1718, BCz, MS 5944, no. 37596.

⁷⁰ E. Sieniawska to P. Morzycki, Lublin, 4. 9. 1718, BCz, MS 5944, no. 37596.

⁷¹ E. Sieniawska to P. Morzycki, Lublin, 28. 11. 1717, BCz, MS 5944 III, no. 37564.

⁷² E. Sieniawska to P. Morzycki, Brzeżany, 7. 3. 1718, BCz, MS 5944 III, no. 37577.

⁷³ E. Sieniawska to P. Morzycki, Puławy, 30. 6. 1718, BCz, MS 5944 III, no. 37589.

⁷⁴ E. Sieniawska to P. Morzycki, Puławy, 22. 5. 1719, BCz, MS 5945 III, no. 37627.

knowledge and commitment, so it is not surprising that he did not always deal with everything as diligently, especially since there was not enough time to scrupulously describe the actions taken. However, this was required from the way of management and supervision at that time, and Sieniawska had to enforce work from several hundred people and remember of all the commanded tasks. Surely the efficiency and effectiveness of her management method should be emphasized, which does not exclude the fact that the castellan's imposed style of management clearly involved using elements of emotional control based on pressure, exerting various pressures, and thus elements understood from the perspective of psychology as violence. They are revealed in words, threats, pressure techniques, and within their context the cited letters of Zamoyska appear to be much subtler, displaying different styles of management and communication. However, such an assessment may be deceptive due to the lower quantity of correspondence with the official and perhaps his good position in the ordinance, or in comparison with the position of Morzycki, because Blumberg was a carpenter. However, this does not undermine the existence and significance of techniques used in management, the use of pressure to maintain fear in administrators in order to better fulfil their obligations, which can be seen in Sieniawska's correspondence. I pay attention to this, due to the specificity of the era, in which reading similar emotions, based on fear of the recipient's correspondence, is practically impossible. This is due to his much lower position, from which he would not dare to enter into a dialogue with the breadwinner and the dispatcher of not only his salary, but his existence within the group. Hence it can be presumed that the emotions that emerge from the sender's text – anger, turmoil and threats which followed were not without the recipient's repercussion, and these can only be guessed at by the historian. In the letter, the recipients convince of this by the detailed, keen explanations and apologies in response to the sharp words of the castellan, such as "from which letter does Your Honour Benefactress understand that what I have written is not deceitful and that this omission would not be because of myself".75

Hence, there is a double reading of emotions – argumentation through emotions in the sender's letters and emotions experienced in response to these practices. Nevertheless, this opens up a field for the study of all forms of emotional pressure in relation to past eras, which is not an easy task due to the specific material and delicate nature of the subject, hidden or only outlined in the source material, often mixed with the convention of phrases used in correspondence in a given era. The above attempt to describe epistological treatments in which the pressure exerted through emotions can be noticed, brings these behaviours closer to emotional violence, which can be located within the broader context of historical research conducted from the perspective of research into emotions. Further questions can

⁷⁵ Clerk to E. Sieniawska, 20. 3. 1712, BCz, MS 5881 III, no. 23460.

be asked about how much and how often pressure techniques were used in the management of the latifundium and whether they could be associated with the administrator, i. e. whether they were used more frequently by women or men. It is therefore merely an offer to describe a fragment of the Saxon noble reality within the context of phenomena of emotional control, defined as violent. This is based on inequality, leading to mutual dependence, and as a result, of a predominant character. Research into these situations requires further analysis, mainly comparative, made based on material with similar themes, in relation to people of similar status, which will enable us to capture the nuances of the convention from the individual method of exerting influence, management, also conducted on the basis of violent actions in the area of emotional violence. An interesting research topic still remains the issue of forays and their influence on the expansion of emotional pressure in noble society, as well as the use of physical violence. The extension of research into these aspects would fundamentally affect a better understanding of the phenomenon of violence in the times of the First Polish Republic.